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MARTIN HINDS

Edited
by

JERE BACHARACH, LAWRENCE I. CONRAD, and PATRICIA CRONE

With an Introduction
by

G.R. HAWTING

THE DARWIN PRESS, INC.
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WITHDRAWN



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PREFACE

WITH THE EXCEPTION of three contributions to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, this volume reproduces all the published articles of Martin Hinds (1941–88), with some corrections and revisions based, in most cases, on his own corrected copies. For permission to reprint the material we should like to thank the American University of Beirut (Chaps. 4, 6), E. J. Brill (Chap. 9), the British Institute of Persian Studies (Chap. 8), Cambridge University Press (Chaps. 1, 2), Oxford University Press (Chap. 3), Presses Universitaires de France (Chap. 7), and Riyadh University Press (Chap. 5). We are also grateful to Laila Othman for preparing the index, to Theodora S. MacKay for her careful computer work, and to the Howard and Francis Keller Endowed Fund in History and the Friends of History Fund, both at the University of Washington, for financial support for preparation of the text and index.

Eds.

INTRODUCTION

MARTIN HINDS' FIRST DEGREE (1962) was in Arabic, and all of his academic posts were officially concerned with the study of the language. By his own account, he spent virtually all of his time from 1972 until 1980 and a large part of that between 1980 and 1986 working on the lexicon of modern Egyptian Arabic. That work had begun during his association with the American University in Cairo from 1970 to 1975, and bore fruit in the publication (together with El-Said Badawi) of *A Dictionary of Modern Egyptian Arabic (Arabic-English)* in 1986. Had he done nothing else, the dictionary would have ensured him a reputation as a leading western scholar of Arabic in the latter half of the twentieth century.

However, following his B.A. he had enrolled for a research degree in Islamic History, and in 1969 the University of London awarded him his Ph.D. for his thesis, *The Early History of Islamic Schism in Iraq*. In the years between that date and his untimely death on 1 December 1988, less than twenty years later, he made through his publications a distinctive and notable contribution to our understanding of the history of the Islamic Middle East. In addition to the papers collected for this volume, there are five books which have to be taken into account.

He saw only two of them in their published form. In 1986 there appeared, written together with Patricia Crone, *God's Caliph*, an important and radical reassessment of the development of ideas about religious and political authority in early Islam. In the same year, *Arabic Documents from the Ottoman Period from Qaṣr Ibrīm*, produced jointly with Hamdi Sakkout, made available 61 seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents (fifteen fully translated, the rest in summary) from a site in upper Egypt which had been an Ottoman garrison town in its later phases.

Three other works appeared posthumously. In 1990 Hinds' volume (XXIII: *The Zenith of the Marwānid House*) of the SUNY Press series, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, was published. The series makes available for the first time an annotated English translation of the whole of one of the major sources for the early history of Islam. *An Early Islamic Family from Oman*, which appeared in 1991, is another annotated translation, this time of part of a late work from Oman which has details, unknown from other sources, relating to the early history of the central Islamic world. It is shorter than the Ṭabarī volume, but in this case Hinds faced a major problem in establishing a satisfactory text to work from, since the manuscripts and an existing edition are seriously corrupt. Indeed, this monograph may be said to contain the first proper edition of the part of the text which is treated, so extensive are the textual emendations and suggested readings which it provides. It was his knowledge of the historical background and of the relevant sources and secondary literature which enabled Hinds to see the importance of the text as a source. Finally, 1991 also saw a second volume of documents from upper Egypt, *Qaṣr Ibrīm in the Ottoman Period: Turkish and Further Arabic Documents*, produced jointly with Victor Ménage, who was responsible for the Turkish materials. This contains a further 24 Arabic documents, relating largely to military and administrative matters, from the same cache as the 61 in the first volume.

Hinds' published work—the books just mentioned and the articles collected here—are distinguished by the way in which they combine linguistic and textual expertise with the skills and approach of an historian.

From one point of view he could be seen as belonging to what used to be called the “orientalist” tradition. In recent years that epithet has been hijacked for polemical purposes and is now generally used derogatively, but before the work of Edward Said¹ it was often applied to those scholars whose knowledge and skill were primarily in the field of language and written texts, whose interest was in the more remote periods of history, and whose approach was one of scholarly detachment. In that sense the Leiden edition of the Arabic text of Ṭabarī's *History* could be called an achievement of orientalist scholarship.²

¹ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1978).

² *Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir at-Tabari*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.* (Leiden, 1879–1901), in fifteen volumes.

Those characteristics are evident in Hinds' publications, especially a command of classical Arabic and an obvious enjoyment of textual work. Four of his five books are largely concerned with editing and translating texts, and three of the articles here—"The Şiffin Arbitration Agreement" (Chap. 3), "The Banners and Battle Cries of the Arabs at Şiffin" (Chap. 4), and "A Letter from the Governor of Egypt" (Chap. 6)—display similar concerns. Furthermore, the mental attitudes and habits of the textual scholar, notably attention to detail and accuracy, permeate all of his work, not only that involving edition and translation.

If the orientalist tradition was, and is, admired for its achievements in making texts available and its insistence on sound scholarship, it has been criticised for a certain naivety in its historical views and methods (or lack of them). To remedy these defects a more self-consciously historical method has been advocated by some who have come to an interest in Islam or the Middle East from a background in historical studies or the social sciences: ideas and methods which had been fruitful mainly in advancing the understanding of European history should be applied equally to the study of the Islamic world. The orientalist tradition was not to be rejected, but should complement the historical approach. That was the ideal, but in reality it is difficult to find scholars who combine mastery of "difficult" oriental languages, textual expertise, and knowledge and understanding of modern historiography. With some notable exceptions, students of the history of Islam have continued to be specialists in language and literature with an interest in the past, or trained historians who have acquired some linguistic facility, rather than scholars with an equal competence in both fields.

Hinds' work, however, does effectively combine the methods and approaches of an historian with a strength in Arabic and textual skills. This is evident especially in the amount of attention given in the papers collected here to critical discussion of the Arabic literary sources for the history of early Islam. Although some remarks at the end of the article on the Şiffin arbitration agreement indicate impatience with those whom he accuses of adopting "a hypercritical approach" to the Arabic sources,³ much of his work is concerned with questions of source analysis, especially with the provenance, transmission and interrelationship of texts. The examinations here of the different versions of the arbitration

³ See below, 77–78.

agreement (Chap. 3) and the accounts of the military dispositions as Şifīn (Chap. 4), of the value of the material on Arabia transmitted by Sayf ibn ‘Umar (Chap. 5), and of the development of the terms *maghāzī* and *sīra* (Chap. 7), illustrate his awareness that historical reconstruction depends on a proper understanding of the sources. Even the discussion of the conquest of Fārs (Chap. 8) is fundamentally an exercise in source criticism.

The other main feature which distinguishes his work as an historian is his ability to analyse complex material into coherent patterns. Whether in his delineation of the different interest groups in the events surrounding the First Civil War, his analysis of the different terms used with reference to the traditional biography of Muḥammad, or his establishment of a chronology and course of events for the conquest of Fārs, the reader is made aware of the difficulties, inconsistencies, and contradictions in the sources, but presented with an argument which resolves them in a persuasive way. The clarity and unpretentiousness of his written style are an important element in this. Hinds was not a writer who hid difficulties in ambiguous language or used tricks of style and presentation to hide lack of ideas.

The book *God’s Caliph* offers the most sustained evidence of his work as an historian, but each one of the papers here displays his grasp of various aspects of the historian’s art. The first four papers, discussing aspects of the “first civil war in Islam” (the *fitna*), are connected with the topic of Hinds’ Ph.D. thesis and represent his earliest scholarly contributions.

“Kūfan Political Alignments” (Chap. 1, 1971) and “The Murder of the Caliph ‘Uthmān” (Chap. 2, 1972) attempt to account for the outbreak and course of the civil war, and to increase our understanding of conditions in Kūfa following it, by an investigation of the formation of different interest groups among the Arab conquerors and rulers. H. A. R. Gibb had argued, without citation of specific sources and in the course of a general interpretation of the course of Islamic history, that the basic tension behind the civil war was that between the central government in Medina and the “tribesmen” (by which he meant those Arabs who had left Arabia to take part in the conquests in Syria, Egypt, Iraq and Persia, and who had been settled largely in new garrison towns founded for them in the provinces). This tension he saw as the result of the conflicting economic interests of the two parties, especially concerning the ownership of the rich agricultural lands conquered in Iraq, which

came to a head in a situation where further expansion and conquest were becoming slower and more difficult.⁴

Hinds argues that the situation was considerably more complex than Gibb had suspected, and finds divisions and clashes of interest among the "tribesmen" themselves and within the ruling circles. In particular, he draws attention to the different motives and interests of those fighting behind 'Alī, and thus suggests why the civil war took the course it did (this is set out more particularly in the first part of "The Ṣiffīn Arbitration Agreement") and why there arose the different social and religious groups so important in Kūfa in the early years of the Umayyad caliphate. Evident in this is Hinds' close reading of the sources and an ability to organize the often puzzling and apparently contradictory details in a meaningful pattern.

Most of the sources he used had been available for some time, but some (notably parts of Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashrāf* and the *Kitāb al-futūḥ* of Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī) were still accessible only in manuscript. These sources are used, rather than discussed from an historiographic or theoretical viewpoint: the remarks at the end of the paper on the arbitration agreement, criticizing what he refers to as "a hypercritical approach" to the Arabic Muslim sources, have already been mentioned.

"The Ṣiffīn Arbitration Agreement" (Chap. 3, 1972) and "The Banners and Battle Cries of the Arabs at Ṣiffīn" (Chap. 4, 1971) make it clear, however, that he was far from heedless of the problems inherent in the sources. Both of these papers are in large part a discussion of particular texts, the former a comparison of two different versions which have been transmitted of the agreement made between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya at Ṣiffīn to put their dispute to arbitration, the latter the edition of part of a text (of which there are two different but related versions) describing military formations at Ṣiffīn and, almost uniquely, providing illustrations of the banners used by different groups on each side. Using his knowledge of the sources and of the relevant modern literature, Hinds is able to establish which texts are the earlier and less corrupt. Thus he counters the misapprehensions of the classical Muslim litterateur al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868) regarding the "arbitration document" and of some modern scholars regarding the sources and interrelationship

⁴ H. A. R. Gibb, "An Interpretation of Islamic History", *Journal of World History* 1 (1953), 40-43; reprinted in his *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (London, 1962), 5-8.

of the two manuscripts giving the military dispositions at Şiffin. To the obvious objection that the illustrations of the banners in the latter cannot be relied upon because the manuscripts are relatively late, he is able to provide some evidence that they existed earlier.

The two papers, "Sayf ibn 'Umar's Sources on Arabia" (Chap. 5, 1979) and "The First Arab Conquests in Fārs" (Chap. 8, 1984), are linked by the attention they give to the second-century collector of historical tradition, Sayf ibn 'Umar al-Tamīmī al-Kūfī. As a result of the work of Julius Wellhausen at the end of the nineteenth century,⁵ Sayf's material had been generally rejected by modern historians as unreliable, biased and overly colourful, but two recent scholars questioned some of the assumptions and methods in Wellhausen's work and the general conclusions he had reached.

Fuat Sezgin attempted to show that the traditional Muslim literature (the earliest surviving examples of which come from around the beginning of the third century A.H. preserves material which can be traced back to a much earlier date, to the generation immediately following the Prophet himself. One of Sezgin's arguments is that the third-century scholars were able to draw on much written material from the first two centuries. This material has now been lost, but that it existed is shown, he argued, not only by explicit references to it in our available sources, but also by certain patterns which can be discerned in the chains of authority (*isnāds*) with which the third-century scholars prefaced the materials they cited. For example, if we trace several *isnāds* back and find that they all lead to an early second or even first-century transmitter, but then diverge to numerous individuals whom that transmitter gives as his sources, it is legitimate to infer that transmitter had produced a written text which later generations were able to use.⁶

Albrecht Noth, on the other hand, attacked the idea that the reports which we find in our historical sources can be analysed into groups reflecting the views of particular "schools" or even of particular individuals, as Wellhausen had argued. Noth stressed that the historical tradition as we find it in our earliest sources is the end product of a long process of collection and compilation. At each stage of that process the

⁵ Julius Wellhausen, "Prolegomena zur älteste Geschichte des Islams", in his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI (Berlin, 1899), 3-7.

⁶ Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, I. *Qur'anwissenschaften, Ḥadīṯ, Geschichte, Fiqh, Dogmatik, Mystik bis ca. 430 H.* (Leiden, 1967), 53-84.

collectors of tradition selected and redacted materials from a number of their predecessors, who themselves had done the same thing. As a result, we cannot say that any particular early collector and transmitter is more reliable or objective than any other. Are we therefore justified in dismissing the reports associated with a figure like Sayf as a whole and in regarding the material transmitted under his name as less useful, simply because it is associated with Sayf, than materials attached to other early transmitters?⁷

It is interesting that Hinds' two papers reach rather conflicting conclusions about the value of Sayf's material for the historian concerned to reconstruct events. In the earlier paper, written for a symposium on the sources for the history of Arabia held in Riyadh in 1977, he reaches rather optimistic conclusions in his attempts to analyse the sources which Sayf himself used. Focusing on a particular body of material which the late third/early fourth-century scholar Ṭabarī cites from Sayf, and using Sezgin's methods (and his assumptions), Hinds concludes that some of Sayf's reports can be traced back to earlier written sources, that the wealth of detail given outweighs the "fancifulness" which some of it displays, and that there is no reason to regard Sayf himself as having fabricated the reports or attributed them falsely to the sources he names.

The later paper on the conquest of Fārs, on the other hand, is more pessimistic so far as Sayf is concerned. Drawing on a number of sources other than Sayf, Hinds is able to put together an account of the early Arab conquests in Fārs which is reasonably consistent, chronologically coherent and makes sense in the light of other evidence relating to the early Arab conquests and conditions in Iran at the time. The essence of the argument is that it was forces which had crossed the sea from Baḥrayn and Oman which were responsible for the early conquests in Fārs and not, as some modern scholars have assumed, forces organised and sent from the Arab garrison town of Baṣra in Iraq. Only at a relatively late point was responsibility for operations in Fārs transferred to the governor of Baṣra.⁸ When the reports given in Sayf's name

⁷ Albrecht Noth, "Der Charakter der ersten grossen Sammlungen von Nachrichten zur frühen Kalifenzeit", *Der Islam* 47 (1971), 168–99. See now also his *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: a Source-Critical Study*, 2nd ed. in collaboration with Lawrence I. Conrad, trans. Michael Bonner (Princeton, 1994), 1–25.

⁸ The fact that great material benefits were at stake served to encourage such "transfers"; see Noth/Conrad, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*, 54, 125.

are examined in the light of these findings, we find an inconsistent chronology, an eccentric narrative of events, a bias in favour of Baṣra and of the tribe of Tamīm, and the introduction of fanciful details. Material which may be of real value is quite scarce.

Hinds seems content to make this contrast and merely points out that the material on the conquest of Fārs is unusual in that there is a sufficient amount from other sources to enable us to check Sayf's material in a way not usually possible with regard to other topics. It may be that he has uncovered the weakness of the sort of analysis which places too much weight on *isnāds*.

"A Letter from the Governor of Egypt Concerning Egyptian-Nubian Relations in 141/758" (Chap. 6, 1981) provides further illustration of Hinds' combination of textual and historical skills, and anticipates the later volumes of documents from Qaṣr Ibrīm. The letter, a translation of which had been published some time before by Professor J. Martin Plumley,⁹ is important for two main reasons.

First, diplomatic documents from the early centuries of Islam are rare. The chronicles and other literary sources, it is true, provide the texts of many letters and documents which are claimed as compositions of the Prophet and the early caliphs, but the relative lateness of the sources poses problems regarding their authenticity. Any document which has survived in its original form, therefore, is extremely valuable. Among the interesting features of this letter, as Hinds points out, is that it is the earliest datable papyrus document to contain the word "Muslims" (*muslimūn*).¹⁰

Secondly, it is a valuable piece of evidence regarding the relations between Arab-ruled Egypt and the still Christian regions to the south in the middle of the second century A.H. Later Muslim sources supply the text of a treaty alleged to have been made between the second Muslim governor of Egypt and the Christian ruler of Nubia shortly after the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, but its authenticity has been called into question (rightly according to Hinds). The present letter shows that in the mid-second century A.H. some sort of formal agreement (it is referred to as an '*ahd*, "covenant") between the Arabs and the Nubians was in force, and Hinds relates this to variant reports in historical and

⁹ J. Martin Plumley, "An Eighth-Century Arabic Letter to the King of Nubia", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 61 (1975), 241-45.

¹⁰ See below, 183.

juridical literature and suggests why a dispute over whether or not an agreement had been made, and if so what sort of agreement it was, developed among the Muslim legal and religious scholars.

Finally, “*Maghāzī* and *Sīra* in Early Islamic Scholarship” (Chap. 7, 1980) examines changes in the meaning of two key terms in early Muslim literary tradition. In part, Hinds’ conclusions had been anticipated by Martin Hartmann in 1899,¹¹ but he lacked the evidence which Hinds is able to adduce, and his conclusion had been overlooked by subsequent Islamicist scholarship (as Hinds points out). Furthermore, he had been demonstrably wrong on some points. Again the ability to analyse complex material in order to make a substantial point in a coherent and clear way is impressive.

The books and the articles mentioned here did not represent the entirety of Martin Hinds’ output: there were a number of perceptive reviews and four substantial articles (“*Maghāzī*”, “*Makhzūm*”, “*Miḥna*”, and “*Mu‘āwiya*”) in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, one of which is reproduced here (“*Miḥna*”, Chap. 9). Given his long and time-consuming involvement with the dictionary of modern Egyptian Arabic, that he produced so much in the historical field is testimony to his intellectual and physical energy. If he had been spared, he would surely have gone on to make other important contributions. As it is, we must regret the loss of a scholar whose work earned the respect of fellow workers in the field of Islamic studies, and whose friendship and personality were valued by many. We hope that the present volume will make his scholarly contribution more widely known.

G. R. Hawting

¹¹ Martin Hartmann, “Die angebliche *sīra* des Ibn Ishāq”, in his *Der islamische Orient. Berichte und Forschungen* (Berlin, 1899–1900), I, 32–34.

1

Kūfan Political Alignments and Their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A.D.

THE PERIOD of the so-called Patriarchal Caliphs continues to be rich with questions which can be investigated only with material which often seems less than adequate. Among the more intriguing questions are those connected with the rôle of Kūfa and the emergence there of the political alignments with which representatives both of the early Umayyad caliphs and of the anti-caliph Ibn al-Zubayr had later to deal, namely the Khawārij, the Shī'a and the tribal *ashrāf*. The remarks in this article are intended to present a broad picture of conclusions reached in a more detailed study of the formation of these political alignments¹—conclusions which are based on evidence contained in the earliest Islamic historical sources available to us, notably those of al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Sa'd, Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, Khalīfa ibn Khayyāṭ and Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim al-Minqarī.²

From the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2 (1971), pages 346 to 367.

¹ "The Early History of Islamic Schism in Iraq" (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1969).

² The following abbreviations are used: A'th. = Ibn A'tham, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, 2 vols., MS Topkapı Sarayı (Ahmet III), no. 2956; BA/MS = al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 2 vols, MS Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Reisülküttap Mustafa Efendi), nos. 597, 598; BA. V = al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. V [pp. 918–1127 of BA/MS I], ed. S. D. F. Goitein (Jerusalem, 1936); BF = al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866); IS = Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau *et al.* (8 vols Leiden, 1905–17); Khal. = Khalīfa ibn Khayyāṭ, *Ta'riḫ*, vol. I, ed. A. Ḍ. al-'Umarī

I. The years from 34/654-55 to 40/660-61 were a time of crisis in Arabia, Egypt and the Fertile Crescent—a crisis which began with the dissension that arose under ‘Uthmān and led to his murder, continued with civil war between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya, and ended with the murder of ‘Alī. From the time of ‘Alī’s death we can discern at Kūfa three broad political alignments, whose preceding circumstances it is the purpose of this article to examine: the Khawārij, who had been so named since the time of the confrontation at Šiffīn and appeared in opposition both in the time of ‘Alī and immediately after; the Shī‘a, who had originally been ‘Alī’s supporters and were an opposition movement thereafter; and tribal leaders, usually termed *ashrāf al-qabā’il*, who were the intermediaries in the official power structure of ‘Irāq in the early Umayyad period. The regime in ‘Irāq from the time of Mu‘āwiya and Ziyād until the time of al-Ḥajjāj rested on a tribal organization in which tribal leaders were supposed to support, and were in turn supported by, the government. The pre-Islamic clan organization was the essential basis, but in the changed environment of a central government and the garrison towns of Kūfa and Baṣra. Fighting men (*muqātila*) were organized in tribal groups which in turn made up the *arbā’* and *akhmās* of Kūfa and Baṣra: each tribal group was made up of clans, and the units known as *‘irāfāt* were straightforward subdivisions of these. The *ashrāf al-qabā’il* were the “establishment” of ‘Irāq, and central authority, whether Umayyad or Zubayrid, was concerned to exercise power both over and through them. This state of affairs changed only with the appointment of al-Ḥajjāj, the introduction of Syrian troops into ‘Irāq and the revolt of the most prominent of the *ashrāf al-qabā’il*, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ash‘ath ibn Qays al-Kindī.

What then of the Khawārij and the Shī‘a in the early Umayyad period? The main conclusion to which this article seeks to point is that Khārijī and Shī‘ī opposition of that period was not so much directed against central authority *per se* as against the authority of the tribal leaders through whom that central authority was exercised. Their opposition differed in that at that stage the Khawārij were essentially reactionaries and the Shī‘īs revolutionaries, but they were at one in that they were advocates of an Islamic social order which had no place for

(al-Najaf, 1386/1967); Ṭab. = al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-rusul wa’l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.*, 3 series (Leiden, 1879-1901); WS = al-Minqarī, *Waq‘at Šiffīn*, ed. A. M. Hārūn, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1382/1962-63).

the traditional type of tribal leadership. Their ideas of the form that this Islamic social order should take naturally differed; the Khawārij harked back to the disorganized days of 'Umar, while the Shī'a idealized the egalitarian policy of 'Alī and gradually evolved the notion of an infallible *imām*. The formative stages of each were conditioned by their opposition to the existing tribal order. In the case of the Khawārij, it can be noted that the very word *khārijī* is defined as "one who goes out and acquires *sharaf* on his own account, without his having possessed a long-standing [*sharaf*]"³ In traditional tribal terms, *sharaf* reposed in "one who has three consecutive forbears as leaders and is himself the fourth; the *bayt* of a tribe (*qabīla*) [then rests] in him".⁴ In these terms "Khawārij" simply meant people who claimed *sharaf* but did not possess tribal *sharaf* according to traditional criteria; what the Khawārij did in fact claim was an "Islamic" *sharaf* and the attendant privileges accorded to 'Irāqī early-comers in the time of 'Umar, and it was in defence of these that they clashed with government-backed tribal leaders.

The Shī'a in the early Umayyad period consisted (i) of some Kūfan early-comers who had been among 'Alī's supporters but subsequently had no rôle to play in the government-backed tribal organization (e.g. Ḥujr ibn 'Adī al-Kindī, who was totally eclipsed by Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath al-Kindī), and (ii) predominantly of newcomer tribesmen, many of whom had not reached Kūfa until the time of 'Alī or later, who resisted the authority of the established tribal leadership in the hope of bettering their condition. Certain Kindī, Hamdānī and Bajalī groups who first emerge as 'Alī's most zealous supporters reemerge as supporters of Ḥujr ibn 'Adī, al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī and al-Mukhtār ibn Abī 'Ubayd. In the extremely detailed, almost step-by-step account by Abū Mikhnaf of the victory of al-Mukhtār over the tribal leaders,⁵ it becomes abundantly clear that al-Mukhtār's Kūfan support was in the tribal *jabbānas* and that the tribal leaders themselves lived in Kūfa proper. Now whatever the *jabbānas* had been at an earlier stage of the evolution of the city of Kūfa—whether graveyards or simply open

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³ Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-'arab* (Cairo, A.H. 1300-1307), III, 74, where the sense is further illustrated in a line by Kuthayyir: *abū Marwān^a lasta bi-Khārijīyyⁱⁿ // wa-laysa qadīm^u majdika bi'ntihāl[']*.

⁴ Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Cairo, A.H. 1285), XVII, 106 (cited by W. W. Rajkowski, "Early Shī'ism in 'Irāq" [Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1955], 16).

⁵ Ṭab. II, 613ff.; BA. V, 224ff.; A'th. I, fols. 226b ff., II, fols. 1b ff.

spaces for the grazing and watering of animals—it is plain that by that stage they had been built upon as more people settled at Kūfa; they had been the obvious, indeed the only, places where newcomers during the previous twenty odd years had been able to settle. When al-Mukhtār revolted, the tribal leaders went out and unsuccessfully tried to take control of their respective *jabbānas*; thereafter they were concerned to prevent the Shī'a from entering "old" Kūfa, as the attention paid by Abū Mikhnaf to fighting where the streets debouched (*afwāh al-sikak*) shows.⁶ When they entered "old" Kūfa, the Shī'a besieged the tribal leaders in the citadel. Their short-lived victory was one of rebellious tribesmen over the established tribal leadership. The important point about al-Mukhtār's famous rantings was that they foretold a collapse of the established tribal leadership and a redistribution of wealth.⁷

In the early Umayyad period, then, the social order at Kūfa, and elsewhere, was essentially an order of clans and tribes, rendered different from the pre-Islamic order only in so far as central authority and garrison town arrangements were conducive to an unprecedented cohesion. This tribal order was fostered by Mu'āwiya as a basic feature of the Umayyad power structure. With it came the end of a short-lived attempt in the period of the Patriarchal Caliphs to promote a different kind of social order. To this period we now turn, beginning with some general remarks about the caliphate of 'Umar.

349 II. It is clear from 'Umar's actions that his overriding political aim was the preservation of the Medinan hegemony set up by Muḥammad and maintained by Abū Bakr in the face of the serious threat posed by the *ridda* leaders. He sought to achieve this purpose by vesting leadership and other powers in those whose loyalty was to, and whose interests lay in, the preservation of that hegemony; hence the prominent rôle played by *ṣaḥāba*, Anṣār and others possessed of Islamic *sābiqa* (priority or precedence) during his caliphate. He sought to establish this *sābiqa* as the main criterion of worth in a system of social organization and control which would provide an over-all unity in society, embracing the changing and fluid patterns of ephemeral alliances between clans and groups of clans. The underpinning of this organization was to be the

⁶ Tab. II, 626; A'th. II, fol. 3b. Note that BA. V, 225 refers also to *sikak al-umarā'* within "old" Kūfa.

⁷ BA. V, 235-36; A'th. I, fol. 236a, II, fol. 5a.

“Islamic leadership”—supporters of Medinan hegemony, propounders of an accompanying ideology, and counterweights to the influence of forces for disunity; notable among these last were the former *ridda* leaders, who were specifically debarred from holding commands.⁸ When, toward the end of his caliphate, ‘Umar was confronted with the need for initiating organization to embrace the newly conquered territories, the principle of *sābiqa* was central in his proposal.

This is clear in the system of distribution of stipends laid down in 20/641, in which the three main categories were: (i) various grades of Muhājirūn and Anṣār, who received from 5,000 to 3,000 dirhams *per annum*, (ii) people involved in the operations preceding Yarmūk and Qādisīya (*ahl al-ayyām*) and people who were at Yarmūk or Qādisīya, who received 3,000 and 2,000 respectively, and (iii) *rawādif* (people who came after [Yarmūk or Qādisīya]), who were in a variety of grades, depending on the time when they first participated in the conquests; there is some disagreement about these grades, but they probably ranged from 1,500 to 200 dirhams *per annum*. At both Kūfa and Baṣra the ‘*irāfa* became a unit for the distribution of 100,000 dirhams; twenty men at 3,000 plus allowances for dependents in the case of *ahl al-ayyām*, forty-three men at 2,000 plus dependents in the case of *ahl al-Qādisīya*, and sixty men at 1,500 plus dependents in the case of the first wave of *rawādif* (*al-rādifa al-ūlā*). ‘Umar’s *dīwān* of 20/641 made use of genealogical arrangement, as his employment of experts on genealogy (*nussāb*) shows, but the principle of Islamic priority was what counted. In most cases ‘*irāfas* were probably composed of people from the same clan, but an ‘*irāfa* was essentially a group of people with identical Islamic priority.⁹

At first sight it may seem that this principle of Islamic priority, which at a certain level constituted an acknowledgement of the privilege of the *provincial* early-comer, had little or no further place in decisions concerning the land itself, for ‘Umar decided that the Sawād should not be divided among its conquerors but should instead be reserved for “those Muslims who come after us”. By this decision, which authorities other than Sayf ibn ‘Umar describe as a decision to make the Sawād

⁸ e.g. Ṭab. I, 2225, 2327, 2617.

⁹ Ṭab. I, 2412–13, 2496; BF, 449; IS III, pt. i, 213–15; al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta‘rīkh*, ed. M. T. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883), II, 175; see also G. R. Puijn, *Der Dīwān von ‘Umar ibn al-Ḥattāb* (Bonn, 1970) and a review of this in *BSOAS* 34 (1971).

350 *fay'* for the Muslims, the population of the Sawād were to be allowed to cultivate the land as people under protection (*dhimma*) and to pay taxes; Sayf ibn 'Umar always refers to this type of land as *ṣulḥ* or *dhimma* land. |It was to be the inalienable (*mawqūf*) property of the Kūfans and the revenues from it, termed *jizā'* by Sayf, were to be used to pay their stipends, which constituted payment for the maintenance of the *dhimma*; no fifth was to be sent to Medina from this revenue, and any surplus was to be divided among those who were entitled to stipends.¹⁰ However, this decision, although it applied to the bulk of the Sawād, did not apply to *all* of it and provincial Islamic priority did in fact count further in connexion with a second category of land, which was not *dhimma* land and is consistently referred to by Sayf as *fay'*. This was the land generally called *ṣāfiya* (plural *ṣawāfi*), which term is also used by Sayf, and consisted of land that had belonged to the Sasanian king, his family and those who had fled with him, and of various other types of land such as swamps, thickets, roads and post-stations. Sayf's account says that this land was for the exclusive use of the original conquerors, whom he terms "*ahl al-fay'* . . . *wa-hum ahl al-Madā'in*", that is those who had been at the conquest of Madā'in in 16/637. 'Umar ruled that they might divide it and settle in it as they wished, provided that one-fifth went to him, but Sayf goes on to say that the division of the *ṣawāfi* land did not come about because it was scattered throughout the Sawād and because those who were entitled to it decided that they should not disperse; in addition it is probable that some of them were by that stage remote from 'Irāq. They therefore established the *ṣawāfi* land as an inalienable bequest (*ḥabis*) for themselves, and put in charge of it "those with whom they were satisfied". It was this class of land that *ahl al-fay'* claimed for themselves (*yastad'āhu ahl al-fay'*), says Sayf, not the main part of the Sawād (*lā 'uẓm al-Sawād*).¹¹

The arrangement was, then, that the early-comers were to be entitled not only to large stipends out of the *dhimma* revenues, and so to proportionately large shares in any division of the surplus of those

¹⁰ Ṭab. I, 2418; BF, 384 (and 453 for an example of the distribution of the surplus); Ibn Sallām, *Al-Amwāl* (Cairo, A.H. 1353), nos. 151, 153. See also D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 20-21.

¹¹ Ṭab. I, 2371-72, 2467-69. See also BF, 272-73; Ibn Sallām, *Al-Amwāl*, no. 694; Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharāj* (Cairo, A.H. 1302), 32; and cf. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax*, 26.

revenues, but also to exclusive enjoyment of four-fifths of the revenue of the *ṣawāfi* lands. That this arrangement amounted to an attempt to regularize and limit what they had already arrogated to themselves cannot be in doubt. When it comes to asking how quickly and comprehensively this arrangement was carried out, however, it seems that there are no grounds for believing that 'Umar's decisions of 20/641 were put into effect immediately. He made a start on the *dīwān* in 20, but it was almost certainly unfinished by the time of his death at the end of 23.¹² Similarly, the decision about the Sawād was taken in 20 but its implementation could not even begin as long as areas of the Sawād were not effectively pacified;¹³ only then could the business of distinguishing between *dhimma* and *ṣawāfi* start. In short, it was only at the tail end of 'Umar's caliphate that the beginnings of administrative organization in 'Irāq appeared; and by then the early-comers had enjoyed what amounted to a free run of the area for five years or more.

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Of the various centres in territories conquered by the Arabs in the time of 'Umar, Kūfa was the one centre at which his envisaged political and social order seemed for a time most likely to succeed in taking root. At the beginning of his volume of Kūfan biographies, Ibn Sa'd records a number of traditions according to which 'Umar referred to the Kūfans as *ra's ahl al-Islām*, *jumjumāt al-Islām*, and so on,¹⁴ and we are entitled to ask why the Syrians or, say the Baṣrans, were not singled out for such comment. The answer to this seems to be that the system which 'Umar aspired to establish was best served by the heterogeneity of the Kūfan population. Those Arabs who seized the first opportunity to fight and accordingly went to Syria were organized in relatively large and cohesive groupings. In the Baṣran territories, Tamīmīs and Bakrīs predominated and only a handful of about 300 early-comers had come from further away. At Kūfa, on the other hand, such early-comers from a distance perhaps numbered 10,000 or more¹⁵ and were of a miscellaneous composition in which there was a relative absence of large dominating clans or groups of clans. This reflected an important feature of the early conquests, that is, that Syria was first regarded as the main front, and then Jazīra, while 'Irāq was regarded as

¹² Ṭab. I, 2752; BF, 452; IS III, pt. i, 214.

¹³ Note e.g. the pacification of Zandaward in 21/642 (Khal., 122).

¹⁴ IS VI, 1-3.

¹⁵ See Ṭab. I, 2222, 2236, 2356; BF, 255-56; Khal., 101.

a secondary front.¹⁶ The hodge-podge Arab force which was victorious at Qādisiya consisted of (i) a number of small and mostly sedentary Ḥijāzī and Yemeni groups, at least some of which were mustered by 'Umar and could be spared for 'Irāq because of Arab success in Syria in 14/635, (ii) a miscellany of settled and nomadic groups who lived between Ḥijāz and 'Irāq and gravitated to the front, and (iii) fragmented groups of bordering nomadic Bakrīs and Tamīmīs, who had long been accustomed to raiding into Sasanian 'Irāq. The founding (*ikhṭiṭāt*) of Kūfa, which marked the beginning of a holding operation in 'Irāq while the Jazīra front was activated in the north, probably involved all of type (i) and most of type (ii), but the provision made for groups of type (iii) from Rabī'a (i.e. Bakr and others) and Tamīm was small: evidently most of them returned to their nomadic habits in their adjacent home territory when they were not fighting, and there can be little doubt that they also spilled over into the newly conquered territories, where the grazing was superior. The *khṭat* of Kūfa were therefore primarily intended for those who had come from further away. 'Umar's notion was that Kūfa should be *dār hijra* for the Muslims, and these settlers were the *muhājirīn* of Kūfa.¹⁷ Their heterogeneous composition led 'Umar to hope that his Islamic experiment would meet with success among them, with the influence of clan leaders being submerged in the body of early-comers and the '*irāfa* system and the fellowship of *hijra* forming the accepted basis of society. The presence of 370 early *ṣaḥāba* domiciled at Kūfa presumably fortified him in that hope.¹⁸

352 III. The veneer of unity under Medinan hegemony was maintained during the caliphate of 'Umar, but it was a veneer that had worn thin by the time of his death in 23/644. Once there was a lull in military activities and men began to be concerned with carving up the proceeds, and once there was need for the establishing of some sort of civil administration rather than the exercising of plain military leadership, the problem of maintaining unity became more complex and the remoteness of Medina proved more of a handicap. The conqueror of Egypt, 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ, came near to overt disobedience; in Syria the Abū Sufyān family was quick to build on its pre-Islamic interests there and entrench itself;

¹⁶ See Tab. I, 2488ff.

¹⁷ Tab. I, 2360; BF, 275.

¹⁸ IS VI, 4.

and at Kūfa there grew up during the years 20/641 to 29/649–50 a state of tension in which the main elements were: (i) the existence of a body of early-comers, privileged by their *sābiqa*, (ii) the arrival of newcomers (*rawādif*); (iii) the power of clan leaders; (iv) the continuing attempt to organize conquered territory; and (v) the slowing down, almost to a standstill, of the thrust of Kūfan expansion that followed Nihāwand.

During the years 20 to 29 there emerged at Kūfa and in the Kūfan territories a situation in which the posture of many, but not all, of the Kūfan early-comers assumed an “old-guard” character. One of the causes of this lay in the influx of so-called *rawādif*, who had come to Kūfa after the original settlers and so received smaller stipends, had not shared in the early great hauls of booty and, up to 20/641, were kept on an inactive front. It is therefore scarcely surprising that once the conquests of Syria, Egypt and Jazīra were effected and there was no longer any reason for preventing a large-scale eastward offensive, these newcomers were the readiest of the Kūfans to volunteer their services;¹⁹ moreover there took place after the battle of Nihāwand (21/642) an important modification of the principle of Islamic priority when the stipends of new-comers who had “shown valour” there were raised to the level of the stipends of *ahl al-Qādisīya*, that is 2,000 dirhams each.²⁰ It is probable that the influx of newcomers increased from that time, for Arab control of ‘Irāq was now assured while previously it had been tenuous, and the Kūfan holding operation had constituted a recognition of the possibility that it might be lost if pressure on the Byzantine front became too great. The figure of 40,000 Kūfan fighting men at the time of the appointment of al-Walīd ibn ‘Uqba to Kūfa (24/645 or 25/646)²¹ gives some idea of the number of newcomers by then, for the total number of Arabs who had fought at Qādisīya can in no circumstance be regarded as having exceeded 30,000²² and not all of these had stayed in Kūfan territory;²³ moreover, it is by no means certain that all who had done so were willing to serve as fighting men ten years later. As a result of the arrival of newcomers at Kūfa, reports Sayf ibn ‘Umar in his account of the *ikhṭiṭāt*, there was a rapid change of the pattern of settlement as it

¹⁹ Ṭab. I, 2616.

²⁰ Ṭab. I, 2633.

²¹ Ṭab. I, 2805.

²² See particularly Ṭab. I, 2222.

²³ Ṭab. I, 2414.

353 had originally been when the allotments were made over to *ahl-ayyām wa'l-Qādisīya*; when the newcomers became numerous the allotments became too small, so that those whose newcomer fellow clansmen were particularly numerous left their original allotments and joined them, while those whose newcomers were less numerous either were able to settle them in vacated allotments or else had to make room for them at the cost of discomfort to themselves.²⁴ An evident result of this influx was that the proportion of early-comers to the total number of fighting men was diminished and in these circumstances tension between early-comers and newcomers might be expected. But Sayf's reference to some early-comers being joined by many newcomers while others were not shows that the situation was more complex than that, for it presaged a distinction within the ranks of the early-comers.

Turning to the clan leaders, the extent to which their influence in Kūfa was in fact held in check should not be exaggerated. In particular, the prominent rôle in the conquests of some former *ridda* leaders sheds doubt on the effectiveness of 'Umar's ruling debarring them from holding commands. Al-Ash'ath ibn Qays, for example, joined Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ' army with a following of 1,700 Yemenis and, soon after this, he figured in the battle of Qādisīya at the head of 700 Kindīs.²⁵ As a former *murtadd* he must be assumed "officially" to have been the leader of less than 100 men,²⁶ but many more than 100 evidently regarded him as their leader. By the time of Nihāwand there appears to have been some relaxation of the ruling, for only two men, namely 'Amr ibn Ma'dīkarib and Ṭulayḥa ibn Khuwaylid, were barred by name from holding command, without the reason being given explicitly,²⁷ and al-Ash'ath is both named in the chain of deputy commanders and mentioned as commander of the right flank.²⁸ In short, the conspicuous rôle on the battle field of a leader such as al-Ash'ath suggests that at other times his influence was masked rather than effectively counterbalanced by the policy of Islamic leadership. There were moreover other clan leaders who had not been *murtadds*, such as Jarīr ibn 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī, Sa'īd ibn Qays al-Hamdānī and Mikhnaf ibn Sulaym al-Azdī, and they

²⁴ Tab. I, 2490-91.

²⁵ Tab. I, 2222, 2335.

²⁶ See e.g. Tab. I, 2327.

²⁷ Tab. I, 2617.

²⁸ BF, 303, 305. See also Tab. I, 2645.

too stood to gain in stature if they were joined by *rawādif* connected with their respective clans.

A further element that needs to be taken into account in considering Kūfan political change during the years 20 to 29 was a widespread early-comer sensitivity to any apparent increase of Medinan control. ‘Umar’s decisions concerning the *dīwān* and the disposition of the Sawād were made in 20/641, but they can only gradually have been put into effect, and it seems likely that Jarīr ibn ‘Abdallāh and others opposed ‘Ammār ibn Yāsir when he was governor (probably 22/643) and secured his dismissal precisely because ‘Ammār sought to exercise more authority than they were prepared to allow him. The raising of the stipends of some of the Nihāwand *rawādif* may well have been one source of contention, and it was probably to exercise closer control over the Sawād that ‘Ammār |planned to move his base to Madā’in;²⁹ this intention was vigorously 354 opposed by Jarīr ibn ‘Abdallāh, who had interests in the Ḥulwān area.³⁰ This reaction against ‘Ammār, however, was merely a foretaste of further early-comer reactions at Kūfa in the time of ‘Uthmān’s governor al-Walīd ibn ‘Uqba, whose efforts to apply organizational measures involved a measure of control which was regarded as entirely unwarrantable. For example, we are told that there was set up, on ‘Uthmān’s instructions, a guest house administered by Ibn Mas‘ūd, who was at that time in charge of the treasury, for those grain-dealers, notably Kalbīs, whose clans were not represented at Kūfa, and that there was a strong objection to this arrangement from an early-comer, Abū Sammāl al-Asadī, who had hitherto taken upon himself the lodging of such people.³¹ Since most of the taxation of the Sawād was probably paid in the form of grain, we should evidently understand this as a move in the direction of governmental control of that taxation. The basic issue was, then, that of the authority of Medinan hegemony represented by ‘Uthmān and al-Walīd as against the right of Kūfans to take the law into their own hands, and there are numerous illustrations of this issue in the course of al-Walīd’s governorship. We find ‘Uthmān ordering the execution of some Kūfan youths who had killed a man, and verses about the

²⁹ Tab. I, 2484.

³⁰ See e.g. Tab. I, 2677.

³¹ Tab. I, 2842. Abū Sammāl had fought at Qādisīya (BA/MS II, 737); W. Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī* (Leiden, 1966), II, 513 (Sim‘ān ibn Hubayra).

affair show a clear objection to his interference in what was regarded as a purely domestic matter.³² The same was true in the case of the killing of the conjuror, which is extensively mentioned in the sources.³³ A further example of increasing control can be seen in al-Walid's granting of small allowances to slaves and others who were not in receipt of stipends,³⁴ so reducing further a surplus which was presumably already depleted by the payment of stipends to *rawādif*. It is therefore scarcely surprising that Sayf ibn 'Umar remarks upon al-Walid's popularity among the "*āmma*" (by which we should perhaps understand *rawādif* of all kinds, whether or not they received stipends) and the hostility towards him among the "*khāṣṣa*" (i.e. early-comers with maximum stipends [*sharaf al-'aṭā'*] and other privileges).³⁵ Finally, there was the dispute between al-Walid and Ibn Mas'ūd about some money borrowed by al-Walid from the treasury. Ibn Mas'ūd pressed for repayment, and 'Uthmān, in writing to him to refrain, prefaced this instruction with the words "You are merely a treasurer for us";³⁶ Ibn Mas'ūd forthwith relinquished his custodianship, declaring that he had thought himself to be "treasurer for the Muslims".³⁷ His departure marked an important stage in the fading-out of the old-style representatives of Islamic unity under Medinan hegemony.

The final element in Kūfan developments between 20 and 29 was the slowing down almost to a standstill of the great thrust of Kūfan expansion which followed Nihāwand. This is not to say that any specific effort was made to maintain the momentum; on the contrary, it is probable that a fear of over-extension prevailed. Our information about the 40,000 fighting men at the time of al-Walid's appointment says that 10,000 would each year and by rotation campaign at the two Kūfan marches (sing. *thaghr*) of Rayy (4,000) and Ādharbayjān (6,000).³⁸ It therefore appears that these two fronts were to be held but not necessarily advanced, and this continued to be the case during al-Walid's

³² Ṭab. I, 2840-41.

³³ Note particularly al-Walid's reported warning to the Kufans "*allā yuqīmū 'l-hudūd dūna 'l-sultān. fa-inna nuqayyid al-mukhtā' wa-nu'addib al-muṣīb*" (Ṭab. I, 2845-46; BA. V, 31-32).

³⁴ Ṭab. I, 2845.

³⁵ See particularly Ṭab. I, 2849; also 2813, 2840, 2850.

³⁶ BA. V, 30-31 (*innamā anta khāzin lanā*).

³⁷ BA. V, 36.

³⁸ Ṭab. I, 2805.

governorship. Of Rayy during this period there is little information, but it is evident that the limit was reached with the Dasht-i Kabīr on the one hand and the mountains of Ṭabaristān on the other; Arab control of much of the territory short of that was tenuous, and at Rayy itself there were revolts by the local population.³⁹ In the case of Ādharbayjān (i.e. Ardabīl and surrounding territory), more material is available, although much of it is fragmentary and confusing, particularly as far as chronology is concerned; but here too the Arabs were preoccupied with holding on to the area initially conquered and there are no grounds for believing that they made any lasting conquests north of the Araxes while al-Walīd was governor of Kūfa and its territories.⁴⁰

Viewed in general terms, Kūfan tension in the latter part of the governorship of al-Walīd stemmed from a reaction to central Medinan authority, and al-Walīd's opponents succeeded in ridding themselves of him by pressing charges which were considered proved according to the legal standards of the time. The hostility towards al-Walīd came from among the early-comers, but that does not mean that it came from all the early-comers in equal measure. Rather, the most active opponents appear to have been people about whom the sources have little to say in earlier contexts;⁴¹ of particular interest is the information that there were among them persons who had been dismissed from appointments by al-Walīd.⁴² In fine, the evidence points to the conclusion that his most active opponents were the least influential of the early-comer leaders, that is leaders of clan splinter groups, who were the most sensitive to any change and who, because they had the smallest followings, were the most tenacious of the order promoted by 'Umar. The relative importance of such people was diminishing with the arrival of *rawādif*, who joined other clan leaders and constituted a drain on resources which were not being increased by further expansion; since their status as early-comers was not supplemented by status as clan leaders of any importance, they necessarily took a reactionary position.

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³⁹ BF, 319; Khal., 131-32.

⁴⁰ On Ādharbayjān during this period, see BF, 197-98, 325ff.; Ṭab. I, 2334-35, 266off., 2805-9, II, 977; Khal., 132, 135, 138-39; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, new ed. in progress (Leiden and London, 1960-), I, 636, s.v. "Armīniya" (M. Canard).

⁴¹ For names, see Ṭab. I, 2852; BA. V, 32. Note particularly Yazīd ibn Qays al-Arḥabī and Mālik al-Ashtar al-Nakha'ī.

⁴² Ṭab. I, 2848.

The situation that confronted 'Uthmān was clear. Having succeeded to the caliphate mainly as a result of his readiness to declare his adherence to the existing order in its entirety, and having set out to implement the organizational measures initiated by 'Umar, he found that the control necessary for such implementation was rendered unpalatable for many Kūfan early-comers by the circumstances consequent upon a lack of new conquests and a continuing influx of newcomers. The obvious solution was to find fresh Kūfan conquests to relieve the increasing strain on the existing territories; in the Baṣran territories too there were pressures for expansion, although circumstances differed there in some important respects. 'Uthmān expected that once new conquests provided the necessary outlet for newcomers a desirable *modus vivendi* could be reached with the early-comers, who would enjoy their privileges in the territory conquered by them: so much is clear from his policy statement of 29/649-50 that "conquered territories belong to those who first took charge of them".⁴³

IV. The appointment of Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ to Kūfa in 29/649-50, and that of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir to Baṣra at about the same time, marked the beginning of a new phase of eastward expansion, in two thrusts. Only the Baṣran thrust, however, met with success; Ibn 'Āmir consolidated the Arab hold on Fārs, made a victorious advance through Kirmān and Sīstān, and entered Sasanian Khurāsān. Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ, on the other hand, failed to get beyond Qūmis and Ṭabaristān, and the route was in fact for long after rendered insecure and often impassable by the hostile mountain people of the area. Sa'īd therefore turned his attention to the northern front, where Arab held territory adjoined Khazar territory, but here too the Kūfans made no headway and instead sustained a serious defeat at the battle of Balanjar in 31/651-52.

The consequence of the failure of these attempts to increase Kūfan territories by conquest was that, whatever Sa'īd may earlier have had in mind when he settled forces at Ardabīl, as well as at Qazwīn,⁴⁴ these places remained frontier garrisons and he continued to be faced with the problem of excessive strain on the resources of the existing conquered territories. Certainly he was unable in these circumstances to adhere to 'Uthmān's edict that "the conquered territories belong to those who

⁴³ Ṭab. I, 2825-26 (*wa-ammā 'l-futūḥ fa-li-awwal man waliyahā*).

⁴⁴ BF, 322.

first took charge of them". The best that he could do was to take some pressure off the Kūfan *miṣr* by keeping the larger groups in the territories, and as a consequence the distinctions already adumbrated began to become clearer, with the leading early-comers falling into three broad categories: (i) the strongest clan leaders, who acquired increased power in the territories and were followed by both early-comers and newcomers; (ii) less influential clan leaders, with smaller followings; (iii) leaders of clan splinter groups.

In connexion with the first category, an important development was the appointment of al-Ash'ath ibn Qays al-Kindī in Ādharbayjān, where he had been left by al-Walīd after an operation in 28/648–49, and the despatch to him of large numbers of people who were to form a permanently settled force based at Ardabīl.⁴⁵ That a leader with al-Ash'ath's background should receive an appointment was clearly a major departure from the existing order, so much so that Sayf ibn 'Umar considers it relevant to allude to it in connexion with the Arab defeat at Balanjar, which, he says, took place

when the Kūfans had been changed about in the rule of 'Uthmān because of his appointments of those who had [earlier] apostatized, [thereby] seeking concord for them (i.e. the Kūfans). [But] that did not set them to rights; [rather] it increased them in corruption that those who led them sought earthly things.⁴⁶

Another important example, this time involving a man who had not been a *rida* leader, can be seen in 33/653–54, when one of a number of new appointments made by Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ was the appointment to Rayy of Sa'īd ibn Qays al-Hamdānī;⁴⁷ he came from one of the most influential families of Hamdān, namely the Āl Marib of the clan of al-Sabī', and his importance as a mobilizer of Hamdān had earlier been recognized by 'Umar.⁴⁸

At the other end of the scale, there was displacement from various territories of early-comers whose status was more "Islamic" than tribal. In the case of Ādharbayjān we possess a list of names of such persons,

⁴⁵ BF, 328–29.

⁴⁶ Ṭab. I, 2668.

⁴⁷ Ṭab. I, 2927.

⁴⁸ Al-Hamdānī, *Al-Iklīl*, vol. X, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb (Cairo, A.H. 1368), 41ff., 115.

and it is evident that they were withdrawn immediately after the battle of Balanjar.⁴⁹ Attention should also be paid to Mu'āwiya's organization of Jazīra,⁵⁰ the governorship of which had certainly been added to his governorship of Syria by 26/646-47.⁵¹

Arab forces from 'Irāq had earlier participated in the conquest of Jazīra, and it is significant that such 'Irāqī early-comers as al-Musayyab ibn Najaba al-Fazārī, Mālik al-Ashtar al-Nakha'ī and Ṣa'ṣa'a ibn Šūḥān al-'Abdī, who had been among those forces, receive further mention in the context of the Kūfan *miṣr* only from about 29/649-50 onwards. The evidence is scanty, but suggests that these people were displaced by Mu'āwiya's organization. Further east, we find that at the time of the appointment of Sa'īd ibn Qays al-Hamdānī to Rayy. Yazīd ibn Qays al-Arḥabī was withdrawn from Hamadhān.⁵² where he had been probably since 22/643.⁵³ The scant attention paid to Yazīd ibn Qays in the *Iklīl* adds weight to the conclusion that he possessed status mainly as an Islamic leader and that in Hamdānī terms he was a nonentity.⁵⁴

358 When such examples of displacement are taken into account it becomes clear why Sayf says that in 34/654-55 "Kūfa was empty of leaders save those discharged from office or caused to fall into sedition".⁵⁵

The term *qurrā'* first occurs in the sources in the context of the governorship of Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ, and the abundant information about them makes it clear that they were early-comers of the last type described above, with al-Ashtar al-Nakha'ī and Yazīd ibn Qays al-Arḥabī being particularly prominent. We are told that Sa'īd, when he first arrived at Kūfa, sent to 'Uthmān a report in which he described the tension which had arisen there as a result of the influx of *rawadif*, and that 'Uthmān in reply counselled him to placate those possessed of Islamic priority as far as possible.⁵⁶ This, of course, was at a time when there were grounds

⁴⁹ Ṭab. I, 2891-92. Some of them are mentioned as having been at Kūfa and at al-Rabadha, near Medina, soon afterwards (Ṭab. I, 2896-97).

⁵⁰ BF, 178.

⁵¹ See BF, 183-84; Ṭab. I, 2867.

⁵² Abū 'Abdallah Muḥammad ibn Yahya ibn Abī Bakr al-Ash'arī al-Mālaqī. *Al-Tamhīd wa'l-bayan fī maqatal al-shahīd 'Uthmān*, ed. M. Y. Zāyid (Beirut, 1964). 61; cf. Ṭab. I, 2927.

⁵³ Ṭab. I, 2651.

⁵⁴ Al-Hamdānī, *Al-Iklīl*, X, 172-73.

⁵⁵ Ṭab. I, 2928 (*wa-khalat al-Kūfa min al-ru'asā' illā manzu' au maftūn*).

⁵⁶ Ṭab. I, 2852.

for hoping that fresh Kūfan conquests would provide a solution, and Sa'īd forthwith took steps to apprise himself of the wants of the notables (*wujūh*) of *ahl al-ayyām wa'l-Qādisīya* in general, and in particular of the *qurrā'*, notably al-Ashtar.⁵⁷ What is remarkable is the length of time for which Sa'īd succeeded in placating these early-comers, for the first overt trouble did not occur until 33/653–54, on the occasion of one of his meetings with them. Then a disagreement about the Sawād led to a brawl in which al-Ashtar and others assaulted one of Sa'īd's officials; and as a result of this about a dozen *qurrā'*, including al-Ashtar, were deported to Syria.⁵⁸ While they were there, further trouble flared up at Kūfa, starting with an anonymous letter of complaint, purporting to be from the "*mala'* of Kūfan Muslims", sent to 'Uthmān by a number of *qurrā'*, notably Yazīd ibn Qays.⁵⁹ These *qurrā'* also urged al-Ashtar and the other deportees to return to Kūfa during Sa'īd's absence in Medina, and soon afterwards al-Ashtar and Yazīd were prominent in the repulse of Sa'īd from Kūfa. The Kūfans then chose Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī as their governor.⁶⁰

The term *qurrā'* had an emotive value. It can be noted for example that the forces at the battles of the Bridge, Yarmūk and Qādisīya had each had with them a *qāri'*, designated by 'Umar, whose task it was to recite *sūrat al-anfāl*, known as *sūrat al-jihād*, before the conflict; and in theory at least this *sūra* was learnt by all Muslim fighting men at that time.⁶¹ Further, 'Umar consistently laid stress on the learning of the Qur'ān and, in the period preceding the measures of 20, he appears to have given fixed annual stipends of 2,000 dirhams to all who did so.⁶² What is interesting in the present context, however, is that the actual term *qurrā'* does not occur in the sources until about the year 30/650–51, just at a time when the division within the ranks of the Kūfan early-comers was beginning to become fully apparent. The *qurrā'* were those early-comers for whom the fact that they were early-comers constituted their only real claim to status, since they lacked status as

⁵⁷ Ṭab. I, 2853; BA. V, 40.

⁵⁸ Ṭab. I, 2907–9, 2915–17, 2921; al-Ash'arī al-Mālaqī, *op. cit.* (n. 52 above), 55ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, *At-Kāmil fī 'l-tārīkh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leiden, 1851–76), III, 107–8; BA. V, 41; A'th. I, fols. 7a ff.; al-İṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, XI, 29–30.

⁵⁹ BA. V, 41; A'th. I, fol. 10a.

⁶⁰ Ṭab. I, 2928; BA. V, 44–45; A'th. I, fol. 13a.

⁶¹ Ṭab. I, 2095, 2182, 2294, 2295, 2749.

⁶² IS VII, pt. i, 89, 94; Ibn Sallām, *At-Amwāl*, nos. 641–42; BF, 377, 456.

clan leaders of any importance at all. To someone like Mu'āwiya they appeared simply as greedy and ungrateful parvenus, and he was not slow to say as much to those who were deported to Syria; his assessments of them that they “*ya'tūna 'l-nās—za'amū—min qibal al-qur'ān*” and so forth, and “*innamā hammuhum al-fitna wa-amwāl ahl al-dhimma*” are particularly noteworthy.⁶³

So far it has been suggested that the *qurrā'* were those of the early-comers who had the smallest followings; there were of course other early-comer *wujūh* who were not *qurrā'*, and the reaction of the *qurrā'* was largely against the growing influence of some of these as clan leaders and against 'Uthmān and Sa'īd for allowing this to happen. The lack of fresh conquests was in the background, and it has already been pointed out that this, at a time of newcomer influx, meant that resources did not increase while demand on those resources did; one *casus belli* of the *qurrā'* in 34/654–55 was a threatened or actual reduction of stipends and subsistence allowances.⁶⁴ Of even more importance, however, was the question of the Sawād, which was the issue behind the brawl of 33/653–54, was a subject used by al-Ashtar to excite hostility to Sa'īd and 'Uthmān in 34/654–55, and was the object of the attention of the *qurrā'* on the occasion of their repulse of Sa'īd in the same year.⁶⁵ Here the *qurrā'* were reacting to the consequences of organizational measures which affected the Sawād; al-Walīd had begun the work of applying uniform administration and Sa'īd continued it.⁶⁶ Of particular interest in this context was 'Uthmān's decision concerning what Sayf calls the *fay'* (i.e. the *ṣawāfi*) of the Sawād to liberate the shares of “those of the Medinans who witnessed Qādisiya and Madā'in and who [subsequently] stayed (i.e. kept to Medina) and did not make *hijra* to 'Irāq” by permitting the transfer of their rights to such land in exchange for land nearer Medina (i.e. in the Ḥijāz and southern Arabia). The proportion representing the share of such Medinans was calculated, and with general concurrence there was effected an exchange, as a result of

⁶³ Tab. I, 2913, 2920.

⁶⁴ Tab. I, 2929, 2934; al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aḡham*, XI, 31; S. A. al-Ah. *Al-Tanzīmāt al-iqtisādīya wa'l-ijtima'īya fi 'l-Baṣra fi 'l-qarn al-awwal al-hijrī*, 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1969), 167–68.

⁶⁵ Tab. I, 2929; BA, V, 45–46; A'th. I, fols. 13b–14a.

⁶⁶ Note e.g. that Sa'īd was “*awwal man waḡa'a 'l-'ushūr 'alā 'l-jusūr wa'l-qanāṭir*” (al-Maqdisī, *Al-Bad' wa'l-ta'rikh*, ed. C. Huart [Paris, 1899–1919], V, 201).

which Ṭalḥa ibn 'Ubaydallāh, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, al-Ash'ath ibn Qays and "men from the tribes (*qabā'il*) in 'Irāq" came to possess considerable areas of what had hitherto been *ṣawāfi* in 'Irāq, acquired in place of property owned by them elsewhere.⁶⁷

Now it is clear that one effect of this measure was to strengthen further the position, *vis-à-vis* other early-comers, of Kūfan clan leaders who owned land in | western or southern Arabia. Indeed it can be noted that this is the first use in the sources of the word *qabā'il* in a Kūfan context. Al-Ash'ath is named, and Sa'īd ibn Qays al-Hamdānī could easily have been another; on the other hand, leaders from northern Arabia did not benefit by this, and it is unlikely that a man such as Yazīd ibn Qays can have had much or indeed any land in southern Arabia with which to effect an exchange.⁶⁸ These observations, however, do no more than illustrate a point which has already been made, that is that there were variations in the influence of different early-comer leaders, and cannot have been the main point at issue as far as the Sawād was concerned. We are specifically told that there was no objection to the arrangement from those who were entitled to *ṣawāfi* land, and it would seem that this was because (i) they did not dispute the entitlement of those Medinans, and (ii) implicit in the arrangement was a confirmation of the exclusive right of the remaining original conquerors to what was left of the *ṣawāfi*. An important consequence of the arrangement, however, was that it necessitated the determining of what was *dhimma* land and what was *ṣawāfi* with an exactitude which was unprecedented; up to this stage early-comers had both "protected" the *dhimma* and enjoyed exclusive rights to the *ṣawāfi*, and little or no actual distinction can ever have been drawn in practice. Sa'īd, in regularizing the position, was interfering with *de facto* privileges of fifteen years standing or more; and it is here that the point of Mu'āwiya's remark "*innamā hammuhum al-fitna wa-amwāl ahl al-dhimma*" comes out clearly. This issue constituted the main *casus belli* of the *qurrā'* against Sa'īd; in an operation led by al-Ashtar and Yazīd ibn Qays and consisting of several groups numbering between 500 and 1,000, to a total of over 3,000, the *qurrā'* repulsed Sa'īd and took control of the Sawād.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Ṭab. I, 2854-55.

⁶⁸ Arḥab were from the *a'rāb* of Hamdān—see Ṭab. III, 2487; IS VI, 172; Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab*, II, 47, 66-67.

⁶⁹ BA. V, 45-46; A'th. I, fols. 13b-14a.

The figure of 3,000 indicates that the *qurrā'* represented an extreme body of opinion in the *miṣr*, not a majority opinion; in particular, al-Ashtar and the others had been agitating for the removal of 'Uthmān, but this view was not shared by a more moderate body of early-comer opinion there (i.e. leaders of clan groups), who took a neutral position at the time of Sa'īd's repulse. This situation explains why Abū Mūsā, when requested by al-Ashtar to take charge of the *ṣalāt*, stipulated the expression of obedience to 'Uthmān, and why al-Ashtar and the others had to accept this compromise. Moreover at least two leaders, one of them Jarīr ibn 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī, moved at this time to the *miṣr* from their posts in the territories and did not leave until after Abū Mūsā had taken over, by which time they had presumably satisfied themselves that the situation in Kūfa would remain stable.⁷⁰ The *modus vivendi* achieved at Kūfa in 34/654-55 therefore rested on a middle position in which direct Umayyad control was removed but a semblance of Islamic unity was preserved. Abū Mūsā | was to hold a Kūfan balance between the Ashtar group, the moderates at the *miṣr* and the leaders who were in the territories, and was at the same time to act as an intermediary between the Kūfans and 'Uthmān.

V. Following the repulse of Sa'īd, there was a lull at Kūfa for a time. In Egypt, however, there was brewing a further crisis, which was caused by circumstances which were almost identical with those obtaining at Kūfa; this crisis, far from being settled locally, was transferred to Medina, was joined by other disaffected parties and led directly to the murder of 'Uthmān. This is no place for a digression on the details of these events, but it can be noted that some Kūfans participated in them and, in view of what has been said above about the compromise effected at Kūfa, the persistence of the resolve of at least some of the Ashtar group to be rid of 'Uthmān is scarcely surprising. After 'Uthmān's murder, 'Alī emerged as caliph with the backing principally of the Anṣār and the rebel provincials who had gone to Medina. In opposition to him there emerged at Mecca a body of Qurashīs, many of them *ṣaḥāba* and Muhājirūn, who, while being opposed to Umayyad domination, in fact under their masks as Muhājirūn favoured over-all Qurashī domination. The scene of the conflict moved to 'Iraq, where the Meccans mobilized tribal support in the Baṣran territories. 'Alī went to Kūfa, mobilized

⁷⁰ Ṭab. I, 2936.

support there and defeated the Meccan/Başran alliance at the battle of the Camel. Mu'āwiya remained passive in Syria throughout.

With 'Alī's move in the direction of Kūfa, Abū Mūsā's attempt to maintain the neutrality of the Kūfans failed, for in the light of 'Ā'isha's urging of the Kūfans not to support the opponents of the Meccans, his position took on the appearance of being pro-Meccan. 'Alī arrived in the neighbourhood of Kūfa with about 1,000 men and was joined by 9,000 to 10,000 Kūfans, who made up the main part of his force at the battle of the Camel soon afterwards. These were probably the main part of the early-comer Kūfans then at the *miṣr*, and the distinction among them between activists and moderates, noticed above, is aptly drawn by Sayf with the terms *nuffār* and [*ahl al-*] *jamā'a*.⁷¹ Al-Ash'ath and Jarīr ibn 'Abdallāh, who in any case were not at the *miṣr* at that time, did not join 'Alī; nor did Sa'īd ibn Qays al-Hamdānī, who was at the *miṣr*.⁷² After the battle of the Camel, 'Alī made for Kūfa, scarcely ahead of the Kūfans who had supported him, and addressed himself to the need for forming a viable 'Irāqī, but mainly Kūfan, coalition which would support him against Mu'āwiya. The evidence runs counter to any conclusion that 'Alī from the first intended to use Kūfa as a permanent capital; rather, we are told that when he reached Kūfa he did not enter the *qaṣr* there.⁷³

'Alī's need to form a coalition in which the Kūfans were by far the main constituent involved securing the support of the existing clan leaders, but at the same time holding the strongest in check and counterbalancing them where possible with leaders whose power and influence were deliberately built up by 'Alī himself. The two most important of this latter type were al-Ashtar and Ḥujr ibn 'Adī al-Kindī, while 'Adī ibn Ḥātīm was another; these three, as well as others whose positions were strengthened by 'Alī, had earlier been *qurrā'* and then what Sayf calls *nuffār*. Al-Ashtar became the leader of an entity of Madhḥij, made up (i) of his own Nakha'ī following, (ii) probably of recent Nakha'ī new-comers,⁷⁴ and

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⁷¹ e.g. Ṭab. I, 3155.

⁷² BA/MS I, 351, 363; WS, 7.

⁷³ WS, 3, 5; A'th. I, fol. 44b; IS VI, 6.

⁷⁴ Evidence for Nakha'ī and other newcomers is provided by Ibn A'tham when he (i) notes the names of a number of Yemeni leaders who came professing their allegiance to 'Alī when he was at Medina (I, fols. 24a-b) and (ii) later in his account, gives some of the same names in his list of people killed on 'Alī's side at the battle of Nahrawān (I, fol. 155b). Of particular interest are the tribal names Arḥabī, Hamdānī, Bajalī,

(iii) of two groups of Ḥārithīs and their leaders;⁷⁵ his position was further strengthened when 'Alī assigned to him the appointment over Jazīra.⁷⁶ As for Ḥujr, 'Alī's orders to al-Ash'ath went through him and he was designated leader of Kinda at Ṣiffīn;⁷⁷ the greater part of his following was probably made up of Kindī newcomers.⁷⁸ 'Adī was backed by 'Alī as the leader of all Kūfan Ṭayyi', as an incident at Ṣiffīn showed; then there was opposition to this arrangement on the part of the sub-clan of Ḥizmir,⁷⁹ to which belonged notably Zayd ibn Ḥiṣn, who had been one of the *qurrā'* in the time of 'Uthmān and at the time of Ṣiffīn was one of the *qurrā'* who "afterwards became Khawārij".

Such leaders as al-Ashtar, Ḥujr and 'Adī, together with their followers, formed the Kūfan part of 'Alī's hard core of support (*shī'a*). The bulk of the Kūfans, however, were led by clan leaders who did not owe their positions to 'Alī and accordingly were lukewarm in their support of him. Indeed the strongest of these, notably al-Ash'ath, Jarīr and Sa'īd ibn Qays, stood to lose influence in the equilibrium which 'Alī was trying to establish. However, al-Ash'ath, who remained in Ādharbayjān until just before the Ṣiffīn confrontation, decided against siding with Mu'āwiya and so making himself simply one of a number of powerful clan leaders, and instead sought, by making a formal gesture of support for 'Alī, to profit from his position as the strongest of the 'Irāqī clan leaders; clearly his interests promised to be served best by a deadlock between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. Jarīr too at first expressed formal support for 'Alī, but soon withdrew to take an ostensibly neutral position. Sa'īd ibn Qays contrived to remain as Hamdānī leader by manifesting an apparent willingness to bend to 'Alī's will. None of the clan leaders, however, had any interest in fighting Mu'āwiya; while, during early

Kindī and Nakha'ī, and the information that 'Alī sent al-Ashtar to welcome these leaders.

⁷⁵ See e.g. Ṭab. I, 3261-62; WS, 154; BA/MS I, 371; A'th. I, fol. 76b. Note also the reference to Shurayh ibn Hāni' *al-Madhḥijī* (A'th. I, fol. 94b) and to al-Ashtar as *Ashtar Madḥij* (WS, 14) and as *akhū Madḥij* (Ṭab. I, 3394).

⁷⁶ WS, 12; A'th. I, fol. 45a; BA/MS I, 333.

⁷⁷ BA/MS I, 370; WS, 205; Khal., 177.

⁷⁸ See n. 74 above. References to Kindīs who distinguished themselves at Ṣiffīn suggest that Ḥujr's following included newcomers from Banū Baddā', Banū Hind and Banū al-Ṭumḥ (see Ṭab. I, 3307-8; WS, 268, 276-77, 285-86; Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab*, I, 233, 234).

⁷⁹ Ṭab. I, 3279-80.

negotiations with Mu'āwiya, al-Ashtar and other Shī'ī leaders at Kūfa consistently urged 'Alī to attack without delay, most of the Kūfans | 363 advised him to stay as he was (*ashāra 'alayhi 'āmmat al-nās bi'l-maqām bi'l-Kūfa*).⁸⁰

From the time of 'Alī's arrival at the Kūfan *miṣr*, through the time of the confrontation at Ṣiffīn and subsequent developments in 'Irāq, and until the time of his death, the position of these two alignments remained consistent. The Shī'ī leaders urged 'Alī to fight Mu'āwiya, they were opposed to the arbitration proposal and they pledged themselves to 'Alī unconditionally.⁸¹ Most of the clan leaders, on the other hand, showed no inclination to fight Mu'āwiya, went to Ṣiffīn in a spirit of indifference, and accepted with alacrity the peace offered by the arbitration proposal. Although we know little of 'Alī's fiscal measures, we know enough to say that their egalitarian nature, which was a major cause of newcomer support for the Shī'ī leaders, was also a major cause of an attitude among the other leaders which wavered between indifference and treachery and which became more pronounced as 'Alī's position *vis-à-vis* Mu'āwiya weakened.⁸² After Ṣiffīn, 'Alī was never again able to mobilize them against Mu'āwiya.

The third and last of the Kūfan alignments was that of the *qurrā'* who "afterwards became Khawārij".⁸³ The stance of these people was much as that of the *qurrā'* in the time of 'Uthmān had been; indeed, at least some of them, such as Zayd ibn Ḥiṣn, had been *qurrā'* in the time of 'Uthmān. On the other hand, some erstwhile *qurrā'*, notably al-Ashtar, Ḥujr and 'Adī, became Shī'ī leaders under 'Alī. Another important difference was that the *qurrā'* in 'Alī's time were more numerous;⁸⁴ the earlier *qurrā'* had been from the smaller early-comer groups in the *miṣr* and perhaps the nearer parts of the Sawād, while the events leading

⁸⁰ A'th. I, fol. 51b. See also Ṭab. I, 3256.

⁸¹ Ṭab. I, 3350, 3367; BA/MS I, 387.

⁸² 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, *Kitāb nahj al-balāgha*, with the commentary of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Hibatallāh, called Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd (Cairo, 1329/1911), I, 180 (al-Madā'inī); al-Jāhīz, *Risāla fī 'l-ḥakamayn wa-taṣwīb amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib fī fi'lihi*, ed. C. Pellat in *Al-Mashriq*, 52^e année (1958), 429-30. On 'Alī's fiscal measures, see further Ṭab. I, 3227; BA/MS I, 321, 322; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 213; Ibn Sallām, *Al-Amwāl*, no. 649; A'th. I, fol. 159a.

⁸³ Ṭab. I, 3330; WS, 489-90; A'th. I, fol. 126b.

⁸⁴ They are supposed to have numbered 20,000 (see references in n. 83 above and cf. WS, 188).

up to Şifīn brought in many more such groups from further away in the Kūfan (as well as the Başran) territories.⁸⁵ At Şifīn, the basic organization of 'Alī's following was in about twenty-five clan or tribal groups,⁸⁶ each with a leader appointed or confirmed by him, and his formations and dispositions were made up of these groups. The *qurrā'*, however, are always mentioned as separate (i.e. para-clan, para-tribal) elements, which were then attached to formations.⁸⁷ A reference to an Azdī "who was among the *qurrā'* who were with 'Ammār and was killed with him", coming as it does after a list of Azdīs who were killed while fighting in the tribal grouping, provides a clear example of this para-tribal characteristic.⁸⁸ An even more striking reference is to the rallying of "*kull^a qabīlatⁱⁿ aw katībatⁱⁿ min al-qurrā'*".⁸⁹

These *qurrā'* had at first been unwilling to commit themselves to 'Alī's side,⁹⁰ but had nevertheless gone to Şifīn, where at least some of them took part in fighting.⁹¹ In their reaction to Mu'āwiya's proposal at the time of the raising of the *maşāḥif* and in their subsequent *volte-face*, we can discern more clearly what they wanted. The proposal, which was both presented as and understood as a call for peace, was in fact addressed neither to 'Alī nor to his following as a whole, but to the 'Irāqīs; Mu'āwiya was trying to isolate as much of 'Alī's Kūfan (and Başran) following as possible by appealing to their interests as 'Irāqīs, and al-Ash'ath and the clan leaders were quick to respond. Mu'āwiya's suggestion at this stage was merely that there should be two arbiters who would abide by *kitāb allāh*, and he made no specific reference to the subject about which they should act as arbiters; al-Ash'ath, who was acting as negotiator with Mu'āwiya, clearly had no interest in forcing this issue. The *qurrā'* who "afterwards became Khawārij" also insisted that 'Alī should accept the proposal, which they too understood as a call for peace, but they were acting in the belief that Mu'āwiya meant a peace in which 'Alī would be recognized as *amīr al-mu'minīn* by both

⁸⁵ See e.g. A'th. I, fol. 65b; WS, 115; Ibn al-Athūr, *Al-Kāmil fī 'l-tārīkh*, III, 230. Note also 'Adī ibn Ḥatīm's mobilization of 1,200 men in the region of Madā'in (WS, 143).

⁸⁶ WS, 205-6; Khal., 177.

⁸⁷ Ṭab. I, 3283, 3289; WS, 208, 232-33; BA/MS I, 373.

⁸⁸ Ṭab. I, 3304; WS, 263.

⁸⁹ WS, 475; cf. Ṭab. I, 3327.

⁹⁰ WS, 118.

⁹¹ e.g. Ṭab. I, 3273, 3292, 3298, 3223; WS, 196, 246, 248, 354-56.

Syrians and 'Irāqīs; they envisaged a situation in which he would return to Medina as an *amīr al-mu'minīn* after the fashion of 'Umar, confining himself to the application of the prescriptions of *kitāb allāh*, leaving 'Irāqīs and Syrians to look after their own affairs and so acting as the sort of *amīr al-mu'minīn* they wanted.⁹² The disagreement about who should be the arbiter from 'Alī's side stemmed from the fact that 'Alī wanted the arbiter to represent him, while all the Kūfans save the Shī'a wanted the arbiter to represent them; the latter prevailed in their insistence that Abū Mūsā (i.e. the representative of the state of affairs at Kūfa before 'Alī's arrival) should be named as arbiter. In the document of agreement by 'Alī and Mu'āwiya to arbitration, the task of the arbiters was defined merely as "*an yusliḥa bayna 'l-umma*" and their decision was to be regarded as binding; beyond this, however, two new features were introduced into the document: (i) the lack of acknowledgement of 'Alī, agreed to by him, as *amīr al-mu'minīn*, and (ii) the stipulation that the arbiters could refer beyond *kitāb allāh* to "*al-sunna al-'ādila al-ḥasana al-jāmi'a ghayr al-mufarriqa*".⁹³ Neither of these | troubled the Kūfan 365
 clan leaders, whose principal concern was the avoidance of fighting, but for the *qurrā'* these two new features put an entirely new complexion on the situation. Not only was 'Alī not recognized as *amīr al-mu'minīn*, far less the kind they wanted, but also the notion of *kitāb allāh* as the sole authority was so compromised as to be virtually meaningless; the exact signification of the phrase *al-sunna . . . al-jāmi'a* is not clear, and it is tempting to think that this was precisely what Mu'āwiya intended. Certainly there are no grounds for believing that he meant it as, or that the *qurrā'* understood it as, no more than Muḥammad's *sunna*;⁹⁴ and in the absence of further definition it could refer to any precedent for

⁹² The most important direct evidence for this assessment occurs on the final authority of Shaqīq ibn Salāma at WS, 517, where these people later describe what they had expected to happen, concluding "*fa-yusammā* [i.e. 'Alī should be named] *amīr*^a [the editor's reading *amīr*^u makes nonsense] *'l-mu'minīn min kull*ⁱⁿ *ḥattā yuqirrahu 'l-kitāb 'alā manzilatihī*".

⁹³ Almost identical renderings of the document are given in Ṭab. I, 3336–37; BA/MS I, 382; A'th. I, fols. 131b–132a; WS, 509–11. The differing version given by WS, 504ff. should be regarded as spurious, for reasons which this writer hopes to give in detail in the near future [see below, 67–73].

⁹⁴ See WS, 515, 516 and cf. L. Vecchia Vaglieri, "Traduzione di passi riguardanti il conflitto 'Alī-Mu'āwiya e la secessione khārigita", *Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, n.s. 5 (1953), 88–92.

unity.⁹⁵ The *qurrā'* therefore urged 'Alī to withdraw from his agreement, but he would not—and could not since the clan leaders favoured it. The *qurrā'* then took as their basic ground for opposition this fact of the compromising of *kitāb allāh* (alternatively *amr allāh*, *dīn allāh*); and their call of "*lā ḥukm^a illā li'llāh*" acquired the double signification first of calling upon 'Alī to resume hostilities against Mu'āwiya and secondly, when he refused to do so, of rejecting him as *amīr al-mu'minīn*.⁹⁶

Little remains to be said about these alignments in the time of 'Alī. When after Şifīn, he did enter the *qaṣr* at Kūfa, the implications of this as far as Kūfan autonomy was concerned were obvious.⁹⁷ Much of the *qurrā'* opposition, now called Muḥakkima, gathered at Ḥarūrā' and so became known as Ḥarūrīya. The most prominent figure among them—none other than Yazīd ibn Qays al-Arḥabī—was bought off by 'Alī with the appointment over Işfahān and Rayy.⁹⁸ and most of the rest of the Ḥarūrīya opposition broke up for a time. But it was impossible for 'Alī to build up the positions of all the less important early-comer leaders either by giving them appointments or by making them into more substantial Shī'ī-type leaders, and those whose position were not built up in this way were not prepared to acquiesce in his system of political control. 'Alī is mentioned as having retorted to the call "*lā ḥukm^a illā li'llāh*", when it was heard at Kūfa that it was "words of truth by which falsehood is intended", for those who called it out meant by it "*lā imrat^a*", while it was his belief that an *amīr* was essential.⁹⁹ Those who rejected the authority of the leaders through whom 'Alī sought to preserve unity—whether Shī'ī leaders or clan leaders in their own right—arranged to gather at Jisr Nahrawān, beyond their reach; various of these Khawārij then encountered efforts on the part of their respective fellow-clansmen to prevent this and, while some evaded these, others were forcibly restrained.¹⁰⁰ In this time of tension, the Shī'a reaffirmed their unconditional oath to 'Alī. The arbitration had meanwhile degenerated into a fruitless discussion of how blame for 'Uthmān's death should be

⁹⁵ I am grateful to Professor R. B. Serjeant for pointing out the pre-Islamic use of the phrase *ḥilf jāmi' ghayr mufarriq* (see e.g. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-munammaq fī akhbār Quraysh* [Hyderabad, 1384/1964], 90).

⁹⁶ Ṭab. I, 3339; WS, 512-13; BA/MS I, 382-83, 383-84; A'th. I, fol. 132a.

⁹⁷ Ṭab. I, 3349.

⁹⁸ Ṭab. I, 3352.

⁹⁹ Ṭab. I, 3361; BA/MS I, 389, 392, 399.

¹⁰⁰ Ṭab. I, 3365, 3367; BA/MS I, 391, 392, 393-94.

apportioned and who should be *amīr al-mu'minīn*; it was no more than an irrelevant sequel to a successful divisive manoeuvre by Mu'āwiya, and it accordingly came to nothing. When this was apparent, 'Alī wanted to march against Mu'āwiya, but most of the force he then succeeded in mobilizing had no intention of doing any more than dealing with the Khawārij, and 'Alī had no option but to move towards Nahrawān. The Khawārij refused to negotiate and laid down the impossible condition that they would follow him only if he would treat them as 'Umar had done ("*fa-lasnā nutabi'ukum aw ta'tūnā bi-mithlī 'Umar*").¹⁰¹ They were then defeated in battle and 400 of them who were found wounded on the battlefield were handed over to their clans (*'ashā'ir*).¹⁰² Thereafter 'Alī wanted to proceed against Mu'āwiya, but al-Ash'ath and the other clan leaders insisted on returning to the *miṣr*. The maintenance of their authority as Kūfan clan leaders was what mattered to them.

Examination of the tribal names of Khawārij shows that almost all of them came from central and north-eastern Arabia and that most of these were from Bakrī and Tamīmī clans whose home territory had been close to, or had adjoined, 'Irāq. They were early-comers who for the most part had not formed close ties with the *miṣr*, as did most early-comers from further away, but instead moved in an uncontrolled fashion into the conquered territories and not until this stage experienced serious efforts to control them. Of the many examples which can be cited, mention can be made here of the Taymī brothers Hilāl and al-Mustawrid the sons of 'Ullafa. Hilāl led some Ribābīs at the battle of Buwayb and was at the battle of Qādisīya, and al-Mustawrid led some Ribābīs in a body of *afnā' Tamīm* and was probably also at Qādisīya.¹⁰³ There is no further mention of either of them in the sources until Nahrawān, where al-Mustawrid was on the Khārijī side and escaped.¹⁰⁴ Hilāl's revolt soon afterwards with 200 men in Māsabadhān was one of a post-Nahrawān spate of Khārijī revolts which resembled each other closely in the numbers involved and the type of area chosen; he was killed by the Shī'ī Tamīmī leader Ma'qil ibn Qays al-Riyāḥī.¹⁰⁵ Al-Mustawrid led another Khārijī revolt in the forties.

¹⁰¹ Tab. I, 3377; BA/MS, I, 396.

¹⁰² Tab. I, 3384, II, 17; BA/MS I, 398.

¹⁰³ Tab. I, 2188, 2245, 2336.

¹⁰⁴ Khal., 180-81.

¹⁰⁵ BA/MS I, 429-30; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī 'l-tārīkh*, III, 313-14.

367 'Alī therefore failed in his attempt to form a political coalition which took some account both of what was at the time the necessary reality of clan organization and of the established principle of *sharaf* by Islamic priority. What he produced was a more egalitarian concept of an Islamic order, but the pressure from Syria was too great, and the Kūfan extremes of al-Ash'ath on the one hand and the Khawārij on the other hand were too far apart for this to be a viable solution. When Mu'āwiya took over Kūfa he had neither the inclination nor the need to effect any compromise there. He built on the clan system and used anyone who could make the grade as a clan leader. Lip-service was occasionally paid to the dignity of Islamic priority, but the attendant privileges were swept away. The *ṣawāfi* of the Sawād, of which we know nothing for the time of 'Alī, were made into state property by Mu'āwiya.¹⁰⁶ The extent to which the system of stipends laid down by 'Umar had been modified by 'Alī is unclear, but it is likely that the principle of equality had not been extended to include the stipends of early-comers;¹⁰⁷ under Mu'āwiya, however, the amount of stipends was completely at his discretion.¹⁰⁸ In the time of Mu'āwiya, the *ashrāf al-qabā'il* came out on top at Kūfa; separately opposing them were, on the one hand, 'Umar's type of *ashrāf*, who first of all fought to take over the *miṣr* but were increasingly forced to fight a rearguard action outside it, and on the other hand the adherents at the *miṣr* of the order adumbrated by 'Alī, seeking as an ideal an egalitarian world which was devoid of both such types of *ashrāf*.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 258–59, 277; al-'Alī, *op. cit.* (n. 64 above), 141.

¹⁰⁷ Al-Jāhiz, *Al-Uthmāniya*, ed. A. M. Hārūn (Cairo, 1955), 218; but cf. A. th. I, fol. 159a.

¹⁰⁸ Note his reported remark "*mā adrī fī ayyi' kitāb allāh tajidūn^a hādhā 'l-rizq wa'l-'atā'*" (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-akhbāruhā*, ed. C. C. Torrey [New Haven, 1922], 101).

2

The Murder of the Caliph ‘Uthmān

THE MURDER of ‘Uthmān was a turning-point in Islamic history, and the story of how opposition in the provinces, particularly Egypt, combined with opposition at Medina itself and brought about the Caliph’s death has been repeated many times. Accounts in sources such as al-Ṭabarī’s *History* and al-Balādhurī’s *Ansāb al-ashrāf* bring together much transmitted detail concerning this dénouement. Caetani’s monumental *Annali dell’Islam* serves as an extensive compilation of such detail, and Wellhausen, Levi Della Vida, Gibb, Veccia Vaglieri and Petersen are only some of the other modern scholars who have commented on the event. Perhaps Professor Gibb best expresses the current view of the background to it in his thought-provoking article entitled “An Interpretation of Islamic History”,¹ where he sees in the caliphate of ‘Uthmān a conflict between two main parties, the Meccans and the “tribesmen”. He points out that the Meccan merchants had been swift to seize the opportunities of wealth which arose in the immediate post-conquest phase, and goes on to say that in the course of ‘Uthmān’s caliphate there arose at Medina “growing resentment at the rapid affirmation of Meccan political control . . . and the economic exploitation of the empire. Open discontent was first expressed by several religious personalities, whose

From the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3 (1972), pages 450 to 469.

¹ *Journal of World History* 1 (1953), 39–62, and *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (London, 1962), 3–33.

conscience was shocked by the worldliness and grasping materialism displayed in the name of Islam. But these only provided a rallying-cry and a cloak for the material grievances of the tribesmen and Medinans, who swung into line behind them.”² Gibb therefore sees a total of four alignments, of which the Meccans and the tribesmen were the main parties, while the Medinans and the so-called religious party were secondary in importance.

It is intended in this article to take a rather different view of the alignments involved, notably by seeking to redefine such terms as “tribesmen” and “religious party” and by re-examining the idea that the main conflict in the time of ‘Uthmān was between Meccans and tribesmen. The starting-point of the view taken here is that ‘Uthmān was left with the legacy of maintaining unity in an immediately post-conquest phase, that this necessarily involved a greater measure of central control than had earlier existed, and that his caliphate was characterized both by the declining influence of an elite which had been promoted by ‘Umar and by the increasing power of tribal aristocracy of the pre-Islamic type. ‘Umar had been concerned with maintaining the Medinan hegemony established by Muḥammad | and preserved by Abū Bakr in the face of extremely serious opposition. With the memory of this opposition still fresh in his mind, ‘Umar had established as leaders those whose interests lay in the preservation of the existing order—principally Muhājirūn, Anṣār and other *ṣaḥāba*. His immediate aim was to neutralize as far as he was able the disruptive influence of the traditional type of clan and tribal leadership, and as a concomitant with this he attempted to provide a basis for society which cut across divisions of clan and tribe. The principle of Islamic priority (*sābiqa*) led to the formation of an elite of early converts as the champions of Medinan hegemony; it also bestowed merit on provincial early-comers, whatever their tribal standing. However, this situation merely masked rather than neutralized the power of traditional leaders, whose political acumen and the support they could control brought them to the fore again in the time of ‘Uthmān.

This much has already been argued in an article on political alignments at Kūfa,³ where the explosive situation which developed in the

² Gibb, *Studies*, 7.

³ “Kūfan Political Alignments and Their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A.D.”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2 (1971), 346–67 [Chap. 1 of this volume]; henceforward referred to as “Kūfan Political Alignments”.

early thirties A.H. stemmed directly from a reaction on the part of a relatively large proportion of early-comers of minor tribal stature to increased central control and to a waning of their own influence *vis-à-vis* the growing influence (mainly as a result of the arrival of newcomers) of some of the traditional tribal leaders; al-Ash'ath ibn Qays al-Kindī is the prime example of the latter type of leader in the Kūfan context. Matters at Kūfa were further exacerbated by the failure of attempts to expand the Kūfan territories, and there arose a situation in which the principal tribal leaders established themselves in the existing Kūfan territories, in several cases at the expense of those original conquerors who had been there previously. The reaction which occurred at the *miṣr* of Kūfa was vented against 'Uthmān and his centralized control, rather than against the major tribal leaders themselves, and in 34/654-55 the reactionaries took the law into their own hands and repulsed the governor of Kūfa. The moderate clan elements at the *miṣr*, in taking a moderate position, were mainly responsible for the emergence of a situation in which central control was nominal and a *modus vivendi* embracing both the major tribal leaders and most of the so-called *qurrā'* was achieved. The purpose of this article is to demonstrate that 'Uthmān's Egyptian opponents, who were the most active of the provincial opposition in the events which culminated in his murder, were people whose experience of harmed interests and loss of influence was similar to the experience of the *qurrā'* of Kūfa. The Baṣran opposition, although less significant, can be attributed to parallel causes, and the Kūfans who participated in these events were *qurrā'* who were not prepared to accept the Kūfan *modus vivendi*. Finally, an attempt will be made here to distinguish the other alignments which participated with the provincial opposition at Medina and to determine where their interests lay.

BACKGROUND TO THE EGYPTIAN OPPOSITION

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The conquest of Egypt⁴ began in 19/640 when 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ went there with a force of 3,500 or 4,000 'Akkīs, one third of whom were from

⁴ The source material is less rich on the subject of Egypt at this time than it is on Kūfa. The most useful sources (to be abbreviated as follows) are: FM = Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-akhbāruhā*, ed. C. C. Torrey (New Haven, 1922); Kindī = al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-wulāt wa-kitāb al-quḍāt*, ed. R. Guest (Beirut, 1908); BF = al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866); BA.V =

the clan of Ghāfiq.⁵ He was soon afterwards joined by an army of 10,000 or 12,000 reinforcements, led by al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām and including other prominent *ṣaḥābīs*.⁶

With the resultant combined force, ʿAmr conquered Alexandria in 21/642 and went on to establish at Babylon the base called al-Fustāt, where he allotted *khīṭaṭ* to his army. The lists of *khīṭaṭ* mentioned by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam provide a detailed picture of the different groups that made up the army at that stage. Of particular interest are references to ʿAmr’s formation of a group called *al-Rāya*, which was made up of splinter groups (*afnāʾ al-qabāʾil*) too small to be organized as individual units, yet unwilling to be merged into other clan groups, and so joined together by ʿAmr into a single group under a banner (*rāya*) that bore the name of no particular clan. Among the constituent groups of the *rāya* were people from Quraysh, Anṣār, Aslam, Ghifār and Juhayna, but these are only some of the names mentioned by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam in his account of groups and individuals who settled in *khīṭaṭ al-rāya*.⁷ Particular mention can be made here of (i) Ibn Muḥjam,⁸ (ii) Abū Shamir Abrahā ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ḥimyarī,⁹ (iii) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUdays al-Balawī, who was “*mimman bāyaʾa taḥta ʾl-shajara*” and hence an early *ṣaḥābī*,¹⁰ and (iv) “the Laythīs

al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, V, ed. S. D. F. Goitein (Jerusalem, 1936): Tab. = al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾriḫ al-rusul waʾl-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.*, 3 series (Leiden 1879–1901). Other works cited by abbreviation in this article are: BA/MS = al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, 2 vols., MS Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Reisülkuttap Mustafa Efendi), nos. 597, 598; Ibn Aʿtham = Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-futūḥ*, 4 vols. (Hyderabad, 1388/1968–1391/1971); Ibn Saʿd = Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau *et al.*, 8 vols. (Leiden, 1905–17); Khalīfa = Khalīfa ibn Khayyāt, *Taʾriḫ*, I, ed. A. D. al-ʿUmarī (al-Najaf, 1386/1967); Minqarī = Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim al-Minqarī, *Waqʾat Siffīn*, ed. A. M. Hārūn, 2nd ed. (Cairo 1382/1962–63); Maqrīzī = Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʾiḏ waʾl-iʿtibār bi-dhikr al-khīṭaṭ waʾl-āthār*, 2 vols. (Būlāq, 1270/1853–54).

⁵ FM, 56, 121; BF, 212, 213, 214; Kindī, 8.

⁶ FM, 59, 61, 62; BF, 213; Kindī, 8–9.

⁷ For this account see FM, 98–117. On the formation of the *Rāya*, see *ibid.*, 98, 116–17; Yāqūt, *Muʾjam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 745–46; Maqrīzī, I, 297–98 (which also mentions some other hotchpotch groups, notably the *Lafīf*).

⁸ FM, 112.

⁹ FM, 113.

¹⁰ FM, 107; BA, V, 5; Kindī, 19–20.

who were with 'Amr [i.e. when he first arrived]", namely Āl 'Urwa ibn Shiyaym.¹¹

In considering the situation in Egypt from the time of its conquest to the death of 'Umar (19/644), two main points need to be made here. The first of these is that we can hardly expect any systematic organization of the territory to have been introduced by the Arab conquerors during that short period; rather the country | was extremely disorganized during the last years of Byzantine rule, and this can only have deteriorated further in the immediate aftermath of the Arab conquest. Bell describes how the system of fiscal administration, dating from the time of Justinian, had become increasingly cumbersome, decentralized "with its endless subdivision into small units" and abused, to such an extent that "much of the country was in a state of chronic anarchy".¹² We know that 'Amr's successor was responsible for laying the foundations of an effective fiscal system, and this in itself indicates that 'Amr had done little or nothing in this direction. The evidence all points to his having been concerned at this time with extending the conquest south into Nubia and west as far as Ṭarābulus. There is no evidence that he himself did anything to streamline the cumbersome fiscal system taken over from the Byzantines; rather, the upheavals of conquest can only have made the system more open to abuse than ever.¹³

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Secondly, there is the question of what happened to the revenue of Egypt in the time of 'Umar. The sources are quite clear about 'Umar's decision that the land of Egypt should not be divided among the conquerors, but are decidedly hazy about the destination of the revenue. One of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's best authorities, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslama, says outright that he does not know.¹⁴ Elsewhere it appears that 'Umar expected 'Amr, while keeping some revenue for various specified needs, to make sizeable remittances of grain to Medina; it also appears that

¹¹ FM, 115.

¹² H. I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, IV, *The Aphrodito Papyri* (London, 1910), introduction, especially xxiii, xxxvi–vii.

¹³ See Maqrīzī, I, 77 (*aqarra Qibṭahā 'alā jibāyat al-Rūm*); note also the reported remark by a Copt to 'Umar that 'Amr "does not look to the cultivation (*'imāra*) and simply takes what appears to him, as if he wanted it (Egypt) for one year only" (Maqrīzī, I, 74).

¹⁴ FM, 155.

these remittances were frequently not forthcoming.¹⁵ The information that 'Umar made the separate appointment over the Ṣa'īd of none other than 'Abdallāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Sarḥ, for all that his Islamic record was tarnished, constitutes a telling comment not only on Ibn Sa'd's own administrative ability but also on the general situation in Egypt under 'Amr.¹⁶

Change came in 25/645-46 when 'Uthmān replaced 'Amr with Ibn Sa'd as governor of all Egypt. Here, as with his appointment of al-Walīd ibn 'Uqba to Kūfa at the same time, 'Uthmān was attempting to empower an executive upon whom he could rely. In particular, he was concerned to prise control of the revenues of Egypt from the hands of 'Amr, whose well-known rejection of the suggestion that his appointments should be restricted to *'alā 'l-ḥarb* while Ibn Sa'd should be *'alā 'l-kharāj* clearly illustrated his erstwhile attitude towards the revenues.¹⁷ Ibn Sa'd went on to set up an effective fiscal system which preserved features of the Byzantine system but was characterized by a centralized and uniform method of collection.¹⁸ As a result, it is to be expected that not only indigenous officials and dignitaries but also the Arab conquerors of Egypt were deprived of the opportunities for self-enrichment which they had hitherto enjoyed.

A second important development in Egypt during the caliphate of 'Uthmān came as a result of Ibn Sa'd's desire to resume large-scale campaigning to the west, which 'Umar had earlier halted. Whether this was dictated by the pressure of newcomers, as was the case with Baṣra and Kūfa soon afterwards, is not made clear in the sources. In any event, 'Uthmān, after some hesitation, agreed to sanction this, and in 27/647-48 reinforced Ibn Sa'd with a large army (*jaysh 'azīm*) raised in the vicinity of Medina and including a significant number of Qurashīs.¹⁹

¹⁵ See particularly FM, 160. Also *ibid.*, 151; BF, 216; Ṭab. I, 2577; Maqrīzī, I, 78-79.

¹⁶ Kindī, 11; FM, 173; Maqrīzī, I, 299.

¹⁷ (*Anā idhan ka-māsik al-baqara bi-qarnayhā wa-ākhar yaḥlibuhā*) FM, 178; BF, 223.

¹⁸ D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 74. Severus ibn al-Muqaffa' describes Ibn Sa'd's measures as follows: *fa-jumī'a lahu ahrā'* (cod. a.h.r.^{an}) *wa-huwa awal man banā 'l-dīwān bi-Miṣr wa-amara an yustakhrāj^a fihī jamī' kharāj al-kūra* (*Kitāb siyar al-abā' al-batārika*, ed. and trans. B. Evetts, pt. ii, *Patrologia Orientalis* 1 [1907], 501).

¹⁹ BF, 226; FM, 183; Ṭab. I, 2814, 2817-18.

The campaign into North Africa took place in the same year and the lord of Carthage was killed, but it is likely that some setbacks were encountered by Ibn Sa'd, for he took payment from other local lords and returned to Egypt without leaving any of his forces behind.²⁰ Nor did the southward thrust into Nubia in 31/651–52 and the mainly maritime activities of 34/654–55 involve any settlement of forces outside Egypt.²¹ The obvious result was that newcomers had to be accommodated within Egypt, and the effects of this at the *khiṭaṭ* of Fuṣṭāṭ are described by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam when he says: "there were spaces between the tribal groupings; but when reinforcements came in the time of 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān and afterwards and the people became numerous, each group made space for its brethren, so that the buildings became many and coalesced".²² Further in connection with newcomers, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam gives an example of the sort of change consequent upon their arrival when he gives details about a Ḥaḍramī who had come to Egypt with 'Amr and had his *khiṭa* among 'Āl Ayda'ān ibn Sa'd ibn Tujīb of al-Sakūn. He and other Ḥaḍramī early comers were "with their maternal uncles from Tujīb. Then their reinforcements came in the time of 'Uthmān and took *khiṭaṭ* to the east of Silhim and al-Ṣadif as far as the desert. Accordingly, those of them who were with Tujīb and wanted to move moved".²³ In short, 'Āl Ayda'ān and presumably other early-comer groups lost some of their strength when the newcomers arrived.

The emergence of open Egyptian opposition to Ibn Sa'd and to 'Uthmān himself is seen by the sources as beginning with the defiant refusal of Muḥammad ibn Abī Ḥudhayfa ibn 'Utba ibn Rabī'a ibn 'Abd Shams ibn 'Abd Manāf to acknowledge Ibn Sa'd as the leader of prayers at the beginning of the campaign of Dhū (or Dhāt) al-Ṣawārī in 34/654–55. He and Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr then | persisted in vilifying Ibn Sa'd and went on to foment hostility towards 'Uthmān, preaching the legality of armed action against him.²⁴ The exact chronology of subsequent events is unclear, but in Rajab 35/January 656 or a little later, when Ibn Sa'd had left Egypt for Medina—temporarily as he thought—Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfa found sufficient support to take over

²⁰ FM, 183; BF, 227. Cf. Ṭab. I, 2814.

²¹ FM, 188–91; Kindī, 12–13.

²² FM, 128.

²³ FM, 123.

²⁴ Ṭab. I, 2869, 2871; BA. V, 49–51.

al-Fuṣṭāṭ and put out a general call for the removal of 'Uthmān. Ibn Sa'd was thwarted in his attempt to return to Egypt and withdrew to 'Asqalān in Palestine.²⁵

The paucity of evidence renders difficult any clear understanding of the personality of Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfa. The sources say that he was an orphan and grew up in the custody of 'Uthmān, who was the guardian of orphans of his *ahl bayt*; beyond that we are told variously that his grudge against 'Uthmān stemmed from the latter's refusal to grant him an appointment and from a beating administered to him as punishment for drinking.²⁶ What is important here is that he provided a stimulus for the widespread dissatisfaction which evidently already existed. One of al-Kindī's reports may appear to be exaggerating when it says that "all the Egyptians concurred with him (*tāba'ahu ahl^u Miṣr^a ṭurran*), save a group (*'iṣāba*) which included Mu'āwiya ibn Ḥudayj and Busr ibn Abī Arṭāt",²⁷ but the use of the word *tāba'a*, "concur with", rather than *tabi'a*, "follow", accords well with the impression given elsewhere in the sources that Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfa was unable to take control over the events which he had played a part in initiating. When he ejected Ibn Sa'd's deputy from al-Fuṣṭāṭ and prevented Ibn Sa'd from returning to Egypt, it did not necessarily mean that he was more than a figurehead. There is no indication in the sources that he had any strong personal support in Egypt. At the time when the Egyptian opposition in Medina appeared to be in a position to dictate terms to 'Uthmān, they asked for Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr as governor and not Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfa;²⁸ and for the rest of his short career in Egypt, until he was killed by 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ at al-Arīsh, Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfa was singularly unsuccessful in maintaining any effective control in Egypt. In contrast, the "*'iṣāba*" which included Mu'āwiya ibn Ḥudayj and other leaders and made its base at Khirbitā (in present-day Buḥayra) rapidly reached a reported total of 10,000 men.²⁹

²⁵ Kindī, 13-14, 17; BA, V, 51; Ṭab. I, 2999, 3057, 3234; Maqrīzī, I, 300.

²⁶ Ṭab. I, 3029; BA, V, 50.

²⁷ Kindī, 17; see also Ṭab. I, 3088. The size and importance of this *'iṣāba* should not be underestimated, for reasons which will be made clear below. For the names of leaders associated with it, see Kindī, 15; also Ṭab. I, 3237.

²⁸ BA, V, 26, 67; Ibn A'tham, II, 209.

²⁹ Kindī, 21; Ṭab. I, 3242.

The Egyptian opposition to 'Uthmān consisted of fragmented groups, and it is for this reason that neither Ibn Abī Ḥudhayfa nor anyone else can be expected to have exercised effective control over them. The sources show that the Egyptian force which went to Medina was made up of four small groups,³⁰ and a verse given by al-Ṭabarī aptly refers to 'Uthmān's murderers as "*aḥābīsh* from Egypt", | that is "companies 456 or bodies of men, not all of one tribe".³¹ Among those who are named as participants in the Egyptian opposition at Medina, three have already been mentioned as having been included in the *Rāya*, namely (i) the *ṣaḥābī* 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Udays al-Balawī,³² (ii) 'Urwa ibn Shiyaym al-Laythī, and (iii) Abū Shamir ibn Abraha ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Ḥimyarī, who, it may be noted, later appears as one of the *qurrā' ahl al-Sha'm* at the Ṣifīn confrontation;³³ the subclan of Āl Ayda'ān ibn Sa'd ibn Tujīb, to which a fourth, (iv) Kināna ibn Bishr, belonged, has also been mentioned. To these names can be added those of (v) al-Ghāfiqī ibn Ḥarb al-Akkī (mentioned only by Sayf ibn 'Umar), whose name epitomizes the whole of the original force with 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, (vi) Sūdān ibn Ḥumrān al-Murādī (Sayf says al-Sakūnī), who (like Ibn Muljam al-Murādī) had been with the force of 400 Sakūnīs who went with Mu'āwiya ibn Ḥudayj to Qādisīya,³⁴ and who in Egypt probably had a *khitta* among the people of the *Rāya*, since that was the case with Ibn Muljam, (vii) 'Amr (or Abū 'Amr) ibn Budayl al-Khuzā'ī, who was a *ṣaḥābī*, and (viii), according to al-Wāqidī, 'Amr ibn al-Ḥamiq al-Khuzā'ī, a *ṣaḥābī* who had earlier been among the *qurrā'* at Kūfa.³⁵

The old-guard interests of these individuals are clear, for most of them are immediately recognizable as belonging to 'Umar's type of Islamic elite, either on the ground of their *ṣuḥba* or because they were Egyptian early-comers. In terms of clan leadership, however, they appear to have been of little significance. Some of them belonged

³⁰ Kindī, 17; BA. V, 59, 61; Ṭab. I, 2954, 2986, 2991.

³¹ Ṭab. I, 3065; E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863-93), *sub ḥ. b. sh.* Cf. W. M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Mecca* (Oxford, 1953), 156-57, noting particularly the phrase *bi-lā nasab*.

³² For this and the following names see Kindī, 17, 19; BA. V, 59, 61; Ṭab. I, 2954 (including addenda to that page), 2986, 2991.

³³ Minqarī, 222, 369 (reads Shamir, not Abū Shamir).

³⁴ Ṭab. I, 2220-21.

³⁵ BA. V, 41; Ibn A'tham, II, 179. See also Ṭab. I, 2921, and cf. "Kūfan Political Alignments", 358 [Chap. 1].

to the *Rāya*, about which we have no further information but which must have been dominated by Qurashīs after the influx of 27/647–48. The Laythīs and ‘Akkīs were both early-comer groups whose influence had almost certainly declined, and the waning condition of Kināna ibn Bishr’s Tujībī subclan has already been indicated. In this latter connexion it is important to note also the growing influence of the leader of al-Sakūn, Mu‘āwiya ibn Ḥudayj al-Tujībī, particularly as commander of the North Africa campaign of 34/654–55;³⁶ he, having taken reprisals after the death of ‘Uthmān, was able to claim that he had killed seventy (var. eighty) of his fellow-clansmen (*qawm*) in retaliation for ‘Uthmān.³⁷ The evidence all points to the Egyptian opposition to ‘Uthmān nursing grievances which were bound up with the declining influence of the earlier élite, increased central control and the resurgence of tribal leadership.

457 In particular, they complained of Ibn Sa‘d and “his unfair treatment (*taḥāmūl*) of Muslims and *dhimmi*s”.³⁸ Furthermore, they are reported to have demanded “that the people of Medina should not take stipends, for this wealth (scil. the revenue of Egypt) is for those who fought for it and for these old men (*shuyūkh*) from [among] the companions of the Messenger of God . . .”.³⁹ It seems that grain continued to be sent from Egypt to Medina until the death of ‘Uthmān⁴⁰ and this report indicates that Ibn Sa‘d was discharging his function effectively; here, however, ‘Uthmān found himself involved in further complications, for the same report says that he acquiesced in this demand, as part of the settlement which led the Egyptians to set off for Egypt, and so aroused the anger of the Medinans. Finally, it is important to note that Egyptian opposition came not only from al-Fustāṭ itself but also from outlying districts; this is apparent from the half-verse “*aqbalna min Bulbays wa’l-Ṣa’īd*”.⁴¹

³⁶ FM, 192–94, 318; Kindī, 12, 15, 17. Maqrīzī (I, 297) mentions him in an earlier important context as one of the four men put in charge of the *khiṭaṭ* by ‘Amr in 21/642; these four “*anzalū ’l-nās wa-faṣṣalū bayna ’l-qabā’il*”.

³⁷ FM, 122; Kindī, 29. See also *ibid.*, 18–19.

³⁸ Ṭab. I, 2993–94. See also BA. V, 26, 27.

³⁹ Ṭab. I, 2964.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 2577.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 2984, 3004. This is presumably meant to indicate that they had come even from the extremities of Egypt. Bulbays, which is in present-day Sharqiya province, was the first settlement reached by ‘Amr when he entered Egypt—see for example FM, 59.

THE PROVINCIAL OPPOSITION AT MEDINA

It was reportedly in 34, probably at the time of the *ḥajj*, that discontented provincials from Egypt, Kūfa and Baṣra first came together and discussed the possibility of joint opposition to 'Uthmān. They decided that 'Uthmān's "changing about" (*tabdīl*) and "his failure to fulfil his undertaking" (*tarkahu 'l-wafā' bimā a'tā min nafsihi*) were intolerable and they arranged to return to their provinces, mobilize support and reassemble at Medina in the following year to demand satisfaction of him.⁴² In mid 35/early 656, or slightly later, groups from Egypt, Kūfa and Baṣra converged upon Medina; the Egyptians, who probably numbered between 400 and 600 and at most numbered no more than 1,000, formed the largest group and the most vociferous in complaint.⁴³ 'Uthmān appeared ready to give them satisfaction, however, notably in his declared intention of removing Ibn Sa'd, and, having arrived at what they regarded as a satisfactory settlement, they set off for Egypt. It was while they were on their way that they apprehended a message sent in 'Uthmān's name, in which Ibn Sa'd (who was probably then at Ayla⁴⁴) was instructed to deal with them. Whether 'Uthmān was in fact ignorant of this message, as he later claimed, and Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam was responsible for it, as seems likely, are questions which will not be gone into here. Whatever the case, the Egyptians considered themselves to have been deceived by 'Uthmān and, having returned to Medina, besieged him in his house; when he was killed soon after, most of those who struck blows at him were Egyptians.

In the course of these events, numerous complaints were made by the provincials against 'Uthmān and his governors. Basically, these were all complaints about the changed state of affairs during his caliphate, and the undertaking which they claimed that he had failed to fulfil was his undertaking at the time of the *shūrā* to adhere not only to the Qur'ān and the *sunna* of Muḥammad but also to *sīrat al-shaykhayn* (Abū Bakr and 'Umar), that is to adhere to the existing order in its entirety.⁴⁵ The complaints reflected opposition to the greater measure of control being

⁴² BA. V, 59–60.

⁴³ Kindī, 17; BA. V, 59; Ṭab. I, 2954, 2986, 2999–3000; Maqrīzī, I, 300.

⁴⁴ Ṭab. I, 2999.

⁴⁵ 'Alī would not give such an undertaking, but is reported to have declared himself ready to act to the best of his ability (variously: *bi-mablagh 'ilmī wa-ṭāqatī*; *'alā juhdī*

imposed by 'Uthmān and his governors and a yearning on the part of those in opposition for a time past when a preference for, and a lack of effective control over, those with Islamic priority (i.e. including provincial early-comers) had been accompanied by a check on the power and influence of traditional tribal and clan leaders. 'Uthmān was criticized for favouring his family, on whom he counted for support and from whom he was able to recruit governors upon whom he could rely; for his dismissal and rough treatment of *ṣaḥāba* and his deportation of others, all of whom had obstructed his organizational efforts; and for his standardized recension of the Qur'ān, which was intended to supersede varying recensions in the provinces.⁴⁶ A fair idea of what the provincials wanted can be gained from the several similar versions of the written undertaking by 'Uthmān, as a result of which the Egyptians set off for Egypt. This stipulated that 'Uthmān would act according to (i.e. be limited by) *kitāb allāh* and *sunnat nabīyihī*; that those who had been deprived of stipends should again be given them; that those who had been banished should be returned; that forces should not be kept in the field for long periods of time (*lā tujammar al-bu'ūth*); that the *fay'* should be made abundant (*yuwaffar*); that division should be just and that wealth should be shared out "among those with rights to it (*wa-anna 'l-māl yuradd 'alā ahl al-ḥuqūq*)"; that "*dhū 'l-amāna wa'l-quwwa*" should be granted appointments; and that they, the provincials, should have whom they wished as governor.⁴⁷ When the Egyptians returned to Medina, after they had apprehended the message already mentioned, they wanted 'Uthmān's abdication. His assurance that he would follow *sīrat al-khalīfatayn* to the best of his ability (*ṭāqatī wa-juhūdī*) was not enough for them.⁴⁸ There was no avoiding the collision between 'Uthmān's understanding of the office of *amīr al-mu'minīn* and the interests of the combined provincial and Medinan opposition. 'Uthmān's understanding of this can be seen in his reported remark "they hope to rule (*amaluhum al-imra*)",⁴⁹

min dhālika wa-tāqatī: bi-mā yablughuhu 'l-iythad minni wa-bi-ma yumkinunī bi-qadr' 'ilmī: Ṭab. I, 2786, 2793, 2794; BA. V, 22).

⁴⁶ For the principal accounts of the complaints made against 'Uthmān, see Ṭab. I, 2951-54; BA. V, 62-63; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. M. T. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883), II, 202.

⁴⁷ BA. V, 64, 93; Ṭab. I, 3043; Ibn A'tham, II, 209; Khalīfa, 147.

⁴⁸ Ibn A'tham, II, 216. Cf. note 45, above.

⁴⁹ Ṭab. I, 3042.

and | a half-verse aptly says of them “they desire the passing away of the [i.e. 'Uthmān's] caliphate (*yarūmūna 'l-khilāfata an tazūlā*)”⁵⁰ 459

Turning to provincial opposition other than that of the Egyptians, it has been suggested that the Kūfan opposition was made up of extremist *qurrā'* who would not accept the *modus vivendi* which had been achieved at Kūfa.⁵¹ Sayf ibn 'Umar refers to a meeting at Kūfa, probably after the appointment of Abū Mūsā, when al-Ashtar, Zayd ibn Ṣūḥān, Ka'b ibn 'Abda Dhī 'l-Ḥabaka and other members of the Ashtar group of *qurrā'* agreed that “No head will be lifted as long as 'Uthmān is over the people”; two of the group are reported to have made an unsuccessful attempt to murder 'Uthmān.⁵² Not long afterwards, at the meeting of provincials at Medina in 34, the Kūfan leader was Ka'b ibn 'Abda,⁵³ and in the following year a Kūfan group went to Medina. Abū Mikhnaf says that it numbered 200 and was led by al-Ashtar, but according to Sayf they were about as many as the Egyptians, whom he numbers at 600 to 1,000, and were organized in four groups led by Zayd ibn Ṣūḥān, al-Ashtar, Ziyād ibn al-Naḍr al-Ḥārithī and 'Abdallāh ibn al-Aṣamm; 'Amr (or 'Umar) ibn al-Aṣamm was in overall command.⁵⁴ These leaders are all mentioned earlier in the sources as *qurrā'* with the exception of the sons of al-Aṣamm, who are mentioned first in the context of the events of 34 and 35, and then only by Sayf. Reference to them by him provides a further hint of the connexion between 'Uthmān's Kūfan opponents and the Jazīra,⁵⁵ for al-Aṣamm and his sons were residents of al-Raqqā.⁵⁶ Further in this connexion, it can be noted that the only recorded specific grievance by a Kūfan in the events of 35 at Medina was that of Ṣa'ṣa'a ibn Ṣūḥān when he told 'Uthmān “we have been expelled from our territories” (*ukhrījā min diyārinā*).⁵⁷ The context in which

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 3011. That is 'Uthmān's *khilāfa*, not the *imārat al-mu'minīn*—see also *ibid.*, 2993 (*fa-mā sallamū 'alayhi bi'l-khilāfa*) and 2996 (*fa'rduḍ khilāfatanā*).

⁵¹ See above, and “Kūfan Political Alignments”, 360–62 [Chap. 1].

⁵² Ṭab. I, 3034–35.

⁵³ BA. V, 59.

⁵⁴ Ṭab. I, 2954.

⁵⁵ See “Kūfan Political Alignments”, 357 [Chap. 1].

⁵⁶ Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qushayrī al-Ḥarrānī, *Ta'rikh al-Raqqā wa-man nazalaha min aṣḥāb rasūl allāh ṣ'l'm wa'l-tābī'in wa'l-fuqahā' wa'l-muḥaddithīn*, ed. T. al-Na'sānī (Ḥamāt, 1378/1959), 16, 58.

⁵⁷ Khalifa, 149; al-Jāhiz, *Al-Bayān wa'l-tabyīn*, ed. A. M. Hārūn, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1960–61), I, 393. Note as a sequel the report that, when 'Alī was leaving Nukhayla

this phrase occurs in the Qur'ān shows that Ṣa'ṣa'a was adducing it as a justification for taking up arms against 'Uthmān,⁵⁸ but at the same time it gives yet another indication of lost interests which, in the case of Ṣa'ṣa'a, were probably in the Jazīra.⁵⁹

460 The Kūfan group, like that from Baṣra, played a role secondary to that of the | Egyptian in the events that culminated in 'Uthmān's death. Al-Wāqidi says that when the Egyptians thought that their demands had been satisfied and set off for Egypt, al-Ashtar and the Baṣran opposition leader Ḥakīm stayed in Medina, and that when the Egyptians returned and besieged 'Uthmān, al-Ashtar and Ḥakīm "seceded" (*i'tazalā*).⁶⁰ Other reports, however, indicate that al-Ashtar was connected with the siege. It is reported that at one point the besieged 'Uthmān asked what it was that the people wanted and that it was al-Ashtar who told him that they wanted him to choose between abdicating and punishing himself, and that if he refused to do either they would fight him.⁶¹ Another report refers to a conversation which al-Ashtar is supposed to have had with 'Ā'isha during the siege, in which he asked her opinion about what should be done with 'Uthmān. When she said that she would not enjoin the shedding of blood, he retorted with the rebuke that she had written to them (encouraging them) until war broke out, and now was forbidding them.⁶² Finally, the weakening of al-Ashtar's resolve to kill 'Uthmān becomes apparent in several places. He believed 'Uthmān's disclaimer of knowledge of the letter which had been apprehended by the Egyptians and voiced his opinion that it was a ruse (*qad mukira bihi wa-bikum*).⁶³ He is reported to have gone to 'Uthmān's house and to have killed one of 'Uthmān's followers, but to have shrunk from

for Siffin in the following year, Jundab ibn Zuhayr said in the company of al-Ḥarith al-A'war and Yazīd ibn Qays (all three, like Ṣa'ṣa'a, being erstwhile *qurra'* -see for example BA. V, 40-41) "*qad āna li'lladhīna ukhriyū min diyarhim*" (Minqarī, 121). It should also be recalled that it was to the Jazīra that 'Alī appointed al-Ashtar (Minqarī, 12; Ibn A'tham, I, fol. 45a; BA/MS, I, 333).

⁵⁸ Qur'ān, II:246, XXII:39-40.

⁵⁹ For Ṣa'ṣa'a's connexion with Āmid from the time of its conquest by the Arabs, see al-Wāqidi, *Futūḥ al-Sha'm* (Cairo, A.H. 1296), II, 152.

⁶⁰ Tab. I, 2995, 2999.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 2989-90; BA. V, 92; Khalīfa, 147.

⁶² BA. V, 102 (*katabtunna ilaynā ḥattā idhā qāmat al-ḥarb 'alā sāq ansha'tunna tanhaynā*).

⁶³ Tab. I, 3006; BA. V, 96.

striking a blow at 'Uthmān himself.⁶⁴ He was nevertheless subsequently named as one of 'Uthmān's attackers⁶⁵ and was thenceforth regarded as one of the killers.

As with Egyptian and Kūfan opposition to 'Uthmān, so Baṣran opposition to him was made up of men whose earlier influence was waning and whose interests were harmed by increasing governmental control and the growing power of some tribal leaders. The Baṣran situation differed in that only Baṣran territories included fresh conquests made and held during the latter part of 'Uthmān's caliphate. In contrast with this, the failure to expand Kūfan territories at that time has already been identified as one of the secondary causes of Kūfan opposition, and in the case of Egypt, as noted above, the failure to leave forces to hold the conquests which had been made meant that the crowding at al-Fuṣṭāṭ was not eased. The existence of these Baṣran conquests must be regarded as the main reason why Baṣran opposition to 'Uthmān was less vociferous and probably less numerous than that of the Kūfans and Egyptians. Certainly their rôle in the events of 35 at Medina receives little attention in the sources, and their numbers were few according to Abū Mikhnaf and al-Wāqidī, who report that a group of 100 led by Ḥakīm ibn Jabala al-'Abdī set off from Baṣra for Medina in 35 and that it was joined by another fifty people on the way.⁶⁶ Sayf, on the other hand, says that they were about as many as the Egyptians and Kūfans and were organized in four groups, led by Ḥakīm ibn Jabala al-'Abdī, Dharīḥ ibn 'Abbād al-'Abdī, Bishr ibn Shurayḥ al-Ḥuṭam ibn Ḍubay'a al-Qaysī and Ibn al-Muḥarrish ibn 'Abd 'Amr al-Ḥanafī; Ḥurqūṣ ibn Zuhayr al-Sa'dī was in overall command.⁶⁷

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Two of these leaders, Ḥurqūṣ ibn Zuhayr al-Sa'dī and Abū Maryam Ṣubayḥ ibn al-Muḥarrish al-Ḥanafī, had taken part in the conquest of al-Ahwāz (17-20/638-41). Ḥurqūṣ is credited by Sayf with a prominent rôle in the taking and holding of Sūq al-Ahwāz,⁶⁸ and his later appearance at Kūfa, when Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ was governor, and his presence among the *qurrā'* who at first frequented Sa'īd and later wrote to al-Ashtar that he should come and help repulse Sa'īd suggests that he

⁶⁴ BA. V, 81; Ibn A'tham, II, 234-35.

⁶⁵ Ibn A'tham, II, 263.

⁶⁶ BA. V, 59, 97.

⁶⁷ Ṭab. I, 2955.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 2541-43, 2545.

had by then been eased out of al-Ahwāz.⁶⁹ The most probable reason for this is that with the arrival of newcomers, few or none of whom joined him, he had become relatively less and less important as a leader. The case of Abū Maryam ibn al-Muḥarrish was probably similar.⁷⁰ He is first mentioned in the sources on the side of Musaylima at Yamāma, where he killed Zayd ibn al-Khaṭṭāb,⁷¹ and thereafter was probably with ‘Utba ibn Ghazwān at the capture of al-Ubulla, so that he was one of the first “Baṣrans”.⁷² He is reported to have been the first in charge of *qaḍā’* at Baṣra, probably in 17/638,⁷³ and a year later Abū Mūsā reportedly left him in charge of Surraq and Rāmḥurmuz.⁷⁴ He was still governor of Rāmḥurmuz at the time of ‘Umar’s *muqāsama* of his governors, which took place after 21/642.⁷⁵ Thereafter there is no mention of him until 35/655–56, and it is striking that the only Baṣran Ḥanafī leader mentioned in the intervening years is Khulayd ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Zuhayr, who was with ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Āmir in Khurāsān.⁷⁶ Abū Maryam therefore appears to have been another of those who had been leaders in the time of ‘Umar and whose influence was gradually eclipsed by that of leaders who emerged (or re-emerged) in the time of ‘Uthmān. Bishr ibn Shurayḥ al-Ḥuṭam seems to have been yet another of these for, although there is no other reference to him, it is known that his father, Shurayḥ al-Ḥuṭam ibn Ḍubay‘a ibn ‘Amr, earlier led the *ridḍa* of al-Baḥrayn at the head of Banū Qays ibn Tha‘laba ibn ‘Ukāba and was clearly a clan leader of importance.⁷⁷ Finally, Ḥakīm ibn Jabala al-‘Abdī is a figure about whom we know little. Al-Dhahabī puts him in the category of contemporaries of the Prophet (*man adraḳa zamān al-nubuwwa*, i.e. not a

⁶⁹ BA. V, 40, 44–45.

⁷⁰ For various forms of his name, see W. Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbi* (Leiden, 1966). II, 539; BF, 91; BA/MS, II, 656; Ibn Sa‘d, VII, pt. i, 64.

⁷¹ BA/MS, II, 656; Ibn Sa‘d, VII, pt. i, 64.

⁷² Ṭab. I, 2385, reading “al-Ḥanafī” in place of “al-Balawī”; there is no other reference to Abū Maryam al-Balawī or to any other Balawī at Baṣra.

⁷³ Ṭab. I, 2570; BF, 91; BA/MS, I, 352. II, 656; Ibn Sa‘d, VII, pt. i, 64; Khalīfa, 128.

⁷⁴ BF, 379; Khalīfa, 111–12.

⁷⁵ BF, 384–85; BA/MS, II, 621; FM, 147–48.

⁷⁶ BF, 405, 409; Khalīfa, 140–42; Ṭab. I, 2831 (reads Khālīd for Khulayd).

⁷⁷ Ṭab. I, 1961, 1968ff.; BF, 83.

ṣaḥābī) and describes him as “*al-amīr, aḥad al-ashrāf al-abṭāl*”,⁷⁸ but no early source confirms that he was a | *sharīf* in the sense that he received a stipend of 2,000 dirhams per annum. The first specific reference to him is by al-Madā'inī, who says that when Ibn 'Āmir arrived in 'Irāq in 29/649–50, he sent Ḥakīm to *thaghr al-Hind*, that is towards Makrān and Sind, and that when Ḥakīm returned and reported that there was nothing there worth having the campaign was not resumed in that direction.⁷⁹ Thereafter, Ḥakīm seems to have taken to marauding in *dhimmi* territory, for Sayf describes him as a brigand (*liṣṣ*) who lagged behind when armies returned from campaigns and was responsible for depredations in *dhimmi* territory in Fārs. There were complaints about this behaviour, and 'Uthmān instructed Ibn 'Āmir to confine Ḥakīm to Baṣra until he was satisfied that he was amenable to discipline (*ḥattā ta'nasū minhu rushd^{an}*).⁸⁰ Neither at this time, nor at Medina, nor soon afterwards again at Baṣra, where he was killed by the Meccans and their allies shortly before the Battle of the Camel, does Ḥakīm appear to have been other than estranged from the main body of Baṣran 'Abd al-Qays; the distinctness of Ḥurqūṣ from the rest of B. Sa'd of Tamim and that of Abū Maryam ibn al-Muḥarrish from the rest of B. Ḥanīfa of Bakr ibn Wā'il are equally striking. Sayf's account of the circumstances of the death of Ḥakīm at Baṣra describes those who had besieged 'Uthmān at Medina as “Those who were detached from all the tribes (*nuzzā' al-qabā'il kullihā*)”. It also says that Ḥakīm's following of 300 at Baṣra, in which are named those leaders who had been with him at Medina, consisted of such 'Abdīs as were his followers and “those from the splinter groups of Rabī'a who attached themselves to them (*man naza'a ilayhim min afnā' Rabī'a*)”.⁸¹

The provincials who were connected with the murder of 'Uthmān were all seeking to preserve positions and interests which they had either

⁷⁸ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, III, ed. M. A. Ṭalas (Cairo, 1962), 348.

⁷⁹ BF, 432; Khalīfa, 159.

⁸⁰ Ṭab. I, 2922.

⁸¹ Ṭab. I, 3129–30. For other accounts, notably that of al-Madā'inī, see Ṭab. I, 3135–36; Khalīfa, 163; BA/MS, I, 349, where figures of both 300 and (less probably) 700 are given, at least seventy of them being 'Abdīs; al-Mada'inī does not specifically stress the *afnā'* aspect of Ḥakīm's following, as Sayf does, but says that the group was made up of 'Abdīs and Bakrīs, mostly the former. On the use of *nuzzā'* and *naza'a*, note particularly the *ḥadīth* cited by Ibn Manẓur, *Lisān al-'arab* (Cairo, A.H. 1300–1308), X, 228.

lost or were in the process of losing. Basically they were provincial early-comers with small followings who were trying to retain privileges acquired in the disorder that followed the conquests and who were sensitive to the threat posed to their positions both by more substantial leaders of a type which 'Umar had sought to hold in check and by the central government itself. In the case of Kūfa, with its heterogeneous and fragmented population, much of which had come from afar, such small groups of early-comers made up a larger proportion of the population than elsewhere, and it has been suggested that it was for this reason that 'Umar's hopes of establishing a new type of social order were focused there.⁸² The Kūfan *qurrā'* in the latter part of 'Uthmān's caliphate were among the most entrenched of the provincial veterans. They were in a position to argue their case in terms | both of the Islamic ideology which 'Umar had tried to promote and the political practice which had gone with it. 'Umar had given the status of Kūfan early-comers a special legitimacy according to his notion of the Islamic order by means of the principle of Islamic priority (*sābiqa*). More than that, he had allowed them almost complete autonomy because he had no alternative: they were firmly established in Kūfa and the Kūfan territories at an early stage, they were numerous, and even if 'Umar had wanted to exercise tighter control over them he would scarcely have had the means at his disposal.

The interests of the Egyptian and Baṣran early-comers were less firmly identified with 'Umar's notions of a new social order. The Arab conquest of Egypt had come relatively late, so that 'Umar was not there faced with early-comers as entrenched and intractable as those at Kūfa. It was in such circumstances that he sought to seize the opportunity of insisting, albeit with limited success, upon Egyptian remittances to Medina; there is no evidence to suggest that such heavy demands were made by the caliph on Kūfan revenue. Similarly, while at Kūfa the so-called *ahl al-ayyām wa'l-Qādisiyya* were granted preferential stipends of 3,000 and 2,000 dirhams per annum respectively, in the case of Egypt 'Umar laid down that the maximum stipends of 200 dinars per annum were for "*man bāya'a taḥta 'l-shajara*" and for a few others, including 'Amr.⁸³ At the *miṣr* of Baṣra concentrated settlement had come about

⁸² "Kūfan Political Alignments", 351 [Chap. 1].

⁸³ FM, 145, 230-31; BF, 456; Ibn Sa'd, IV, pt. ii, 8. Cf. "Kufan Political Alignments", 349 [Chap. 1].

slowly.⁸⁴ The "Baṣrans" in 'Umar's later years were mostly neighboring Tamīmī and Bakrī subclans and splinter-groups which had spread over al-Ahwāz and into adjacent regions; even by the time of 'Umar's death there appears to have been no central control from the *miṣr* of Baṣra itself, for Sayf says that Abū Mūsā was "in charge of the prayer there, but its territories (*'amal*) were split up and disunited".⁸⁵ The Egyptian and Baṣran opposition to 'Uthmān therefore contained less overtones of 'Umar's Islamic order than the Kūfan opposition did, and it may be for this reason that they did not style themselves *qurrā'*.

The differences between the provincial groups are less striking than the similarities, however, for all three groups had it in common that they were made up of minor old-guard leaders with their small followings, opposing the implementation of an organization which was out of their hands and was carried out by executives and clan leaders who diminished their erstwhile rôle and impinged upon what they regarded as their rights. Their grounds of grievance were much the same—unwelcome centralized authority and interference with *de facto* privileges which they had arrogated to themselves; a changing political situation arising from the arrival of newcomers; the consequent strengthening of the position of traditional clan leaders and the concomitant waning of those early-comers whose only claim to stature was that they were early-comers. The Egyptian counterpart to al-Ash'ath ibn Qays was clearly Mu'āwiya ibn Ḥudayj al-Tujībī, the leader of al-Sakūn. Only in Syria was there no opposition whatsoever to 'Uthmān in 35. Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān's control there was firm and he had been quick to stifle dissent, as in the case of Abū Dharr. The Arabs in Syria were scattered through the *junds* instead of being concentrated in a single *miṣr*; the position of Shuraḥbīl

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⁸⁴ The establishment of Kūfa arose from the need at that time for a permanent reserve base for the fighting men in 'Irāq, many of whom had come from afar, from which they could both hold the Sasanian front and support other fronts, notably the activated Jazira front. The rôle of Baṣra was decidedly subsidiary to this; it may be seen as having superseded al-Ubulla in controlling the waterway, but beyond that it began as no more than a convenient centre for attempts to rally and control local tribesmen, and the initial force of non-locals there numbered only a few hundred. While we possess a detailed account of the marking-out (*ikhṭiṭāt*) of Kūfa, the absence of one in the case of Baṣra indicates that settlement there was less organized; there are references only to a person who was in charge of *inzāl/tanzīl* there (Ṭab. I, 2381, 2488).

⁸⁵ Ṭab. I, 2713 (*'alā ṣalātihā, wa-kāna 'amaluḥā muftaraq^{an} ghayr majmū'*).

ibn al-Simţ al-Kindī at Ḥimş is a telling example of the rein allowed by Mu'āwiya to tribal leaders in Syrian *junds*⁸⁶ —and merely a foretaste of the power structure he set up when he became caliph.⁸⁷ Finally, of interest in this context is the report that Mu'āwiya, when he reconquered Cyprus in 32/652-53, settled there 12,000 *ahl al-dimān*, for the names of individuals in that force leave little doubt that it included many of those Syrian early-comers whose standing was more "Islamic" than tribal.⁸⁸

OTHER ALIGNMENTS AT MEDINA

The opposition to 'Uthmān at Medina itself came from three main quarters, and it was the existence of this opposition that made his murder by the provincials possible. Of these three main groups, the first to which attention will be paid is that of those Muhājirūn and other prominent *ṣaḥāba* who complained that he had departed from his undertaking to adhere to the Islamic order as it was at the death of 'Umar. From their point of view, 'Uthmān's alteration in 29/649-50 of the number of *rak'as* to be prayed at Mīnā, with the mere justification that this was his opinion (*ra'y^{un} ra'aytuhu*),⁸⁹ had been only one early example of many deplorable innovations and incidents. 'Uthmān's increasing use of his own family in order effectively to organize Arabia and the conquered territories, and the great wealth gained by his relatives in so doing, inevitably led to rancour among, and a diminution of, the gubernatorial rôle of the prominent *ṣaḥāba*. Shortly before his death in 32/652-53, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf is supposed to have declared that 'Uthmān had transgressed upon his undertaking to him (*khālafa mā a'ṭanī*), and desired that 'Uthmān should not be allowed to pray over his corpse.⁹⁰ 'Abdallāh ibn Mas'ūd died in the same year, reportedly having made the same request. He had earlier resigned (or been dismissed) from the

465 Kūfan treasury | and moved to Medina, where he criticized 'Uthmān for his changes (*ghayyara, baddala*). 'Uthmān had him ejected from the mosque and beaten when he spoke out of turn and kept him at Medina

⁸⁶ Note for example the evidence of his influence immediately before Şiffin — Minqarī, 44ff.

⁸⁷ "Kūfan Political Alignments", 347-48 [Chap. 1].

⁸⁸ BF, 153-54.

⁸⁹ Tab. I, 2833-35; BA. V, 39.

⁹⁰ BA. V, 57. See also Ibn A'tham, II, 151-52.

after Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam counselled that Ibn Mas'ūd had already corrupted the people of 'Irāq and that if he were allowed to go to Syria he would do the same there.⁹¹

Another of the prominent Muhājirūn, Abū Dharr, was also critical of 'Uthmān's favouring of his own family, and in Syria he made unflattering comparisons between 'Uthmān and 'Umar. He also criticized Mu'āwiya who, having tried unsuccessfully to buy him off, wrote to 'Uthmān that Abū Dharr was corrupting Syria. 'Uthmān then exiled Abū Dharr to al-Rabadha, where he died in 31/651-52.⁹² Yet another example can be seen in the case of 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, who was also critical of 'Uthmān and was beaten as a result.⁹³ He is reported subsequently to have played a part in fomenting Egyptian hostility towards 'Uthmān⁹⁴ and was among the first of the Medinans to join the provincials when they came to 'Uthmān's house.⁹⁵ The complaints of these and similar individuals were symptoms of a situation in which the principles of Islamic leadership and Islamic priority fostered by 'Umar were becoming less and less important; these *ṣaḥāba* were therefore protesting principally against a devaluation of their own importance.

The second group of opposition at Medina included the Anṣār, whose loss of influence under 'Uthmān has been described by Veselý.⁹⁶ Under 'Umar they had been appointed to positions of authority, but this ceased to be the case under 'Uthmān. The introduction of irksome regulations⁹⁷ and such appointments as that of al-Ḥārith ibn al-Ḥakam over the market at Medina⁹⁸ made the Anṣār feel increasingly impotent in their own town and with only a few exceptions—and these were people who were personally dependent upon him—the Anṣār were solid in their dislike of 'Uthmān. In this group too, although they could also be regarded as

⁹¹ BA. V, 36-37. Ibn Mas'ūd's reactionary spirit is best summed up in his own reported words: *sharr al-umūr muḥdathātuhā wa-kullu muḥdath bid'a wa-kullu bid'a ḍalāla wa-kullu ḍalāla fi'l-nār.*

⁹² Ṭab. I, 2858-59, 2862; BA. V, 52 ff; Ibn A'tham, II, 155-59.

⁹³ BA. V, 48, 83; Ibn A'tham, II, 154-55. See also Ṭab. I, 3029.

⁹⁴ BA. V, 51; Ṭab. I, 2943-44, 2951. Maqrīzī (I, 296) merely says that 'Uthmān had sent 'Ammār to Egypt "*fi ba'd umūrihi*".

⁹⁵ BA. V, 59. See also Ṭab. I, 2961.

⁹⁶ R. Veselý, "Die Anṣār im ersten Bürgerkriege (36-40 d.H.)", *Archiv Orientalní* 26 (1958), 36-37.

⁹⁷ Ṭab. I, 3027-28; BA. V, 27.

⁹⁸ BA. V, 47; Ibn A'tham, II, 151.

connected with the first group, there were various tribal oddments from Khuzā'a, Sa'd ibn Bakr, Hudhayl, Juhayna and Muzayna, who were also Medinans and who, together with the so-called *Anbāṭ Yathrib*, were vigorous participants in the siege of 'Uthman.⁹⁹ People from these same groups had been among Muḥammad's earliest supporters and had in some cases been accorded the status of Muhājirūn by him.¹⁰⁰ Both they and the Anṣār had been Islamic leaders in the time of 'Umar, but it was not only the restrictions at Medina and the decline of their importance that accounted for their opposition to 'Uthmān; they were the people who stood to lose by any concession on the part of 'Uthmān to Egyptian demands that the Medinans should not take stipends.

The third group was scarcely distinguishable from the first up to the time of 'Uthmān's death, for many of its number were Muhājirūn and *ṣaḥāba* and all of them were opposed to Umayyad domination. But they differed from those who made up the first group in that, under their masks as Muhājirūn, they in fact favoured Qurashī domination. This was the group which formed around Ṭalḥa ibn 'Ubaydallāh and included most of his clan, Banū Taym ibn 'Adī, among them 'Ā'isha: al-Zubayr ibn al-Awwām, who was from Banu Asad ibn 'Abd al-Uzza, also came to be associated with this group. In the early years of 'Uthmān's caliphate Quraysh were able to move into the newly conquered territories, for 'Uthmān, unlike 'Umar, did not confine them to the Ḥijāz.¹⁰¹ They acquired wealth and influence, and Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr became extremely successful as investors and land-owners. Ṭalḥa acquired extensive estates and took advantage of the land-exchange in 'Iraq; he used some of his large income for taking care of the B. Taym.¹⁰² Al-Zubayr also had a large income and interests in the Ḥijāz, Egypt, Kūfa and Baṣra.¹⁰³ The principal ground of Ṭalḥa's opposition, when it arose, was that 'Uthmān, in his quest for dependable executives, had chosen his relatives for the task and so had significantly strengthened the Banū Umayya *vis-à-vis* the other Qurashī clans. He became increasingly

⁹⁹ BA. V, 99.

¹⁰⁰ W. M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina* (Oxford, 1956), 66, 242, 256-57.

¹⁰¹ Ṭab. I, 3026.

¹⁰² BA/MS, II, 499, 502 3; Ibn Sa'd, III, pt. i, 157-58; Ṭab. I, 2854; al-Ya'qūbī, *Mushākalat al-nās li-zamānihim*, ed. W. Millward (Beirut, 1962), 13.

¹⁰³ BA/MS, II, 430-31; Ibn Sa'd, III, pt. i, 77; al-Ya'qūbī, *op. cit.* 14.

critical of 'Uthmān,¹⁰⁴ and his wealth rendered abortive 'Uthmān's attempts to buy his cooperation;¹⁰⁵ rather, he appears to have played upon his influence at Baṣra and its territories to encourage opposition to 'Uthmān.¹⁰⁶ Concerning his rôle at the time of the siege, al-Madā'inī reports that none of the *ṣaḥāba* was more active against 'Uthmān than Ṭalḥa,¹⁰⁷ and the account of al-Wāqidī relates that Sūdān ibn Ḥumrān emerged from 'Uthmān's house saying "Where is Ṭalḥa ibn 'Ubaydallāh? We have killed Ibn 'Affān."¹⁰⁸ Al-Zubayr, on the other hand, kept clear of the last stages of the siege.¹⁰⁹ So did 'Ā'isha, who went to Mecca, but she had already played a part in fomenting hostility towards 'Uthmān, as already mentioned. There can be little doubt that she hoped that 'Uthmān would be killed and that Ṭalḥa would assume control.¹¹⁰

There were, however, others at Medina who, ostensibly at least, were neither for nor against 'Uthmān. Among them were individuals such as 'Abdallāh ibn | 'Umar, Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ and al-Mughīra 467
ibn Shu'ba; among them too 'Alī and Banū Hāshim should be counted. During the preceding years of 'Uthmān's rule, 'Alī had appeared as a restraining influence upon 'Uthmān without being in direct opposition to him. He had insisted upon the punishment of al-Walīd ibn 'Uqba when the charges against him were deemed proved according to the prevailing legal standards,¹¹¹ and he had intervened when 'Uthmān had been about to punish the bearer of a letter from the Kūfan *qurrā'*.¹¹² He had also shown sympathy with Abū Dharr¹¹³ and had spoken strongly in the defence of 'Ammār. Ibn A'tham makes the point that 'Alī knew that 'Uthmān would not dare to act against him.¹¹⁴ It was 'Alī who conveyed to 'Uthmān the criticisms of the *ṣaḥāba*¹¹⁵ and later acted on 'Uthmān's

¹⁰⁴ BA. V, 15, 424; Ibn A'tham, II, 185-87.

¹⁰⁵ BA. V, 7, 20; Ṭab. I, 3037-38.

¹⁰⁶ BA/MS, I, 349; Ṭab. I, 3127.

¹⁰⁷ BA. V, 81. For further evidence of his activity at this time, see Ṭab. I, 2989, 3000, 3037; BA. V, 20, 68-70, 71, 74, 77, 90; Ibn A'tham, II, 229.

¹⁰⁸ Ṭab. I, 3001.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn A'tham, II, 3011, 3019.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3040; BA/MS, I, 346; BA. V, 91.

¹¹¹ BA. V, 33; Ibn A'tham, II, 168.

¹¹² BA. V, 41-42; Ibn A'tham, II, 184.

¹¹³ BA. V, 54; Ibn A'tham, II, 158-59.

¹¹⁴ Ibn A'tham, II, 164.

¹¹⁵ Ṭab. I, 2937; BA. V, 60.

behalf as negotiator with the provincials when they came to Medina.¹¹⁶ It was then that a real barrier of mistrust between 'Alī and 'Uthmān's family appeared, and shortly afterwards the Egyptians apprehended the letter to Ibn Sa'd and returned to Medina.¹¹⁷ While there is no evidence that 'Alī made much use of his personal influence to put an end to the siege, he nevertheless made efforts to mitigate its severity, notably by his insistence that 'Uthmān should be allowed water.¹¹⁸ It is reported that he asked Ṭalḥa to end the siege, but that Ṭalḥa said that he would not do so until the B. Umayya gave satisfaction (*ḥattā tuṭiyā Banū Umayya al-ḥaqq min anfusihā*).¹¹⁹ More than that 'Alī could not do, for by standing up for 'Uthmān he would be standing up for the Umayyads; nor could he leave Medina altogether, for he had no intention of allowing Ṭalḥa to profit from 'Uthmān's death. He therefore had no option but to stay on the sidelines.

CONCLUSION

The main conflict in the time of 'Uthmān was not so much between the Meccans and "tribesmen", as Professor Gibb has suggested, as between interests rooted in traditional patterns of leadership and privilege and interests rooted in a new and different pattern of leadership and privilege which had emerged in the time of Muḥammad. Abū Bakr and 'Umar. At Medina 'Umar counted on the support of those who were loyal to the concept of unity under Medinan hegemony. In the conquered territories his inability to quickly establish close control and uniform organization tended to be passed off as a reluctance to do so; moreover, it was accompanied by an affirmation of the collective privileged position of provincial early-comers. The subsequent conflict had two main aspects. It was a post-conquest conflict between the increasing power of central authority and provincial early-comer reaction for the retention of autonomy. At the same time, however, there was a developing conflict within the provinces between the re-emerging old-style tribal leaders, who possessed political acumen and were capable of mobilizing tribal support, and early-comers of lesser tribal stature who

¹¹⁶ Ṭab. I, 2969; BA. V, 61, 63-64; Ibn A'tham, II, 209.

¹¹⁷ Ṭab. I, 3038; BA. V, 89, 95; Ibn A'tham, II, 211ff.

¹¹⁸ Ṭab. I, 3010; BA. V, 71, 90; Ibn A'tham, II, 219.

¹¹⁹ Ṭab. I, 3037.

were opposed to any diminution of their independence or reduction of the "Islamic" privileges acquired by them at the time of the conquest.

Once provincial opposition to 'Uthmān became active, first from the Kūfan *qurrā'* and then notably from their Egyptian counterparts, it was given further impetus by malcontents at Medina. The situation in the Ḥijāz resembled that in the provinces, except that here the old-style power groups at one end of the scale were Qurashī, notably Umayya, and the "Islamic" parvenus at the other end of the scale were various *ṣaḥāba* (either non-Qurashī or insignificant Qurashī), Anṣār and other Medinan groups. Here there was a further complication, however, for the opposition led by Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, and including 'Ā'isha, was able by reason of its Muhājirī and *ṣaḥābī* character to present an Islamic face, but at the same time also had a decidedly Qurashī one. Reference has been made to the indications that this group had been active in fomenting hostility to 'Uthmān at Baṣra and Kūfa, and there is even a suggestion that the Baṣran and Kūfan groups at Medina regarded Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr respectively as their champions at one point at least during the events immediately preceding the murder of 'Uthmān.¹²⁰ This suggestion is not repeated in the record of events after his murder, however, for then Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr were no longer able to maintain the same breadth of support in the Ḥijāz; they were thrown back on the hard core of their support, at Mecca. The strongest groups at Medina were the Egyptians and the Anṣār, but the Egyptians now faded out of the picture, presumably because most of them were anxious to return to the fray in Egypt without delay.¹²¹ This left the Anṣār, and for them there was no question of siding with Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr. They had no choice but to rally around 'Alī.

This initiative brought the Kūfan and Baṣran groups at Medina into line behind 'Alī. Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr soon saw that they would gain nothing from pretended support for 'Alī, and they and their Qurashī supporters gathered at Mecca. The situation in the Ḥijāz was now one of stalemate, with each side capable of raising no more than about 1,000

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2955, 3076-77.

¹²¹ Some Egyptians, however, appear to have stayed in the Ḥijāz—see BA. V, 361, where, in the account of Ibn al-Zubayr's unsuccessful defense of Mecca against al-Hajjāj (72/692), there is a reference to "*qawm qadīmū ma'a Ibn 'Udays min Miṣr thumma sārū khawārij*".

men¹²² and neither strong enough to overcome the other. The Meccan initiative in moving to Baṣra and using ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Āmir’s ability to mobilize support there (principally from the Azd and Ḍabba of Fārs—note ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Ma‘mar al-Taymī’s earlier rôle in Fārs | until his death¹²³) was countered by ‘Alī’s move to Kūfa. In the circumstances, it is likely that al-Ash‘ath ibn Qays al-Kindī and Jarīr ibn ‘Abdallāh al-Bajalī would have sided with Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr if they had not been remote in Ādharbayjān and Hamadhān respectively. As it was, ‘Alī contrived to raise substantial support at the *miṣr* of Kūfa.

The rôle of certain members of the Umayyad family in these events is interesting. Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr were concerned with placing responsibility for ‘Uthmān’s death upon ‘Alī, once they had broken with him, and some Umayyads were prepared to go along with this. We therefore find the apparent paradox of ‘Ā’isha and Ṭalḥa, who had been among ‘Uthmān’s foremost critics, being joined by Umawīs such as Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam and al-Walīd ibn ‘Uqba. Their diverging aims were clearly illustrated, however, when, on the occasion of the departure of the Meccan force in the direction of Baṣra, Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ suggested to Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr that they should agree to a hand-over to [one of] ‘Uthmān’s sons. When they refused, reportedly with the words “Shall we leave the shaykhs of the Muhājirūn and make it [scil. *al-khilāfa* or *imārat al-mu‘minīn*] over to their sons?”. Sa‘īd left the force.¹²⁴ The continued presence of other Umawīs in the force does not affect the proposition that two divergent aims existed. Such Umawīs were prepared temporarily to suppress their long-term goals for the sake of dealing first with the common enemy, ‘Alī. There can be no more poignant illustration of the existence of this fundamental split than the numerous indications that the “stray arrow” which killed Ṭalḥa at the Battle of the Camel was in fact shot at him deliberately by Marwān.¹²⁵

Mu‘āwiya therefore clearly had no interest in supporting Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr; he would have to deal with whichever side was victorious at

¹²² On the Meccan force: Ṭab. I, 3101, 3105; BA/MS, I, 346-47. On ‘Alī’s force: Ṭab. I, 3142-43, 3152 compared with 3155, 3181; BA/MS, I, 350; al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, II, 211.

¹²³ Ṭab. I, 2830; Khalifa, 137; BF, 390.

¹²⁴ Ṭab. I, 3103 (*nada’u shuyūkh al-muhājirīn wa-naj’aluhā li-abnā’ihim?*).

¹²⁵ For reports which say unequivocally that Marwān shot Ṭalḥa, see BA/MS, I, 355; Khalifa, 165; Ibn A‘tham, II, 326. For reports which do not mention Marwān, see Ṭab. I, 3171, 3184, 3192; BA/MS, I, 350.

Baṣra, and in the interim he bided his time. After almost twenty years in Syria, he knew the value of the secure power base he had there. 'Uthmān had persisted in staying at Medina and had paid for his mistake; he had, moreover, relied too much on members of his immediate family and had gone too far in attempts to compromise with dissatisfied groups. Mu'āwiya had nothing to gain by making any serious attempt to save him; once dead, however, 'Uthmān provided him with an opportunity for making political capital which he was quick to seize when he came to resist 'Alī. Nor did Mu'āwiya have any illusions about the "Islamic" leadership. While 'Alī was beset by the problems of attempting a final compromise between "Islamic" leadership and tribal leadership, in order to form an 'Irāqi coalition, Mu'āwiya's lines of authority through the established tribal leaders remained firm. The lesson of Uthman's murder had confirmed the importance of that.

3

The Šifīn Arbitration Agreement

I. THE BACKGROUND

Stage 1

IN THE FIRST HALF of Šafar 37/late July–early August 657, there took place some important developments in the war between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya which brought to an end the prolonged confrontation at Šifīn. After a series of duels, skirmishes and small-scale engagements, followed by a lull in hostilities in Muḥarram 37, there was a resumption of fighting in Šafar which culminated in the most serious engagement of the confrontation. There were signs of rapid escalation and it became clear that, if the fighting were to continue, the total forces of the two sides would probably soon be engaged. As the battle progressed—and this is reported by both Iraqi and Syro-Medinan authorities—the Syrians became fearful that they were losing,¹ and it was at this point that Mu‘āwiya and ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ exploited the divisions which existed within the ranks of

From the *Journal of Semitic Studies* 17 (1972), pages 93 to 113.

¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 2 vols., MS Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Reisül-kuttap Mustafa Efendi), nos. 597, 598 (hereafter BA/MS), I, 378, 381; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫ al-rusul wa’l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.*, three series (Leiden, 1879–1901) (hereafter Ṭab.), I, 3329.

the coalition which 'Alī had attempted to form.² They cannot have been unaware that 'Alī's following included many groups which preferred not to fight but might nevertheless be drawn into the battle if it continued.³ We may note particularly that al-Ash'ath ibn Qays al-Kindī, who did not take part in the battle, is reported by al-Sha'bī publicly to have expressed fears of attack from the Persians and Byzantines if these two Arab armies cut each other to pieces; on being informed of this, Mu'āwiya is reported to have regarded it as representative of the opinion of *dhawī al-aḥlām wa'l-nuhā* and to have ordered the attaching of *maṣāḥif* | to spearheads.⁴ According to al-Zuhrī, however, it was 'Amr ibn 'Aṣ who suggested this, when he advised Mu'āwiya *mur rajul^{an} fal-yanshur al-muṣḥaf thumma yaqūl: yā ahl al-'Irāq baynanā wa-baynakum kitāb allāh, nad'ūkum ilā mā bayna fātihatihī wa-khātimatihī*; he went on to point out that this would cause disagreement among 'Alī's followers and increase the obedience of Mu'āwiya's own followers.⁵ Mu'āwiya thereupon caused a *muṣḥaf*, or a number of *maṣāḥif*, to be raised up on the points of spears, and his followers called out *hādhā kitāb allāh baynanā wa-baynakum, man li-thughūr al-Shām ba'da ahl al-Shām wa-man li-thughūr al-'Irāq ba'da ahl al-'Irāq?*⁶

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Whether it was Mu'āwiya or 'Amr who instigated this is of no great importance here.⁷ What is important is that this call was addressed neither to 'Alī, nor to 'Alī's following as a whole, but to the 'Irāqīs, who made up most but not all of his following. The Syrians were clearly attempting to isolate 'Alī from his 'Irāqī followers. By referring to the *thughūr* of Syria and 'Irāq, they were echoing the sentiments

² These divisions are discussed in "Kūfan Political Alignments and their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A.D.", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2 (1971), 361ff. (hereafter "Kūfan Political Alignments") [Chapter 1 of this volume].

³ For an example of earlier Syrian awareness of the divisions within 'Alī's following, see Ṭab. I, 3257.

⁴ Naṣr ibn Muẓāḥim al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Šiffin*, ed. A. M. Hārūn, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1382/1962-63) (hereafter WS), 480-81.

⁵ BA/MS I, 379-80.

⁶ BA/MS I, 378; Ṭab. I, 3329. Other references to this incident are BA/MS, 380, 381; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-fuṭūḥ*, I-IV (Hyderabad, 1388/1968-1391/1971) (hereafter A'th.), III, 306; Khalifa ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, I, ed. A. Ḍ. al-'Umarī (al-Najaf, 1386/1967) (hereafter Khal.), 176.

⁷ E. L. Petersen, *Alī and Mu'āwiya in Early Arabic Tradition* (Copenhagen, 1964), makes much of this distinction.

of al-Ash'ath and appealing to regional interests. Mu'āwiya's declared minimum requirement was Syrian autonomy under his own leadership, and this had never changed; it was in defence of that requirement that he had succeeded in mobilizing the support of the Syrians, who swore allegiance to him not as *amīr al-mu'minīn* but as *amīr* to fight 'Alī,⁸ that is, in so far as 'Alī posed a threat to Syrian autonomy. If 'Alī had been prepared to leave Mu'āwiya in Syria and to refrain from interfering in Syrian affairs, and if Mu'āwiya had really been prepared to settle for no more than a free hand in Syria, the Syrians would very probably have been ready to swear allegiance to 'Alī as *amīr al-mu'minīn*. But these conditions did not obtain and the confrontation at Ṣiffīn was threatening to turn into a resolution of their differences by force of arms. What

95 Mu'āwiya was aiming to achieve at the time of the raising of the *maṣāḥif* was to isolate 'Alī from his 'Irāqī followers by putting the conflict in a different light, as a senseless conflict between 'Irāqīs and Syrians—senseless because the two parties had similar types of regional interests.

Notwithstanding the fact that it is what was said at the time of the raising of the *maṣāḥif* that is of particular importance, a few words about the *maṣāḥif* themselves will not be out of place, if only because of the way in which this act of raising them on spears has appealed to the imagination of later commentators. What, first of all, are we to understand by the word *muṣḥaf* in this context? While most reports, including all the 'Irāqī ones, say that the *maṣāḥif* were raised on spears, the report of al-Zuhrī says that Mu'āwiya followed 'Amr's advice *mur rajul^{an} fal-yanshur al-muṣḥaf* . . . by instructing a Syrian called Ibn Lahya to this effect, that is, to display a single *muṣḥaf*.⁹ Ṣāliḥ ibn Kaysān also refers to Ibn Lahya when he reports that, when it was said that Mu'āwiya's side was being defeated, Ibn Lahya came with a *muṣḥaf*, and with him others bearing *maṣāḥif*, saying *baynanā wa-baynakum mā fihā*.¹⁰ Neither of these traditions mentions spears and neither indicates large numbers of *maṣāḥif*. There are therefore grounds for caution regarding reports which imply that great numbers of *maṣāḥif* were raised, including *muṣḥaf Dimashq al-a'zam* which allegedly required

⁸ BA/MS I, 372, 379. See also Tab. I, 3233, 3249, where 'Amr's oath is '*alā 'l-khilāf* and '*alā muḥārabāt 'Alī*.

⁹ BA/MS I, 380.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* I, 381.

ten men to hold it aloft on spear-points.¹¹ This is particularly the case if we understand *mushḥaf* to mean a complete version of the Qur'ān, for not only is it hard to believe that more than a few complete versions were available but it is also difficult to visualize the impalement or other form of attachment of such versions to the points of spears. It is therefore noteworthy that other references in the Arabic sources to *maṣāḥif* show that they could be worn on the neck. Ṭabarī mentions two Jews in pre-Islamic Yemen who had *mushḥafs* on their necks¹² and Ibn al-Kalbī, when referring to the death at the battle of the Camel of the *qādī* and former Christian, Ka'b ibn Sūr, remarks that on his neck there was a *mushḥaf*.¹³ These two items of information suggest that certain amulets may have been called *maṣāḥif* and this is in accord with our knowledge that there was among the Jews of the time a widespread use of amulets, which were worn on the arm or neck and consisted of parchment bearing the name of God | or scriptural passages.¹⁴ Although there is no evidence that the use of similar amulets was a common practice among Muslims at the time of *Şifḥīn*, it is nevertheless possible that the display of *al-mushḥaf*, that is, a complete version of the Qur'ān, provoked a further display of *maṣāḥif*, which may have been pieces of parchment inscribed with words from the Qur'ān and used as amulets. 96

In order to understand why a *mushḥaf* or *maṣāḥif* should have been displayed or raised at all in this connexion, it is necessary to take note of two precedents at the battle of the Camel. The first of these took place immediately before the battle when 'Alī ordered a follower of his to raise *al-mushḥaf*^a or *mushḥaf*^{an} between the two opposing lines. Apparently he hoped by this means to avoid the onset of fighting, although this came to nothing when the man was shot dead and fighting ensued.¹⁵ Secondly, Ka'b ibn Sūr is variously reported to have raised *al-mushḥaf*, *kitāb allāh* and *mushḥaf 'Ā'isha* during the battle of the Camel, in the hope of stopping the fighting, and to have been killed while so occupied.¹⁶ The absence of information about any established procedure prior to the battle of the Camel for calling for a halt in hostilities suggests that

¹¹ WS, 481.

¹² Ṭab. I, 905 (*maṣāḥifuhumā 'alā a'nāqihimā*).

¹³ BA/MS I, 352—but cf. the next paragraph of this article.

¹⁴ *The Jewish Encyclopædia*, 12 vols. (New York, 1901–1906), s.v. "Amulet".

¹⁵ Ṭab. I, 3186, 3189; BA/MS I, 353; A'th. II, 315.

¹⁶ Ṭab. I, 3171, 3191, 3211.

one did not exist in previous methods of Arab warfare, in which one small group had fought another until it was either victorious or took to flight. It was only with the advent of Islam that Arabs formed armies of thousands and at first these Muslim armies fought only non-Muslim armies and did not to our knowledge follow any particular method for calling an end to hostilities. The battle of the Camel was the first major confrontation of Muslims on opposing sides and marked the first occasion when such a procedure was needed. That the battle of the Camel was the first occasion when a *muṣḥaf* was raised for the purpose is confirmed by 'Alī's reaction to the raising of *maṣāḥif* at Ṣiffīn, when he said *balāghahum mā fa'alt^u min raf' al-muṣḥaf li-ahl al-Jamal, fa-fa'alū mithlahu, fa-lam yurīdu mā aradt^u*.¹⁷ From this it may be concluded that, whatever else may have been implicit in the action, an ostensible reason for the raising of *maṣāḥif* by the Syrians was that, in the absence of any other procedure for bringing about the cessation of hostilities, this recently tried method could be used again; *rufi'at al-maṣāḥif wa-da'aw ilā 'l-ṣulḥ* says Khalīfa.¹⁸

97 This call for peace and appeal to the interests of the 'Irāqīs sufficed to cause an immediate split within 'Alī's following, with only a minority, including 'Alī himself, being in favour of continued fighting. This minority was the hard core of 'Alī's supporters, both Ḥijāzīs and 'Irāqīs, who had much to fear from Mu'āwiya, depended upon 'Alī, and sought to strengthen themselves by strengthening him. An attempt has already been made to show how the Kūfan part of this support (*shī'a*) was led by certain Islamic old guard leaders, notably Mālik al-Ashtar ibn al-Ḥārith al-Nakha'ī, whose waning influence had been restored by 'Alī.¹⁹

The rest of the 'Irāqīs, however, favoured settlement, but for differing reasons. On the one hand, the established clan leaders had gone with 'Alī to Ṣiffīn because they wanted to assure their positions and interests, not because they were prepared to be killed fighting the Syrians, and so wanted any excuse for peace; we may note, for example, the attitude of the leaders of various sections of Rabī'a, whose mouthings of their intention to support 'Alī in whatever course he might take were interspersed with obvious hints at their reluctance to fight and their preference for

¹⁷ BA/MS I, 378.

¹⁸ Khal., 176.

¹⁹ "Kūfan Political Alignments", 361ff. [Chap. 1].

a reconciliation.²⁰ The most powerful of the clan leaders, al-Ash‘ath, whose interests lay in ensuring that neither ‘Alī nor Mu‘āwiya gained a clear advantage, was more outspoken; he insisted upon settlement and is reported to have told ‘Alī that not a single Yemeni would fight for him if he did not accept the proposal.²¹ On the other hand, the majority of the *qurrā’* “who afterwards became Khawārij”, who were Islamic old guard standing apart from the clan structure, while favouring a settlement, expected a settlement of a particular kind.²² In considering the position taken by them, it is important to notice that all that had so far happened had been a show of *maṣāḥif* and a call for the application of *kitāb allāh*. There was as yet no indication that ‘Alī would not be regarded as *amīr al-mu‘minīn* by all or that there would be established the type of arbitration agreement which was in fact subsequently arranged. What mattered to the *qurrā’* was that there had been a call for the application of the *kitāb allāh*, which they regarded as the main function of the *amīr al-mu‘minīn*, and they made it clear to ‘Alī that they would not countenance his rejection of such a proposal.²³ From their point of view, there was no need for continued fighting. ‘Alī had come from Medina to ‘Irāq to deal with Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr and when he had finished with them he had turned his attention to Mu‘āwiya. He had shown that he intended his stay at Kūfa to be temporary and so had given the impression that, once he had dealt with Mu‘āwiya, he would return to Medina, since he would have no further need of Kūfa as a base. The *qurrā’* had at first been hesitant about siding with ‘Alī, but most of them had gone to Ṣiffīn and taken part in the fighting because they wanted to give ‘Alī sufficient backing to reach a settlement. When the Syrians began to lose, raised the *maṣāḥif* and made their announcement, most of the *qurrā’* saw no need for continued fighting. In their view all that remained was the matter of drawing up a formal peace with Mu‘āwiya; ‘Alī would be recognized as *amīr al-mu‘minīn* by both Syrians and ‘Irāqīs, return to Medina, confine himself to the application of *kitāb allāh* and leave the people of ‘Irāq and Syria to look after their own affairs.

²⁰ WS, 484–88. Rabī‘a were *al-jabha al-‘uzmā* on ‘Alī’s side.

²¹ A‘th. III, 307; WS, 484; BA/MS I, 383 (... al-Sha‘bī - “the most opposed to those who wanted to fight were al-Ash‘ath and *ahl al-Yaman*”).

²² On this and what follows, see “Kūfan Political Alignments”, 363–64 [Chap. 1].

²³ A‘th. III, 312; WS, 429–30; Ṭab. I, 3330.

Stage 2

Such was the number of his followers who insisted that fighting should be halted and that efforts be made to reach a settlement with the Syrians, that 'Alī, having agreed to their demand that he prevent al-Ashtar from continuing the fight, sent al-Ash'ath to ascertain exactly what Mu'āwiya proposed. Mu'āwiya told him that he had raised the *maṣāḥif* "so that you may send a man and we may send a man, to be *ḥakams*; we shall do whatever they agree upon";²⁴ a more detailed version reads "you and we shall return to what God has enjoined in his book; you will send from your side a man with whom you are satisfied and we shall send a man from our side. We shall then require them (*na'khudh 'alayhimā*) to act by what is in the book of God, not opposing it, then we shall follow whatever they agree upon".²⁵

No more than this appears to have been said. There is no evidence that Mu'āwiya made any specific reference at this point to the subject of the arbitration; in spite of his earlier harping on the blood of 'Uthmān and the need for a return to *shūrā*, he was now silent on these matters. 99 and al-Ash'ath clearly had no interest in forcing the issue. When he returned with news of Mu'āwiya's words, and their implication that two arbiters should arrive at some sort of settlement, most of those who were with 'Alī expressed their satisfaction with that.²⁶ 'Alī, who had by this time with some difficulty restrained al-Ashtar from fighting, could only acquiesce further and turned to the appointment of the *ḥakam* who would meet with 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, now named as Syrian *ḥakam*. On this question there immediately appeared a fundamental split about whether the *ḥakam* was to be 'Alī's representative or the representative of the 'Irāqīs, predominantly Kūfans. His own nominations, first of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Abbās and then of al-Ashtar, were swept aside both by al-Ash'ath and by leaders of the *qurrā* "who afterwards became Khawārij", who jointly insisted that only Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī was acceptable "because he warned us against that into which we have fallen". 'Alī told them that he could not be satisfied with Abū Mūsā, who had earlier prevented

²⁴ BA/MS I, 378.

²⁵ Tab. I, 3333. For other accounts, see WS, 498-99; A'th. III, 324-25; BA/MS I, 380.

²⁶ BA/MS I, 383 (*fa-kāna 'uzmuhum wa-jumhūrum muqirrin bi'l-taḥkīm rādīn bihi*). See also WS, 499.

people from joining him and who, having fled, had only recently been granted safe-conduct by him.²⁷

Once again, 'Alī could only acquiesce. As the agent of the *modus vivendi* achieved at Kūfa in 34/654-55,²⁸ Abū Mūsā was attractive to many Kūfans as the 'Irāqī representative. The move of al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays to put himself forward as *ḥakam*, which could be seen at least in part as an attempt to assert the Baṣran minority in 'Alī's predominantly Kūfan army, came to nothing.²⁹ In spite of the diversity of their aims, both al-Ash'ath and the *qurrā'* agreed on the need to make Abū Mūsā the *ḥakam*. The *qurrā'* chose Abū Mūsā because he had stood for provincial autonomy, non-involvement in outside squabbles and a fair deal for the representatives of the old order. Al-Ash'ath joined them in insisting upon Abū Mūsā because by so doing he ensured the prolonging of the deadlock between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya and put a check on 'Alī's power of action; in this way he sought to regain his former measure of independence and influence. For the rest of the Kūfans, the details of who should be *ḥakam* were probably of little interest. They owed no special allegiance to 'Alī but were prepared to give him formal support if he was in a position of strength. They saw no benefit in fighting the Syrians, however, and welcomed Mu'āwiya's proposal as a means of arriving at a peaceful settlement.

The dilemma of 'Alī and the collapse of his coalition were completed with the drawing up of a document, referred to in the sources variously as *kitāb al-qadīya*, *kitāb al-ṣulḥ*, or simply *al-wathīqa*. Even before this was drawn up, however, it appears that the anomalies of the situation were becoming evident to some of 'Alī's followers, for there is mention of a group of *qurrā'* who now came out in favour of continuing the fight; 'Alī could only point out to them that the majority favoured settlement and they then separated from him.³⁰ The drafting of the document proceeded only after 'Alī had agreed to be referred to by name and not as *amīr al-mu'minīn*. The sources relate that Mu'āwiya, or 'Amr, objected to the insertion of the title on the ground that if he were indeed *amīr al-mu'minīn*, as he asserted, Mu'āwiya would not have fought him;

²⁷ Tab. I, 3333-34; WS, 499-500; A'th. IV, 1-3; BA/MS I, 381 (which says that al-Ash'ath *wa-jāmi' al-qurrā'* insisted upon Abū Mūsā).

²⁸ See "Kūfan Political Alignments", 360-61 [Chap. 1].

²⁹ Tab. I, 3334; WS, 501; BA/MS I, 360; A'th. IV, 5-6.

³⁰ WS, 497; BA/MS I, 383-84 (numbers them at 4,000).

‘Alī, under pressure from al-Ash‘ath and, so we are told, bearing in mind the Prophetic precedent at Ḥudaybiya, allowed the erasure.³¹ It is difficult not to be suspicious of the coincidence of Mu‘āwiya demanding that ‘Alī erase the title *amīr al-mu‘minīn* and of his father Abū Sufyān earlier having demanded that the Prophet erase the title *rasūl allāh*. Nevertheless, every transmission of the document omits the title and ‘Alī is universally understood to have consented to this omission.

The document itself, which is the subject of close study in the second part of this article, occurs in two distinct versions, one of which is an elaboration of the other. It has already been suggested that the more elaborate version (Version B) should be regarded as spurious.³² and a detailed attempt will be made to justify this assessment below. In broad terms, both versions say that the *kitāb allāh* is to be between the two sides; that (although the subject of the arbitration is not clearly specified) it is the task of the arbiters to reach some sort of decision, which is to be binding; that in reaching this decision they should be guided by *kitāb allāh*; that, when they fail to find guidance there, they should resort to *al-sunna al-‘ādila al-jāmi‘a ghayr al-mufarriqa* (Version A) or *sunnat rasūl allāh al-jāmi‘a* (Version B). After the making of various provisions, such as the procedure to be followed in the event of the death of one of the arbiters, the text of the document concludes with stipulations relating to the time and place of the meeting of the arbiters. The names of witnesses from both sides (many more names in the case of Version B) are appended to the document.

The question of the type of *sunna* to which recourse could be had is central both to arriving at an explanation of the reaction to the document of those “who afterwards became Khawārij” and to determining the significance of the difference between the two versions. The two issues are of course intertwined, but we shall leave the details of the second until the next section and here concentrate on the first. The most detailed account of the reaction to the document is given in *Waq‘at Siffin* by Shaqīq ibn Salama, who describes how a great cry of *lā ḥukm^a illā li ‘llāh* went up among many of the ‘Irāqīs after the document had been drawn up. Shaqīq says that these “Khawārij” told ‘Alī that if he did not repent of his acceptance of the arbitration, as they had done, they would declare their quittance (*barā‘a*) of him; when ‘Alī said that he would not,

³¹ Ṭab. I, 3335; WS, 506; A‘th. IV, 8.

³² “Kūfan Political Alignments”, 364, n. 6 [above, 25, n. 93].

they were true to their word.³³ What they had in fact realized was that the document meant that, contrary to their expectation, ‘Alī would not be going back to Medina as an *amīr al-mu‘minīn* who was recognized by both Syrians and ‘Irāqīs, who would confine himself to applying the prescriptions of *kitāb allāh* and who would, accordingly, be the sort of *amīr al-mu‘minīn* they wanted; as Shaqīq ibn Salama points out, they had expected that he would be “named as *amīr al-mu‘minīn* by all, until the book may confirm him (or: set him apart) in his place”.³⁴ Instead of this ‘Alī had become party to an agreement in which he was not recognized as *amīr al-mu‘minīn*. Even more serious was that the same agreement (if we follow Version A) extended the authority of the arbiters beyond the *kitāb allāh* to the application of the vague *al-sunna al-‘ādila al-jāmi‘a ghayr al-mufarriqa*. What was this? Its presence in the text shows that the following of *kitāb allāh* was not thought likely to provide any basis for a solution. It carries with it no specification of whose *sunna* is meant; indeed it could mean any *sunna jāmi‘a*. As noted elsewhere,³⁵ the phrase *hilf jāmi‘ ghayr mufarriq* occurs in connexion with pre-Islamic alliances. The phrase compromised the authority of *kitāb allāh* and was understood as *taḥkīm al-rijāl fī dīn/kitāb allāh*. Shaqīq shows that the “Khawārij” were unequivocally opposed to this, when he related that they said “As for ‘what they do not find in the Book (sc. the words in the document), let *al-sunna al-‘ādila al-jāmi‘a ghayr al-mufarriqa* [be applied]’, they have not been sent to judge by other than the Book”;³⁶ and again “And concerning [the provision in the document] ‘If they come to something about which they know no *qur‘ān*, let *al-sunna al-‘ādila al-jāmi‘a ghayr al-mufarriqa* [be applied]’, neither one of the sides is permitted to leave the Book and the [Prophet’s(?)] *sunna* . . .”.³⁷ In short, version A provides us with a curious phrase, the explanation of which in turn accounts for the sudden “Khārijī” reaction and accusations of *taḥkīm al-rijāl fī kitāb allāh*. It was a phrase loaded with meaning in terms of clan organization and control, and this cut to the heart of the interests of the *qurrā’*. Version B of the document, which refers only to

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³³ WS, 513–14.

³⁴ WS, 517; and see “Kūfan Political Alignments”, 364, n. 5 [above, 25, n. 92].

³⁵ “Kūfan Political Alignments”, 365, n. 2 [above, 26, n. 95].

³⁶ WS, 515.

³⁷ WS, 516.

sunnat rasūl allāh al-jāmi'a and the like, could never have evoked such a reaction from them.

By this stage, fuel had also been added to the fire by the Syrian claim that the document was an agreement that the Qur'ān should be consulted on the question of the legality of the killing of 'Uthmān.³⁸ Here too was a ground for rejection of the document by the *qurrā'*, for they had no doubts that 'Uthmān had been justly killed. Mention of 'Uthmān by the Syrians at such a late but critical point in the proceedings needs to be noticed in conjunction with their earlier evasiveness on the subject. The whole affair bears every sign of having been a skilfully organized divisive manoeuvre, which successfully wrecked 'Alī's coalition. The purpose of the arbitration agreement had been served even before the opposing parties left Şifīn. The arbitration itself was a farce best summed up by Khalīfa in one sentence "the arbiters agreed on nothing".³⁹

II. THE DOCUMENT

While it could be argued on the grounds of the above interpretation alone that Version A of the document is preferable to Version B, it is possible to present other cogent reasons, connected principally with the provenance of the reports and the names of the witnesses, in order to justify this assessment. This section therefore deals with provenance, 103 contrasts the two versions (paying particular attention to *sunna* passages) and examines the lists of witnesses; some relevant observations by al-Jāḥiẓ are discussed; and various conclusions to be drawn from the two versions are summarized. The texts of the two versions and a comparison of the four renderings of paragraphs 2 and 3 of Version A are given at the end of the section.

Provenance

It is a striking point that our two most important sources for early Islamic history, the *Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa'l-mulūk* of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923)⁴⁰

³⁸ Shaqīq in WS, 515 (*in aḥalla 'l-kitāb damahu barī'nā minhu wa-mimman tawallā-hu wa-man yaṭlubu' damahu ... wa-in kāna kitāb allāh yamna' damahu ...*).

³⁹ Khal. 176.

⁴⁰ Ṭab. I, 3336-37.

and the *Ansāb al-ashrāf* of al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892)⁴¹ give only Version A in their accounts of the *Ṣiffīn* confrontation. The same is true of Ibn A‘tham (fl. 204/819) (although in an abbreviated rendering) in his important *Kitāb al-futūḥ*,⁴² of al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869) (although not without reservations on his part to which it will be necessary to return) in his *Risāla fi’l-ḥakamayn wa-taṣwīb amīr al-mu‘minīn ‘Alī*,⁴³ and of Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) (again in an abbreviated rendering) in his (if it is his) *Al-Imāma wa’l-siyāsa*.⁴⁴ The abbreviation of the document given by al-Ya‘qūbī (d. 284/897) avoids the issue and could be from either version.⁴⁵ Among the early sources, only the *Waq‘at Ṣiffīn* of Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim al-Minqarī (d. 212/827) gives both versions;⁴⁶ the later author of *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, Ibn Abī’l-Ḥadīd (d. c. 655/1257), repeats them both, evidently having taken them from al-Minqarī.⁴⁷ Al-Dīnawarī (d. c. 282/895), in his *Al-Akḥbār al-tiwāl*, is alone among early Islamic historical writers in giving only Version B.⁴⁸

A wide range of authorities is cited in connexion with Version A. Al-Ṭabarī’s rendering is given on the authority of Abū Mikhnaf, al-Balādhurī’s on the authority of all his sources (*qālū*), | Ibn A‘tham’s on the authority of one or more (he does not identify which) of the well-known narrators listed by him at the beginning of his account of the *Ṣiffīn* confrontation, and that of al-Jāḥiẓ on the authority of al-Zuhri and Muḥammad ibn Ishāq. In the *Waq‘at Ṣiffīn* of al-Minqarī, Version A is given “on the authority of ‘Umar ibn Sa’d [ibn Abī’l-Ṣayd al-Asadī] (d. ca. 180/796),⁴⁹ who said: Abū Ishāq al-Shaybānī [i.e. Sulaymān ibn Abī Sulaymān, d. 141 or 142]⁵⁰ related to me saying: I read

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⁴¹ BA/MS, 382.

⁴² A‘th. IV, 14–15; the authorities are given at II, 344–45. For an examination of Ibn A‘tham’s dates see M. A. Shaban, *The ‘Abbāsīd Revolution* (Cambridge, 1970), xviii.

⁴³ Ed. C. Pellat in *Al-Mashriq*, 52^e année (1958), 417–91 (hereafter *Al-Ḥakamayn*), 451–52.

⁴⁴ (Cairo, 1388/1969), I, 132–33.

⁴⁵ Ed. M. T. Houtsma, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1883), II, 221.

⁴⁶ WS, 504–11.

⁴⁷ Ed. M. A. Ibrāhīm, 20 vols., 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1385/1965–1387/1967), II, 132–33.

⁴⁸ Ed. W. Guirgass (Leiden, 1888), 207–10.

⁴⁹ F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. I (Leiden, 1967), 311.

⁵⁰ Al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-ta’rīkh al-kabīr*, 4 vols. (Hyderabad, 1360/1941–1378 / 1959), II, no. 1808.

the peace document (*kitāb al-ṣulḥ*) apud Sa'īd ibn Abī Burda [ibn Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī]⁵¹ on a yellow sheet upon which were two seals, one at the bottom and one at the top; upon the seal of 'Alī, may peace be upon him, [was inscribed] 'Muḥammad is the Messenger of God' and upon the seal of Mu'āwiya [was inscribed] 'Muḥammad is the Messenger of God'".⁵²

Al-Dīnawarī does not cite his authorities, so that the provenance of his rendering of Version B is unknown. Al-Minqarī helps to remedy this deficiency, however, by reporting Version B, "on the authority of 'Amr ibn Shamīr [al-Ju'fī al-Kūfī] (d. ca. 160/776)⁵³ on the authority of Jābir [b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī] (d. ca. 128/746)⁵⁴ on the authority of Zayd ibn Ḥasan [ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib(?)].⁵⁵ 'Amr said: Jābir said: I heard Zayd ibn Ḥasan mention the document of the two arbiters (*kitāb al-ḥakamayn*): he augmented it with something more than was mentioned by Muḥammad ibn 'Alī [(Zayn al-'Ābidin) ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī] (d. 114/732)⁵⁶ and⁵⁷ ['Āmir ibn Sharāḥīl] al-Sha'bī (d. 104/722–23)⁵⁸ in the abundance of witnesses and in the augmentation and decrement of words (*ḥurūf*): he dictated it to me from a document (*kitāb*) he had with him, and said ...".⁵⁹ The *isnād* given by Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd is briefer but amounts to the same thing: "Naṣr [ibn Muzāḥim al-Minqarī] said: This is the narration (*riwāya*) of Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn and al-Sha'bī: Jābir, on the authority of Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan[?] related augmentations on (*'alā*) this copy ...".⁶⁰

In the case of Version B, then, we are dealing with an elaborated version associated with a transmission chain of decidedly pro-'Ālid colouring

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, II, no. 1527.

⁵² WS, 509; also Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, II, 233.

⁵³ Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, I, 310.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 307.

⁵⁵ Al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, II, no. 1305; Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Mashāḥīr 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, ed. M. Fleischhammer, Bibliotheca Islamica, vol. XXII (Cairo, 1959), no. 424.

⁵⁶ Al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, I, no. 564; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāḥīr 'ulamā' al-amṣār*, no. 420.

⁵⁷ This "and" is omitted by Hārūn's editions but is given in the earlier Cairo edition (Maṭba'at al-'abbāsīya, 1340/1921, 367) and in the *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha* (see below, n. 60).

⁵⁸ Al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, II, no. 2961.

⁵⁹ WS, 504.

⁶⁰ *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, II, 234.

and explicitly stated to have been subject to tampering. It can also be noted here that Zayd ibn Ḥasan and Muḥammad ibn |‘Alī, in reports transmitted by al-Minqarī on their authority, give the preposterously high figure of 150,000 for the number of ‘Irāqīs who went with ‘Alī to Ṣiffīn.⁶¹ The provenance of Version B therefore contrasts in a striking manner with that of A, where a number of renderings, given on the authority of different narrators, tally closely; not only that, but al-Minqarī’s final authority for Version A claims to have read an original copy of the document in the possession of the grandson of none other than Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī. Yet neither of the two modern scholars who have devoted most space to ‘Alī and Ṣiffīn has attempted to indicate the significance of these two versions. L. Veccia Vaglieri merely makes passing reference to the existence of two texts.⁶² Petersen, for whom this should have been a matter of crucial importance, since he studies ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya from an historiographical point of view, not only fails to indicate the significant differences between the versions but also reads al-Sha‘bī in the *isnād* of Version A where the text quite plainly says Abū Ishāq al-Shaybānī; since the role of al-Sha‘bī is central to his argument, the effect is disastrous.⁶³

Contrast of the Two Versions

The extent to which the two versions are distinct from one another in wording is self-evident. Beyond this, the most obvious point of contrast between them is the discrepancy in length; excluding the lists of witnesses, Version A is just less than 300 words long, while Version B is almost 500 words long, the greatest discrepancy being in the second part of the document, which has here been marked as the fourth paragraph. In this part, too, there are variations in the order in which items | occur. Version A follows the order: cessation of hostilities declared, 106 guarantees of safety, injunction that arbiters are to decide justly (var., make peace), period of time involved, arrangements in event of death of arbiter, specification of meeting place of arbiters, reference to witnesses to the document, decision not to be guided by “other than what God

⁶¹ WS, 156. Other estimates are in the area of 50,000 and even they are suspiciously high.

⁶² “Il conflitto, ‘Alī Mu‘āwiya e la secessione khārigita riesaminati alla luce di fonti ibāditi” in *Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, n.s. 4 (1952), 26.

⁶³ *‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya in Early Arabic Tradition*, 41–42.

revealed". The fourth paragraph of Version B, on the other hand, goes as follows: arrangements in the event of death of an arbiter, arrangements in the event of death of 'Alī or Mu'āwiya (*al-amīrayn*), cessation of hostilities declared, injunction that arbiters are to decide justly, guarantees of safety, specification of meeting place of arbiters, period of time involved, judgement to be by "the book of God and the *sunna* of His Prophet". It is in the first part, however, in paragraph 2, that the essential difference between the two versions occurs, that is, when Version A reads *al-sunna al-'ādila al-jāmi'a ghayr al-mufarriqa* and Version B reads *sunnat rasūl allāh al-jāmi'a*. To make the point quite clear, Version B again refers, once in paragraph 3 and twice in paragraph 4, to judgement according to *kitāb allāh wa-sunnat rasūlihi/nabiyyihi*; these references are not paralleled in Version A, which refers to *sunna* only in paragraph 2. It can be seen, moreover, from the following comparison of the four renderings of Version A for paragraphs 2 and 3, where they differ from each other most, that they all agree upon *al-sunna al-'ādila al-jāmi'a ghayr al-mufarriqa*. That the four renderings diverge on other points of wording but agree upon this phrase constitutes a telling comment upon its importance and probable historical validity: if this is so, Version B must be regarded with suspicion.

Such a contention is further supported by examination of the lists of witnesses appended to the document. Version A, it can be seen, gives the names of only ten witnesses from each side, while Version B gives twenty-nine from 'Alī's side and thirty-two from Mu'āwiya's side: the rendering of Version B given by Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, which omits the names of witnesses, says that there were ten witnesses from each side, but this is probably as a result of inadvertent confusion with Version A. The principal touchstone in these lists is the name of al-Ashtar Mālik ibn al-Ḥarīth. The | absence of his name from the list of witnesses in Version A is explained by several authorities when they report his blunt refusal to be party to the document by witnessing it.⁶⁴ As already indicated, he had much to fear from a settlement with Mu'āwiya and much to gain from an all-out victory by 'Alī. The absence of the name of Ḥujr ibn 'Adī al-Kindī from the list given by Version A can be explained in the same way.⁶⁵ In Version B, however, both of these names appear in the expanded lists,

⁶⁴ Tab. I, 3338, 3344; BA/MS I, 383; WS, 511.

⁶⁵ On Ḥujr, see "Kūfan Political Alignments", 347-48, 362 [Chap. 1]. Note that Ṭabarī's rendering of Version A reads Ḥujr ibn 'Adī instead of Ḥujr ibn Yazīd.

and the reason which suggests itself is that the authorities for this version could not bring themselves to relate that a document to which 'Alī himself agreed was not at that stage agreed to by all who were with him, including two of his main supporters; al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are (inevitably) included, together with other respectable Islamic names,⁶⁶ and the list of witnesses from Mu'āwiya's side is expanded correspondingly. It will be recalled that a direct reference to tampering is made in the *isnād* given by al-Minqarī. By the same token, it seems that these authorities altered *al-sunna al-'ādila al-jāmi'a ghayr al-mufarriqa* to *sunnat rasūl allāh al-jāmi'a* and so removed from the text of the document the main feature which makes "Khārijī" opposition to 'Alī at that particular time comprehensible.

Version B, then, is spurious; it was evidently transmitted before ca. 128/746 (the date of the death of Jābir ibn Yazīd al-Ju'fī) and probably after 114/732, when both al-Sha'bī and Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn were dead. The cause of its appearance at this particular time must remain an open question, but it is noteworthy that the unsuccessful revolt of Zayd ibn 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn took place at Kūfa in 122/740, and the version may have emerged from the activity which preceded that revolt. The question which poses itself here, however, is whether, if Version B is spurious, Version A is therefore genuine. The

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⁶⁶ In the case of the following witnesses given in Version B, there is direct evidence that they cannot have played the role attributed to them: (a) al-Ḥusayn and (b) al-Ṭufayl, the sons of al-Ḥarīth ibn al-Muṭṭalib (nos. 5 and 6), are reported to have died during the caliphate of 'Uthmān (see W. Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1966), II, 336, 558); (c) Mālik ibn Rabī'a al-Anṣārī (no. 7) probably died long before Šiffin (see *ibid.*, 393); (d) Khabbāb ibn al-Aratt (no. 8) is reported to have died at Kūfa after 'Alī had left for Šiffin (Ṭab. I, 3347); (e) 'Uqba ibn 'Āmir al-Juhanī (no. 14) was at Šiffin on Mu'āwiya's side and is reported to have been one of the killers of 'Ammār ibn Yāsir (Ṭab. III, 2317); hence he can hardly have been one of the witnesses from 'Alī's side. The Anṣārī 'Uqba ibn 'Āmir, who fought at Badr, was killed fighting against Musaylima (Caskel, *op. cit.* II, 573); (f) Rāfi' ibn Khadij al-Anṣārī (no. 15), who was one of the *ṣaḥāba*, is named as one of the few Anṣār who did not support 'Alī (Ṭab. I, 3070).

The first four of the above-named possessed the merit of having fought on the Prophet's side at Badr; so did Abū 'l-Yasār Ka'b ibn 'Amr al-Anṣārī (no. 10) and Rifā'a ibn Rāfi' ibn Mālik al-Anṣārī (no. 11) (see Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab*, II, 362, 487), who were alive at the time of Šiffin, although there is no other evidence to show that they were present there.

evidence cited above suggests to this writer at least that Version A is substantially genuine, although we can scarcely hope to reconstruct the exact wording. The rendering given by al-Minqarī should commend itself particularly, however, since not only is *Waq'at Šiffīn* the oldest complete work available to us in which a rendering is given *in extenso*, but also the *isnād* indicates that the authority saw 'Alī's copy of the document.⁶⁷ Furthermore, our faith in al-Minqarī's impartiality should be fortified by his presentation also of Version B, accompanied by an ample caveat within the *isnād*.

Al-Jāhiz and Version A

Al-Jāhiz, however, who gives us a rendering of Version A on the authority of al-Zuhrī and Ibn Ishāq, manifestly holds a view different from the above when he says that the document (or, more specifically, this particular rendering of it) is *kitāb madkhūl*.⁶⁸ Whether he means by this that it is totally concocted or merely contains interpolations, he does not make entirely clear. What does emerge quite clearly from his treatise, however, is that the line of his argument compels him to minimize the importance of the document and to undermine its credibility, as we shall see below. He accordingly emphasizes the following points:

- i. that the document contains wording which is foolish (*sakhīf*), insignificant (*khafīf*), defective (*da'īf*) and incorrect (*rakīk*);
- ii. that "what also makes it ambiguous is the disagreement of the Khawārij and the Shī'a and what (i.e. difference) there is between the people of Syria and the people of 'Irāq by way of augmentations (*zawā'id*) and decrement (*nuqsān*) concerning it";
- iii. that its *isnāds* are defective and that even those most reliable of the *akhbārīyyūn*, al-Zuhrī and Ibn Ishāq, did not themselves see it;
- iv. that in the case of most witnesses mentioned (i.e. nine of the ten from 'Alī's side), their *nisbas* are in doubt and their names disputed.⁶⁹

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Al-Jāhiz does not state specifically which parts of the document he regards as being subject to the first of these charges, but it is evident

⁶⁷ According to al-Ya'qubī, *Tārīkh*, II, 220, the copy from 'Alī (i.e. for Mu'āwiya) was written by 'Alī's scribe 'Abdallah ibn Rāfi' and the copy from Mu'āwiya (i.e. for 'Alī) was written by Mu'āwiya's scribe 'Umayr ibn 'Abbād al-Kinānī. See the final sentences of the two versions.

⁶⁸ *Al-Hakamayn*, 452, §78.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 453, §§78-79.

from the next stage of his argument, to which we shall return, that he means the references to *sunna*. As for his second point, it has been argued above that the disagreement of the Khawārij and Shī'a can be explained; unfortunately we have no Syrian version of the document (only a common 'Irāqī and Medinan version) which would permit further examination of the second part of this point. On the third point, it cannot be said that the *isnāds* for Version A of the document are any more defective than those for other reports concerning the same period; and here, as in other cases where several reports of the same event exist, the essential items of information can be seen to have been preserved. Further on this point, while al-Zuhrī and Ibn Ishāq do not claim to have seen the document, their rendering is substantially confirmed by that of Abū Ishāq al-Shaybānī, who does claim to have seen it. As for the fourth point, there is much less confusion among the names of the witnesses than al-Jāḥiẓ is trying to suggest, and it is understandable that the names of 'Irāqīs should be more subject to error in the Medinan rendering he transmits than the other renderings available to us, which are transmitted by 'Irāqīs. The same can be said of the *nisbas*, but it should also be noticed that these are not given by Abū Ishāq al-Shaybānī, and it may be concluded from this that the leaders who acted as witnesses to the document were referred to only by their own names and those of their fathers, reference to the *nisbas* being unnecessary, and that later transmitters took it upon themselves to add the *nisbas*.

Returning to the first of the above points, it becomes perfectly clear that al-Jāḥiẓ cares to understand the reference to *al-sunna al-'ādila al-jāmi'a ghayr al-mufarriqa* as a reference to the *sunna* of the Prophet. He poses the questions *ayna tilka 'l-sunna? wa-ayna tuṭlab? wa-min ayyi shaklⁱⁿ hiya? wa-mā lafẓuhā? wa-ma aṣl ma'nāhā?* and he comes back with the answer that *al-sunna allatī qaṣadū ilayhā hiya 'llati fī ṣuḥufinā mimmā faraḍa 'llāh wa-sunnat al-nabī ṣl'm fī ummatihī*. They describe the *sunna*, he says, as *al-sunna al-'ādila al-jāmi'a ghayr al-mufarriqa*, and adds *wa'l-sunan kulluhā 'ādila wa-kulluhā jāmi'a ghayr mufarriqa*; the corruption of the whole affair, he goes on, is demonstrated by the absence of any evidence that reference was subsequently made to the Qur'ān or the *sunna*.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 454-55, §§80-83.

In order to put all this in some perspective, however, it is necessary to take a broader look at the lines of argument being pursued by al-Jāḥiẓ. The treatise is written as a response to certain views expressed by one Ibn Ḥassān, about whom nothing is known but whose views, in so far as they can be determined by what al-Jāḥiẓ says, appear to the present writer to have contained some perspicacious historical analysis. Al-Jāḥiẓ, as may be inferred from the phrase *taswīb* ... *ʿAlī* in the title of the treatise, is concerned with arguing the rightness of ʿAlī's actions. Throughout the treatise he insists upon treating ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya separately, the basis of his argument being the rightness of action given by God to his prophets and caliphs.⁷¹ In describing his approach, he says that he will not judge an action to be an error until all efforts to prove its rightness have failed, and that even if an action must be judged an error, it is to be regarded as of the most venial type until it is necessary to judge otherwise. He declares that he will judge only in the light of clear proof.⁷²

With these principles in mind, al-Jāḥiẓ presents an interpretation of ʿAlī's actions which is certainly original and in some respects contains important insights, but is for the most part in conflict with the sources. He rightly emphasizes more than once the lack of cohesion within ʿAlī's coalition, draws attention to the authority of tribal leaders within Muʿāwiya's army and notes the success with which Muʿāwiya bought loyalty.⁷³ He appreciates that a small united army is stronger than a large disunited army.⁷⁴ He recognizes the raising of the *maṣāḥif* as a stratagem on the part of Muʿāwiya, but it is here that his argument takes a novel turn, for he maintains that ʿAlī hoist Muʿāwiya with his own petard (*a'mala 'l-makīda 'inda 'l-ḥāja ilā 'l-makīda*), by taking advantage of the respite which would follow in order to unify his followers:⁷⁵ for, while Muʿāwiya despaired of winning, victory was at the same time snatched from ʿAlī because of the divisions within his following.⁷⁶ Al-Jāḥiẓ leaves us in the dark as to what he imagines Muʿāwiya's stratagem to have been, and confesses his amazement that Muʿāwiya should have been satisfied with

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 458, ll. 2-4.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 460-61, §§95-96.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 426-30, §22ff.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 438, §51.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 443, §60; 453, §79.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 440, end of §54 and beginning of §55.

a truce when he saw how divided ‘Alī’s ranks were.⁷⁷ He rejects the view that ‘Alī was compelled to accept the nomination of | Abū Mūsā as arbiter; rather, it was in accord with his plan, for it would be easier for him to reject, if necessary, the judgement of ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ and Abū Mūsā than that of worthier men.⁷⁸ The document is therefore of no importance according to this interpretation save as a time-gaining device on the part of ‘Alī, and al-Jāḥiẓ accordingly seeks out grounds for undermining its credibility. Some pages before giving the text of the document, he is careful to stress that ‘Alī was a man who acted in accord with *al-kitāb wa’l-sunna*.⁷⁹ In this way, he prepares the reader for his view that the phrase *al-sunna al-‘ādila al-jāmi’a ghayr al-mufarriqa* is unnecessary embroidery for the “Prophet’s sunna” and, as such, amounts to a ground for regarding the document as *madkhūl*.

Al-Jāḥiẓ, it is clear, was following his penchant for arguing a case and chose to ignore much information which is available to us and was no doubt available to him. He draws no attention to the widespread fear of full-scale engagement which prevailed from the beginning of the *Şifḥīn* confrontation and accounted for the length of its duration.⁸⁰ He keeps clear of both the nature of the stratagem Mu‘āwiya had in mind at the time of the raising of the *maṣāḥif* and the pressures upon ‘Alī from within his following. In particular, he is hard pressed to find any justification at all for his assertion that ‘Alī freely chose Abū Mūsā as arbiter. Above all, he is led by his argument that ‘Alī was still master of the situation to regard the document as he reports it (i.e. Version A) to be concocted. As indicated above, most of this is in conflict with the sources, and Version A of the document should be regarded as substantially correct.

It remains only to note that one particular phrase in the Zuhri/Ibn Ishāq rendering of Version A given by al-Jāḥiẓ attracts attention; this is the phrase in paragraph 3 *la-yarḍayānī* (scil. ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya) *bimā yaqḍayānī* (scil. the arbiters) *fihimā min khal’i man khala’ā wa-ta’mīr’i man ammarā*. Al-Jāḥiẓ himself draws no special attention to this and the other renderings do not include it; it must therefore remain an open

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 445, §63.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 443–45, §§35–40; 455–57, §§85–86.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 445–46, §§65–67.

⁸⁰ Abū Mikhnaf, for example, mentions that after the first engagement at *Şifḥīn* there was a widespread abhorrence of the prospect of full-scale battle *li-mā yatakhawwafūna fī dhālika min al-isti’sāl wa’l-halāk* (Ṭab. I, 3272).

question whether this slightly clearer specification of the function of the arbiters, with its obvious inference in the direction of the *imārat al-mu'minīn*, | was included in the original document or not. Even if it was, it makes no difference to the remarks made above, for 'Alī had already acquiesced in the erasure of the title of *amīr al-mu'minīn*, and it is reported that to 'Alī himself Mu'āwiya had already suggested *an yaḥkum^a baynanā wa-baynaka* (N.B. singular) *ḥakamān raḍiyyān ... bi-kitāb allāh*.⁸¹

Conclusions

The evidence, both internal and circumstantial, therefore leads to the conclusion that Version A is substantially genuine, while Version B is spurious. An attempt has been made above to show the relevance of this to our understanding of the agreement itself. The central issue of *sunna* to which recourse was to be had must of course be connected with the development of the meaning of the word *sunna* from the broader "way of proceeding" and "generally agreed practice" in pre-Islamic and earliest Islamic times to the later and narrower meaning of "precedents set by the Prophet". In a chapter entitled "*Sunna*, 'Practice' and 'Living Tradition'", Schacht has shown this development in some detail, and his conclusions certainly argue against the authenticity of Version B.⁸²

Leaving the question of *sunna*, two further final points can be made. Firstly, comparison of the different renderings of Version A illustrates clearly the way in which the various transmission chains responsible for the preservation of our source material on early Islamic history frequently agree on particular kernels of fact, while differing on points of detail. A hypercritical approach, more concerned with areas of disagreement and with dismissing authorities on the grounds of error in detail than with explaining areas of agreement, necessarily prevents access by its exponents to the wider perspectives contained in the materials.

The second point follows from the preceding and concerns Version B. If this represents an early stage in the elaboration of the Shī'ī tradition, as seems to be the case, we may well ask how it is that authorities such as Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774), who is generally noted for his pro-Shī'ī sympathies, does not transmit it; the Shī'ī al-Minqarī, we have noticed,

⁸¹ WS, 493.

⁸² *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, 3rd impression (Oxford, 1959), 58ff.

gives both versions, but with ample warning in the *isnād* of Version B; even al-Ya‘qūbī does not commit himself to Version B—this is done only by al-Dīnawarī. It is evident from this that any sweeping judgements about the invalidity of reports transmitted by Shī‘īs or supposed Shī‘īs are out of place. The establishment of realistic criteria for the appreciation of early sources for Islamic history is a subject which is still in its infancy.

THE TEXTS

Version B

§1 هذا ما تقاضى عليه على بن أبي طالب
ومعاوية بن أبي سفيان وشيعتهما فيما تراضيا
به من الحكم بكتاب الله وسنة نبيه⁽¹⁾ قضية على
على أهل العراق ومن كان من شيعته من شاهد
5 أو غائب⁽²⁾ [وقضية معاوية الى أهل الشام ومن كان
من شيعته من شاهد أو غائب]⁽³⁾ أنا⁽⁴⁾ رضينا⁽⁵⁾
أن نزل⁽⁶⁾ عند حكم القرآن فيما حكم⁽⁷⁾ وأن نقف
عند أمره فيما أمر وأنه لا يجمع بيننا إلا ذلك وأنا
جعلنا كتاب الله فيما بيننا حكما⁽⁹⁾ فيما اختلفنا
10 فيه⁸ من فاتحته إلى خاتمته نحى ما أحيا ونميت ما
أمات⁽¹⁰⁾

§2 على ذلك تقاضيا وبه تراضيا⁽¹¹⁾ وأن عليًا
وشيعته رضوا أن يبعثوا عبد الله⁽¹²⁾ بن قيس ناظرًا
ومحاكما⁽¹³⁾ ورض معاوية وشيعته أن يبعثوا
عمرو⁽¹⁴⁾ بن العاص ناظرًا ومحاكما⁽¹⁵⁾ على أتهم اخذوا
5 عليهما⁽¹⁶⁾ عهد الله وميثاقه و أعظم ما أخذ الله على
أحد من خلقه ليأخذ ان الكتاب إماما فيما بعثا له لا
يعدوانه⁽¹⁷⁾ إلى غيره في الحكم بما⁽¹⁸⁾ وجداه فيه
مسطورا وما لم يجداه مسمى في الكتاب⁽¹⁹⁾ رداه إلى
سنة رسول الله الجامعة لا يتعمدان لهما⁽²⁰⁾ خلافا
10 ولا يتبعان في ذلك لهما هوى ولا يدخلان في
شبهة⁽²¹⁾

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- §1 هذا ما تقاضى عليه عليّ بن أبي طالب
ومعاوية بن أبي سفيان قاضى عليّ بن أبي
طالب ⁽¹⁾ على أهل العراق ⁽²⁾ ومن كان ⁽³⁾
معه ⁽⁴⁾ من شيعته ⁽⁵⁾ من المؤمنين والمسلمين
5 و قاضى معاوية بن أبي سفيان ⁽⁶⁾ على أهل
الشّام ومن كان معه ⁽⁷⁾ من شيعته ⁽⁸⁾ من
المؤمنين والمسلمين أنا نزل عند حكم الله
وكتابه و ألا ⁽¹⁰⁾ يجمع بيننا إلا إياه ⁽¹¹⁾
و أنّ كتاب الله بيننا وبينكم ⁽⁹⁾ من فاتحته
10 إلى خاتمته نحى ما أحيا ⁽¹²⁾ القرآن ⁽¹³⁾
ونميت ما أمات القرآن ⁽¹⁴⁾
- §2 ⁽¹⁵⁾مما وجد الحكمان في كتاب الله بيننا
وبينكم فاتهما يتبعانه وما لم يجدها في كتاب
الله أخذنا بلسنة العادلة الجامعة غير
المفرقة والحكمان عبد الله بن قيس وعمرو بن
5 العاص وأخذنا عليهما عهد الله وميثاقه
ليقضيا بما وجدنا في كتاب الله فإن لم يجدا
في كتاب الله فالسنة الجامعة غير المفرقة

(Version B)

- §3 و [قد] ⁽²²⁾ أخذ عبد الله بن قيس وعمرو بن
العاص على عليٍّ ومعاوية عهد الله وميثاقه
بالرضا بما حكما به مما من ⁽²³⁾ كتاب الله وسنة نبيه
وليس لهما أن ينقضا ذلك ولا يخالفاه إلى غيره
5 وأتتهما ⁽²⁴⁾ أمانان في حكومتها ⁽²⁵⁾ على دمائهما
وأموالهما [وشعارهما وابشارهما] واهاليهما
[واولادهما] ⁽²⁶⁾ ما لم يعد والحق رضي بذلك
راض أو أنكره منكر ⁽²⁷⁾ وأن الأمة أنصار لهما ⁽²⁸⁾
على ما قضيا به من العدل ⁽²⁹⁾
- §4 فإن توفي أحد الحكيمين قبل انقضاء الحكومة
فأمير شيعته وأصحابه يختارون مكانه رجلا لا
يألون عن أهل المعدلة الإقساط ⁽³⁰⁾ على ما
كان عليه صاحبه من العهد والميثاق والحكم
5 بكتاب الله وسنة رسوله وله مثل شرط صاحبه ⁽³¹⁾
وإن مات أحد الأميرين قبل القضاء ⁽³²⁾ فلشيعته
أن يولوا مكانه رجلا يرضون عدله وقد وقعت
[هذه] ⁽³³⁾ القضية ومعها الأمن وتفاوض
و وضع السلاح والسلام والمواذعة وعلى الحكيمين
10 عهد الله وميثاقه ألا يألوا اجتهادا ولا
يتعمدا جورا ولا يدخلا في شبهة ولا يعدوا
حكم الكتاب وسنة رسول الله ⁽³⁵⁾ فإن لم
يفعلا ⁽³⁶⁾ برئت الأمة من حكما ولا عهد
لهما ولا ذمة ⁽³⁴⁾ وقد وجبت القضية على ما قد
15 سمى ⁽³⁸⁾ في هذا الكتاب من مواقع الشروط ⁽³⁹⁾
على الأميرين والحكيمين ⁽⁴⁰⁾ والفريقين والله
أقرب شهيدا وأدنى حفيظا ⁽⁴¹⁾ والناس آمنون

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- §3 و أخذ الحكمان من عليّ ومعاوية ومن
الجندين مما هما عليه من أمر الناس بما يرضيان
به من العهد والميثاق والثقة من الناس أتهما
آمنان على أموالهما وأهليهما والأمة لهما أنصار
5 على الذي يقضيان به عليهما وعلى المؤمنين
والمسلمين من الطائفتين كلتيهما (16) عهد
الله إنا على ما في هذه الصحيفة ولنقومن
عليه و إنا عليه لأنصار
- §4 و آتيا (17) قد وجبت القضية (18) بين
المؤمنين بالأمن (19) والاستقامة (20) و وضع (21)
السلاح (22) أيما ساروا (23) على أنفسهم
و أموالهم وأهليهم وأرضيهم (24) وشاهدهم
5 وغائبهم (25) وعلى عبد الله بن قيس وعمرو بن
العاص عهد الله وميثاقه ليحكمان (26) بين
الأمة (27) بالحق (28) ولا يردانهما في فرقة ولا
بحرب (30) حتى يقضيا (31) واجل (32) القضية
الى شهر (33) رمضان فإن أحبنا أن يعجلا
10 عجلا (34) و إن توفى (35) واحد من (36)
الحكمين (37) فإن أمير شيعته (38) يختار (39)
مكانه رجلا لا (40) يالو (41) عن (42) المعدلة (43)
والقسط (44) وأن ميعاد قضائهما الذي
يقضيان فيه (45) مكان عدل بين أهل الشام
15 وأهل الكوفة (46) فإن رضيا مكانا غيره فخير
رضيا لا يحضرهما فيه إلا من أرادا (47)
وأن (48) يأخذ الحكمان (49) من شاءا (50) من

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على أنفسهم وأهاليهم [وأولادهم] ⁽⁴²⁾
 وأموالهم و إلى انقضاء مدّة الأجل والسلاح
 20 موضوع ⁽⁴³⁾ والسبل مخلاة ⁽⁴⁴⁾ والغائب والشاهد
 من الفريقين سواء في الأمن ⁽⁴⁵⁾ وللحكّمين أن
 ينزلا منزلا عدلا ⁽⁴⁶⁾ بين أهل العرق وأهل
 الشام ولا يحضرهما فيه إلا من أحبّتا عن ملأ
 منهما وتراض ⁽⁴⁷⁾ وإنّ المسلمين قد أجلوا
 25 [هذين] القاضيين إلى انسلاخ [شهر]
 رمضان ⁽⁴⁸⁾ فإن رأي ⁽⁴⁹⁾ الحكّمان تعجيل الحكومة
 فيما وجّها له ⁽⁵⁰⁾ عجّلاها وإن أرادا تأخيرها
 بعد [شهر] ⁽⁵²⁾ رمضان إلى انقضاء الموسم
 فإنّ ذلك ⁽⁵³⁾ إليهما ⁽⁵¹⁾ فإن ⁽⁵⁴⁾ هما لم يحكما
 30 بكتاب ⁽⁵⁵⁾ الله وستّة نبيه إلى انقضاء الموسم ⁽⁵⁶⁾
 فالمسلمون ⁽⁵⁷⁾ على أمرهم الأوّل في الحرب ولا
 شرط بين [واحد من] الفريقين ⁽⁵⁸⁾ وعلى الأمتّة
 عهد الله وميثاقه على التمام والوفاء بما في
 هذا الكتاب وهم يد على من أراد فيه إلحادا
 35 وظلما أو حاول له نقضا ⁽⁵⁹⁾ .

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يكتبوا شهادتهم ⁽⁵¹⁾ على ما ⁽⁵²⁾ في
الصحيفة ⁽⁵³⁾ ونحن براء من حكم بغير ما
20 أنزل الله اللهم إنا نستعينك على من ترك
ما في هذه الصحيفة وأراد فيهما إلحادا
وظلما ⁽⁵⁴⁾

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(60) وشهد بما في الكتاب من أصحاب على

(55) شهد على ما في هذه الصحيفة

- | | | | |
|--|----|-------------------------------------|----|
| عبد الله بن عباس | 1 | عبد الله بن عباس | 1 |
| والأشعث بن قيس | 2 | والأشعث بن قيس ⁽⁵⁶⁾ | 2 |
| والأشتر مالك بن الحارث ⁽⁶¹⁾ | 3 | وسعيد بن قيس ⁽⁵⁷⁾ | 3 |
| وسعيد بن قيس الهمداني | 4 | ووقاء بن سمي ⁽⁵⁸⁾ | 4 |
| والحصين | 5 | وعبد الله بن الطفيل ⁽⁵⁹⁾ | 5 |
| ابنا الحارث بن المطلب ⁽⁶²⁾ | } | وحجر بن يزيد ⁽⁶⁰⁾ | 6 |
| ولطفيل | | 6 | |
| وأبو أسيد مالك بن ربيعة الأنصاري ⁽⁶³⁾ | 7 | وعبد الله بن محمّل ⁽⁶¹⁾ | 7 |
| وختّاب بن الأرت ⁽⁶⁴⁾ | 8 | وعقبة بن زياد ⁽⁶²⁾ | 8 |
| وسهل بن حنيف | 9 | ويزيد بن حجة ⁽⁶³⁾ | 9 |
| وأبو اليسر بن عمرو الأنصاري ⁽⁶⁵⁾ | 10 | [ومالك بن كعب] ⁽⁶⁴⁾ | 10 |
| ورفاعه رافع بن مالك الأنصاري ⁽⁶⁶⁾ | 11 | | |
| وعوف بن الحارث بن المطلب القرشي ⁽⁶⁷⁾ | 12 | | |
| وبريدة الأسلمي ⁽⁶⁸⁾ | 13 | | |
| وعقبة بن عامر الجهني | 14 | | |
| ورافع بن خديج الأنصاري | 15 | | |
| وعمر بن الحمق الخزاعي | 16 | | |
| والحسن | 17 | | |
| ابنا على | } | | |
| والحسين | | 18 | |
| وعبد الله بن جعفر الهاشمي | 19 | | |
| والنعمان بن عجلان الأنصاري | 20 | | |
| وحجر بن عدتي الكندي | 21 | | |
| [ويزيد بن حجة البكري] ⁽⁶⁹⁾ | 22 | | |
| وورقاء بن ⁽⁷⁰⁾ | 23 | | |
| ومالك بن كعب الهمداني | 24 | | |

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- 25 وربيعة بن شرحبيل
 26 وأبو صفرة بن يزيد⁽⁷¹⁾
 27 والحارث بن مالك الهمداني⁽⁷²⁾
 28 ومجر بن يزيد
 29 وعقبة⁽⁷³⁾ بن حجة
 ومن أصحاب معاوية⁽⁷⁴⁾
 1 حبيب بن مسلمة الفهري
 2 وأبو الأعور بن سفيان التَّمِي⁽⁷⁵⁾
 3 وبسر بن [أبي] ⁽⁷⁶⁾أرطاة القرشي
 4 ومعاوية بن حديج⁽⁷⁷⁾ الكندي
 5 والحارق بن الحارث الحميري⁽⁷⁸⁾
 6 ورعبل⁽⁷⁹⁾ بن عمرو السكسكي
 7 وعبد الرحمن بن خالد الخزومي⁽⁸⁰⁾
 8 وحمزة بن مالك الهمداني⁽⁸¹⁾
 9 وسبيع بن يزيد الحضرمي⁽⁸²⁾
 10 ويزيد بن الحرّ العبسي⁽⁸³⁾
 11 ومسروق بن حرملة⁽⁸⁴⁾ العنكي
 12 ونمير⁽⁸⁵⁾ بن يزيد الحميري
 13 وعبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص
 14 وعلقمة بن يزيد الكلبي
 15 وخالد بن المعرض⁽⁸⁶⁾ السكسكي
 16 وعلقمة بن يزيد الحضرمي⁽⁸⁷⁾
 17 وعبد الله بن عامر القرشي
 18 ومروان بن الحكم⁽⁸⁸⁾
 19 والوليد بن عقبة القرشي⁽⁸⁹⁾

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- (65)
 1 وأبو الأعور السلمي⁽⁶⁶⁾
 2 وحبيب بن مسلمة⁽⁶⁷⁾
 3 والحارق بن الحارث⁽⁶⁸⁾
 4 وزمل بن عمرو⁽⁶⁹⁾
 5 وحمزة بن مالك⁽⁷⁰⁾
 6 وعبد الرحمن بن خالد⁽⁷¹⁾
 7 وسبيع بن يزيد⁽⁷²⁾
 8 وعلقمة بن يزيد⁽⁷³⁾
 9 وعتبة بن أبي سفيان
 10 ويزيد بن الحرّ⁽⁷⁴⁾

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- 20 وعتبة بن أبي سفيان
 21 ومحمد بن أبي سفيان
 22 ومحمد بن عمرو بن العاص
 23 ويزيد بن عمر الجذامي⁽⁹⁰⁾
 24 وعمار بن الأحوص الكلبي
 25 ومسعدة بن عمرو التَّجِيبِي⁽⁹¹⁾
 26 والحارث بن زياد القيني⁽⁹²⁾
 27 وعاصم بن المنذر الجذامي⁽⁹³⁾
 28 وعبد الرحمن بن ذى الكلاع الحميري⁽⁹⁴⁾
 29 والصبح⁽⁹⁵⁾ بن جلمعة الحميري
 30 وثمامة بن حوشب
 31 وعلقمة بن حكيم⁽⁹⁶⁾
 32 وحمرة بن مالك⁽⁹⁷⁾

وإنَّ بيننا على ما في هذه الصحيفة
 عهد الله وميثاقه⁽⁹⁸⁾

وكتب عمر⁽⁹⁹⁾ يوم الأربعاء لثلاث عشرة ليلة
 بقيت من صفر سنة سبع وثلاثين⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

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وكتب عميرة يوم الأربعاء لثلاث عشرة
 بقيت من صفر سنة سبع وثلاثين⁽⁷⁵⁾

Variant renderings of paragraphs 2 and 3 of Version A

رسالة في الحكيمين	أنساب الأشراف	تاريخ الرسل والملوك	وقعة صفين
<p>فما وجدنا مسمى وما لم نجد في كتاب الله مسمى</p> <p>فالسنة العادة غير المفرقة فيما اختلفنا فيه والحكمان عبد الله بن قيس الأشعري وعمر بن العاص</p> <p>وأخذ على ومعاوية عليهما ليحكمان</p> <p>عهد الله بما وجدنا في كتاب الله وما لم يجدنا في كتاب الله مسمى فالسنة العادة</p> <p>الجامعة غير المفرقة</p>	<p>فما وجد الحكمان في كتاب الله فإنهما يتبعانه وما لم يجدها مما اختلفا فيه في كتاب الله نسا فما لم يجدها في كتاب الله مضمينا فيه السنة العادة الحسنة الجامعة غير المفرقة</p> <p>والحكمان عبد الله بن قيس وعمر بن العاص</p> <p>وأخذنا عليهما</p> <p>عهد الله وميثاق ليحكمان بما وجدنا في كتاب الله نسا فما لم يجدنا في كتاب الله مسمى عملا فيه بالسنة الجامعة غير المفرقة</p>	<p>وما وجد الحكمان في كتاب الله</p> <p>وهما ابو موسى وعمر بن العاص القرشي عملا به</p> <p>وما لم يجدنا في كتاب الله فالسنة العادة</p> <p>الجامعة غير المفرقة</p>	<p>فما وجد الحكمان في كتاب الله بيننا وبينكم فإنهما يتبعانه وما لم يجدها في كتاب الله أخذنا بالسنة العادة الجامعة غير المفرقة</p> <p>والحكمان عبد الله بن قيس وعمر بن العاص</p> <p>وأخذنا عليهما</p> <p>عهد الله وميثاقه ليقتضيا بما وجدنا في كتاب الله فإن لم يجدنا في كتاب الله فالسنة</p> <p>الجامعة غير المفرقة</p>

(Variant renderings of paragraphs 2 and 3 of Version A)

<p>وأخذ الحكمان من علي بن أبي طالب ومعاوية بن أبي سفيان الذي يرضيان من العهد والميثاق ليرضيان بما يقضيان فيهما من خلع من خطما وتأمير من أمرا وأخذنا من علي ومعاوية و الجندبن كليهما</p>	<p>وأخذنا من علي ومعاوية ومن جند كليهما ومن تأمر الله عليه من الناس عهد الله ليقتلن ما قضيا به عليهما وأخذنا لأنفسهما الذي يرضيان به والثقة من العهد الناس انهما أمان على أنفسهما وأهلبيها وأموالهما وأن الأمة لهما أنصار على ما يقضيان به علي ومعاوية وعلى المؤمنين والمسلمين من الطائفتين كليهما (بداية سقط من أ)</p>	<p>ومن الجندبن الناس انهما أمان على أنفسهما وأهلبيها و الأمة لهما أنصار على الذي يتقاضيان عليه وعلى المؤمنين والمسلمين من الطائفتين كليهما عهد الله وميثاقه إننا على ما في هذ الصحيفة</p>	<p>وأخذ الحكمان من علي ومعاوية ومن الجندبن عليه من أمر الناس بما يرضيان به من العهد والميثاق والثقة من الناس انهما أمان على أموالهما وأهلبيها و الأمة لهم أنصار على الذي يقضيان به عليهما وعلى المؤمنين والمسلمين من الطائفتين كليهما عهد الله إننا على ما في هذه الصحيفة ولتقومن عليه وإننا عليه لأنصار</p>
<p>وأخذ الحكمان</p>	<p>من علي ومعاوية وما هما</p>	<p>من العهد والميثاق والثقة من الناس انهما أمان على أموالهما وأهلبيها و الأمة لهم أنصار على الذي يقضيان به عليهما وعلى المؤمنين والمسلمين من الطائفتين كليهما عهد الله إننا على ما في هذه الصحيفة ولتقومن عليه وإننا عليه لأنصار</p>	<p>من علي ومعاوية وما هما</p>

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(ص = وقعة صفين ، أ = أنساب الأشراف ، ت = تاريخ الرسل والملوك ،
ح = رسالة في الحكمين)

- 1 في ص فقط
- 2 ت : الكوفة
- 3 سقط من ت
- 4 ت : معهم . سقط من أ
- 5 ت وأ : شيعتهم
- 6 في ص فقط
- 7 سقط من أ
- 8 ت وأ : شيعتهم
- 9 أ : وبيننا كتاب الله فيما اختلفنا فيه . ح : في كتابه فيما اختلفنا فيه .
« وبينكم » سقط من ت
- 10 ت : ولا
- 11 ت : غيره
- 12 أ : يحيى
- 13 في ص فقط
- 14 في ص فقط
- 15 قد أخذنا النص في هذه الفقرة والفقرة التالية من ص ، وتلى مقارنة الروايات
المختلفة لهاتين الفقرتين فيما بعد .
- 16 بداية سقط من أ
- 17 ت : وأن . ح : وأنه
- 18 ت : قضيتهما
- 19 ت : على المؤمنين فان الأمن . ح : من المؤتمر والآمر
- 20 ح : الاستفاضة
- 21 ح : رفع
- 22 يضيف ت : بينهم
- 23 ح : شأؤوا وكانوا
- 24 ت : أهلهم وأموالهم . ح : أهاليهم وأموالهم وأرضهم

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(Version A)

- 25 نهاية السقط من أ .
 26 ت : أن يحكما . أ : أن يصلحا . ح : ليقضيان
 27 ت : هذه الأمة
 28 سقط من أ و ح
 29 ت : يرذاها . أ : يرداهم . ح : يذراهم (كذا)
 30 ت : في حرب ولا فرقة . أ : في فرقة ولا حرب . ح : في الفرقة والحرب
 31 سقط من أ
 32 أ : وأن أجل . ح : وآخر أجل
 33 سقط « شهر » من ت . ح : بين الناس في انسلاخ شهر .
 34 ت : و إن احبّا أن يؤخرا ذلك أخراه عن تراض منهما . أ : فإن احبّا أن يعجلها دون ذلك عجلا و إن احبّا أن يؤخراها عن غير ميل منهما أخراها
 ح : و إن احبّا أن يؤخرا ذلك عن ملائمتها وتراض أخرا .
 35 أ : مات . ح : هلك
 36 ت و أ و ح : أحد
 37 يضيف أ : قبل القضاء
 38 يضيف أ : وشيعته . يضيف ح : والشيعه
 39 أ و ح . يختارون
 40 ت : ولا
 41 أ و ح : يألون
 42 ت : من
 43 أ و ح : أهل المعدلة
 44 أ : والنصيحة والأقساط . ح : والاقتصاد (كذا)
 45 ت : وأنّ مكان قضيتهما الذى يقضيان فيه . أ : وأن يكون مكان قضيتهما
 التى يقضيانها فيه . ح : وأنّ ميعاد القضية أن يقضيا به .
 46 ت : مكان عدل بين أهل الكوفة وأهل الشام . أ : مكان عدل بين الكوفة والشام والحجاز . ح : بمكان من أهل الكوفة وأهل الحجاز وأهل الشام سواء .

(Version A)

- 47 ت : وإن رضيا وأحبًا فلا يحضرهما فيه إلا من أَرَادَا . أ : لا يحضرهما فيه
إلا من أَرَادَا فإن رضيا مكانا غيره بحيث أحبًا أن يقضيا . ح : لا يحضرهما
فيه إلا من أَرَادَا فإن أحبًا أن يكون بأذرح وبدومة الجندل كان ، وإن رضيا
مكانا غيره حيث أحبًا فليقضيا على علي ومعاوية أن يجتمعا على الحكيمين .
(هنا نهاية نصّ ح وتليه أسماء بعض الشهود) .
- 48 « أن » سقط من ت
- 49 يضيف أ : من كل واحد
- 50 ت : أَرَادَا
- 51 ت : يكتبان شهادتهما
- 52 سقط من أ
- 53 ت و أ : هذه الصحيفة
- 54 ت : وهم أنصار على من ترك ما في هذه الصحيفة وأراد فيه إلحادا وظلما
اللهم إنا نستنصرك على من ترك ما في هذه الصحيفة
أ : إنهم أنصار على من ترك ما فيها اللهم نستنصرك على من ترك ما في
هذه الصحيفة وأراد فيها إلحادا وظلما
- 55 ت : شهد من أصحاب على . أ : وشهد من كل جند على الفريقين عشرة
من أهل العراق . ح : وشهد
يضيف ت : الكندي
- 57 أ : سعد بن قيس . ويضيف ت و أ : الهمداني
- 58 ص و ح : ورقاء ، و « سمي » سقط من ح . وفي أ : وقاء بن سمي وبعضهم
يقول ورقاء ، بن سمي ورقاء أصح ذلك . ويضيف ت : العجلي . ويضيف
ح : الكبرى الخارفي (كذا) .
- 59 أ و ح : عبد الله بن طفيل . ويضيف ت : العامري . ويضيف
ح : البكاوي ويقال عند الله بن طليق البكاوي .
- 60 ت : حجر بن عدى . ح : جرير بن يزيد . ويضيف ت و أ و ح : الكندي
- 61 ص : عبد الله بن جمل . أ و ح : عند الله بن جمل . ويضيف
أ : الكبرى . ويضيف ت و ح : العجلي .

(Version A)

- 62 ص : عقبه بن جارية . ح : عنبة بن زياد . ويضيف ت : الحضرمي .
ويضيف ح : المذحجي او الأنصاري .
- 63 سقط هذا الاسم من ح . ويضيف ت و أ : التيمي .
- 64 سقط هذا الاسم من ص . ويضيف ت : الهمداني . ويضيف أ : الأرحبي .
- ويضيف ح : النخلى (كذا) او الهمداني ويقال عتبة بن زيد ويقال زياد
بن كعب . (وهنا تنتهي رواية ح)
- 65 ت : ومن أصحاب معاوية . أ : ومن أهل الشام
- 66 ت : أبو الأعور السلمي عمرو بن سفيان . أ : أبو الأعور عمرو بن سفيان السلمي
- 67 يضيف ت و أ : الفهرى
- 68 يضيف ت و أ : الزبيدي
- 69 يضيف ت و أ : العذري
- 70 يضيف ت و أ : الهمداني
- 71 يضيف ت : الخزومي . ويضيف أ : بن الوليد الخزومي
- 72 يضيف ت : الأنصاري . ويضيف أ : الحضرمي
- 73 ص : علقمة بن مرشد . ويضيف ت : الأنصاري . ويضيف أ : أخو سبيع هذا
- 74 أ : يزيد بن الجز . ويضيف ت و أ : العبسي
- 75 سقطت هذه الجملة من ت و أ .

Version B

(ص = وقعة صفين ط = الأخباز الطوال ش = شرح نهج البلاغة)

- 1 ش : رسوله
- 2 ط : شاهدهم وغائبهم
- 3 سقط من ص . وفي ط : وقضية معاوية على أهل الشام شاهدهم وغائبهم
- 4 ش : أننا
- 5 ط : تراضينا
- 6 ط : نقف
- 7 ط : يحكم
- 8 سقط من ط
- 9 ش : كتاب الله حكما بيننا
- 10 ش : ما أحيا القرآن وشميت ما أماته
- 11 ش و ط : تقاضينا . . . تراضينا
- 12 ط : رضوا بعبد الله
- 13 ط : وحكما
- 14 ط : بعمرو
- 15 ت . : وحكما
- 16 ط : على أنّ عليا ومعاوية أخذوا على عند الله بن قيس وعمرو بن العاص
- 17 ط : وذمته وذمة رسوله أن يتخذا القرآن إماما ولا يعدوا به
- 18 ش : ما
- 19 ط : وما لم يجدا في الكتاب
- 20 ط و ش : لها
- 21 ط : ولا يبغيان فيها بشبهة . « في ذلك لهما » سقط من ش .
- 22 في ش فقط
- 23 ط : في
- 24 ط : ولهما
- 25 ش : حكمهما
- 26 الزيادة من ط
- 27 ط : سخطه ساخط
- 28 ط : أنصارهما
- 29 ط : الحق مما في كتاب الله

(Version B)

- 30 ط : فلشيئته وأصحابه أن يختاروا مكانه رجلا من أهل المعدلة والصلاح
31 سقط من ط
32 ط : قبل انضاء الأجل المحدود في هذه القضية
33 في ش فقط
34 ط : [وقد وقعت هذه القضية] والمفاوضة ورفع السلاح
35 سقط من ش
36 ش : يقبلا
37 يشير ص هنا إلى بداية سقط من « كتاب ابن عقبة » .
38 ط : سميّنا
39 ط : موقع الشرط
40 ش : الحكيمين والأميرين
41 ط : ولله أقرب شهيد وكفى به شهيدا فإن خالفا وتعديا فالأمة بريئة
من حكمهما ولا عهد لهم ولا ذمة . انظر من سطر ١٣ إلى سطر ١٤
42 الزيادة في ط
43 ط : موضوعة
44 ط : آمنة
45 ش : الشاهد والغائب الخ . ط : والغائب من الفريقين مثل الشاهد في الأمر
46 ط : منزلا متوسطا أدلا
47 ط : عن تراض منهما
48 ط : والأجل الى انقضاء شهر رمضان . والزيادة في ش
49 ش : رأيا
50 سقط من ط
51 ط : وإن رأيا تأخيرها إلى آخر الأجل آخرها
52 الزيادة في ش
53 ش : فذلك
54 ش : وإن
55 ط : ؛ بما في كتاب
56 ط : الأجل
57 ط : الفريقين
58 سقط من ط . والزيادة في ش

(Version B)

- 59 ط : وعلى الأمة عهد الله وميثاقه في هذا الأمر وهم جميعا يد واحدة
على من أراد في هذا الأمر إلحادا أو ظلما أو خلافا .
- 60 ط : شهد على ما في هذا الكتاب . وأسماء الشهود غير موجودة في ش ،
إتّما يقول : وشهد فيه من أصحاب على عشرة ومن أصحاب معاوية عشرة .
- 61 ط : الأشر بن الحارث
- 62 ط : عبد المطلب
- 63 ط : أبو سعيد بن ربيعة الأنصاري
- 64 ط : عبد الله بن خباب بن الأرت
- 65 ط : أبو بشر بن عمر الأنصاري
- 66 سقط هذا الاسم من ط
- 67 ط : عوف بن الحارث بن عبد المطلب
- 68 ط : يزيد بن عبد الله الأسلمي
- 69 الزيادة في ط ، ولكن « النكري » غلط — كان تيمّيا وبكريّا .
- 70 ص : ورقاء بن مالك بن كعب الهمداني . ولا يرد « ورقاء بن » في ط .
يظهر أن هنا الاسمين وقاء (أو ورقاء) بن سمى البجلي ومالك بن كعب
الهمداني — انظر nos. 4 and 10 of version A
- 71 سقط هذا الاسم من ط
- 72 سقت « الهمداني » من ط
- 73 ط : علبة
- 74 ط : ومن أهل الشام . ويشير ص هنا إلى نهاية السقط من « كتاب بن عقبة »
- 75 ط : أبو الأعور السلمي
- 76 الزيادة في ط
- 77 ص : خديج
- 78 « الحميري » في ص فقط . كان من زييد — انظر
p. 426, version A, no. 3 and Caskel, II, p. 426
- 79 ط : مسلم
- 80 ط : عبد الرحمن بن خالد بن الوليد
- 81 سقط « الهمداني » من ط
- 82 ص : الهمداني . انظر version A, no. 7

(Version B)

- 83 ص : يزيد بن الجر الثقفي . ط : يزيد بن أيجر العبسي . انظر
version A, no. 10
- 84 ط : جبلة
- 85 ط : بسر أو بشر
- 86 ط : الحصين
- 87 ص : الجرعى . انظر 8 . version A, no. 8
- 88 ص : سقط هذا الاسم من ط
- 89 سقط هذا الاسم من ط
- 90 سقط هذا الاسم من ط
- 91 ط : العتبي
- 92 سقط هذا الاسم من ط
- 93 سقط هذا الاسم من ط
- 94 سقط « الحميري » من ط
- 95 ص : القباح
- 96 ط : حكم
- 97 سقط هذا الاسم من ط
- 98 سقطت هذه الجملة من ط و ش
- 99 سقط من ط
- 100 ش : وتاريخ كتابته لليلة بقيت من صفر سنة سبع وثلاثين

4

The Banners and Battle Cries of the Arabs at Şifīn (A.D. 657)

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

THERE ARE at present two known manuscript copies of a work which adds considerably to our knowledge of the confrontation at Şifīn in 657 between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. Each of the copies is incomplete, and neither the name of the work nor that of its compiler can be determined. Much of the material in it tallies with material given in the most recent published version of the *Waq'at Şifīn* by Naşr ibn Muzāḥim al-Minqarī (d. 212/827).¹ At the same time there is also a good deal of additional material, as well as a differing sequence of events. The name of Naşr ibn Muzāḥim does not appear in any of the *isnāds*, but many of the authorities who are named are cited also by him. It therefore appears that this work is either possibly a fuller recension of Naşr ibn Muzāḥim's work than has hitherto been known, or, more probably, the compilation of an as yet anonymous contemporary or near-contemporary of his.

The purpose of this article is to present, after some discussion of the provenance of this work, a particularly intriguing section entitled:

From *Al-Abhath* 24 (1971), pages 3 to 42.

¹ The edition (ed. A. M. Hārūn, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1382/1962-63)) is based upon (i) a comparison between two earlier printings of inferior quality and (ii) the material in the *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha* cited on the authority of al-Minqarī—see Hārūn's introduction.

Dhikr al-ta'biya al-thāniya—ta'biyat al-ḥarb—bi-Ṣiffīn (A mention of the second disposition—the war disposition—at Ṣiffīn), which, in the course of describing the field dispositions at Ṣiffīn, provides us not only with further evidence of the names of groups and leaders who were present there, but also with their battle cries and with illustrations and fairly precise details of their banners. Such detailed information about banners and battle-cries at Ṣiffīn does not exist in other known sources.

Although the dispositions described in the *Dhikr* will not be discussed here, two brief remarks can be made in this connection. Firstly, any study of the names of persons and groups involved would require comparison not only with the account of the “first disposition” (*ta'biyat 'Alī al-ūlā wa-laysat ta'biyat al-ḥarb...*: Ms. A. fols. 74a ff.; Ms. B fols. 36b ff.), but also with the roughly parallel accounts given by Khalīfa ibn Khayyāṭ in his *Ta'rīkh*,² by al-Dīnawarī in *Al-Akhhār al-ṭiwāl*,³ and by al-Minqarī in *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*;⁴ some reference is made to these works in the annotations given below. Secondly it should be noted that the major respect in which the *Dhikr*, as well as the preceding section *Ta'biyat 'Alī al-ūlā*, provides information which is not to be found in the roughly parallel accounts just mentioned is its clarification of the constituent groups of the four *junds* which made up Mu'āwiya's force, namely, (i) Qinnasrīn and Ḥimṣ (§§4off.), (ii) Dimashq (§§47ff.), (iii) *miṣr* al-Urdunn (§§50ff.), and (iv) *miṣr* Filastīn (§53). Here, as elsewhere, the work demonstrates its superiority over other known sources in respect of quantity of information about Syria.

A. TEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

1. The Mss

Ambrosiana H. 129 (Ms. A)

The older of the two copies of this anonymous work is contained in fols. 34a–178a of a Ms. volume which reached Italy from Yemen in 1908, was catalogued in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan as Ms. no. H. 129,

² Ed. A. D. al-'Umarī, 2 vols. (al-Najaf, 1386/1967). I, 177–78; ed. S. Zakkār, 2 vols. (Damascus, 1967–68), I, 220–21.

³ Ed. V. Guirgass (Leiden, 1888), 182–83.

⁴ Ed. Hārūn, 205–6.

and was described by Griffini 1910⁵ and again more briefly in 1915.⁶ The volume, which is damaged in places, consists of 196 folios, some of them blank; the hand is a fairly tightly packed *naskh*. The first available page (fol. 34a) of this incomplete copy finds ‘Alī in Bašra after the battle of the Camel; there follows an account of his move to Kūfa, and of the circumstances before, during, and after the Šiffīn confrontation; the work concludes with the death of ‘Alī. This copy, which is generally accurate, although occasionally difficult to read, was completed in the Yemeni town of Mulāḥa in Sha‘bān 627/June 1230. It is in this article referred to as Ms. A.

Preussische Staatsbibliothek Ms. or quart 2040 (Ms. B)

This copy consists of 112 folios in a *naskh* hand, incorrectly numbered on the right, so that these numbers should be regarded as indicating verso instead of recto. The work has a title-page bearing the words: *Kitāb akhbār Šiffīn fī aṣaḥḥ al-riwāya wa-atammihā—riwāyat Muḥammad ibn Ishāq wa-‘Umar ibn Sa‘id [sic] wa-ghayrihimā min al-‘ulamā’ al-muḥaqqiqīn*. The next page (fol. 2b) commences with an *isnād* which mentions neither of these names, and goes on to give an account of ‘Alī’s address at Bašra after the battle of the Camel; at fol. 3b, the text of this copy begins to coincide with that of Ms. A at fol. 34a. Apart from some blank sections at fols. 59–61, the narrative of this copy is continuous to fol. 88b, where it breaks off | during an account of the raising 5 of the *maṣāḥif* at Šiffīn, at a point which occurs at fol. 137a in Ms. A. Fols. 89a–111a, which are in the same hand, make up a section which clearly belongs before what it physically follows, since it starts abruptly with ‘Alī in the Ḥijāz, covers his move to ‘Irāq and the events of the battle of the Camel, and then ends: *kamula ḥadīth al-jamal al-ḥamd li’llāh ‘azza wa-jalla wa-yatlūh ḥadīth akhbār Šiffīn*, followed by the date of the copy—Jumādā I 1074/December 1663. The copy contains many obvious errors, as well as lacunæ, and frequently fails, in whole or in part, to provide *isnāds* which appear in Ms. A. It is in this article referred to as Ms. B.

⁵ “Nuovo testi arabo-siculi: III” in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, 2 vols. (Palermo, 1910), I, 402–15.

⁶ “Die jüngste ambrosianische Sammlung arabischer Handschriften”, *ZDMG* 69 (1915), 77.

2. Authorities and the Question of the Identity of the Compiler

As noted above, the identity of the compiler of this work is unknown. Numerous monographs known to have been written on the subject of the Şifīn confrontation are now either lost completely or survive only in fragmented form in the works of other writers.⁷ The available copies of the work under discussion give no explicit indication of a single compiler, and it is possible that the compilation was done by more than a single person. What does stand out, however, is the extent to which it draws in the first instance upon the material of 'Umar ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Şayd al-Asadī (d. ca. 180/796), whose work on Şifīn was also relied upon heavily by Naşr ibn Muzāḥim al-Minqarī.⁸ Griffini draws attention to the existence of such dependence in the first half of the work, cites (inaccurately) a lengthy *isnād* at fol. 38a in Ms. A which contains four main chains of authority drawn upon by 'Umar, and indicates a number of other places where his name is cited as an authority.⁹ Beyond this, however, Griffini does not observe that the majority of other names cited in the *isnāds*, throughout the work and not merely in the first half of it,¹⁰ are those of authorities from whom 'Umar is known to have drawn. Secondly, but to an extent which is considerably less, the work cites as an authority Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ ibn Yaḥyā al-Azdī (d. 157/775), and mentions the names of other authorities upon whom Abū Mikhnaf is known to have relied. Ursula Sezgin has already pointed out the close links which exist between the material of 'Umar ibn Sa'd and that of Abū Mikhnaf, in her valuable, close examination of these as constituents of Minqarī's *Waq'at Şifīn*.¹¹

Once 'Umar ibn Sa'd and Abū Mikhnaf and their authorities are eliminated, few *isnāds* remain to be accounted for. Muḥammad ibn

⁷ For a list of Şifīn monographs, see Ursula Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf. Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie der umayyadischen Zeit* (Leiden, 1971), 103, n. 15.

⁸ Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. I (Leiden, 1967), 311; Ursula Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 137-39. In our copies, 'Umar sometimes becomes 'Amr, and Sa'd sometimes Sa'id; Griffini (1910), 408, refers to him as "'Amr ibn Sa'd [al-Anşārī]".

⁹ Griffini (1910), 408.

¹⁰ Griffini (1910), 408, n. 2 in fact overlooks the two further explicit references to 'Umar ibn Sa'd at 88b and 100b.

¹¹ Ursula Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 137ff. and particularly 139.

Ishāq (d. 150/767) is, of course, used as an authority by ‘Umar and Abū Mikhnaf, but his material is here in three places preserved as an independent account (fols. 41b, 60a, 78a).¹² The material of ‘Amr ibn Shamīr al-Ju‘fī (d. prob. 160/776) and his authorities,¹³ extensively used by Minqarī, is identifiable in only four instances (fols. 36a, 68b, 80a, 99a). Beyond these, the following names need to be taken into account:

Abū Rawḥ Faraj ibn Farwa (Ms. B: Abū Rawḥ ibn Qurra—unidentified) on the authority of Mas‘ada ibn Ṣadaqa (d. ca. 180/796¹⁴), fol. 38b.

Abū ‘Ubaydallāh ibn al-Walid (d. bet. 170/785 and 193/809¹⁴), fol. 39b.

Abū Ḥayyān al-Taymī (contemporary of al-A‘mash, who died in 147/764 or 148/765¹⁵), fol. 69a.

‘Abd al-Azīz ibn Siyāh (Ms. A: Sinān; Ms. B: Yasār. In the same generation as Sufyān al-Thawrī, who died 161/778¹⁴), fol. 70a.

Abān [ibn Taghlib] (d. 141/748¹⁶), fol. 83a.

Abū Bakr al-Hamdānī (?al-Hudhalī? If so, he died 167/783–84¹⁷), fol. 89b.

Muḥammad ibn ‘Uthmān al-Kalbī (Ms. B: *al-kātib*—unidentified) on the authority of al-Haytham ibn ‘Adī (d. 209/824¹⁸), fol. 90a.

Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyā ibn Abī Zā‘ida (d. 182/798¹⁴), fol. 90b.

Khirāsh ibn Ismā‘īl al-‘Ijlī (authority cited by Hishām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī,¹⁹ *infra*), fol. 91b.

Usayd ibn al-Qāsim (mid 2/8 century²⁰), fol. 120b.

Asad ibn Sa‘īd al-Nakha‘ī (mid 2/8 century²¹ fol. 120b.)

¹² Unless otherwise specified, references are henceforward to Ms. A.

¹³ Ursula Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*, 131ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 124, n. 68.

¹⁵ Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau *et al.*, 8 vols. (Leiden, 1905–17), VI, 246.

¹⁶ Āghā Buzurg al-Tihirānī, *Al-Dharī‘a ilā taṣānīf al-shū‘a*, vol. XV (al-Najaf, 1955), 52, where he too is credited with a “*Kitāb Šiffin*”.

¹⁷ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 12 vols. (Hyderabad, A.H. 1325–27), XII, 46 (no. 180).

¹⁸ Ibn Qutayba, *Al-Ma‘ārif*, ed. Tharwat ‘Ukāsha, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1969), 539.

¹⁹ Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-jarḥ wa’l-ta’dīl*, 4 vols. (Hyderabad, A.H. 1360–72), I/ii, 392 (n. 1803).

²⁰ Al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, ed. M. Ṣādiq Āl Baḥr al-‘Ulūm (al-Najaf, 1381/1961), 152 (no. 208); Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, 6 vols. (Hyderabad, A.H. 1329–31), I, 447 (no. 1297).

²¹ Al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 152 (no. 206); Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mizān*, I, 382 (no. 1198).

Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), fol. 120b, who is also almost certainly intended by the references to al-Kalbī at fols. 45a and 60a.

ʿAbdallāh ibn Jaʿfar (ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Miswar? If so, he died 170/786-87²²), fol. 141a.

Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd (unidentified), fol. 167b.

The *isnād* evidence therefore points to this as being a compilation of the early third/ninth century.

It must be reiterated here that the two copies are indeed copies of the same work, the main difference between them being (apart from their differing states of incompleteness) that Ms. B is less intelligible and grammatically accurate than Ms. A, contains lacunæ, and in the *Ṣiffīn* section usually prefaces information with *qāla*, *dhakarū*, or (most commonly) *qāla*: *wa-dhakarū*, in places where Ms. A frequently gives fuller *isnād* information. F. Sezgin has already suggested a probable connection between the two, firstly when, in noting the attribution to Hishām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī of a work entitled *Kitāb akhbār Ṣiffīn*, he remarks “es muss noch untersucht werden, ob dies Werk mit dem Codex Ambros. H 129 und Berl. (z.Z. Tübingen) Qu. 2040 identisch ist”;²³ and secondly in his entry on Muḥammad ibn ʿUṭmān al-Kalbī (p. 314), where he attributes to him *Akhbār Ṣiffīn* | (“Ambros. H. 129/2 (ff. 90-177) . . .”, citing Griffini [1910]), and continues “(vielleicht ist es identisch mit *Akhbār Ṣiffīn* von Ibn al-Kalbī, woraus Ibn al-Ḥadīd in *Ṣarḥ Nahj al-b.* VI, 316 zitiert); vgl. mit den anon. Codex in Berl. Qu. 2040 (z.Z. Tübingen)”.

The matter takes a strange turn, however, in some remarks by Ursula Sezgin, who, while she has studied Ms. B closely, has evidently not had access to the superior Ms. A. This is apparent when she notes (p. 125, footnote) that “nach dem Text der Handschrift”—meaning Ms. B—“überliefert ein gewisser Muḥammad ibn ʿUṭmān al-Kātib [*sic*] von al-Haitām b. ʿAdī, z.B. f. 49. Ist ‘al-Kātib’ vielleicht eine Verschreibung von al-Kalbī?” She then informs us that “dieser Muḥammad b. ʿUṭmān al-Kalbī verfasste ein k. *Ṣiffīn*, von dem eine Handschrift erhalten ist, s.o.S. 103”. Page 103, of course, refers us back to F. Sezgin,

²² Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, V, 171-73 (no. 295).

²³ F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, I, 271. The citation from this work attributed to Hishām is in fact too short for any conclusions to be drawn with regard to the work under discussion.

page 314, which relies on Griffini, who relies on fol. 90a of Ms. A, and the circle is complete; the two references to Muḥammad ibn ‘Uthmān occur in Ms. B only at fol. 49b, not “zum Beispiel”, and fol. 49b of Ms. B coincides with fol. 90a of Ms. A. The same evidence is therefore inadvertently used twice over as two separate pieces of mutually supporting evidence.

Griffini has in fact arrived at two conclusions which are untenable, but which F. Sezgin, understandably enough, has had to take on trust. The first of these is to be found in the assertion that one transmission—that of ‘Umar ibn Sa’d—ends in Ms. A at fol. 89b, and that the section *Dhikr al-ta’biya al-thāniya* marks the beginning of a new transmission; this assertion is unacceptable, on the grounds that the sequence of events continues in a perfectly straightforward manner, that many of the authorities cited after fol. 89b are known to have been used by ‘Umar ibn Sa’d, and that (unremarked by Griffini) there is yet another explicit reference to ‘Umar ibn Sa’d himself at fol. 100b. There is therefore no reason for believing that the whole of fols. 34a–178a is not a single compilation.

Secondly, Griffini has selected the otherwise unknown Muḥammad ibn ‘Uthmān al-Kalbī (or al-Kātib) as the author of the whole of what he regards as this new transmission. But, in fact, there is no reason for regarding this Muḥammad as the authority for any more than the two specific pieces of information to which his name is attached in paragraphs 2 and 3 of *Dhikr al-ta’biya al-thāniya* (pieces of information which, incidentally, both concern the earlier period, not Şifīn), so that the identity of the compiler must remain an open question. Not much of a case can even be made for the compiler having been al-Minqarī, in view of the paucity of material here taken from ‘Amr ibn Shamir—in contrast with the larger quantity to be found in the published Cairo version of *Waq’at Şifīn*; and this in spite of the doubtful provenance of that version.²⁴

As a final point, it is appropriate to note, as Griffini does, two works mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm, namely the *Kitāb al-rāyāt* of Abū ‘l-Bakhtarī Wahb ibn Wahb (d. 200/815)²⁵ and the *Kitāb al-alwiya* of Abū Hudhayfa Ishāq ibn Bishr | (d. 206/821).²⁶ A fragment of the

²⁴ See n. 1 above, and Hārūn’s introduction.

²⁵ F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, I, 267.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 294.

former—bearing no textual resemblance to anything in *Dhikr al-ta'biya al-thāniya*—offers information about the Ash'arī banner and survives, with two illustrations, in the *Ta'rīkh-i Qum*;²⁷ the *Kitāb al-alwiya* is apparently lost in its entirety.

B. THE CONTENT

1. Banners

On the subject of banners in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods, the exhaustive study of Girs²⁸ continues to be the fundamental work, to which little has since been added.²⁹ Discussion here will avoid digression into the complex and sometimes ambiguous range of points associated with material on *liwā'* and *rāya* in the time of the Prophet, and will be confined as closely as possible to the *Dhikr* and *Şiffin*. By way of general comment, it is sufficient to say that, in spite of some apparent exceptions and ambiguities, *liwā'* in the early Islamic period came to signify a military command, while *rāya* was the emblem of a kinship group, or in some cases a personal emblem. One of the most important developments in the caliphate of 'Umar was the attempt to establish authority in the hands of those with "Islamic priority" (*ahl al-sābiqa*)—an attempt which generally ran counter to the traditional principle of *sharaf* involved in the leadership of Arab kinship groups;³⁰ a good instance of this attempt can be seen in the preparations preceding the battle of Qādisiyya, when men from the *ahl al-sābiqa* were given

²⁷ Al-Qummī, *Ta'rīkh-i-Qum* (Tehran, 1934), 282–83.

²⁸ M. Girs, "K voprosu ob arabskikh znamenakh". *Zapiski Kollēgi Vostokovedov pri Aziatskom Muzei Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk* 5 (1930), 343–65.

²⁹ See Muṣṭafā Jawād, "Al-Rāya wa'l-liwā' wa-amthāluhā (Le drapeau chez les arabes)", *Lughat al-'arab*, year 9 (1931), 573–82, 686–91; Aḥmad Taymūr, *Al-Tadhkirat al-Taymūriya* (Cairo, 1953), art. 443, 259–74; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden, 1960), s.v. "alam" (David-Weill), I, 349; Hans Kruse, "Rāya and Liwā' [sic] in Islamic Tradition", *Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh International Congress of Orientalists, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 13th–19th August, 1967*, ed. D. Sinor (Wiesbaden, 1971), 283–84. I have been unable to gain access to the article: Ghulam Mustafa Khan, "The Islamic and Ghaznavide Banners", *Nagpur University Journal* 9 (1943), 106–117.

³⁰ This theme is pursued in "Kūfan Political Alignments and Their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A.D.", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2 (1971), 346–67 [Chap. 1 of this volume].

charge of the *rāyāt*.³¹ In 'Irāq, the polarisation of interests which ensued there accounted for the clashes in the years that followed; in Syria, on the other hand, the existence of large, cohesive tribal groupings in the *junds*, the continuing presence of Mu'āwiya as governor there, and the relative lack of a parvenu Islamic elite of the kind to be found in 'Irāq, together meant that no clash came about. By the time of Şifîn, it is clear that even in 'Irāq clan/tribal traditional patterns of leadership had for some time ceased to be compromised in the ways envisaged by 'Umar; for one indication of this, it is necessary to look at more than the identity of the various leaders with *rāyāt*.

To turn to the information provided by the *Dhikr*, it can first be noted that, at Şifîn, 'Alī and Mu'āwiya each had a *liwā' a'zam*,³² 'Alī's being the *liwā'* of the Prophet and Mu'āwiya's "*al-liwā' al-a'zam, liwā' al-jamā'a*". In general, the tribal groups on each side had *rāyas*, although in a few cases banners with the physical form of *liwā'*s evidently functioned as *rāyas*; hence we find reference to "*rāyāt Kinda . . . wa-huwa liwā' aswad*" (§29). There is also mention of *rāyas* under which coalitions of groups might sometimes form, namely, "*rāyāt B. Asad jamī'an*" (§6), "*al-rāya allati tajma' Bakr b. Wā'il qaṭibat'an*" (§13), and the *rāya* for joining 'Akk with Alhān (§22). It is evident that identical tribal *rāyas* were used by fellow-tribesmen from Baṣra and Kūfa, as well as on the opposing Syrian side, when the names of such groups as Quraysh, the Anṣār, Kinda, and Hamdān recur, the *Dhikr* merely indicates that the *rāya* in question has already been described. In this connection, it is perhaps worth noting also (although not without caution) Minqarī's report from 'Amr ibn Shamir³³ that there were also means by which the 'Irāqīs as a whole were distinguishable from the Syrians as a whole:

The distinguishing mark (*'alāma*) of the 'Irāqīs at Şifîn was white wool, which they had placed on their heads and shoulders; their *shī'ār*

³¹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.*, 3 series (Leiden, 1879-1901), I, 2224.

³² Cf. Girs, "K voprosu ob arabskikh znamenakh", 359, who mentions only *al-rāya al-'uzmā* with 'Alī. Also, note the references to the Prophet's *liwā' a'zam* at Badr and Uḥūd: al-Wāqidi, *Al-Maghāzī*, ed. J. M. B. Jones (London, 1966), 58, 225; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/i, 8; Girs, *op. cit.*, 346.

³³ 'Amr ibn Shamir does not inspire confidence in his reliability as an authority: see the discussion of another report cited on his authority in "The Şifîn Arbitration Agreement", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 17 (1972), 104ff. (where p. 104, l. 19, should read "Jābir [ibn Yazīd al-Ju'fī]", not "Yazīd al-Ju'fī") [above, 69].

was “*yā ’llāh, yā aḥad, yā ṣamad, yā raḥmān, yā raḥīm*”.³⁴ The distinguishing mark of the Syrians was yellow pieces of cloth (*khiraq*), which they had placed on their heads and shoulders: their *shi’ār* was “*naḥnu ‘ibād allāh ḥaqq^{an} ḥaqq^{an}*”.³⁵

The reference given above to a *liwā’* which served as a *rāya* suggests clearly enough that a functional difference was involved. The Kindī leader had presumably by tradition carried a *liwā’*—hardly surprising, perhaps, in view of the distinguished past of Kinda; but he was not now an overall military leader, so that, although he kept his *liwā’*, it functioned only as a *rāya*, that is, as an emblem of his kinship group, and in his charge as leader of that group. It also seems clear that there was generally a physical difference between the two, in spite of Girs’ evident reluctance to commit himself on this point.³⁶ Although there may have been some ambiguous cases, the whole range of evidence suggests that the *liwā’* involved an elongated piece of material,³⁷ while the *rāya* involved material which was square in shape.

This much could, of course, be argued merely on the basis of the illustrations which occur in the *Dhikr*, but not without first taking into account the remark of Girs about Ms. A—of which he knew, although he evidently did not see it—to the effect that the illustrations “apparently do not show the banners as they really were at Ṣiffīn, because they depict them as seen by an illustrator in the thirteenth century, which accordingly lowers the value of this interesting source”.³⁸ The charge is not wholly lacking in validity, in that there are grounds for wondering just how accurately the illustrations portray the actual Ṣiffīn banners; to take two examples: (i) Ms. A shows borders in Fig. 17, while the text states specifically that there were no borders; (ii) Fig. 18 presumably ought to be identical with the first of the figures given in *Ta’rīkh-i Qum*, but is not. On the other hand, it is entirely possible that the illustrations did not originate in the thirteenth century (i.e., on the basis of written descriptions), but were instead copied from an existing

³⁴ Cf. Qur’ān, CXII.1–2.

³⁵ *Waq’at Ṣiffīn*, 332. Not substantiated by other early sources.

³⁶ Girs, “K voprosu ob arabskikh znamenakh”, *passim*: he avoids the issue in simply using the word “banner”.

³⁷ Note particularly the use of turban cloth for this purpose. e.g., Girs, *op. cit.*, 351.

³⁸ Girs, *op. cit.*, 355–56.

transmission which included illustrations; the presence of illustrations also in the *Ta'riḫ-i Qum* rather strengthens the case for believing this. In such an event we are dealing merely with errors in transmission, and are accordingly unable to say, with regard to Fig. 18, which of the *Dhikr* and *Ta'riḫ-i Qum* is more accurate; as between Ms. A and Ms. B, the evidence indicates that we should favour the former, partly because it is older and has a more intelligible and grammatically accurate text, but also because the 'adhabas (discussed below) are more credibly drawn and because the script of the word "Bajīla" in Fig. 8 is more convincing.

With regard to materials employed, the use to which the garment (§4) *namira*, *burd* (woolen striped garment) belonging to 'Ā'isha was put as Muḥammad's *rāya* is widely reported.³⁹ The impressive *rāya* of Hamdān (§25-Fig. 22) is described as having been ornamented with, or made of, *dībāj* (*mudabbaja*), that is, cloth (probably silk) variegated with colours.⁴⁰ The *rāya* of (the pastoral) Shaybān was made from a black nose-bag, which had been unstitched (§13). Three *rāyas* are reported to have been made from *khirqas* (§§5, 21, 27), and two from *qit'as* (§§18, 36), while another included a *qit'a* (§37); the difference, if any, between *khirqā* and *qit'a* is not clear—each seems to mean "a piece (of cloth)". On the question of size, we are told that the *rāya* of Khath'am was a cubit square (§24);⁴¹ but there is no indication of why this should have called for special comment; the Shaybānī nose-bag cannot have been very different in size.

The 'adhaba is defined by Lane (sub. 'adhab^{un}) as "a piece of rag [or strip of linen or the like, called in French *cravate*,] that is bound upon the head of a spear". Ten of the forty-two banners described in the *Dhikr* contain one 'adhaba or more, the majority of these being red.⁴² Other decorative devices to which reference is made are: the *turra*, defined by Lane as "ornamented, or figured, or variegated border . . . edge, margin", examples of which occur in red and in white (§§15, 22, 40, Figs. 13, 19, M2); the *ḥawāsh*ⁱⁿ-borders, two examples of which are red (§§23,

³⁹ See *Waq'at Šiffīn*, 348–49.

⁴⁰ For evidence of Hamdānī use of *dībāj* in the time of the Prophet, see *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/ii, 74.

⁴¹ This is mentioned also by 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Nizām al-ḥukūma al-nabawīya al-musammā al-tarātīb al-idārīya* . . ., vol. I (Rabat, A.H. 1346), 320.

⁴² Standard translation of colour terms is followed, but note the remark by Girs, "K voprosu ob arabskikh znamenakh", 355, on the conception of *aswad*.

28, Figs. 20, 24), one white (§18, Fig. 15), and one red and green (§24, Fig. 21)—it can also be noticed that in §20 (*re* Fig. 17) the absence of borders is specifically remarked; the crescent moon (*hilāl*), which occurs in red on the *rāya* of the | Ash'ariyūn (§21, Fig. 18),⁴³ in white on the *rāya* of Ṭayyi' (§27, Fig. 23), and in “the colour of the sky” on the *rāya* of Ḥaḍramawt (§32, Fig. 26);⁴⁴ “two eyes” (*‘aynān*) adorning the *rāya* of Muḥārib, red and accompanied by red *‘adhabas* (§10, Fig. 10); the representation of a lion, on the *rāya* of Ghanī and Bāhila (§34, Fig. 28); and the word “Bajīla”, written on the *rāya* of that tribe (§48, Fig. M8).⁴⁵

As for the names of banners, in addition to *al-Aynā'*, “the Wide-Eyed”, mentioned above, the name of the *rāya* of Hamdān is given as *al-Hārūn*, “the Refractory”, (usually of a horse) (§26), and that of B. Kilāb as *al-Sa'ūr*, “the Swift”, (usually of a she-camel) (§40). The black *rāya* of the Prophet was called *al-Uqāb*, “the Eagle”:⁴⁶ it can be noted here also that the *Fath al-bārī* mentions a white *rāya* of the Prophet's called *al-RYBH*,⁴⁷ which seems rather doubtful and should perhaps be read as *al-Ruyayya*, being the diminutive of *rāya*.⁴⁸

On the question of colours, let us first review some of the information in sources other than the *Dhikr*. The Prophet is most frequently reported to have had a black *rāya* and a white *liwā'*, but there are also references to his possession of a white *rāya* and a yellow *rāya*, as well as a black *liwā'*.⁴⁹ Concerning the *rāyas* of Aws and Khazraj, Wāqidī tells us that

⁴³ This red *hilāl* is confirmed by al-Qummī (from Abū 'l-Bakhtarī). *Ta'rikh-i-Qum*, 282–83.

⁴⁴ Two other references to *hilāls* are given by Kattānī. *Nizām al-ḥukūma al-nabawīya*, 320, 322.

⁴⁵ As another example of writing, the (white) *liwā'* of the Prophet is reported to have written upon it “*lā ilāh^a illā 'llāh Muḥammad rasul allāh*”: Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī bi-sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 13 vols. (Būlāq, A.H. 1301), VI, 89 (also cited by Kattānī, *op. cit.*, 322); see also Girs, “K voprosu ob arabskikh znamenakh”, 343 (citing remarks by the Earl of Munster).

⁴⁶ Kattānī, *Nizām al-ḥukūma al-nabawīya*, 345, 347, 353–54, 358 for important details of this.

⁴⁷ VI, 89 (cited by Kattānī, *op. cit.*, 322).

⁴⁸ See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, 20 vols. (Būlāq, A.H. 1300–1307), XIX, 70.

⁴⁹ See the references given by A. J. Wensinck (*Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, 7 vols. [Leiden, 1936 69] at II, 332 and VI, 155 56); *Fath al-bārī*, VI, 89; Girs, “K voprosu ob arabskikh znamenakh”, 347, 348, 349; Kattānī, *Nizām al-ḥukūma al-nabawīya*, 318 ff; Jawād, “Al-Rāya wa'l-liwā'”, 575; Taymūr, *Al-Tadhkira al-Taymūrīya*, 260.

they were green and red in the Jāhiliya and that when Islam came they kept them like that;⁵⁰ Abū Nu‘aym [scil., al-İşfahānī] is named as the authority for a report that the Prophet gave the Anşār yellow *rāyas*.⁵¹ Girs gives other instances of colours, notably red but also yellow and green,⁵² and al-Qummī, citing Abū ‘l-Bakhtarī, describes the *rāya* of the Ash‘ariyūn as white with a black *turra* containing a red crescent.⁵³ Al-Minqarī mentions in the *Waq‘at Şifîn* that the *rāya* of Rabī‘a at Şifîn was red and carried by al-Ḥudayn ibn Mundhir;⁵⁴ he also reports that at Şifîn:

the *rāyas* of the ‘Irāqīs were black, red, blackish-red (*dukn*), white, dyed with safflower (*mu‘aşfara*); and dyed with saffron (*muwarrada*); and the *liwā*’s were fixed (?*madrūba*; read *makhḍūba*, “dyed”?) blackish-red and black.⁵⁵

The further information about colours which is available in the *Dhikr* 12 is therefore of interest not only for its own sake, but also because it confirms the importance particularly of white, black, and red, and to a lesser extent of yellow and green. This accords with the findings of an interesting study by Morabia, who (disregarding white and black in this connection) states:

La gamme des couleurs ne connaît pas de lignes de démarcation bien précises, et surtout immuables. C’est la langue qui y introduit de l’ordre, qui les groupe autour de certain types cardinaux. Il semble que, pour l’arabe, ç’aient été le rouge, le jaune et le vert, puisque ce sont invariablement les trois couleurs citées dans les compilations et dictionnaires arabes de l’époque classique.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ *Maghāzī*, 896 (cf. Girs, “K voprosu ob arabskikh znamenakh”, 355); cf. *Dhikr*, §5, Fig. 5.

⁵¹ Kattānī, *Niẓām al-ḥukūma al-nabawīya*, 323, citing the *Iṣāba*, i.e., Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣāba fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba*, 4 vols. (Calcutta, 1856-73), IV, 803 (no. 1033); 4 vols. (Cairo, A.H. 1328), IV, 414 (no. 1041).

⁵² Girs, “K voprosu ob arabskikh znamenakh”, esp. 351, 355, 358.

⁵³ *Ta’rīkh-i Qum*, 282; cf. *Dhikr*, §21, Fig. 18.

⁵⁴ *Waq‘at Şifîn*, 289; cf. *Dhikr*, §§13-14, Fig. 12.

⁵⁵ *Waq‘at Şifîn*, 332; on ‘Amr ibn Shamir, see above, n. 33. From safflower comes the red dye carthamin.

⁵⁶ Alfred Morabia, “Recherches sur quelques noms de couleur en arabe classique”, *Studia Islamica* 21 (1964), 98.

2. Battle Cries

The *Dhikr* offers as much new information on clan and tribal battle cries as it does on the subject of banners, the main difficulty being that much of this is at present as lacking in significance for us as it evidently was for the scribes who copied it—in many instances without dotting. The subject has received little attention. Kattānī⁵⁷ and Taymūr⁵⁸ have dealt briefly with the *shi'ār*, the former in connection with the time of the Prophet only, and Goldziher has devoted three pages to battle cries in his *Muhammedanische Studien*.⁵⁹ The battle cries used at Badr and Uḥud have been touched upon by A. Jones in an article entitled "The Mystical Letters of the Quran".⁶⁰ It is indeed of the cries at Badr and Uḥud that we are told time and again in the sources, with their concern for emphasising cries apparently introduced by the Prophet: of other cries they tell us little, and the present collection—for all that much of it is unclear in significance or meaning—provides information which has not appeared in other sources so far. The term used in the *Dhikr* is *shi'ār*, which means, among other things, a sign. Lane defines it in this sense as "a sign of people in war ... and in a journey ... i.e. ... a call or cry, by means of which to know one another": he goes on to say that the *shi'ār* of soldiers is "a sign that is set up in order that a man may thereby know his companions" and that *shi'ār* "signifies also the banners, or standards, of tribes". It is in fact the first of these definitions, that of the call or cry of members of a particular group, that the *Dhikr* means; the sense of the second definition does occur in Minqarī's *Waq'at Šiffīn*, but the word used is *'alāma* and not *shi'ār*.⁶¹

Relevant here are the comments on battle cries by Goldziher, who remarks that:

a remarkable way of showing tribal attachment was the custom that the ancient Arabs during their battles called out the name of the eponymous hero of their tribe in the manner of a watchword, or in order to ask for help in the heat of battle or in a great danger. The call was: *yāla Rabī'a*, *yāla Khuzayma* etc.

⁵⁷ *Nizām al-ḥukūma al-nabawīya*, 327ff.

⁵⁸ *Al-Tadhkira al-Taymūrīya*, 214-15.

⁵⁹ Discussed below.

⁶⁰ *Studia Islamica* 16 (1962), 5-11.

⁶¹ See above, 11.

This phenomenon, says Goldziher:

documented the unity of the fighters in war and the battle cry, *shī'ār* (recognition) *da'wa* or *du'ā* (appeal and summons, the latter especially when serving as a call for help), was intrinsically also a symbol of the glorious memories and proud traditions of the tribe, which were to be recalled when individual courage needed strengthening.

After citing some examples and suggesting that the battle cry played a role as a sacred concept, Goldziher addresses himself to the earliest period of Islam, in the interests of which, he says:

Such manifestations of tribal consciousness had to be banned, since they were eloquent witnesses to the tribal segregation which Islam intended to overcome. Islam was compelled to fight the use of the *shī'ār* with even more determination since—as we have seen—it contained some religious elements. Thus it is said of Muḥammad—and possibly justly—that he forbade the calls of the Jāhiliyya.

Goldziher then remarks upon the emergence at the battles of Badr and Uḥūd of apparently new, Muslim battle cries, but notes also the existence of reports which indicate the continued use of such tribal calls as *yāla Ḍabba* in the time of 'Umar.⁶²

The evidence is too slight to allow us to judge with any certainty what exactly Muḥammad was seeking to forbid—if indeed this was the case—or the extent to which he was in a position effectively to forbid anything of this kind. Al-Bukhārī, whom Goldziher cites, reports that the Prophet, on hearing the calls “*yāla 'l-Anṣār*” and “*yāla 'l-Muhājirīn*”, deplored the Jāhilī *da'wa* and declared “leave off it because it stinks”.⁶³ Among the apparently new battle cries which he introduced were “*yā banī 'Abd al-Raḥmān*” (for the Muhājirūn), “*yā banī 'Abdallāh*” (for the Khazraj), and “*yā banī 'Ubaydallāh*” (for the Aws).⁶⁴

⁶² *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2 vols. (Halle, 1889–90), I, 60–62; English translation by C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern as *Muslim Studies*, 2 vols. (London, 1967–71), I, 63–65.

⁶³ See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, VI, 497–98; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 64, n. 4. Another possible reading, by which the “it” in this statement does not refer to “*da'wa*” at all, is discounted in the *Fath al-bārī* (VI, 498), although there is no logical objection to it.

⁶⁴ On these and other Muslim cries in the *maghāzī*, see notably Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 8; see also Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/i, 8, 29, 52, 77, 85, 109; *Maghāzī*, 58, 234, 261,

Goldziher's view of the matter is that, in Bukhārī's *ḥadīth*: "the Prophet is made to condemn even the cry *yā la 'l-Anṣār* and *yā la 'l-Muhājirīn* (not even specific tribal calls)", but one could also argue that the Muhājirūn and Anṣār were precisely the people with whose battle cries he could expect most successfully to interfere. Similarly the group which is reported to have had its *shi'ār* changed by Muḥammad from "*yā ḥarām*" to "*yā ḥalāl*" was probably from Muzayna or Juhayna, both of which were near Medina and under Muḥammad's influence.⁶⁵

14 On the other hand, the cry "*yāla 'l-Anṣār*" is mentioned by Wāqidī without any mention of Prophetic disapproval.⁶⁶ Nor does Ibn Ḥabīb, in his account of the fate of certain Jāhili practices after the advent of Islam, make any mention of the *shi'ār* or the *da'wa*.⁶⁷ Rather, we find examples of the tribal *da'was* being used in the time of 'Umar, as noted by Goldziher, and the *Dhīkr* furnishes us with a long list of *shi'ārs* at least a few of which have an apparently Islamic ring about them.

The question of the extent to which the *shi'ārs* given in the *Dhīkr* are in fact Jāhili *shi'ārs* carried through into Islam cannot, then, be resolved with certainty, although one is inclined to believe that in many cases this was so. Nor is it possible to be sure whether a *shi'ār* was regarded differently from a *da'wa*, for it is after all a *da'wa* that is mentioned in Bukhārī's *ḥadīth* about the Prophet's disapproval. In certain instances, where an existing *shi'ār* contained a word or notion which conflicted with his preaching, the Prophet probably pressed hard for a change. The *shi'ār* "*yā ḥarām*" seems to be a case in point, and there was obviously no question of the survival in Islam of the Qurashī *shi'ār* "*yāla 'l-'Uzza, yāla-Hubal*".⁶⁸ Whether it was for similar reasons that the Prophet gave the *shi'ārs* "*mabrūr*"⁶⁹ and "*muqaddam*"⁷⁰ to Azdīs and Sulamīs respectively cannot be determined, although "*muqaddam*"

407, 898-99; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīra al-nabawīya*, ed. M. al-Saqqā *et al.*, 2 vols. 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1955), I, 634, II, 68, 226, 294, 333, 409; Wensinck, *Concordance*, III, 140-41; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 64; Kattānī, *Nizām al-ḥukūma al-nabawīya*, 237-39; Taymūr, *Al-Tadhkira al-Taymūrīya*, 215.

⁶⁵ Kattānī, *Nizām al-ḥukūma al-nabawīya*, 327 (presumably from al-Khuzā'ī); the last person in the *isnād* is a man from Muzayna or Juhayna.

⁶⁶ *Maghāzī*, 899.

⁶⁷ *Al-Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstädter (Hyderabad, 1361/1942), 309ff.

⁶⁸ *Ṭabaqāt*, II/i, 29.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, II/i, 41.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, II/i, 71.

is said to suggest a glorious role at Ḥunayn which the Sulamīs did not in fact play;⁷¹ only with “*yā ‘ashara*” given to the ‘Absīs do we find something approaching an adequate explanation of the wording of a new *shi‘ār*.⁷² But there was a great difference between, on the one hand, giving out *shi‘ārs* to some of the smaller parties, which had in many instances broken away from their clan or tribal groupings, and on the other hand interfering with the traditional *shi‘ārs* of larger, more cohesive, more powerful, or more remote groups. It would indeed be far-fetched to imagine that the Prophet attempted arbitrarily to alter the *shi‘ārs* of, say, Kinda or Ḥimyar.

The *shi‘ārs* attributed to ‘Amr ibn Shamir to the totality of the ‘Irāqīs and the totality of the Syrians at Şifīn must be accepted or rejected according to the confidence one can place in his authority;⁷³ there is no other reference to them. It can be added, however, that a further specifically Islamic *shi‘ār*, viz KhY‘S—the letters with which Sura 19 begins, is attributed to ‘Alī at Şifīn by the *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*.⁷⁴ As for the *shi‘ārs* given in the *Dhikr*, all that now remains is to review the possible readings and meanings; it is hardly necessary to add that, even when some superficial meaning in one of these *shi‘ārs* can be arrived at, the deeper significance remains unclear.

The first of the *shi‘ārs* mentioned by the *Dhikr* seem to be relatively straightforward: *yā muḥammad*, *yā manṣūr*⁷⁵ (§2, descendents of the Prophet); *hudā’llāh* (§2, B. Hāshim); *yā muḥammad*, *ya mahdī*⁷⁵ (§2, Ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib); *yumn^{an} min allāh* (§5, Anṣār); *raḥmat allāh* (§6 (variants), Kināna). Thereafter, matters become less simple:

§ 7 (Hudhayl): *nabhān* (N)⁷⁶ *dhū ‘l-ḥusayn* (N)—“Nabhān, possessor of the *ḥusayn* (small sand dune?)”.

§ 8 (Ḥanzala): *nabhān* (N) *dhū ‘l-‘aynayn*—“Nabhān, possessor of the two eyes (?)”.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, II/i, 49.

⁷² *Ibid.*, II/i, 49; below, §50 and annotations; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina* (Oxford, 1956), 72.

⁷³ See above, n. 33.

⁷⁴ Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 64, n. 5—evidently an addition by S. M. Stern—citing Ibn Abī ‘l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, ed. M. A. Ibrāhīm, 20 vols. (Cairo, 1965–67), V, 176; of this too there appears to be no confirmation elsewhere.

⁷⁵ On the terms *mahdī* and *manṣūr*, see the remarks of B. Lewis, “The Regal Titles of the First ‘Abbasid Caliphs”, *Dr. Zakir Husain Presentation Volume* (New Delhi, 1968), 16–19.

- § 9 (Sa'd ibn Zayd Manāt): *ma'rūf* (N); or *ibn Sa'd ibn Zayd Manāt Ma'rūf* (N)—“well-known”; or “the son of S. ibn Z. is well-known”.
- § 10 (Muḥārib): *ḥallāb* (or *jallāb*?); or *Muḥārib ibn Khaṣafa ḥallāf*—“dew (of a day)” (or “persons who drive camels and flocks about”) or (most probably) “Muḥārib ibn Khaṣafa is one who swears much”.
- § 12 ('Abd al-Qays): *kawkab*— basically meaning “something which glistens or is conspicuous”, e.g., star, dew, water, sword, chief, etc.
- § 13 (Shaybān): *farīq*—“group of men, outrunner”.
- § 15 (Yashkur): *yā dhā 'l-riqā'*—“O possessor of patches”.⁷⁷
- § 17 (Sa'd ibn Mālik): *ḥidriyān* (N)—meaning “short” (*Lisān al-'arab*, III, 56).
- § 18 ('Ijl): *MKDM*, i.e., *mukaddam* (N) or *mukdam*—meaning “strong (of a stallion)” (*Lisān al-'arab*, XV, 413).
- § 19 (Kalb): *jāma'at ṣaq'ab* (N)—“company of Ṣaq'ab”: *ṣaq'ab* also means “tall” (*Lisān al-'arab*, II, 14).
- § 20 (Nakha'): *RBAḤ*—either *rabāḥ* (N), meaning “a certain small animal resembling a cat”, or (less probably) *rubbāḥ*, meaning “male ape”.
- § 21 (Ash'arīyūn): *MHAJR*—either *muhājir* (N), meaning “one who forsakes his country”, or (less probably) *muhājar*, meaning “a place to which one emigrates”.
- § 22 ('Akk): *thawāb*—“recompense”.
- § 23 (Jū'fi): *kawkabān*—“two *kawkabs*” (see above, §12). Certainly in later times, *Kawkabān* was a Yemeni place-name (Hamdānī. *Ṣifat jazīrat al-'arab*, ed. D. H. Müller [Leiden, 1884], 107, 195).
- § 24 (Khath'am): *HJBIL* (?)—reading uncertain. Possibly *jahfal*, meaning “company”, or *jahanfal*, meaning “thick-lipped”.
- § 25 (Hamdān): *yā mujāhid* (N)—meaning “contender in a sword-fight”.
- § 27 (Ṭayyi'): *fayyād* (N)—meaning “man abounding in munificence”.
- § 28 (Khuzā'a): *yā manṣūr* (N)—meaning “one who is assisted against the enemy”.
- § 29 (Kinda): ?A SA?R ḤRIR (?)—reading uncertain, but possibly “*yā sār Jarīr*” (N)—“O remainder of Jarīr”.
- § 31 (Ḥadramawt): *ṣafwān* (N) meaning “soft, smooth stones” and “clear, cold (day)”.
- § 33 (Thaqīf): *aḥmad* (N)
- § 34 (Bāhila): *FR?AD*—reading uncertain, but probably *firyād*, meaning “wide, broad” and mentioned by Ibn Durayd (*Al-Jamhara*, III, 387) as being [the name of] a place.
- § 35 (Salūl): *rayyān* (N) (or *rabbān* (N)/ *rubbān*) *dhū 'l-ṭrumḥayn*—“Rayyān (or Rabbān), possessor of two spears”; *rayyān* means “quenched”. and *rabbān/rubbān* “company”.

- §36 ('Ijl: cf. above §18): *MKDM* (see above §18) and *jāma'at?* 'LA; this last is probably *ya'lā* (N), hence "company of Ya'lā".
- §37 (Dhuhl): *S?ASH—siyāsa* (?)
- §40 (Kilāb ibn 'Āmir): *jamā'at muslim* (N)
- §41 (Kilā'īyin): *himyar* (N)
- §44 (Quḍā'a): *yā mahdī, yā rāshid* (N)
- §46 (Azd): *mabrūr*—"accepted, rewarded". See above, p. 14.
- §48 (Bajīla): *ya'lā* (N)
- §50 (Sulaym): *muqaddam*—"stationed in the van". See above, p. 14.
- §52 (Ghassān): *MS'DAN*—?
- §53 (Judhām): *WBAN*—?

It is apparent from the above list that, in a good many cases, the *shī'ārs* used by tribal groups at Şiffin included words which may have referred to individuals; and it is reasonable to expect that such individuals were the real or imagined ancestors of those groups, as in the eponymous instances of Sa'd ibn Zayd Manāt (§9) and Muḥārib (§10), and in the instance of the Kila'īyin (§41). These, however, are the only instances where such an expectation is fulfilled with certainty, for the genealogical information available about the other groups mentioned here reveals no ancestors whose names coincide with names of possible names given in these *shī'ārs*; it can only be hazarded that in at least some cases these were epithets or nicknames applied to ancestors who are known to us by other names in the genealogies.

ذكر التعية الثانية تعيبة الحرب بصفتين وهي تعيبة وضع
الرايات / وعقد الألوية على مراتب الأمراء والقواد والرؤساء
والأجناد وصور الرايات بصفاتها وألوانها وأسمائها في
الجاهلية والإسلام /

١ - ثم إنَّ عليَّ بنَ أبي طالب^(١) عبَّ الكتاب فبدأ بأهل الكوفة فوضع عميرها في مواضعها ونصب
فيها ألويتها وراياتها قبل أهل البصرة .

٢ - فجعل من كان من قريش من سكان أهل الكوفة على حدة وجعل رايتها إلى نوح بن
الحويرث^(٢) بن عمرو بن عثمان المخزومي وكانت راية قريش كما ذكر محمد بن عثمان الكلبي^(٣) قال :
حدثني رجل من قريش / أن لواء قريش / يوم الفجار كان مع علقمة بن كلفة بن عبد مناف بن عبد الدار
ولم يشهد الفجار من بني عبد الدار غيره وكانت الاية يوم اليرموك مع فراس بن النضر بن الحارث
ابن كلفة وكانت يوم اليمامة مع طلحة بن عثمان [بن الحنان] وكانت راية بيضاء على هذه الصفة .
/ صفة راية قريش / : (Fig. 1) . شعار / ورثة / النبي يا محمد يا منصور . شعار بني هاشم
هذا الله . شعار بني [عبد] المطلب يا محمد يا مهدي^(٤) . [وهذه] صفة لواء قريش أسود [هذه
صورته] : (Fig. 2) .

٣ - [قال :] وجعل على مقدّمته الأشرّ النخعي وعلى ساقته شريح^(٥) / بن هانئ الحارثي وعلى
المهاجرين / والأنصار محمد بن أبي بكر وعلى ميمنته عبد الله بن بديل الخزاعي وعلى ميسرته عمر
ابن أبي سلمة المخزومي ربيب^(٦) رسول الله صلعم / وهو ابن أم سلمة زوج النبي / [وعلى الرجالة منذر
ابن المرادي] وعلى جماعة الخيل عمّار بن ياسر وعلى اللواء الأعظم هاشم بن عتبة / بن أبي وقاص /
[المرقال] وهو لواء رسول الله صلعم . قال محمد بن عثمان : فحدثني الهيثم بن عدي^(٧) عن محمد

1. B adds: صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ
2. B: - see annotations - نوح بن الرث
3. B: الكاتب
4. B: يا محمد يا منصور
5. B: سوع
6. B: ابن ربيب
7. B: الهيثم بن عثمان بن عدي

ابن إسحق عن^(٨) ابن عباس عن محمد بن المباشر أن لواء رسول الله صلعم كان أبيض ورايته سوداء .
صفة لواء رسول الله صلعم [ابيض هذه صفته] : (Fig. 3) .

٤ - [قال :] ودفع الراية إلى ابنه محمد بن الحنفية . قال : فحدثني^(٩) الهيثم بن عدى عن محمد بن إسحق أن رسول الله صلعم دفع راية المهاجرين يوم بدر ويوم أحد إلى مصعب بن عمير رجه فقتل يوم أحد فدفعها النبي إلى علي بن أبي طالب^(١٠) / فلم تزل معه . قال : / وكانت راية رسول الله صلعم من برد لعائشة / مرجل / . وحدثني يحيى بن زكريا بن^(١١) أبي زائدة عن أبي يعقوب الثقفي عن يونس ابن عبيد مولى محمد بن القاسم^(١٢) الثقفي قال - يعنى محمد بن القاسم - إلى البراء بن عازب : أسأله عن راية رسول الله صلعم . قال : كانت سوداء مربعة / من نمرة / . وحدث يحيى بن زكريا ابن^(١٣) أبي زائدة عن محمد بن إسحق قال : كانت راية رسول الله صلعم سوداء ولواؤه أبيض فدفعها علي يوم صفين إلى ابنه محمد بن الحنفية وهذه صفتها . / صفة راية رسول الله صلعم : / (Fig. 4) .

٥ - [قال :] وجعل راية الأنصار إلى قرصة^(١٤) بن كعب وكانت راية الأنصار / والأوس / والخزرج خرقه سوداء وبياض مستطيلة / وسوداء / هذه صفتها^(١٥) : (Fig. 5) . [راية الأنصار قحطانية] . شعار الأنصار^(١٦) يمن من الله .

٦ - [قال :] وجعل على راية / بنى / كنانة عبد الله بن بكر^(١٧) الكنانى وهى أول راية عقدها رسول الله صلعم لعبد الله بن جحش^(١٨) خضراء [و] هى راية بنى أسد جميعاً / وهذه صفتها / : (Fig. 6) شعار كنانة رحمة الله علينا^(١٩) .

٧ - [قال :] وجعل على راية هذيل عمرو الهذلي وكانت رايتهم صفراء ذات عذبتين حمراوين [على هذه الصفة] : (Fig. 7) . [شعارهم نهبان ذو الحسين] .

٨ - [قال :] وجعل على راية [بنى] حنظلة لبيد بن عطارذ بن حاجب بن زرارة بن عدس وهذه صفتها^(٢٠) : (Fig. 8) . شعارهم نهبان ذو العينين .

8. A: وعن

9. B: وذكر

10. B adds: كرم الله وجهه

11. A and B: عن - see annotations

12. i.e. القاسم

13. sic-usually قرصة

14. B: على هذه الصفة

15. B: الخزرج

16. B: نكير

17. A: جحيش

18. B: رحمه علينا I11 A: علنا (or علنا) is written small above الله in another hand.

19. B: وكانت رايتهم على مثل هذه الصفة

٩ - [قال :] وجعل على راية بنى سعد بن زيد مناة^(٢٠) بن تميم بن مر^(٢١) عمرو بن فديكى المرى^(٢٢) [وكانت رايتهم حمراء] وهذه صفته^(٢٣) : (Fig. 9) . شعار بنى سعد بن زيد مناة معروف^(٢٤) .

١٠ - [قال :] وجعل على راية بنى / ضبة / قطرى بن الفجاءة وعلى راية محارب^(٢٥) شريك ابن ثرملة^(٢٦) المحاربى ورايتهم التى يقال^(٢٧) لها العيناء^(٢٨) وهى سوداء فيها عينان^(٢٩) حمراوان ذات عذبتين / حمراوين هذه صفته / : (Fig. 10) شعار محارب بن خصفة^(٣٠) حلاب^(٣١) .

١١ - قال : فدفع^(٣٢) شريك / راية محارب هذه الماضية / يوم صفين إلى عايد / بن سعيد / ابن جندب بن جابر بن زيد بن عبد (بن)^(٣٣) الحارث بن بغيض / بن شكم / وكان ممن وفد على النبي^(٣٤) صلعم فقتل فأخذها رجل من [بعده]^(٣٥) فقتل فأعطاها على بن أبي طالب على بن شعثم ابن الطعان بن عمرو بن الحارث / بن جندب بن ضبة بن حبيب بن ربيعة بن شكم بن عبد عوف / فأقبل وهى معه فاستقبلته ذريفة^(٣٦) ابنت عايد / ويقال رملة ابنت عايد / حين^(٣٧) رأت الراية / معه / ولا تشك أنها كانت مع أبيها فقالت : أين أبى ؟ فقال ابن شعثم^(٣٨) :

وقابلة هل أب فى الجيش عايد ألا غاله عنك السنان^(٣٩) الحرب

20. B: بنى أسد بن زيد

21. B: مرة

22. A: عمرو بن فديكى المصرى B: عمرو بن فديكى المنذر - see annotations

23. B: على هذه الصفة

24. B: شعارهم بن (كذا) سعد بن زيد مناه معروف

25. B: adds بن

26. B: شريك وعلى - see annotations

27. B: تقال

28. B: العماد

29. B: عدبتان

30. A: حفص B: حفصة - see annotations

31. B: شعارهم محارب بن حفص حلاف

32. B: فدفعها

33. Added - see annotations

34. B: رسول الله

35. A: lac. followed by رجل

36. B: رعه

37. B: حيث

38. B (garbled): ولا تشك إلا أنها مع أبيها لعل بن سعم بن ابى طالب ه على بن سقم فقالت

39. B: العنان

مضى ورماح القوم تشرع نحوه⁽⁴⁰⁾ وكان غداة الروح لا يتهيب
/ وقال نعيم⁽⁴¹⁾ بن عايد : /

سلوا كان جدى⁽⁴²⁾ حامل الراية التي بصفتين عيناها توقد كالجمر
مضا عايد قدماً بها فانتحت له منيته عند الطعان⁽⁴³⁾ على قدر

١٢ - [قال :] وجعل على راية عبد القيس⁽⁴⁴⁾ قثم / بن / الأعور وهي راية عقدها / لهم / رسول
الله صلعم وهي مثل⁽⁴⁵⁾ راية الأشعرين اصطلحوا عليها / وهذه صفتها / : (Fig. 11) .⁽⁴⁶⁾ شعار
عبد القيس كوكب .

١٣ - [قال :] وجعل على راية بنى شيبان / بشر بن المثني بن حارثة الشيباني / وكانت رايتهم
مخللة ففتفت سوداء / هذه صفتها وهي الراية التي / تجمع بكر بن وايل قاطبة : (Fig. 12) .
شعار بنى شيبان فريق⁽⁴⁸⁾ .

١٤ - قال : حدثنى خراش⁽⁴⁹⁾ بن إسماعيل العجلي قال : كانت راية بكر بن وايل من أهل
البصرة يوم الجمل مع سفيان⁽⁵⁰⁾ بن ثور فدفعها إلى مولاه سواسه فهموا بتركها فقال شقيق : دعوه .
فلما كان يوم صفين وطرحها المغيرة الذهلي⁽⁵¹⁾ تنازعت بكر بن وايل عليها فدفعها أمير المؤمنين على
ابن أبي طالب ع إلى الحضين بن المنذر ففيها يقول على بن أبي طالب يومئذ⁽⁵²⁾ :

لمن راية سوداء يحنق ظلها إذا قيل قدّمها حضين تقدّمها
ويدنو بها للصف⁽⁵³⁾ حتى يزيها حياض المنايا تقطر الحنف⁽⁵⁴⁾ والدما

40. B: حوله

41. s.p.

42. B: ولغيرها

43 B: يسير جدى

44. B: يوم الهياج

45. B adds بن

46. B: امسل

47. Obliterated in A

48. B: فرقى

49. B: s.p.

50. B: شقيق

51. B: ودفعها الذهلي

52. B om. but adds كرم الله وجهه

53. B: في الصف

54. B: الموت

- ١٥ - [قال :] وجعل على راية بنى يشكر عبد الله بن الكواء الإشكري وكانت [رايتهم] سوداء فيها طرة حمراء هاكذا : (Fig. 13) . شعار بنى يشكر يا ذا الرقاع .
- ١٦ - [قال :] وجعل على راية بنى تغلب عتبة^(٥٥) بن ربيعة التغلبي وكانت رايتهم في الجاهلية بيضاء فحضبوها بحمرة فجعلت حمراء وبياض (كذا)^(٥٦) / هذه صفتها أول مرة : (Fig. 14 (i))^(٥٧) . / ثم حضبوها فجاءت على هذه الصورة^(٥٨) : (Fig. 14 (ii)) . وفيها يقول عمرو بن كلثوم :
وكتنا نورد الرايات بيضا ونصدرهن حمرا قد روينا
- ١٧ - / وجعل على راية بنى تم الله ابن حجبة^(٥٩) وكانت رايتهم حمراء وهذه صفتها : (Fig. 14 A)^(٦٠) . شعار بنى سعد بن مالك حدرجان^(٦١) /
- ١٨ - [قال :] وجعل على راية^(٦٢) بنى عجل حجّار بن أبحر^(٦٣) العجلي وكانت رايتهم قطعة بيضاء وحمراء وبيضاء [الحواشي على هذه الصفة الوسطا حمراء وحواشيا خضر] : (Fig. 15 (i))^(٦٤) : (Fig. 15 (ii))^(٦٥) . / شعار بنى عجل بن لجم مكدّم^(٦٦) . /
- ١٩ - [قال :] وجعل على راية كلب الهيثم / بن أبي الهيثم / وهو الذي يقال له المقطع^(٦٧) وكانت رايتهم حمراء / وبيضاء / وسوداء / ذات عذبة حمراء / هذه صفتها^(٦٨) : (Fig. 16) . شعار كلب جماعة صقعب^(٦٩) .

55. B: عسد

56. B: فحضبوها في الجاهلية في بعض وقايهم دما فجاءت بيضاء وحمراء

57. B om. this figure

58. B: على هذه الصفة

59. Text gives مرحونه - see annotations

60. Figure damaged

61. This phrase may be misplaced - see annotations

62. Corner of page missing in A.

63. B: الحر

64. Figure damaged in A. B gives with this figure وشعار سعد بن مالك حدرجان which A gives with the preceding section. A here gives شعار كلب جماعة صقعب which is clearly out of place, belonging to the immediately following section on Kalb (it is in fact repeated there by A).

65. B. om. this figure

66. مكدّم in a smaller script and another hand, is written above ربيعة

67. B: المهضع

68. B: على هذه الصفة

69. B: صغفت

٢٠ - [قال :] وجعل على راية النخع مالك بن الحارث [وهو الأشتر] النخعي وكانت رايتهم ذات ثلاث عذبات صفر [كلها] ليس لها^(٧٠) حواشي (كذا) هذه صفتها^(٧١) : (Fig. 17) .
شعار النخع رباح .

٢١ - [قال :] وجعل على راية الأشعرين عبد الرحمن بن محمد الأشعري وكانت رايتهم خرقه خضراء وبيضاء وحمراء وفي الوسط^(٧٢) هلال أحمر وهذه صفتها : (Fig. 18) . شعار الأشعرين مهاجر / ورايتهم / عقدها رسول الله صلعم لأبي عامر الأشعري .

٢٢ - [قال :] وجعل على راية عكّ نهبك بن ثملة وكانت رايتهم خرقه تصفان حمراء وبيضاء / وعذبتان حمراوان / لجمعهم وألحان ولعكّ أيضاً راية سوداء فيها طرة بيضاء^(٧٣) [على هذه الصفة] : (Fig. 19) . شعارهم ثواب^(٧٤) .

٢٣ - [قال :] وجعل على راية جعفي^(٧٥) زحر^(٧٦) بن قيس الجعفي وكانت رايتهم صفراء [وحواشيا حمر] هذه صفتها : (Fig. 20) . شعار جعفي كوكبان^(٧٨) .

٢٤ - [قال :] وجعل على راية خثعم بشر بن ربيعة الخثعمي و [كانت] / رايتهم / ذراع في ذراع عقدها رسول الله صلعم لأبي^(٧٩) رواحة بن مبشر [وكانت] بيضاء على هذه الصفة [حواشيا حمراء وخضراء] : (Fig. 21) . شعار خثعم حجيبيل^(٨٠) .

٢٥ - [قال :] وجعل على راية همدان سعيد بن قيس الهمداني وكانت رايتهم مديحة على هذه الصفة [حمرة وخضرة وصفرة وسواداً] : (Fig. 22) / شعار همدان يا مجالد^(٨١) . قال في ذلك عُمير بن أفلح ذو مُرّان :

وكيف تهابوا القوم لله أنتم وألف كميّ من معدّ كواحد
من الحيّ همدان ابن زيد إذا اتّمت فوارس تدعوا في الوغا لمجالد

70. B: فيها

71. B: على هذه الصفة

72. B: البياض

73. B includes here وعذبتان حمراوان given earlier in the line by A

74. B: شعار عكّ بن محمد يا منصور

75. This and the preceding section are transposed in B.

76. B: جعف

77. B: زجر

78. B: كوكبان

79. B: لابن

80. B: s.p. Possibly جحفل - see above, p. 15

81. Followed by فخطانية in slightly smaller script and this in turn by الخروز in considerably smaller script; both words are in a different hand.

٢٦ - [قال :] وكانت رايتهم في الجاهلية تسمّى^(٨٧) الجموح فلما كان في الإسلام يوم صفين سَمَّوها الحرون وذلك أنّ معاوية نذب لهم^(٨٨) عكاً والأشعرين فذكروا أنّها حرنت فسمّيت الحرون وقال رجل من عكّ أو الأشعرين^(٨٩) :

ونحن ضربنا على أرضنا علباً ونحن رددنا الجموحا / وقال آخر :

رددنا الجموح إلى حران بضرب السيوف ووخر الطعان /

٢٧ - [قال :] وجعل على راية طيء^(٩٠) عدى بن حاتم الطائي وكانت رايتهم [خرقه] سوداء وبيضاء وحمراء^(٩١) في السواد هلال أبيض وثلاث عذبات سوداء وبيضاء وحمراء على هذه الصفة : (Fig. 23) . / شعار طيء قباض . /

٢٨ - [قال :] وجعل على راية خزاعة عبد الله بن بديل بن ورقاء الخزاعي وكانت رايتهم بيضاء [حواشيها حمراء] على هذه الصفة : (Fig. 24) . شعار خزاعة يا منصور .

٢٩ - [قال :] وجعل على راية كندة الأشعث بن قيس الكندي وهو لواء أسود يختصمون فيه^(٩٢) هم وبنو مرة ففصل كندة أحد الجانبين / وهذه / صورة اللواء : (Fig. 25) [شعار كندة يا سائر حرير^(٩٣)] .

٣٠ - [قال :] وجعل على راية صداء الحارث بن يزيد^(٩٤) الصدائي : (Fig. 25 A) /

٣١ - وجعل / على^(٩٥) راية حضرموت وإبل بن حجر الحضرمي وكانت بيضاء ذات هلال لون السماء وثلاث عذبات سوداوين وبيضاء في الوسط وهذه صفتها^(٩٦) : (Fig. 26) . [شعار حضرموت صفوان] .

٣٢ - / هذا ما حُفظ من الرايات لأهل الكوفة على ألسن أهل العلم . قال : ثم أمر عليّ بن أبي طالب عبد الله بن عباس فاحضر ديوان أهل البصرة على قبائلهم وعرفائهم ومراكزهم فأمر علىّ تعبئة عبد الله بن عباس على تعبئة أصحاب الأسباع الذين كان عقد لهم ابن عباس بالبصرة على حالها وهم الأحنف بن قيس التميمي وخالد بن المعمر السدوسي وشريك بن الأعور الحارثي وصبرة بن شيان

82. B: يقال لها

83. B: لها

84. B: وقيل في ذلك

85. A: طي B: طيبي

86. B: حمراء وسوداء

87. B: جهمعون

88. s.p. - see above, p. 15

89. A: زيد

90. B: وعلى

91. A adds راية قحطانية in a smaller script and another hand

وعمر بن مرجوم - أو جرموز - وأبو مرة بن مسعود وسيرة بن أبي سبرة وأقرّ الرايات على حالها وفرّق رايات قريش وجعل عليها عبد الله بن نوفل بن عبد المطلب بن هاشم مضت صفة الراية في تسمية الرايات وهي أولها وجعل راية الأنصار إلى رافع بن سهل النجاري مضت صفة راية الأنصار وجعل على راية بني حنظلة من بني تميم حصين بن قعب الحنظلي مضت صفتها وعلى راية بني مالك بن سعد حصين بن مالك ابن القعقاع المالكي وعلى راية عمرو بن^(٩٢) عوف عياش بن الزبرقان بن بدر^(٩٣) السعدي .

٣٣ - [قال : وجعل] على راية ثقيف العاص / بن أبي العاص / الثقفي وكانت رايتهم صفراء إلى كدرة^(٩٤) هذه صفتها : (Fig. 27) . شعار ثقيف أحمد .

٣٤ - [قال :] وجعل على راية / غنيّ و / باهلة عمرو^(٩٥) بن النعمان الباهلي وكانت رايتهم بيضاء فيها صورة أسد [على هذه الصفة] : (Fig. 28) شعار باهلة بن أعصر هراص^(٩٦) .

٣٥ - [قال :] وجعل على راية هوازن أسلم بن زرعة فدفعها إلى قيس / بن / الجلاح^(٩٧) إنسان من^(٩٨) غزّية وكانت / رايتهم / خضراء لها عذبة حمراء هذه صفتها : (Fig. 29) . شعارهم شعار سلول ريان^(٩٩) ذو الرمحين .

٣٦ - [قال :] وجعل / على راية بني قيس مقاتل بن مسمع و / على راية [بني] عجل لجيم^(١٠٠) بن عياض وكانت راية بني عجل قطعة بيضاء وحمراء وبيضاء^(١٠١) وهذه صفاتها : (Fig. 30) . شعار بني عجل بن لجيم جماعة / بعل^(١٠٢) / ولهم شعار أيضاً يقال له مكدم^(١٠٣) .

٣٧ - [وقال :] وجعل على راية / بني / ذهل بن شيبان حصين بن الحارث وكانت / رايتهم / سوداء في بطنها قطعة على هذه الصفة : (Fig. 31) شعار بني ذهل / ساسه^(١٠٤) .

٣٨ - [قال :] فهذا ما حفظ من أهل الرايات في تعبئة على بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليه^(١٠٥)

92. Leg. عمرو وعوف ? - see annotations

93. Text reads فهر - see annotations

94. B: كدده

95. B: عمر - see annotations.

96. B: هراص in both texts - see above, p. 15. A adds مضر in raised, smaller script

98. B: بن

99. or ربان ? - see above, p. 15

100. A: نجيم B: لحم - see annotations

101. A: وبياض

102. s.p.

103. B: مكر

104. s.p. - see above, p. 15.

105. B om.

سوى ما بدخل^(١٠٦) من الرايات في تعبئة معاوية بن أبي سفيان نذكرها^(١٠٧) بصفاتها وتسمية أهلها إن شاء الله تعالى .

تعبئة معاوية الثانية للحرب

٣٩ - قالوا^(١٠٨) : وأمر معاوية باجتماع العساكر ليجتد الجنود والقبائل والقواد على ألويتها وراياتها وأمر الناس بالانكماش فجعل على اليمين^(١٠٩) / عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص وجعل على اليسرة / عتبة ابن أبي سفيان^(١١٠) والضحاك بن قيس وجعل على الرجالة مسلم بن عقبة المزني^(١١١) وعلى / الكمين - وهي تعبئة أحدثها معاوية^(١١٢) لأهل الشام - عبید الله بن عمر / بن الخطاب / وجعل على الطلابع أبا الأعور لسلي وعبد الله / بن عمرو بن العاص وعبد الله بن المنذر / التنوخي وقال بعضهم بسر ابن (أبي)^(١١٣) أرطاة الفهري وجنادة بن (أبي)^(١١٤) أمية جميعاً سيرون في نواحي العسكر وجعل على مقدمته محمد بن عمرو بن العاص ودفع اللواء الأعظم لواء الجماعة إلى عبد الرحمن بن خالد ابن الوليد المخزومي / وكان لواء / ذا عذبتين صفراء وحمراء [على هذه الصفة] : (Fig. M1) .
[صفة لواء معاوية] .

٤٠ - [قال :] ثم فرّق الأجناد على راياتها فجعل قنشرين^(١١٥) وهم الجند الأول وحمص وكانت تدعا الجند^(١١٦) الأول وجعل على راياتها زفر بن الحارث الكلابي وكانت رايتهم راية بني كلاب تدعا السعور^(١١٧) [وهي] بيضاء فيها طرة حمراء . [في أسفلها] مما يلي الرمح ذات عذبتين بيضاوين هذه صفتها : (Fig. M2) . شعار بني كلاب / بن عامر جماعة / مسلم^(١١٨) .

106. B: دخل

107. B: ونحن نذكر

108. B: قال

109. B: أخو معاوية

110. A and B: المزني - see annotations.

111. A inserts here the word اللعين in another hand

112. Added - see annotations

113. Added - see annotations

114. B: قيس ابن

115. s.p.

116. B: المعمور

117. A wrongly places this *shī'ār* beside Fig. M1.

- ٤١ - [قال :] وجعل على خيلها أبا جابر بن النعمان الباهلي / وقد / مضت / صفة راية / باهلة من قبل^(١١٨) وجعل على حمص^(١١٩) أيضاً من حميرها خاصة ذا الكلاع الحميري وحوشبا ذا ظلم الحميري وعلى راية حمير ثم الكلاعين خاصة وكانت رايتهم حمراء كلها هذه صفتها^(١٢٠) : (Fig. M3) . / شعار الكلاعين حمير / .
- ٤٢ - قال : وحدثنى أسيد^(١٢١) بن القسم / عن / ابن سمان عن مكحول قال : قدم^(١٢٢) على رسول الله صلعم ذو حمير وذو عمير^(١٢٣) قبلا^(١٢٤) حمير وأسلما^(١٢٥) فعقد لهما رسول الله صلعم لواءين طولهما ما بين الرمح إلى السنان أصفرين [كليهما] وهذه صفتها : لواء ذى حمير : (Fig. M4) . / لواء ذى عمير^(١٢٦) : (Fig. M5) .
- ٤٣ - [قال :] وجعل على راية كندة شرحبيل بن السمط مضت صفة راية كندة وشعارهم^(١٢٧) .
- ٤٤ - [قال :] وجعل على راية قضاة عمرو بن المقداد القضاعي / وعلى رجالها يزيد بن هبيرة القضاعي / وكانت رايتهم جميعاً بيضاء ذات عذبتين بيضاء وحمراء^(١٢٨) هذه صفتها : (Fig. M6) . / شعار قضاة يا مهدى يا راشد / .
- ٤٥ - [قال :] وجعل على رجالة^(١٢٩) حميرها قيس بن طريف الألهاني^(١٣٠) وعلى رجالة كلها عبّاد بن يزيد الكلبي [مضت صفتها] .
- ٤٦ - / وجعل على / راية الأزدي بلال بن أبي هبيرة الأزدي وكانت رايتهم صفراء [مربّعة على هذه الصفة] : (Fig. M7) . شعار الأزدي جميعاً مرور جعله لهم رسول الله صلعم .

118. B: في تسمية على

119. B: حمير

120. B (garbled): ذا الكلاع وكانت رايتهم حمراء على هذه الصفة وحوشب ذو ظلم الحميري وعلى راية ذا الكلاع

121. B: أسد

122. B: وفد

123. B: ارعين - see annotations

124. B: قبلا

125. B (unclear): سلما

126. B: رعين . A adds قحطاني in a slightly smaller hand.

127. B: مضت راية كندة بصفتها في تسميتها في تسمية على بن أبي طالب

128. B: حمراوين

129. B: راية

130. B: الألفاني - see annotations

27

٤٧ - [قال :] وجعل على دمشق / وهم / الجند الثاني الضحّاك بن قيس القرشي مضت [صفة]
 راية قريش وجعل على قضاعتها حسّان بن مالك القضاعي^(١٣٧) وعلى ميمتها^(١٣٧) سفيان بن عوف وعلى
 رجالها أبا رهم بن أرة القرشي وعلى كندتها حوى الكندي قاتل عمّار بن ياسر رضى الله عن
 عمّار^(١٣٣) .

٤٨ - وعلى راية بجيلة يزيد بن أسد^(١٣٥) البجلي وكانت رايتهم بيضاء [حواشيا خضر] مكتوب
 فيها بجيلة وهذه صفتها^(١٣٥) : (Fig. M8) . شعار بجيلة يعلا .

٤٩ - [قال :] وجعل على حميرها وحضرموتها الضحّاك بن ذى مرحب .

٥٠ - قال : وجعل على راية مصر الأردنّ وهم الجند الثالث [عمرا و] أبا الأعرور السلمى
 وكان لواء بنى سليم من مصر^(١٣٦) لواء أبيض فخضبوه دماً يوم حنين فهو أحمر ليس لأحد من العرب
 لواء أحمر غيره دفعه^(١٣٦) النبي صلعم يوم حنين إلى معاوية بن الحكم وبنو سليم ينشدون [فيه] شعراً
 يذكرون فيه صفوان بن معطل / وهو مصنوع / فيقولون قال عباس^(١٣٨) :

ونحن خضبناها دماً فهو لونها غداة حنين يوم صفوان شاجره

وهذه صفة : (Fig. M9) . شعارهم مقدّم . / قال في ذلك عباس بن مرداس السلمى / :

[تطل السيوف إذا قصرن بخرطونا نحو المنية مظلم يتقدّم]

نصروا الرسول^(١٣٩) وشاهدوا أيامه وشعارهم يوم اللقاء مقدّم

٥١ - / وجعل على قضاعتها حبيش بن دلجة القيني^(١٤٠) وعلى مذبحها المخارق بن الحارث وعلى

هدانها حمزة بن مالك الهمداني مضت هذه الرايات بصفاتهما جميعاً .

٥٢ - وجعل على راية غسان يزيد بن الحارث الغسانی وكانت رايتهم بيضاء جانبها أحمران :

(Fig. M9 A) . شعار غسان مسعدان / .

131. See annotations.

132. A: تميمها

133. This line illegible in A

134. B: يزيد بن أبي أسد

135. A subscribes قحطانية in another smaller hand.

136. B: بن منصور

137. B: صادفه

138. A: بن عباس - must be either عباس or مرداس - see annotations

139. B: السيوف

140. A and B: القضاء - see annotations

- ٥٣ - [قال :] وجعل على مصر فلسطين وهم الجند الرابع علقمة بن حكيم الكنانى وعلى كنانتها^(١٤١) خاصة شريك بن أبى شريك الكنانى^(١٤٢) وعلى قضاعتها أباشم القضاعى وعلى اسمها^(١٤٣) نائل^(١٤٤) بن قيس الجذامى وعلى راية جذام^(١٤٥) خاصة روح بن زنباع الجذامى وكانت رايتهم / بقاء / على هذه الصفة : (Fig. M10) / شعار جذام وبان / . [قال :] وجعل على رجالها مسلمة / بن مخلد^(١٤٦) .
- ٥٤ - [قال :] فلمّا عبّاهم معاوية / هذه التعبئة / جعل على المجنّبة / اليمنى / قنّسرين وحمص^(١٤٧) وجعل دمشق القلب وجعل فلسطين والأردن^(١٤٨) المجنّبة اليسرى . [قال :] وترك قريباً بغير تعبئة لأنها عنده كانت فى الناس جماعة .

141. B: كنانه

142. A: القضاعى

143. s.p. - leg. لخمها and see annotations

144. A: نائل B: بابل

145. B: جذابها

146. A: خالد - see annotations

147. B: قيس بن حمص

148. B: الأردن وفلسطين

ANNOTATIONS

Individuals are mentioned here only if they cannot be identified in other sources or if some special point needs to be made; otherwise it can be assumed that they are also mentioned in one or more of the following sources (abbreviations follow in brackets):

Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hiṣam b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1966) [Caskel]

Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.* 3 series (Leiden, 1879–1901) [Ṭab.]

Al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Šiffīn*, ed. A. M. Hārūn, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1382, 1962–63) [WS]

Khalifa ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, vol. I, ed. A. D. al-Umarī (al-Najaf, 1386/1967) [Khal.]

- §2 Nūḥ ibn al-Ḥuwayrith (or al-Ḥārith) ibn 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān al-Makhzūmī—?: possibly should be read as 'Amr ibn Ḥurayth ibn 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān al-Makhzūmī (Caskel II, 176).
- §12 Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān al-Kalbī (or al-Kātib): unidentified. *see above*, 6, 9. Firās ibn al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith [ibn 'Alqama] ibn Kalada: no other information, but his father is mentioned at Caskel II, 441 and Ṭab. I, 1304, 1335. Ṭalḥa ibn 'Uthmān: mentioned as *ṣāḥib liwā' al-mushrikīn* at Uḥud (e.g., Ṭab. I, 1396), but no further information on his role at Yamāma.
- §3 Mundhir ibn al-Murādī: possibly al-Mundhir ibn Abī Ḥumaysa al-Wādī'ī, who is mentioned by WS, 423 as *fāris Hamdān wa-shā'iruhum*.
- §4 The *ḥadīth* of Yaḥyā ... Yūnus occurs in the sections on *rāyāt* and *alwiya* of Abū Dawūd (*jihād*, 69), al-Ṭirmidhī (*jihād*, 10), and Ibn Māja (*jihād*, 20). These sources show the reading “Y. ibn Z. *bin* (not ‘*an*) Abī Zā'ida”; see also Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, XI, 208.
- §5 On the colours of the *rāya* of the Anṣār, see above p. 11.
- §6 'Abdallāh ibn Bukayr: no other information. The son of Bukayr ibn Shaddād (Caskel II, 229)? Or of Bukayr ibn 'Abdallāh al-Laythī (Ṭab. I, 2232–38, 2363–64, ... 2660–66)? Most probably this should be read as 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭufayl (see other accounts of disposition). *awwal rāya 'aqadahā rasūl allāh*: see Girs, “K voprosu ob arabskikh zname-nakh”, 346
- §7 'Amr al-Hudhalī: probably 'Amr ibn 'Umays ibn Mas'ūd al-H. (Caskel II, 186; Ṭab. I, 3447).
- §8 Labīd ibn 'Uṭārid: other accounts of the dispositions give as variants his brothers 'Umayr and Muḥammad.
- §9 'Amr ibn Fadakī al-Murrī: no further information, but his father(?). Fadakī ibn A'bad, was a pre-Islamic hero (Caskel II, 243), and his brother(?), Mis'ar ibn Fadakī, was prominent with the *qurrā'* at Šiffīn (Ṭab. I, 3283, 3330, etc; WS, 489, 499).
- §10 Sharīk ibn Tharmala: both Ibn al-Kalbī (Caskel II, 528) and Ṭabarī (I, 3212, 3214, 3217; II, 61) name him Sharīk ibn Namla. Muḥārib ibn Khaṣafa: *sic* according to Caskel I, 126; II, 518.
- §11 'Ā'idh ibn Sa'id ... ibn 'Abd ibn (*sic*) al-Ḥārith according to Caskel I, 126.

- ‘Alī ibn Shu‘thum: no further information, but his forbear Ḥabīb ibn Rabī‘a ibn Shukm is given at Caskel I, 126.
- Verses of Ibn Shu‘thum (*tawīl*): no parallel found.
- Verses of Ibn ‘Ā‘idh (*tawīl*): no parallel found.
- §12 Qutham ibn al-A‘war—?: possibly Qutham ibn Ka‘b (Caskel II, 473), the grandfather of the poet al-Şalaṭān Qutham ibn Khabī‘a.
işṭalahu ‘alayhā: see the account of this in *Ta’riḫ-i-Qum*, 282.
- §14 Khirāsh ibn Ismā‘il al-‘Ijlī: see above, p. 6. 30
- Sufyān ibn Thawr ... Sawāsa: Sufyān ibn Thawr, the brother of the better known Shaqīq ibn Thawr, is mentioned at Ṭab. I, 3312; Sawāsa occurs as Rashrāsha, the *mawlā* of Shaqīq, at Ṭab. I, 3203.
- al-Mughīra al-Dhuhlī: no further information.
- Verses of ‘Alī (*tawīl*) also given (with slight variations) in Ṭab. I, 3316; WS, 289; Ibn A‘tham, *Kiṭāb al-fulṭūḥ*, vol. III (Hyderabad, 1390/1970), 37.
- §16 ‘Utba ibn Rabī‘a al-Taghlibī: no further information.
- The verse (*wāfir*) is verse 24 of ‘Amr’s *mu‘allaqa*, but note that the first word is usually given as *bi-annā*, not *wa-kunnā* (al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ al-qaṣā‘id al-sab‘ al-tiwāl*, [Cairo, 1963], 388).
- §17 [Yazīd] ibn Ḥujayya (Caskel II, 594) appears to be the only reasonable reading for what appears in the text.
- shī‘ār ... ḥidrijān*: possibly misplaced; however, there is a clan Sa‘d/Mālik of Qays ibn Tha‘laba, which is hence related to Taymallāh ibn Tha‘laba (Caskel I, 144, 150–51).
- §19 al-Haytham ibn Abī ‘l-Haytham, called *al-muqaṭṭa‘*: Tabarī (I, 2024, 2076, 3151) mentions al-Muqaṭṭa‘ ibn al-Haytham ibn Fujay‘; WS, 278 mentions Hushayyim, called *al-muqaṭṭa‘*.
- §21 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Ash‘arī: no further information.
- wa-kānat rāyatuhum ...*: cf. the description given in *Ta’riḫ-i-Qum*, 282.
- §22 Nuḥayk (or Nahīk?) ibn Tharmala: no further information, but note the resemblance with Sharīk ibn Tharmala in §10.
- §24 Abū Rawāḥa ibn Mubashshir: his name is given by Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (*Al-Istī‘āb fi ma‘rifat al-aṣḥāb*, 4 vols. [Cairo, 1939], III, 1660) as Abū Ruwayḥa.
- §25 Verses of ‘Umayr ibn Afāḥ (*tawīl*): no parallel found, but cf. in Ibn Hishām (*Al-Sīra al-nabawīya*, II, 468 [ult.]) the hemistich “*bi-alfⁱ kamīyⁱⁿ lā tu‘add^u ḥawāsīruh*”.
- §26 Verses (*mutaqārib*): no parallels found.
- §29 *fa-tafsil^a Kinda ...*: “so that Kinda notches ...”.
- §30 Al-Ḥārith ibn Yazīd al-Şudā‘ī: no further information, except that Yazīd ibn al-Ḥārith al-Şudā‘ī, who is mentioned as the leader of Şudā‘ in ‘Irāq during the build-up of forces before the battle of Qādisīya (Ṭab. I, 2219), was probably his father; or else the name is muddled, and this was the same man on both occasions.

- §32 'Amr ibn Marjūm: *sic* according to Ibn al-Kalbī and al-Minqarī, but Ṭabarī reads 'Amr ibn Marḥūm; the reading 'Amr ibn Jurmuz is a confusion with the killer of al-Zubayr.
- Abū Murra ibn Mas'ūd: no further information.
- Samura ibn Abī Samura: probably Samura ibn Jundab al-Fazārī (Caskel II, 510).
- 'Abdallāh ibn Nawfal ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib: Ibn al-Kalbī (Caskel I, 7) gives his name as 'A. ibn N. ibn al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd al-M.; note that Khalifa (p. 177) and WS (p. 206) name al-Ḥārith ibn Nawfal, i.e., 'Abdallāh's brother, in the capacity described here.
- Rāfi' ibn Sahl al-Najjārī: only Khalifa (p. 80) mentions a person of this name, whom he identifies as a *ḥalīf* of the Anṣār, killed at Yamāma.
- Ḥuşayn ibn Qa'nab al-Ḥanzālī: no further information.
- Ḥuşayn ibn Mālik ibn al-Qa'qa' al-Mālikī: no further information; Ibn al-Kalbī (Caskel II, 336) gives H. ibn M. ibn al-Ḥashḥāsh, but he belonged to 'Anbar/'Amr/Tamīm, not Ibn Mālik ibn Sa'd, as the text says.
- 'Amr ibn 'Awf makes no sense in this context: perhaps the reading should be 'Amr [ibn Sa'd] and 'Awf [ibn Ka'b ibn Sa'd]: see Caskel I, 75.
- 'Ayyāsh ibn al-Zibriqān ibn Badr: mentioned in *Nāqa'ud Jarīr wa'l-Farazdaq*, ed. A. A. Bevan, 3 vols. (Leiden, 1905-12), 705, 707, 779.
- §33 Al-'Āsh ibn Abī 'l-'Āsh al-Thaqafī: the three sons of Abū 'l-'Āsh were al-Ḥakam, Ḥafṣ and 'Uthmān (Caskel I, 119); perhaps al-Ḥakam, who was still alive as late as 45 A.H. (Ṭab. II, 80), is meant here.
- §34 'Amr ibn al-Nu'mān al-Bāhili: perhaps this should be read as Ḥātīm ibn al-N. al-B. (Caskel II, 321); in addition to the information given there, it can be noted that Ḥātīm was moved by 'Alī from Baṣra to the Jazīra (al-Jāhiz. *Risāla fī 'l-ḥakamayn*, ed. C. Pellat, *Al-Mashriq*, 52^e année [1958], 428).
- §35 Qays ibn al-Jallāh: no further information.
- §36 Muqātil ibn Mismā': this brother of the better known Mālik ibn Misma' is mentioned by Ṭabarī (I, 3220).
- 31 Lujaym(?) ibn 'Iyād: no further information; it is possible that this context should read "*wa -'alā rāyat B. 'Ijl [b.] Lujaym [I]bn 'Iyād*".
- §37 Ḥuşayn ibn al-Ḥārith: no further information.
- §39 Muslim ibn 'Uqba al-Murri (not al-Muzanī): see Caskel I, 125; Ṭab. I, 3283; etc.
- Busr ibn Abī Arṭāh and Junāda ibn Abī Umayya al-Azdi: their names are given thus by Ibn al-Kalbī and Ṭabarī.
- §41 Abū Jābir ibn al-Nu'mān al-Bāhili: cf. Ḥātīm ibn al-Nu'mān in Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhīb ta'riḫ Dimashq al-kabīr*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Badrān and Aḥmad 'Ubayd (Damascus, A.H. 1329 51), III, 432; Ḥātīm ibn al-Mu'tamir in WS, 207.
- §42 Usayd ibn al-Qāsim: see above, p. 6.

- Dhū 'Umayr: this is at first problematical, since one is at first inclined to dismiss it in favour of the well known title Dhū Ru'ayn, which is given in Ms. B; however, Dhū 'Umayr is evidently merely another name of his and can be identified with the Dhū 'Amr mentioned by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (*Al-Istī'āb*, I, 469 [no. 717]); also, this reference and I, 471 (no. 720) make it clear that Dhū Ḥimyar and Dhū 'l-Kilā' are one and the same.
- §44 'Amr ibn al-Miqdād al-Quḍā'ī: no further information.
Yazīd ibn Hubayra al-Quḍā'ī: no further information.
- §45 Qays ibn Ṭarīf al-Alhānī: cf. Ṭarīf ibn Ḥābis al-Alhānī at WS, 206.
- §47 Ḥassān ibn Mālik al-Quḍā'ī: it seems likely that Ḥassān ibn Mālik ibn Bahdal al-Kalbī (Caskel I, 286; II, 320) is in fact meant here.
Abū Ruhm ibn Arṭāh al-Qurashī: no further information.
- §49 Al-Daḥḥāk ibn Dhī Marḥab: no further information, but see Caskel II, 236 on Dhū Marḥab.
- §50 Mu'āwiya ibn al-Ḥakam al-Sulamī: mentioned by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (*Al-Istī'āb*, III, 1414, no. 2433).
liwā' aḥmar ...: see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I/ii, 49 and Girs, "K voprosu ob arabskikh znamenakh", 350, 355.
yawm^a Ḥunayn ...: the Sulamīs are in fact reported to have been put to flight at Ḥunayn (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/i, 109; Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 897).
Verse of 'Abbās ibn Mirdās "*wa-naḥnu* ... (*tawīl*): see Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīra al-nabawīya*, II, 469.
shī'āruhum muqaddam: see *Ṭabaqāt*, I/ii, 49 and above, p. 16.
Verses of 'Abbās ibn Mirdās "*tuṭīll*" ... " (*tawīl*): no parallel found.
- §51 Ḥubaysh ibn Dulja al-Qaynī (rather than Ḥubaysh ibn Dulja al-Quḍā'ī [Caskel I, 313; II, 327]).
- §52 Yazīd ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ghassānī: so also in WS, 207, but he occurs in other sources as Yazīd ibn Abī Nims/al-Nims al-Ghassānī.
- §53 Sharīk ibn Abī Sharīk al-Kinānī: WS, 207 refers to Sharīk al-Kinānī.
wa-'alā Lakhmihā Nātil: in support of this reading, see Khal., 179; WS, 207; and al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 184.
Maslama ibn Mukhallad (not Maslama ibn Khālid): see Caskel II, 401; Ṭab., Khal., WS, etc.

Manuscript B

Manuscript A

Fig. 1

راية قریش



Fig. 2.

لواء قریش

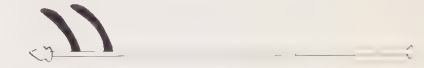


Fig. 3.

راية رسول الله

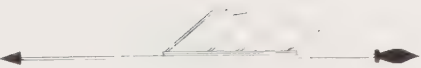
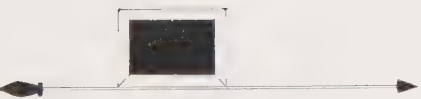


Fig. 4.

لواء رسول الله



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Manuscript B

Manuscript A

Fig. 5. راية الأنصار



Fig. 6. راية كنانة

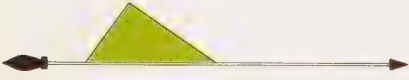


Fig. 7. راية هذيل

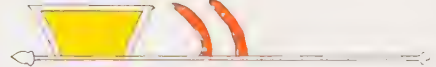


Fig. 8. راية بني حنظلة



Manuscript B

Manuscript A

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Fig.9

راية بنى سعد بن زيد مناة

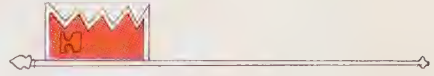
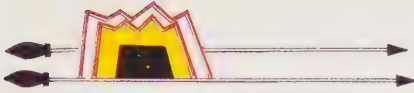


Fig. 10.

راية محارب

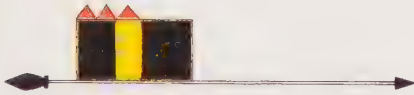


Fig. 11.

راية عبد القيس



Fig. 12.

راية بنى شيبان



Fig. 13.

راية بنى يشكر



36

Manuscript B

Manuscript A

Fig. 14 (i) راية بني تغلب



Fig. 14 (ii) راية بني تغلب



Fig. 14 A. راية بني تيم الله



Fig. 15 (i) راية بني عجل

(غير واضحة في المخطوط)

Fig. 15 (ii) راية بني عجل



Manuscript B

Manuscript A

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Fig. 16.

راية كلب



Fig. 17.

راية النخع



Fig. 18.

راية الأشعرين



Fig. 19.

راية جملى



Fig. 20.

راية عك

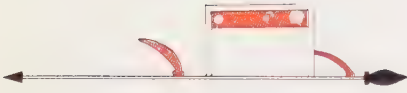


Fig. 21.

راية خنعم



Fig. 22.

راية همدان

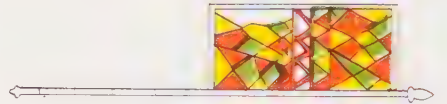
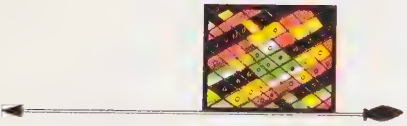


Fig. 23.

راية طى



Manuscript B

Manuscript A

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Fig. 24.

راية خراعة



Fig. 25.

راية كتدة



Fig. 25 A.

راية صداء

(غير واضحة في المخطوط)

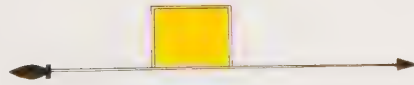
Fig. 26.

راية حضرموت



Fig. 27.

راية تقيف



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Manuscript B

Manuscript A

Fig. 28.

رأية غنى وباهلة



Fig. 29.

رأية هوازن

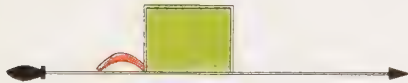


Fig. 30.

رأية عجل

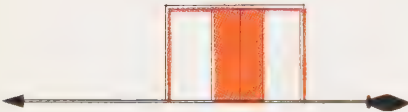
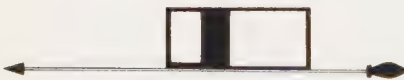


Fig. 31.

رأية بني ذهل



Manuscript B

Manuscript A

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Fig. M1.

لواء معاوية

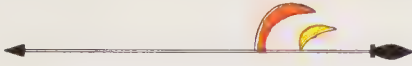


Fig. M2.

راية بني كلاب

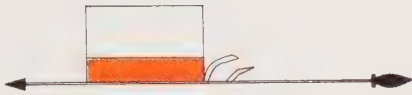


Fig. M3.

راية حمير

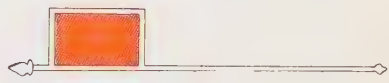
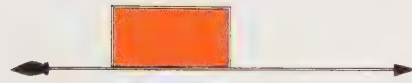


Fig. M5.

لواء ذي عمير / رعين



M4.

M5

Fig. M4.

لواء ذي حمير



Fig. M6.

راية قضاة



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Manuscript B

Manuscript A

Fig. M7.

راية الازد



Fig. M8.

راية بجيلة

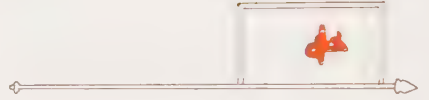


Fig. M9.

لواء سليم



Fig. M9 A

راية غسان

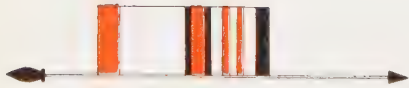


Fig. M10.

راية جذام

5

Sayf ibn 'Umar's Sources on Arabia

INTRODUCTION

THE PURPOSE of this paper is to contribute to an evaluation of the early Islamic historical material transmitted by Sayf ibn 'Umar al-Ṭamīmī al-Uṣayyidī al-Kūfī (d. ca. 180/796), to whom a work entitled *Kitāb al-futūḥ al-kabīr wa'l-riḍḍa* is attributed. Such evaluation needs to take into account a seeming paradox connected with this somewhat mysterious figure. On the one hand, his surviving transmission has for long been regarded as untrustworthy and he himself has been denounced as a liar. On the other hand, a great many of the detailed reports about the so-called *riḍḍa* wars of Arabian tribes and about the subsequent Arab conquests have been transmitted through him; this is particularly so in the case of al-Ṭabarī's *History*. Why did al-Ṭabarī give such prominence to this material, when it is clear that by his time no small measure of odium attached to Sayf's name? What, indeed, were al-Ṭabarī's own purposes? Was he consciously seeking to set forth an overall interpretation of Islamic history up to his own time, and, if so, is he to be regarded as having played "a role somewhat comparable, in setting attitudes to early events, to the role of al-Shāfi'ī in

From *Studies in the History of Arabia*, vol. 1, *Sources for the History of Arabia*, part 2 (Riyad, 1979), pages 3 to 16 (text pp. 3-12, endnotes pp. 13-16).

law"?¹ Or was it al-Ṭabarī's concern merely to gather together what seemed to him to be the most informative and accurate available reports about the various phases of early Islamic history, so that any interpretive input on his part should be regarded as having been secondary and on an instinctive and unconscious level implicit in the very process of selection?

Answers to such questions as these are needed if we are ever to deepen our understanding and appreciation of al-Ṭabarī as an historian. None are hazarded here, however, because it seems to be necessary first to evaluate al-Ṭabarī's own sources, by asking similar questions about them, and not least about Sayf. Was Sayf an historical interpreter or merely a collector of historical or quasi-historical reports?

In a recent work,² A. Noth has reached the conclusion that there is no ground for regarding either Sayf's transmissions, or any of the other transmissions utilized by al-Ṭabarī, as constituting a uniform historical view ("keine einheitliche historische Anschauung repräsentiert"), and that any particular character that a transmission may appear to possess should be attributed to no more than redactional procedure. Noth has pointed out that features identified by Wellhausen³ and others⁴ as specific to Sayf can be discerned also in other transmissions: this applies both to chronological discrepancies and to stylized themes and forms involving emphasis on the role of central government, schematization of

¹ M. G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago, 1974), I, 357.

² "Der Charakter der ersten grossen Sammlungen von Nachrichten zur frühen Kalifenzeit", *Der Islam* 47 (1971), 168-99. See also his *Quellenkritische Studien zu Themen, Formen and Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtsüberlieferung* (Bonn, 1973).

³ Notably in his "Prolegomena zur älteste Geschichte des Islams". *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, no. 6 (Berlin, 1899), where on page 6 he states his general view that "wir sind berechtigt und verpflichtet, ihm [i.e., Sayf] von vornherein zu misstrauen und der higazischen Tradition den Vorzug einzuräumen". Wellhausen's objections on chronological grounds had been anticipated by de Goeje in his *Mémoire sur le Fotouh as-Shâm* (Leiden, 1864), in which "le but principal ... avait été que le système de Saif doit être rejeté dans son entier ...". (see *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie* [Leiden, 1900], preface, 1).

⁴ Notably Caetani in his *Annali dell'Islam* (Milan, 1905-26), in which Sayf is repeatedly accused of dramatic colouring, fantastic and romantic inventions, etc. For Caetani, Sayf was one "posseduto dall' fervida immaginazione d'un romanziere e privo dell'ingegno freddo e critico dello storico, disdegnò con sistematica indifferenza i rigidi vincoli cronologici" (II, 1², 553-54).

particular types of event, love of anecdote, religious colouring, and emphasis on the role of 'Irāq. Noth's view is that the attempt of Wellhausen, and of those who followed his lead, to simplify early Islamic historical source criticism by comparing compilations according to a "vertical" principle (Kūfan versus Madinan, Sayf versus Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī, etc.) was pointless and misleading, both because Sayf's transmission, like the other transmissions, shows a good deal of internal contradiction, and because his and other transmissions occasionally coincide. These compilations are therefore to be noted more for their similarities than for | their differences, most of the differences remarked have been more imagined than real, and the charges levelled against Sayf seem to have arisen mainly from no more than the fact that his surviving transmission exists in greater quantity than those of the other transmitters. In Noth's view, the useful approach is to look for points of agreement according to a "horizontal" principle, and attempts to make distinctions between "compilations" should be abandoned. The "horizontal" approach should regard the material, which is in *Tradition* form, as totally atomized, and should aim at comparison and evaluation (by undertaking what Noth terms "Photomontage") of *individual reports* about specific events, and so on. 4

The points made by Noth constitute an important contribution to the protracted and as yet inconclusive discussion of the value of Sayf's surviving transmission. On the one hand, the criticisms of Sayf made by Wellhausen and Caetani have been echoed by later orientalists, for example Brockelmann, who dismisses his account as "im höchsten Grade unkritisch und phantastisch".⁵ In addition, M. al-'Askarī has made an independent examination, in which he notes various opinions of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* to the effect that Sayf was *kadhdhāb*, *ḍa'īf*, *matrūk al-ḥadīth*, *uttuhima bi'l-zandaqa*, and so on, and concludes on the basis of a review of reports transmitted by Sayf that he fabricated the whole of his *Kitāb al-futūḥ al-kabīr wa'l-ridda*.⁶ On the other hand, there is also

⁵ *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Supplementband I (Leiden, 1937), 213-14. Note also the more recent and more scathing comments made by E. L. Petersen, "Studies on the Historiography of the 'Alī-Mu'āwiya Conflict", *Acta Orientalia* 27 (1963), 85, and in *'Alī and Mu'āwiya in Early Arabic Tradition* (Copenhagen, 1964), 78-80, 151-52 and elsewhere (in connection with the later part of Sayf's transmission).

⁶ *Abdallāh ibn Saba' wa-asāṭir ukhrā*, 3rd. ed. (Baghdad, 1388/1968), particularly pp. 68 and 241 (the 1st ed. appeared in 1375/1955-56).

evidence to suggest that Sayf's transmissions should, in some respects at least, be regarded as accurate. It may here be noted that his versions of treaties made in Syria at the time of its conquest by the Arabs have been accepted as authentic even by Becker and Dennett.⁷ More important, however, is the remarkable field work of the Czech scholar Alois Musil and his topographical investigations into historical source material relating to Dūmat al-Jandal and to Khālīd ibn al-Walīd's campaign at al-Buzākha, his campaigns along the Euphrates, and his march to Syria. These investigations led Musil to conclude that the detailed topographical information contained in Sayf's transmission can for the most part be shown to be correct, and that Caetani's charges of topographical and other fabrications by Sayf should accordingly be dismissed.⁸

Clearly such differences of opinion as these cannot be reconciled and more work is needed before Sayf's transmission can be evaluated in terms which permit some measure of agreement. It is, however, possible to eliminate some difficulties by following up suggestions made by Professor I. 'Abbās in his response to al-Askari's book.⁹ In the first place, we may perhaps discard the judgements on Sayf made by the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, on the ground that they were concerned with *ḥadīth* from the Prophet: since no such material on Sayf's authority appears to survive, it may be that it was suppressed. Secondly, both because of the size of his transmission and because of the existence in it of reports common to other transmissions, it seems improbable that we are dealing here with a total fabrication. Thirdly, for reasons given by both 'Abbas and Noth,¹⁰ chronological criteria should not be accorded undue weight. This leaves as the most important immediate question the identity of Sayf's sources, and it is to this question that we must now turn.

⁷ D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 58, 63-64.

⁸ *Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1927), 546-52, 566-73; *The Middle Euphrates* (New York, 1927), 293-95, 306-14; *Northern Nejd* (New York, 1928), 221-23.

⁹ Given in an appendix (pp. 247-49) of *'Abdallāh ibn Saba' . . .*

¹⁰ Notably that the system of *hijra* dating (said to have been introduced by the caliph 'Umar in A.H. 18) was not uniformly applied in its early stages (see in particular Noth, *Quellenkritische Studien*, 40-41).

SAYF'S SOURCES IN GENERAL

Two studies in particular have been directed toward examination of Sayf's sources. The earlier of these, by Myednikov in 1897,¹¹ came to four main conclusions about Sayf himself: (i) that in all probability he was born at the beginning of the second century A.H. (which began in A.D. 718) and died in the 180s (i.e., ca. 800) or a little later; (ii) that he was born in, and lived in, Kūfa; (iii) that he probably undertook no journeys in order to hear lectures; (iv) that he was a Shī'ī, and that in the field of *fiqh* he adhered to tendencies of which the [later] Ḥanbalīs disapproved. In examining those whom Sayf cites as authorities, Myednikov points out that many of them died in the 140s (757-67), but that Sayf also cites Jābir ibn Yazīd, who died as early as 128/745-46; however, he does not cite al-Sha'bī (d. 105/723-24) directly, and this permits the approximate time of his birth to be calculated. Myednikov enumerates the main authorities cited by Sayf, but for details he was limited to those reference works available in published form in 1897. His estimate of Sayf as a Shī'ī seems to have been based principally upon the absence from his transmission of detailed biographies of the caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

The second examination of Sayf's sources was made by F. Sezgin in 1957.¹² Sezgin had until this time been primarily concerned with the transmission of *ḥadīth* from the Prophet and the question of the extent to which material took written form in the early Islamic period;¹³ these are matters which he has since discussed further¹⁴ and which have stimulated historiographical studies.¹⁵ In his article of 1957, Sezgin is concerned primarily with challenging the view that Sayf was a collector of *purely oral* reports. While it seemed at that time only to have been during the second century A.H. that *ḥaddathanī*, *akhbaranī*, and the like, became *termini technici*, Sezgin considered that an *isnād*

¹¹ "Ob odnom iz istochnikov at-Tabariya", *At-Muzaḥḥariya, Sbornik statei uchenikov Professora Barona Viktora Rozena* (St. Petersburg, 1897), 53-66.

¹² "İslâm tarihinin kaynağı olmak bakımından Hadis'in ehemmiyeti", *İslâm Tedkikleri Dergisi* 2 (1957), 19-36.

¹³ *Buḥārī'nin Kaynakları* (Istanbul, 1956).

¹⁴ *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. I (Leiden, 1967), 53-84.

¹⁵ Ursula Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf. Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie der umayyadischen Zeit* (Leiden, 1971); G. Rotter, "Zur Überlieferung einiger historischer Werke Madā'inīs in Ṭabari's Annalen", *Oriens* 23-24 (1974), 103-33.

may nevertheless permit one to conjecture, at least in some cases, by whom and roughly when a particular report was first committed to writing. In this connection, he sees the following main types of *riwāya*:

- i. Instances of *Sayf from X from A*, *Sayf from X from B*, *Sayf from X from C*, and so on, where it would seem that it was probably X who first put into written form material from the scattered *rāwīs* A, B and C.
- ii. Recurrent instances of *Sayf from X from Y*, where it would seem that it was probably Y who first put the material in written form, and that Sayf obtained the right of *riwāya* from X.
- iii. Instances of *Sayf from X and from Y and from Z*, where it would seem that Sayf found the same material in the different written compilations of each of X, Y, and Z.
- iv. Single instances of *Sayf from A from B*, *Sayf from C from D*, and so on, where A, B, C, and D occur only once each in al-Ṭabarī's *History*. In such cases, it is not possible to draw any conclusion with confidence, since there exist the possibilities (a) that there was a larger body of material from a particular *rāwī*, but that Sayf took from it only one report, and (b) that Sayf took several reports from such a body of material, but that only one of these was cited by al-Ṭabarī, since al-Ṭabarī cannot necessarily be regarded as having quoted Sayf *in extenso*. If, however, a *rāwī* who occurs only once in al-Ṭabarī's recension of Sayf's transmission is not found mentioned in other works, this obviously confirms the possibility that his name was indeed attached only to a single report. The holding of any convictions in such matters, however, would necessitate access to more comprehensive indices of *rāwīs* than exist at present.

SAYF'S SOURCES ON ARABIA

The focus of concern here is the composition of that part of Sayf's surviving transmission, as given by al-Ṭabarī, which deals with Arabia at the time of the so-called *rida* wars. It must be stressed that this material represents only a small part of Sayf's total surviving transmission, which as a whole looms large in al-Ṭabarī's *History* from the death of the Prophet in 11/632-33 until the murder of the caliph 'Uthmān in 36/656-57. This early part forms a particularly large component of al-Ṭabarī's

account of events from the beginning of Abū Bakr's caliphate in 11 A.H. until the end of that year (vol. I, 1845–2015)—an account made up almost entirely of details of *ridda* wars. Out of 118 separate reports over 160 pages, 83 reports over about 132 pages are transmitted through Sayf; much of the remainder consists of statements by al-Ṭabarī himself, but something over a dozen reports cite Ibn Ishāq, and the rest cite Abū Mikhnaf, al-Madā'inī, al-Wāqidī, and others. These 83 reports of Sayf's refer to 33 different individuals named as his immediate authorities, but it becomes readily apparent that each set of events is built around a small number of main reports, with secondary reports appended and interspersed. The authorities for Sayf's main reports on the *ridda* wars as given under the year 11 A.H. by al-Ṭabarī, are as follows:

1. Al-Aswad al-'Ansī (I, 1851–70)
 - a. Sahl ibn Yūsuf 'an his father 'an 'Ubayd ibn Ṣakhr ibn Lawdhān al-Salamī
 - b. Al-Mustanīr ibn Yazīd 'an 'Urwa ibn Ghazīya al-Dathīnī 'an al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Fayrūz al-Daylamī 'an his father
 - c. Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Shanawī and Abū Muḥammad 'an Abū Zur'a Yaḥyā ibn Abī 'Amr al-Saybānī 'an 'Abdallāh ibn Fayrūz al-Daylamī
2. 'Abs and Dhubyān (I, 1870–85)
 - a. Sahl ibn Yūsuf 'an al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad
 - b. 'Abdallāh ibn Sa'īd ibn Thābit ibn al-Jidh' 'an 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik
3. Ṭulayḥa (I, 1885–98)
 - a. Sahl ibn Yūsuf 'an al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad and Badr ibn al-Khalīl and Hishām ibn 'Urwa
 - b. Ṭalḥa ibn al-A'lam 'an Ḥabīb ibn Rabī'a al-Asadī 'an 'Umāra ibn *fulān* al-Asadī
4. Hawāzin, Sulaym and 'Āmir (I, 1899–1908)
 - a. Sahl ibn Yūsuf
5. Tamīm (I, 1908–29)
 - a. (on Sajāḥ) al-Ṣa'b ibn 'Aṭīya ibn Bilāl 'an his father and Sahl ibn Minjāb
 - b. (on Mālik ibn Nuwayra) Khuzayma ibn Shajara al-'Uqfānī 'an 'Uthmān ibn Suwayd 'an Suwayd ibn Math'aba al-Riyāḥī
6. Musaylima and Ḥanīfa (I, 1929–57)

- a. Sahl ibn Yūsuf ‘an al-Qāsīm ibn Muḥammad
 - b. Ṭalḥa ibn al-A‘lam ‘an ‘Ubayd ibn ‘Umayr ‘an Uthāl al-Ḥanafī
 - c. Ṭalḥa ibn al-A‘lam ‘an ‘Ikrima ‘an Abī Ḥurayra
7. Ahl al-Baḥrayn (I, 1957–76)
- a. Al-Ṣa‘b ibn ‘Aṭīya ibn Bilāl ‘an Sahn ibn Minjāb ‘an Minjāb ibn Rashīd
8. Ahl ‘Umān, Mahra, al-Yaman (I, 1976–99)
- a. Sahl ibn Yūsuf ‘an al-Qāsīm ibn Muḥammad
and al-Ghuṣn ibn al-Qāsīm and Mūsā al-JLYWSY ‘an Ibn Muḥayriz
 - b. Mūsā ibn al-Ghuṣn ‘an Abī Zur‘a al-Saybānī
 - c. Ṭalḥa ‘an ‘Ikrima
 - d. Al-Mustanīr ibn Yazīd ‘an ‘Urwa ibn Ghazīya al-Dathīnī
9. Al-Ḥaḍramawt (I, 1999–2015)
- mainly*
- a. Sahl ibn Yūsuf ‘an his father ‘an Kathīr ibn al-Ṣalt
also
 - b. Sahl ibn Yūsuf ‘an al-Qāsīm ibn Muḥammad
and
 - c. Sahl ibn Yūsuf ‘an al-Ṣalt ‘an or *ibn* Kathīr ibn al-Ṣalt

ANALYSIS

1. *Sahl ibn Yūsuf*: It is in the first place clear from the above details that the authority here most cited by Sayf is Sahl ibn Yūsuf, who himself for the most part cites al-Qāsīm ibn Muḥammad but also cites his own father on several other occasions and in one case cites a third *rāwī*. There seems to be no reference to this Sahl ibn Yūsuf in the Islamic biographical reference works,¹⁶ from which we should probably infer that he transmitted no *ḥadīth* from the Prophet. All we can say about him at this stage is that he was probably an Anṣārī from the Khazrajī clan of

¹⁶ There seems to be no case for identifying him with Sahl ibn Yūsuf al-Anmātī al-Baṣrī (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* [Hyderabad, A.H. 1325 28], IV, 259–60) who died in A.H. 190 or later; apart from the question of his *nīsba*, discussed below, our Sahl transmitted from an authority who died during the first decade of the first century A.H.

Salīma,¹⁷ and that he occurs as a *rāwī* only in the transmission of Sayf. Material on his authority is predominantly on the *ridda*, for which it provides several of the main reports; but it does also occur in some later contexts (A.H. 13, 15, 18, 35, 36), in nearly all cases on the authority of al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad.

Sahl ibn Yūsuf ← *al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad*: ten reports on the *ridda*, six of which are particularly substantial, bear this *isnād*. These may accordingly be regarded as of type (ii) noted above, and consideration must be given to the probability that they were first committed to writing by al-Qāsim. In contrast with Sahl, al-Qāsim is a figure about whom further details are available. He was the grandson of none other than the caliph Abū Bakr, was born in about 37/657, lived in Medina, and died roughly seventy years later in the first decade of the eighth century. The Islamic biographical works speak highly of him as a *muḥaddith*, and items of *akḥbār* derived from him are transmitted also by al-Wāqidī and al-Balādhurī.¹⁸ It should be noted that none of these *isnāds* names any *rāwī* from whom al-Qāsim drew his material, yet he himself was not alive when the *ridda* wars took place. This particular trail stops with him.

Sahl ibn Yūsuf ← *his father*: here we are dealing with five *isnāds*, 8
connected with material to do with Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt. One of these stops with Yūsuf, one draws upon Kathīr ibn al-Ṣalt, and three draw upon 'Ubayd ibn Ṣakhr ibn Lawdhān al-Anṣārī al-Salamī. These last three should perhaps be regarded as a single exploded report; in any event, it seems likely that 'Ubayd was an eyewitness or contemporary of what he describes, and there is no reference to him elsewhere in al-Ṭabarī. Kathīr ibn al-Ṣalt may also have been an eyewitness or contemporary of what he describes; he is mentioned by transmissions other than that of Sayf as a Kindī and *min a'wān 'Uthmān* in the year 35 A.H.¹⁹

¹⁷ Ṭab. I, 2574, where the *nisba* is marked to read al-Sulamī; however, the fact that in this very *isnād* his own authority is 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik, who was from B. Salīma of Khazraj, suggests that Sahl too may have been a Salamī from Khazraj. Such a possibility is further supported by the occurrence of 'Ubayd ibn Ṣakhr ibn Lawdhān al-Anṣārī al-Salamī as one of the authorities cited by Sahl's father (Ṭab. I, 1852, 1853, 1868).

¹⁸ See Sezgin, *Geschichte der arabischen Schrifttums* (GAS), vol. I (Leiden, 1967), 279.

¹⁹ Ṭab. I, 2970, 3004.

Sahl ibn Yūsuf ← *al-Ṣalt* ‘an [or *ibn*] *Kathīr ibn al-Ṣalt*: a single *isnād*, stemming from the same *Kathīr* already mentioned.

2. *Hishām ibn ‘Urwa* ← *his father* [*‘Urwa ibn al-Zubayr*]: this is the usual *isnād* (although *Hishām* occurs on his own in one of the main reports listed above) and it appears in about half a dozen places in secondary reports within Sayf’s surviving transmission on the *ridḍa*, as well as in a good many other places in his and other transmissions. Indeed Sezgin has specifically cited this *isnād* as an example of type (ii), indicating his view that such material was probably first put into written form by ‘*Urwa*, and that Sayf obtained the right of *riwāya* from *Hishām*. *Hishām*, who is highly regarded as a *muḥaddith* in Islamic biographical works, was born in Medina in 61/680 and stayed there until late in life, when he went to the ‘Abbāsīd caliph Abū Ja‘far in ‘Irāq, where he died in 146/763.²⁰ His father ‘*Urwa*, who was son of the famous al-Zubayr ibn al-‘Awwām and grand-nephew of the Prophet’s wife Khadija, was born in the 20s/640s and died perhaps in 94/712–13; there is evidence of writings by him, and he is ranked among the “seven *fuqahā*’ of Medina”.²¹

3. *Ṭalḥa ibn al-A‘lam*: *Ṭalḥa* looms large as an authority in the totality of Sayf’s transmission as relayed by al-Ṭabarī, being cited well over 200 times; but nothing more than this is yet known about him. Sezgin cites him specifically as an example of *isnād* type (i), indicating his view that *Ṭalḥa* gathered together material from scattered *rāwīs*, and that the right of *riwāya* of the resultant compilation first belonged to him.

Ṭalḥa ← *‘Ikrima*: five of *Ṭalḥa*’s eight reports on the *ridḍa* wars cite as the immediate authority ‘*Ikrima* (d. ca. 105/723–24, aged 80), whose name is well-known in *isnāds* of *ḥadīth* from the Prophet as well as from early written work relating to the Qur’ān. In one case the *isnād* goes no further, in two cases it concludes with Ibn ‘Abbās (d. 68/687–88, aged about 70), and in the two other cases it concludes with the prolific Abū Ḥurayra (d. ca. 58/678, aged 78).

Ṭalḥa ← *‘Ubayd ibn ‘Umayr*: the authority for two of *Ṭalḥa*’s reports on the *ridḍa* wars, ‘*Ubayd ibn ‘Umayr*, is possibly but not necessarily ‘*Ubayd ibn ‘Umayr ibn Qatāda al-Laythī* (d. 68/687–88).²² Both of these reports relate to Musaylima and Ḥanīfa, and the *isnād* of the first

²⁰ GAS I, 88–89.

²¹ *Ibid.* I, 278–79.

²² *Tahdhīb*, VII, 71; W. Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab* (Leiden, 1966), II, 561.

of them names ultimately a certain Uthāl al-Ḥanafī, that is, Uthāl ibn al-Nu'mān, who was an eyewitness.²³

Ṭalḥa ← *Ḥabīb ibn Rabī'a al-Asadī* ← *'Umāra ibn fulān al-Asadī*: this *isnād*, in which 'Umara | may have been a contemporary or eyewitness, is attached to one of Sayf's two main reports on the *ridda* of Ṭalayḥa, the other being that of Sahl ← al-Qāsim. 9

4. *ʿAbdallāh ibn Sa'īd ibn Thābit ibn al-Jidh'*: this authority of Sayf's for six reports on the *ridda* does not appear other than in Sayf's transmission, but we do know of him that he was an Anṣārī from Salīma of Khazraj, whose grandfather, Thābit, is said to have fought at the battle of Badr.²⁴ 'Abdallāh appears to have collected together scattered reports, including various snippets from a certain Abū Sa'īd, who can perhaps be identified with Kaysān Abū Sa'īd al-Maqburī, who transmitted reports from 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and did not die until the late part of the first century or perhaps in the year 100/719-20.²⁵ The most important of the accounts transmitted by 'Abdallāh, however, describes the measures taken by Abū Bakr in the early stages of the *ridda* wars and the letter that he is said to have sent to the *murtaddūn*. This account is given on the authority of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ka'b ibn Mālik (son of the famous poet), who was also an Anṣārī from Salīma of Khazraj and died probably during the caliphate of Sulaymān (96-99/715-17).²⁶

5. *Al-Mustanīr ibn Yazīd al-Nakha'ī* ← *'Urwa ibn Ghazīya al-Dathīnī*: in all cases but one, 'Urwa's reports are transmitted only by al-Mustanīr; al-Mustanīr occurs solely in the transmission of Sayf, and is cited in connection with important material relating to 'Irāq in the time of 'Umar and 'Uthmān. In the context of the *ridda* wars, the al-Mustanīr ← 'Urwa *isnād* accompanies some of Sayf's main reports on the *ridda* of al-Aswad al-Ansī in the Yemen and the subsequent *ridda* there of Qays ibn al-Makshūh al-Murādī. In the former case, the full *isnād* is: al-M. ← 'U. ← al-Daḥḥāk ibn Fayrūz al-Daylamī ← his father; the final authority is therefore an eyewitness/contemporary of the events described, being none other than the Fayrūz al-Daylamī who was with the Persian occupying force in the Yemen and is said to have been

²³ Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab*, II, 578.

²⁴ *Ibid.* II, 546.

²⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* (Leiden, 1908-17), V, 61 62; *Tahdhīb*, VIII,

453.

²⁶ *Tahdhīb*, VI, 259.

empowered over Yemen by Abū Bakr. In the latter case, the *isnād* stops with 'Urwa, and it is an open question whether the further authorities are implied.

Further details need yet to be found on both 'Urwa and al-Mustanīr. 'Urwa is clearly of South Arabian origin,²⁷ and al-Mustanīr provides us later in al-Ṭabarī's work with important details of Nakha'īs and others who moved from South Arabia to Kūfa. The one *isnād* containing 'Urwa's name and not transmitted by al-Mustanīr is instead cited by Sayf on the authority of the Kūfan Jabir ibn Yazīd al-Ju'fī (d. 128/745-46).²⁸ Elsewhere, we find that among those whom al-Mustanīr cites is Ibrāhīm ibn Yazīd al-Nakha'ī, who can probably be identified with the famous Kūfan traditionist Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī (d. 96/714-15).²⁹

6. *Al-Ṣa'b ibn Aṭīya ibn Bilāl*: Sayf draws upon al-Ṣa'b for two important accounts, one on Sajāḥ and the other on *ahl al-Baḥrayn*: substantially the same material appears also in the *Aghānī*.³⁰ where al-Ṣa'b appears as al-Ṣaq'ab, but under neither form has it yet been possible to find out any more about him. Judging by the eyewitness account of the Battle of the Camel given by his father,³¹ it seems possible that they were from the tribe of Ḍabba. It is from his father and from Sahn ibn Minjāb that al-Ṣa'b draws the report of Sajāḥ.

10 The second of al-Ṣa'b's accounts, on the *rida* of *ahl al-Baḥrayn*, is given on the authority of Sahn ibn Minjāb ← Minjāb ibn Rashīd. The father, Minjāb, was a Ḍabbī leader; he appears in Fārs during the caliphate of 'Uthmān, at Baṣra at the time of the Battle of the Camel in 36/656, in the north-western coastal area of the Gulf against the rebel al-Kharrīṭ in 38/658-59, and with the governor Ziyād in Fārs in 42/662-63.³² His son, Sahn, is known to have been a distinguished Baṣran in the time of Ziyād (45-55/665-75).³³

²⁷ See 'Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansab* (Cairo, A.H. 1356-57), I, 411, and *EI*², s.v. "Dathīna".

²⁸ Caskel, II, 251. The *isnād* itself is in Ṭab. I, 1868: Jābir ← 'Urwa ← al-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Fayrūz.

²⁹ Caskel, II, 352.

³⁰ Al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Būlāq, A.H. 1285), XIV, 47, 66.

³¹ Ṭab. I, 3195ff., 3206ff.

³² Caskel, II, 409 and Ṭab. I, 2851, 3179, 3431; II, 25.

³³ Caskel, II, 499; *Tahdhīb*, IV, 260.

7. *Khuzayma ibn Shajara al-'Uqfānī* ← *'Uthmān ibn Suwayd* ← *Suwayd ibn Math'aba al-Riyāhī*: this is the *isnād* of Sayf's main account of the defeat of Mālik ibn Nuwayra, who was chief of the Yarbū' of Tamīm, and it should be noted that the *nisbas* given in this *isnād* both relate to groupings within Yarbū'.³⁴ The only mention of Khuzayma in al-Ṭabarī is at this point, and further information on him is as yet lacking. The same is the case with 'Uthmān ibn Suwayd, but Suwayd ibn Math'aba—presumably his father—is referred to elsewhere in Sayf's transmission in connection with events in the years 17/638 and 32/652–53,³⁵ and his father, Math'aba, appears as a leader of Ḥanzala who joined Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ in 14/635 immediately before the battle of Qādisiyya.³⁶

8. The *isnāds* belonging to the rest of the main reports, which relate to al-Aswad al-'Ansī and Qays ibn al-Makshūh al-Murādī, are best examined together. They are:

- a. *Abū 'l-Qāsim [al-Ghuṣn ibn al-Qāsim] al-Shanawī and Abū Muḥammad* ← *Abū Zur'a Yaḥyā ibn Abī 'Amr al-Saybānī* ← *'Abdallāh ibn Fayrūz al-Daylamī*
- b. *Al-Ghuṣn ibn al-Qāsim and Mūsā [ibn al-Ghuṣn?] al-JLYSY(?)* ← *Ibn Muḥayriz*
- c. *Mūsā ibn al-Ghuṣn* ← *Abū Zur'a al-Saybānī*

The identification of Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Shanawī with al-Ghuṣn ibn al-Qāsim is made in the *Lubāb* of Ibn al-Athīr, where the *nisba* al-Shanawī is, understandably, connected with Azd Shanū'a;³⁷ however, Sayf's transmission in al-Ṭabarī elsewhere refers to al-Ghuṣn ibn al-Qāsim al-Kinānī (I, 2045) and has al-Ghuṣn citing *rajul min B. Kināna* (I, 2039, 2045, 2049, 2301, 2890), so that there is a difficulty with the *nisba* here. Mūsā ibn al-Ghuṣn may have been the son of al-Ghuṣn ibn al-Qāsim, and may have been the same as Mūsā al-JLYWSY (or al-ḤLYWSY), though this *nisba* does not seem to be identifiable. Abū Muḥammad is unidentified. Altogether, more information is needed on these people.

Abū Zur'a and Ibn Muḥayriz present less of a problem. Abū Zur'a, who was a Saybānī (Ḥimyar), is identified in *isnād* (a) as *min jund*

³⁴ See Caskel, I, chart 68.

³⁵ Ṭab. I, 2555, 2897.

³⁶ Ṭab. I, 2245 (reading variant 1).

³⁷ *Lubāb*, II, 31.

Filastīn, and we learn from elsewhere that he lived in Ramla (though he is also said to have been a Ḥimṣī) and died in 148/765–66, aged 85;³⁸ in *isnād* (a) above, we see him citing as an authority a son of the Fayrūz al-Daylamī to whom reference has already been made in paragraph 5. ‘Abdallāh ibn Muḥayriz al-Jumaḥī (Quraysh), who may have been contemporary with the Prophet, is said to have settled in Jerusalem.³⁹ The time of his death is variously reported, but was probably in the period 88–99/706–17.⁴⁰ The feature of general interest that comes out of all this is that Sayf is here using *Syrian* sources.⁴¹

ASSESSMENT

In attempting to assess Sayf’s sources on Arabia at the time of the
 11 *ridda* wars, it may | first be noted that a number of the *rāwīs* named
 above cannot be identified in Islamic biographical works. This creates
 difficulties, but, since these biographical works were primarily concerned
 with the *jarḥ wa-ta’dīl* of *ḥadīth* from the Prophet, it cannot be regarded
 as signifying any more than that these *rāwīs* of Sayf’s did not transmit
ḥadīth from the Prophet. Further, in cases where Sayf’s *rāwīs* are
 mentioned in the *jarḥ wa-ta’dīl* works, it does not necessarily follow that
 judgements there passed on the veracity or otherwise of their *ḥadīth* from
 the Prophet should be applied also to their *akhbār*.⁴²

We have seen in the previous section that Sayf’s transmission on
 the *ridda*, while drawn from a fairly large number of authorities, in fact
 relies most heavily only on a few of these. The transmission of Sahl
 ibn Yūsuf, derived largely from al-Qāsīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr,
 plays a central role and figures in nearly all of the nine settings which

³⁸ Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāḥir ‘ulamā’ al-amṣār* (Wiesbaden, 1959), no. 1429; *Lubāb*, I, 585; *Tahdhīb*, III, 326–27.

³⁹ *Tahdhīb*, VI, 22–23.

⁴⁰ Ibn Ḥibbān (no. 904) puts his death as early as the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik (65 86/685 705), but it seems from Ṭab. II, 1192 that he was still alive in A.H. 88. In the *Tahdhīb*, the caliphate of Walid, that of ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-Azīz, and the year A.H. 99 are variously given.

⁴¹ A point not made by Duri in his brief but constructive remarks about Sayf in “The Iraq School of History to the Ninth Century – a Sketch”, *Historians of the Middle East* (London, 1962), 48–49.

⁴² U. Sezgin has made similar points in connection with Abū Mikhnaf (*Abū Miḥnaf*, 85).

make up the *riḍḍa* account. It is indeed difficult not to conclude that al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad in the first century compiled a monograph⁴³ and that Sahl, in transmitting it, made some additions of his own, mainly on the authority of his father. Similarly, the possibility that 'Urwa ibn al-Zubayr also compiled an historical monograph should not be ruled out.⁴⁴ The fact that the sources of these two early figures are rarely identified points to the possibility that they assembled such compilations well before the end of the first century.⁴⁵

The extent to which Sayf's other main sources may also have existed in written form obviously cannot be established with certainty, but the sheer quantity of material cited in the whole of Sayf's transmission on the authority of Ṭalḥa and, to a lesser degree, of al-Mustanīr makes it difficult to believe that this did not exist in written form. Similarly, the indications in the *isnāds* shown for settings 1 and 8 point to Abū Zur'a al-Saybānī as having been a collector who possibly put material in written form. In short, there are grounds for concluding in respect of Sayf, as Sezgin has concluded in respect of Abū Mikhnaf, that he took over from his authorities considerable quantities of material already gathered together in collections by them.⁴⁶

It has been noted already that F. Sezgin suspects the existence of written compilations when a report begins with a multiple *isnād*. Such citation of more than one authority is a conspicuous feature of the later part of Sayf's transmission, where there are repeated occurrences of variations on the following type of *isnād*:

... Sayf ← Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallāh ← Abū 'Uthmān al-Nahdī
and ← Ṭalḥa ibn al-A'lam ← al-Mughīra ibn 'Utayba
and ← al-Muhallab ibn 'Uqba ← 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Siyāh
and ← Sufyān al-Aḥmarī ← Māhān

⁴³ F. Sezgin (*GAS* I, 279) refers to "die Spuren eines *magāzī*-Buches, das z.T. Berichte über die ersten drei Kalifen und die Kamelschlacht bringt".

⁴⁴ F. Sezgin (*GAS* I, 278) points out that Ḥajjī Khalīfa refers to a work by 'Urwa on *maghāzī* but that this apparently finds no confirmation in earlier extant sources.

⁴⁵ Much here hangs on the question of when *isnāds* first became used with some regularity. U. Sezgin, in her study of Abū Mikhnaf (p. 78), indicates that the historical *isnād* was well established by A.H. 87; see also G. H. A. Juynboll, "The Date of the Great *fitna*", *Arabica* 20 (1973), 142-59, which provides some corroboration of this.

⁴⁶ *Abū Miḥnaf*, 98.

In that part of Sayf's transmission which deals with the *ridda* wars, such multiple *isnāds* are less common, but they nevertheless occur. Two examples have already been listed, under settings (3) and (8); other examples are:

- a. ... Sayf ← Sahl [ibn Yūsuf]
(I, 1899) *and* ← 'Abdallāh [ibn Sa'īd]
- 12 b. Sayf ← Ṭalḥa [ibn al-A'lam] ← 'Ikrima ← Abū Hurayra
(I, 1938) *and* ← 'Abdallāh ibn Sa'īd ← 'Ikrima ← Abū Hurayra
- c. ... Sayf ← Hārūn
(I, 1948) *and* ← Ṭalḥa ← 'Amr ibn Shu'ayb
and ← Ibn Ishāq
- d. ... Sayf ← al-Mustanīr ibn Yazīd ← 'Urwa ibn Ghazīya
(I, 1997) *and* ← Mūsā [ibn al-Ghuṣṣn?] ← Abū Zur'a al-Saybānī

As for material cited on the authority of such people as al-Ṣa'b ibn 'Aṭīya ibn Bilāl and Khuzayma ibn Shajara, we can only follow the lead of F. Sezgin in regarding it as an open question whether it already existed in written form before Sayf's time. The character of such material and its *isnāds* is such that the label "tribal report" sometimes occurs, and such reports have been regarded with not a little suspicion by some, on the ground of tribal bias. While such a possibility needs to be taken into account, there is also no doubt that the detail with which such a "tribal report" concerns itself can prove to be exceedingly valuable, as for example the breakdown of Tamīmī groups given in the report of al-Ṣa'b ibn 'Aṭīya (I, 1908); if such reports also seem in places to be a little fanciful, as al-Ṣa'b's is in the account of al-'Alā' ibn al-Ḥaḍramī's crossing to Dārīn,⁴⁷ this must be regarded as a small price to pay for the wealth of detail.

In conclusion, it may be proposed that this wealth of detail played an important part in al-Ṭabarī's decision to give precedence to Sayf's transmission. There is as yet no way of knowing how much of Sayf's transmission al-Ṭabarī may have suppressed,⁴⁸ or whether he even knew

⁴⁷ Tab. I, 1972. This report is sternly criticized by al-Askarī, *'Abdallāh ibn Saba'*, 163ff. For a more sober (and very much less detailed) account, see Ibn Ishāq in *Ta'riḫ al-ridda* (extracts from the *Iktifa'* of al-Kalā'ī), ed. K. A. Fāriq (New Delhi, 1970), 142.

⁴⁸ In this respect, the case is different with Abū Mikhnaf, some of whose monographs have survived and have been compared by U. Sezgin with the Abū Mikhnaf transmissions in al-Ṭabarī, and others.

it as an independent work named *Kitāb al-futūḥ al-kabīr wa'l-ridda*; he nowhere specifies any title, and he himself used two separate versions of Sayf's transmission, which differed from each other to an extent which cannot be determined.⁴⁹ There is also the question of how important a figure Sayf himself really is in all this. Certainly he seems to be important because of his access to sources of information not available to—or at least used by—others. But, as a compiler, he can hardly be held responsible for contradictions between these sources; indeed the existence of such contradictions speaks for his fidelity as a transmitter. As U. Sezgin has pointed out,⁵⁰ tendency may have occurred by omission, but in general there seems to be no case for regarding the *isnāds* or the reports themselves as having been fabricated by collectors such as Sayf and Abū Mikhnaf. The consequence of this is that such elements of tendency and fabrication as seem to occur must be regarded as having entered the historical tradition at an early stage of its evolution, and it is here that Noth's notion of "Photomontage", coupled with careful scrutiny of the oldest authorities in the *isnāds*, will prove to be of value. In this way it should be possible to achieve a satisfactory reappraisal of Sayf's material on Arabia.

⁴⁹ In connection with al-Ṭabarī's access to Sayf's transmission, see Jawād 'Alī, "Mawārid ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī", *Majallat al-majma' al-'ilmī al-'irāqī* 2 (1951), 164ff. and 3 (1954), 50ff.

⁵⁰ *Abū Mikhnaf*, 93.

6

A Letter from the Governor of Egypt Concerning Egyptian–Nubian Relations in 141/758

MARTIN HINDS and HAMDI SAKKOUT*

ONE of the more impressive finds during the 1972 Season of the Egypt Exploration Society at Qaṣr Ibrīm in Egyptian Nubia was a collection of four papyrus scrolls from the eighth century A.D. These scrolls were in the first instance deposited in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The largest of them, which is 53.5 cm. wide and is made up of twelve joined gummed pieces to a length of 264.5 cm., is a letter of sixty-nine lines in Arabic sent in 141/758 by the governor of 'Abbāsīd-controlled Egypt to the king of Nubia and Muqurra; in it the governor complains of irregularities on the part of Nubia-Muqurra in its dealings with Egypt. Since the king resided in the south, at Dongola in Muqurra, it is apparent that he forwarded the letter to his representative in Nubia/Nobatia—that being the region most involved in the alleged irregularities. The three other scrolls, which are in Coptic, reflect Nubian attempts to formulate some response to the complaint.

A translation of the Arabic document, together with some comments and photographs, was published by Professor J. Martin Plumley in the *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* in 1975 (vol. 61, pp. 241–45). It was

From *Studia Arabica et Islamica: Festschrift for Iḥsān 'Abbās on His Sixtieth Birthday*, edited by Wadad al-Qāḍī (American University of Beirut, Beirut, 1981), pages 209 to 229.

* We are indebted to Professor J. Martin Plumley for much help, to Professor Simon Hopkins for his comments on the text, and to the committee of the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to publish this document.

at that time hoped that it would be possible to publish the texts of all four scrolls together, and publication of the Arabic text was accordingly held over. It has since become apparent, however, that the state of the Coptic documents is such that completion of work on them will take longer than was earlier anticipated; publication of the Arabic text on its own has therefore seemed desirable as an interim measure, particularly in view of the interest that it has aroused among scholars. The text is here accompanied by photographs of the original (regrettably these photographs were taken in conditions which were less than ideal) and by a revised version of the translation published in 1975. It has also seemed appropriate to attempt to make some assessment of the ways in which the document helps to clarify the question of relations between Egypt and Nubia in the years following the Arab conquest of Egypt in 639–41. It should be added that some further clarification of this question may be hoped for once the total contents of the Coptic scrolls have been determined.

The essential points on which this document sheds some light on the confused question of relations between Arab-controlled Egypt and Christian Nubia can be summarized as follows: (1) the Arab governor makes clear reference to the known terms of a peace agreement evidently in force prior to A.d. 758 (*qad 'araft^a 'l-ladhī ṣūliḥtum 'alayhī*) [line 5]; he is at pains to represent this arrangement as a compact (*'ahd*) [lines 7–11, 16, 63]. (2) The Egyptian side of the compact included desisting from Nubian persons and property [lines 6, 12]; it also involved provision of security and freedom of movement for Nubians, particularly Nubian merchants, within Egypt [lines 12–17]. (3) The Nubian side of the compact was supposed to include: (a) an annual quota of human beings, this quota being termed the *baqt* [lines 18–19, 53–56, 58], (b) return of runaway slaves [lines 19–20], and (c) safe passage for Egyptian merchants in Nubia [line 20]. The document constitutes a threatening protest by the governor of Egypt against Nubian failure to abide by these conditions.

Now a persisting major crux in modern studies dealing with early relations between Christian Nubia and Arab-controlled Egypt has been precisely the nature of such formal arrangements as may have existed between the two parties. On the one hand, there is virtual consensus in the relevant sources that some sort of arrangement was reached in 31/651–52, after the second Arab governor of Egypt, 'Abdallāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Sarḥ, had campaigned as far as Dongola. On the other

hand, they reveal a good deal of confusion about the exact terms of the arrangement, and no early source provides what purports to be a full text specifying what was involved. The nearest thing to such a text in the early sources is a passage alleged by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871) to have been memorized by "one of the shaykhs of yore" from one of the Fustāṭ *dīwāns* before it was burnt.¹ This passage will be considered further on, but it can be noted here that the details it contains relate to an arrangement supposedly in force at a time yet to be determined; nowhere is it suggested that this was an arrangement reached by Ibn Abī Sarḥ in particular. It is only in a very much later work, the *Khiṭaṭ* of al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), that there appears what purports to be a full text of the Ibn Abī Sarḥ agreement of 31/652.² It is possible that al-Maqrīzī was citing this text from the lost *Kitāb akhbār al-Nūba* by al-Aswānī/al-Uswānī, who wrote in the last quarter of the tenth century and acted as a Fāṭimid envoy to the Nubians,³ although one cannot always be certain of where al-Maqrīzī's citations from al-Aswānī end.⁴ This text, which has been translated and studied on numerous occasions,⁵ purports to have been drawn up in Ramaḍān 31 (= April–May 652, *pace* Forand); it is represented as a compact (*'ahd*) which establishes *amān* and *hudna* and stipulates: (1) safe passage.

¹ *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. C. C. Torrey (New Haven, 1922), 189, 3ff. (reading *y.h.t.r.q.* for *y.n.kh.r.q.*).

² (Būlāq, A.H. 1270), I, 200; ed. G. Wiet, III (Cairo, 1922), 290–92.

³ G. Troupeau, "La 'Description de la Nubie' d'al-Uswānī (IV^e/X^e siècle)". *Arabica* 1 (1954), 277.

⁴ Much the same point has been made by G. Vantini (see next note), 601, note.

⁵ E. M. Quatremère, *Mémoires géographiques et historiques ...* (Paris, 1811), II, 43ff.; J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia* (London, 1819), 511ff.; S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (London, 1901), 21–23; C. H. Becker, "Papyrusstudien", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 22 (1909), 142ff.; H. A. McMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan* (Cambridge, 1922), I, 157–58 (citing Lane-Poole's translation); U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia Cristiana* (Rome, 1938), 72ff.; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan* (London, 1949), 61–62; M. Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam* (Baltimore, 1955), 259–61; M. M. Mus'ad, *Al-Islām wa'l-nūba fī 'l-'uṣūr al-wuṣṭā* (Cairo, 1960), 112ff.; Y. F. Hasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan* (Edinburgh, 1967), 22ff.; P. Forand, "Early Muslim Relations with Nubia", *Der Islam* 48 (1971), 114–16; G. Vantini, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia* (Heidelberg and Warsaw, 1975), 638ff.; W. Y. Adams, *Nubia, Corridor to Africa* (London, 1977), 451–52 (citing Forand's translation); P. L. Shinnie, "Christian Nubia", *The Cambridge History of Africa* (Cambridge, 1978), II, 564–67 (citing Forand's translation).

but not residence, in each other's territories; (2) Nubian | extradition of fugitives who have come from Egypt; (3) Nubian maintenance of a mosque [in Dongola]; (4) Nubian transmission annually of 360 "heads" (*ra's^{an}*), being males and females without defect, to the Imam of the Muslims; (5) no Muslim liability to defend Nubians against a third party; (6) any Nubian infraction of the stipulations will render this *hudna* and *amān* void.

The *Khiṭaṭ* text has produced a variety of reactions among modern scholars. In the opinion of C. H. Becker, its authenticity could scarcely be doubted: "nicht nur die Form, auch der Inhalt zwang zur Anerkennung ihrer Echtheit. . . . So, glaube ich, darf man die *hiṭaṭ*-Stelle für ein historisches Dokument ersten Ranges ansehen".⁶ Forand has been positive but cautious: "although we may question the authenticity of the actual text, it remains a fact that most of the terms [al-Maqrīzī] quotes can be found scattered among other sources".⁷ Holt, on the other hand, is markedly disinclined to accept the text as authentic: "A Fāṭimid source gives the text of a treaty alleged to have been concluded between 'Abdallāh and the king of Nubia. . . . The treaty, almost certainly legendary, represents an attempt to retroject conventions of Muslim–Nubian relations which had developed by the fourth/tenth century".⁸ More recently, Brett has examined the case of Nubia and the supposed 360 "heads" arrangement with Ibn Abī Sarḥ in conjunction with the case of Fazzān, which is reported also to have been liable to 360 slaves,⁹ and the case of Cyrenaica; in his view, "all three stories are fictitious; with their common theme" (i.e., the breaking of an earlier agreement), "they are the products of Muslim jurisprudence, which by the ninth century had concluded that it was illegal to enslave peoples who had entered into a pact of any kind with the Muslims".¹⁰

There are cogent reasons for subscribing to the view that the *Khiṭaṭ* text is not the Ibn Abī Sarḥ agreement that it purports to be. As far as the text itself is concerned, it may first be remarked that its style is, *pace* Becker, too elaborate for it to be credible as an Arabic document

⁶ "Papyrusstudien", 142.

⁷ "Early Muslim Relations with Nubia", 114.

⁸ *The Cambridge History of Islam*, II, 328.

⁹ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 195, 5.

¹⁰ *The Cambridge History of Africa*, II, 506. This view reflects the findings of R. Brunschvig in *AIEO* 6 (1942–47), 108 ff.

penned in Dongola (or anywhere else) as early as 652. Secondly, the term "Imam of the Muslims" has a very Fāṭimid ring about it. Thirdly, as Hasan has pointed out, the reference to a mosque in Dongola as early as the seventh century is unconvincing, not least because of the absence of a mosque there when al-Aswānī made his visit as late as ca. 975.¹¹ The earliest reference to Ibn Abī Sarḥ's having established a mosque there appears to be that of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064),¹² and Hasan has remarked that "it was only in 717/1317, when the cathedral was converted, that there definitely was a mosque in Dunqula".¹³ Beyond these points, however, it needs to be noted too that there is considerable diversity in the information given by the earlier sources about the details of the arrangement made by Ibn Abī Sarḥ, particularly in respect of the number of heads/slaves/captives supposedly stipulated—variously given as 300, 360, and 400.¹⁴ Moreover, it is particularly noticeable in this connection that some of the oldest reports available are decidedly coy about specifying any number at all, and this could reasonably be taken to indicate that the number in fact fluctuated in early times. It is therefore appropriate to consider these reports in some detail.

In the first place, there is a report given by the non-Egyptian Ibn Sallām (d. 223/838) in the *Amwāl*,¹⁵ with the *isnād*: 'Abdallāh ibn Ṣāliḥ (Egyptian, d. 223/838) ← al-Layth ibn Sa'd (Egyptian, d. 175/791), which states that "the *ṣulḥ* between us and the Nūba simply stipulates that we shall not fight them (*lā nuqātilahum*) and they will not fight us and that they will give us slaves (reading *raqīq^{an}* for *daqīq^{an}*) and we shall give them wheat (*ta'ām^{an}*) ...". Substantially the same report, with the same *isnād*, is relayed on the authority of Ibn Sallām

¹¹ Hasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, 22–23, citing the *Muqaffā* of al-Maqrīzī.

¹² *Jawāmi' al-sīra wa-khams rasā'il ukhrā*, ed. I. 'Abbās and N. Asad (Cairo, 1956), 345.

¹³ Hasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, 25. Doubt has since been cast on the identification of this building as a cathedral.

¹⁴ For a fairly comprehensive collection of references and translations, see Vantini, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*, 58 (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam), 68–69 (Ibn Khurdādhbeh), 74 (al-Ya'qūbī), 80–82 (al-Balādhurī), 91 (Ibn al-Faḥīh), 98 (al-Ṭabarī), 105 (Qudāma), 132 (al-Mas'ūdī), 316 (Michael the Syrian), 346 (Yāqūt), 349 (Ibn al-Athīr), 420 (Bar Hebræus), 476 (al-Nuwayrī), 529 and 534–35 (Ibn al-Furāt), 638ff. (al-Maqrīzī), 744 (al-Suyūṭī). See also the discussion of evidence by Hasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, 20ff.

¹⁵ Ed. al-Fīqī (Cairo, A.H. 1353), 146, no. 402.

in the later works of al-Balādhurī¹⁶ and Qudāma,¹⁷ who both add the phrase *bi-qadrⁱ dhālika* to indicate that the amount of wheat was proportionate to the number of slaves. Secondly, there is a report in the *Amwāl*,¹⁸ with the *isnād*: ‘Abdallāh ibn Šāliḥ ← ‘Abdallāh ibn Lahī‘a (Egyptian, d. 174/790) ← Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb (Egyptian, d. 128/745),¹⁹ which states: “there is between the people of Egypt and the blacks (*al-asāwid*) neither ‘*ahd* nor *mīthāq*. There is simply a *hudna* between us and them. We give them some (*shay^{‘an} min*) wheat (*qamḥ*) and lentils, and they give us slaves (reading *raqīq^{‘an}* for *daqīq^{‘an}*) ...”. Ibn Sallām adds: “The *asāwid* are the Nūba and those *sūdān* who are like them; but the *ṣulḥ* is for the Nūba in particular”. Substantially the same report, with the same two first transmitters in the *isnād*, occurs also in the works of the Egyptians Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam and al-Kindī and the non-Egyptian al-Balādhurī. Al-Balādhurī²⁰ has again taken directly from Ibn Sallām, and his *isnād* and text are identical with Ibn Sallām’s (apart from reading *raqīq^{‘an}*). Al-Kindī’s version²¹ has a different (Egyptian) transmission after Ibn Lahī‘a, but the text is almost identical (it too reads *raqīq^{‘an}*). Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s *isnād* reveals yet another (Egyptian) transmission after Ibn Lahī‘a, and his text reads as follows:²² “‘Abdallāh [ibn Sa‘d ibn Abī Sarḥ] made a peace agreement with them which stipulated (*ṣālahahum ‘alā*) a *hudna* between them, with the provision that they would not raid them (*‘alā annahum lā yaghzūnahum*) and the Nūba would not raid the Muslims, and that the Nūba would make over (*yu‘addūna*) each year to the Muslims such-and-such (*kadhā wa-khadā*) head of captives (*ra’s^{‘an} min al-saby*) and the Muslims would make over to them such-and-such [a quantity of] wheat (*min al-qamḥ*) and such-and-such [a quantity of] lentils each year”. Finally, it can be noted that al-Ṭabarī²³ gives a somewhat altered version

¹⁶ *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), 237, ll. 21ff.

¹⁷ *Kitāb al-kharāj wa-ṣan‘at al-kitāba*, Ms. Köprülü, no. 1076, fol. 150 r.

¹⁸ Page 146, no. 401.

¹⁹ The sources point out that Yazīd was the son of a captive from Dongola, e.g., Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 188, 16f.

²⁰ *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 237, ll. 17ff.

²¹ *Kitāb al-wulāt wa-kitāb al-quḍāt*, ed. R. Guest (Leiden and London, 1912), 12,

12.

²² P. 188, 10ff.

²³ *Ta’riḫ al-rusul wa’l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.* (Leiden, 1879–1901), I, 2593.

of the same report, with an *isnād* also going back (via a Ramlī and a Shamī²⁴) to Ibn Lahī'a ← Yazīd ibn [Abī] Ḥabīb. This version states that Ibn Abī Sarḥ “made a peace agreement with them which stipulated (ṣālahahum ‘alā) a *hadīya* (*sic*, rather than | *hudna*) of a number of heads (‘iddat ru’ūs) from them which they would make over to the Muslims each year, and the Muslims would give (*yuhdī*) to them each year [a] specified [amount of] wheat (ṭa‘ām^{an} musammaⁿ) and clothing (*kiswa*) in like measure (*min naḥwⁱ dhālīka*)”. This report in turn bears some resemblance to a report cited by al-Balādhurī, which specifies the number 300 and bears the *isnād*: Ibn Sa’d ← Wāqidi ← al-Walīd ibn Kathīr (Kūfan, d. 151/768)²⁵ ← Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb ← Abū Khayr.²⁶ The relevant part of this report reads:²⁷ “they [the Nubians] asked him [Ibn Abī Sarḥ] for *al-ṣulḥ* and *al-muwāda‘a*, and he complied with their desire in doing that (*ajābahum ilā dhālīka*), with the stipulation not of *jizya* but of *hudna* [*sic*] of 300 heads each year, and with the stipulation that the Muslims would give (*yuhdī*) to them wheat (ṭa‘ām^{an}) in proportion to that (*bi-qadrⁱ dhālīka*)”.

The general picture conveyed by these reports about early arrangements with Nubia is therefore clear: cessation of hostilities (*hudna*) plus an annual exchange of “heads”/captives/slaves for commodities, in quantities which are not consistently enumerated. The last two versions mentioned above include departures from the indigenous Egyptian version. In the case of al-Ṭabarī’s version, the main difference—*hadīya* for the near-homograph *hudna*—may be no more than textual garbling reinforced by the substitution of *yuhdī* for *yuṭī*. In the case of al-Balādhurī’s version, the *isnād* going back to Abū Khayr looks very much like a secondary development, particularly if one recalls Schacht’s proposition that in general “the more perfect the *isnād*, the later the tradition”.²⁸ Abū Khayr is not even mentioned by al-Kindī and there is no reason for thinking that he knew anything about Nubia (unlike Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb). His sole function in Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s *Futūḥ*

²⁴ Alī ibn Sahl [al-Ramlī, d. 261/875–76: see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* (Hyderabad, A.H. 1325–27), VII, 329] from al-Walīd ibn Muslim [‘ālim al-Sha‘m, d. 165/781 or 196/811–12 (presumably the latter): see *ibid.*, XII, 151, 154–55].

²⁵ *Ibid.*, XII, 148.

²⁶ *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 236, 18.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 237, 4ff.

²⁸ “A Re-evaluation of Islamic Traditions”, *JRAS* (1949), 147.

Miṣr, al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'riḫh* and other works is that of a link in *isnāds* between later transmission on the one hand and earlier Companions of the Prophet on the other, and in all but one case that later transmission is the transmission of Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb.²⁹ There is accordingly some basis for the view that it was in Iraq that the terms *muwāda'a* and *'alā ghayr jizya*, as well as the specification of the number of "heads", found their way into a transmission going back to Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb.³⁰

We must therefore entertain the possibility that a straightforward *hudna* plus an | agreement to exchange a flexible number of slaves for commodities represented the norm in Egyptian–Nubian relations in the years immediately following the campaign of Ibn Abī Sarḥ. But it is also apparent that, by the time when Mūsā ibn Ka'b wrote his letter, a more complex set of arrangements was regarded as constituting the norm—being a compact (*'ahd*) which involved extradition of fugitives and freedom of access in addition to annual Nubian transmission of human beings. In 758 the 'Abbāsīd regime was less than ten years old and was understandably concerned with entrenching itself in the provinces

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²⁹ See the indices to al-Ṭabarī, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam and Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīra al-nabawīya*, ed. M. al-Saqqā *et al.* (Cairo, 1955), under the headings "Marthad b. 'Abdallāh" and (in the case of Ibn Hishām) "Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb"; see also Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau *et al.* (Leiden, 1904–21), I/2, 152, 4; II/2, 10, 15. (The exception is in Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 288, 15).

³⁰ The juristic ramifications lie outside the scope of this article, which is here concerned primarily with indicating what seems to be the oldest of these versions, bearing in mind the possibility that the oldest may be the simplest. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's *kadhā wa-kadhā* and al-Ṭabarī's *'iddat ru'ūs* and *ṭa'am^{an} musammaⁿ*, for example, seem to echo al-Shāfi'ī's *kharāj^{an} ma'lūm^{an}* and *shay'^{an} musammaⁿ* (*Kitāb al-umm* [Būlāq, A.H. 1321–26], IV, 104, 7ff.). The assertion that *muwāda'a* was an 'Irāqī/Hanafī synonym of the Mālikī and Shāfi'ī *muhādana* (see Aghnides, *Mohammedan Theories of Finance* [London, 1916], 354, note) does not account for al-Shāfi'ī's occasional use of the term *muwāda'a* (e.g. *Umm*, IV, 107); later, in the eleventh century, the 'Irāqī Shāfi'ī al-Māwardī was making a distinction between the two (see W. Heffening, *Das islamische Fremdenrecht* [Hanover, 1925], 31, n. 4). Here, however, it will be sufficient to note that the Easterner Ibn Sallām uses the term *muwāda'a* in a Nubian context (*Amwāl*, 147, no. 405) and that Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel [Leipzig, 1871–72], 103, 18) attributes to the 'Irāqī al-Madā'inī (d. prob. 235/850) a work entitled *Kitāb muwāda'at al-nūba*. The later works of al-Nuwayrī and Ibn al-Furāt preserve reports linked with Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb which say that the *muwāda'a* was not a *muwāda'at hudna* but a *hudnat amān*; these versions do not specify the number of slaves (*raqīq*) (see Vantini, *Oriental Sources Concerning Nubia*, 476, 529).

and with stabilizing the frontiers. In Egypt, the regime's priority had been to reconstruct the taxation system following the fire set to the *dīwāns* of Fustāṭ by the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān, in 132/750.³¹ As far as the southern frontier and relations with Nubia were concerned, it is clear from Mūsā's letter that earlier arrangements were no longer being adhered to on the Nubian side; *inter alia*, "you are liable to the *baqt* of [outstanding] years, which you have not made over" [line 54]. It is not possible to determine whether or not this represents the first attempt under the 'Abbāsīd regime to regularize relations with Nubia, but such it could easily have been. In any case, it looks as if the arrangements which Mūsā sought to enforce were virtually the same as those which were in effect at the end of the Umayyad period, if it is accepted that it is to that time that the remarks of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's "shaykh of yore" in the following passage relate:³²

It is said, in that which one of the shaykhs of yore³³ mentioned, that he perused one of the *dīwāns* at Fustāṭ and read it before it was burnt [reading *y.h.t.r.q.* for *y.n.kh.r.q.*³⁴], and from it he memorized: we have made a compact and an agreement with you (*'āhadnākum wa-'āqadnākum*) that you will provide us with 360 *ra's*^{an} each year: and [that] you [may] enter our lands, passing through [and] not residing, and similarly [that] we [may] enter your lands: with the proviso that, if you kill any one of the Muslims, the *hudna* will cease to apply to you (*fa-qad bari'at minkum al-hudna*); and with the proviso that, if you give refuge to a slave belonging to the Muslims (*in āwaytum li-l-muslimīn^a 'abd^{an}*), the *hudna* will cease to apply to you: and it is incumbent upon you to return runaway [slaves belonging to the?] Muslims (*ubbāq*

³¹ John the Deacon (fl. mid-eighth century) *apud* Severus ibn al-Muqaffa', *Kitāb siyar al-āba' al-baṭārika*, ed. B. Evetts, *Patrologia Orientalis* 5 (1910), 188; ed. C. F. Seybold (Beirut, Paris and Leipzig, 1904–10), 205; ed. C. F. Seybold (Hamburg, 1912), 196.

³² *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 189, 3ff.

³³ *Ba'd al-mashā'ikh al-mutaqaddimīn*. Hasan (*The Arabs and the Sudan*, 22) inaccurately says "Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam quotes the authority of one of his [*sic*] elders ...".

³⁴ Hasan (*The Arabs and the Sudan*, 22), in trying to make sense of *y.n.kh.r.q.*, translates "before it was allowed to fall into disuse". The only fire reported to have affected the *dīwāns* of Fustāṭ prior to 871, when Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam died, is that mentioned by John the Deacon (note 31 above).

al-muslimīn)^{34a} and any of the *ahl al-dhimma* who may take refuge with you.

Admittedly the credentials of this passage leave something to be desired. The “shaykh of yore” could be a mere device for giving respectability to retrojected information, although in that case a handsome *isnād* might have been more appropriate; or it may be that the passage is basically authentic but was mangled in the course of transmission by memory. But, with these caveats made, it is nonetheless a fact that the account of the “shaykh of yore” (SY) has something in common with points emerging in the letter of Mūsā ibn Ka‘b (MK). They agree on: (1) the element of *‘ahd*, (2) an annual Nubian quota of human beings, (3) access to each other’s territories, (4) Nubian return of fugitive slaves.^{34b} The two main points of difference are: (1) SY does not use the term *baqt* but does specify | the number of human beings in the annual quota, while MK refers to the annual *baqt* without specifying a number; however, MK’s reference to *mā baqiya ‘alaykum min al-baqt* [line 58] can without difficulty be regarded as implying a known number. (2) SY uses the term *hudna*; MK does not refer to *hudna*, although he does refer twice to the beneficial effects of the arrangement as far as the well-being of the *dimā’* and *amwāl* of the Nubians is concerned. 215

The sum of the evidence therefore suggests that at some time in the Umayyad period the earlier and simpler arrangement of *hudna* plus annual exchange of slaves for commodities had been superseded by a more complex and more formal arrangement, perhaps drawn up in writing,³⁵ which preserved the earlier elements of non-aggression and transmission of slaves while at the same time adding conditions relating to extradition from Nubia of fugitives and freedom of access to each other’s territories. That fugitives (*φυγάδες*) constituted an abiding problem during Marwānid rule in Egypt is abundantly clear from the papyri.³⁶

^{34a} Given that the return of fugitive slaves has just been mentioned, the *‘ubbāq al-muslimīn* should perhaps be understood as fugitives of other kinds, such as runaway peasants and criminals. Mūsā ibn Ka‘b’s complaints against the Nubians included the charge that they have failed to extradite a criminal merchant (below, lines 28–30).

^{34b} And, it may be added, of fugitive criminals and *dhimmīs* too (cf. the preceding note and Mūsā’s letter, lines 52–53).

³⁵ The question of whether this is to be regarded as implicit in the term *‘ahd* requires further investigation.

³⁶ See, for example, Becker, “Papyrusstudien”, 139.

It is also possible that the unification of Nubia/Nobatia and Muqurra between 697–98 and 710³⁷ may have been a stimulus for renewed and reformulated arrangements. The prime candidate in any speculation about who may have taken the initiative must be ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥabḥāb, who was fiscal intendant and strong man in Egypt from ca. 105/724 to 116/735.³⁸ In addition to implementing a land survey and a census in Egypt, Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb is said³⁹ to have drawn up the terms of a compact (‘*ahd*) regulating relations with the Beja⁴⁰ tribesmen inhabiting the desert to the east of the Nile between the first and second cataracts: the wording of this ‘*ahd*, as relayed by Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, bears a strong resemblance to the wording of the report of SY, also *apud* Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam. It is noticeable in that context too that the figure 300 occurs as the number of young she-camels (or virgins: *bikr*) that the Beja were supposed to hand over each year; this is one possible explanation of the figure 300 that occurs in some sources in connection with the *baqt*.⁴¹ But these are all mere possibilities, which want further evidence, and even the proposition that a more complex and formal arrangement had come into existence by the *end* of the Umayyad period rests on acceptance of the authenticity of the report of SY. The only sure evidence is that of MK, which shows that such a development had happened by 758.

But if an ‘*ahd* with the king of Nubia and Muqurra existed by 758, why was a figure such as Ibn Lahī‘a putting forward in the third quarter of the eighth century a report which included the assertion that there

³⁷ Monneret de Villard, *Nubia Cristiana*, 81. For further information and references about this, see Adams, *Nubia*, 453–54.

³⁸ See N. Abbott, “A New Papyrus and a Review of the Administration of ‘Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb”, *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi (Leiden, 1965), 27–31. However, ‘Abd al-Azīz ibn Marwān (governor 65/686–86/705) should not be discounted entirely (see the brief mention in the *Khīṭaṭ* of al-Maqrīzī, I, 201, 5 [Būlāq]; III, 293, 13 [Wiet]).

³⁹ Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 189, 15, where the introductory words are: “*wayaz‘um*” *ba‘d al-mashā‘ikh annahu qara‘a kitāb Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb ...*. The report has been examined by Heffening, *Das islamische Fremdenrecht*, 97–98. Cf. also al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, III, 272 (Wiet).

⁴⁰ See *EI*², s.v. “Bedja”.

⁴¹ Another explanation is haplographical, arising from the double occurrence of *ra*’s, i.e., *thalāthami‘at ra’sⁱⁿ [wa-sittin^a ra’s^{an}]*—cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 238, 5–6, with what is otherwise the same report *apud* Qudāma, *Kitāb al-kharāj*..., Ms. Köprülü, no. 1076, fol. 150r.

was no ‘*ahd*, only a *hudna*?⁴² An explanation | lies in the likelihood that *two* separate sets of arrangements had by then evolved. One was the administrative ‘*ahd* arrangement primarily concerned with extradition and stabilization of a frontier, although it did preserve the older provision about annual Nubian transmission of “heads”, perhaps now fixed at 360. The other was simply the trade in slaves. It is hard to believe that Egypt’s annual need for new slaves in the eighth century was so small that an annual supply of *baqt* slaves in the order of 360 can have sufficed, even if these had been transmitted regularly, which was evidently not the case. There were, of course, other sources of black slaves, but there is nothing to suggest any restrictions in respect of that most convenient of sources for the Egyptians, Nubia. The point of the denial of ‘*ahd* relations, which were in any case not indispensable for the conduct of the slave trade, appears to have been to counter objections to the slave traffic in Nubia; these objections were expressed by such contemporary jurists as the Kūfan Sufyān al-Thawrī and the Medinan Mālik.⁴³ Ibn Lahī’a replied by adducing Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb’s account of the earlier arrangements of *hudna* plus sanction for the slave trade—arrangements which may have obtained since the time of Ibn Abī Sarḥ. This was all that the slave trade needed in order to function effectively, and it was accordingly this that was claimed as the *status quo* by those with an interest in the maintenance of that trade.^{43a}

⁴² There is between us/*ahl Miṣr* and them/the Asāwid/the Nūba no ‘*ahd*/no ‘*ahd* and no *mīthāq*; there was simply a *hudna/hudna baynahum/hudna baynanā wa-baynahum/hudnat amān ba’dīnā min ba’d*: Ibn Sallām, *Amwāl*, nos. 401–2; Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 188, 13; al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-wulāt wa-kitāb al-quḍāt*, 12, 13; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 237, 19, all on the ultimate authority of Ibn Lahī’a ← Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb. Ibn Lahī’a was *qāḍī* of Egypt under al-Manṣūr (al-Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, ed. M. T. Houtsma, [Leiden, 1883], II, 469).

⁴³ Ibn Sallām, *Amwāl*, no. 405; al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, I, 201, 7ff. (Būlāq); III, 293, 17ff. (Wiet). The disagreement appears to foreshadow elements of the difference of opinion on whether the world consists of two divisions (*dār al-islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*) or three (the third being *dār al-ṣulḥ* or *dār al-‘ahd*)—see, e.g., Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, 144–45.

^{43a} If an eminent traditionist was prepared to deny the existence of an ‘*ahd* well known to his contemporaries, alleging that a past figure had only made a *hudna*, one may well wonder whether the alleged *hudna* should be accepted as historical at all. The possibility that the traditionists actually invented Ibn Abī Sarḥ’s agreement in order to legitimate the slave trade should have been considered in this paper, as Michael Cook rightly notes (letter of 12 September 1981).

THE TEXT OF MŪSĀ IBN KA'ĀB'S LETTER

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Deposited in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in 1972; seen in 1980 in the Islamic Museum in Cairo, framed and under glass, with register no. 2548. Fine, light yellow papyrus 53.5 cm. wide and 264.5 cm. long, rolled in parallel with the writing when found. The length is made up of twelve joined pieces, measuring (from top to bottom and from join to join) 16.5, 22.5, 22.5, 22.5, 22.0, 23.5, 23.0, 24.0, 22.0, 23.0, 23.0, 20.0 cm.; unfortunately, the sizes of the *selides* were not recorded before the document was framed. Recto/high size; written in black ink. Professor Plumley has informed us that the verso is blank and that the roll was secured with a plain mud seal.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

من موسى بن كعب الى [عرب الى] صاحب مقر (ة) ونوبة سلم على
اوليا الله واهل طاعته ... واحمد اليهم الله ا
لذي لا اله الا هو

5 اما بعد قد عرفت الذي صولحتم عليه والذي جعلتم على

انفسكم من الوفا به فاحرزتم بذلك دماكم واموالكم ان

انتم وفيتم و الله تبارك وتعالى يقول في كتابه اوفوا

بعهد الله اذا عهدتم ولا تنقضوا الايمان بعد

توكيدها وقد جعلتم الله عليكم كفيلا ان الله

10 يعلم ما تفعلون وقال اوفوا بعهدي اوف بعهدكم

واياي فارهبون وقد وفينا لكم بالذي جعلنا لكم علينا من ا

لكف عن دماكم واموالكم وعرفت امنكم في بلادنا

وسكونكم حيث احببتم منها واختلاف تجاركم اليها لا يصل

اليهم منا ظلم ولا غشم ولا يعتدى الى احد ممن قبلنا منكم

15 ولا يمنع من حقه ولا يحال بين تجاركم وبين ما ارادوا امنين

مطمانين (1) حيث سلخوا من بلادنا وفا بعهدنا وصدقا لقولنا

وايماننا بربنا وتصديقا لنيينا

وانتم فيما بيننا وبينكم الى غير ذلك لا تودون اليها

(1) مطمانين

من يوم نزل
 اول ما استعمل
 لانه لا ياله ما لا ياله
 اما بعد بعد نوره من ان يخلص لغيره ولا يخلص لغيره
 ان يخلص من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص
 اسروهم والله ما لا ياله ما لا ياله من اول ما يخلص
 لا والله اذنا يخلص من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص
 به كذبا بعد جعل الله لغيره من اول ما يخلص
 من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص
 انما يخلص من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص
 لانه من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص
 رخصتكم حسب اسمها انما يخلص من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص
 الا من يخلص من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص
 ولا يخلص من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص
 مكاتبهم حسب طقوس بلادنا وما بعد ان يخلص من اول ما يخلص
 واما ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص
 واسمها من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص من اول ما يخلص

ما عليكم من البقط الذي صولحتم عليه ولا تردون من ابق
 اليكم من ارقاينا ولا يامن فيكم تجارنا ولا تعجلون تسريح
 20 رسلنا الينا وانت تعرف ان اهل الاديان كلها
 والملل الذين لا يعرفون ربا ولا يؤمنون ببعث ولا يرجون ثوابا
 ولا يخافون عقابا لا يهجمون تاجرا ولا يحبسون رسولا
 وانت تظهر لاهل ملتك الايمان بالذي خلق
 25 السموت والارض وما بينهما وتومن بعيسى بن مريم وبكتابه
 وتظهر العدل لهم والعمل بالحق وعملكم فيما بيننا
 وبينكم مخالف لما تظهر فقد اتاكم تاجر من تجار اهل
 بلدنا يقال له سعد قد ذهب باموال كثيرة زايفا
 بها من اهلها فحبستوه قبلكم وحلتم بينه وبين من يطلبه بحق
 30 ومنعتموه منه وبعث اليكم رجل من اهل اسوان يقال له
 محمد بن زيد تاجرا له في تجارته وطلب حقوق له فا
 حتبسموه وما كان معه من المال فكتب الى عاملي
 على اسوان يذكر انه كتب الى خليفتك
 فيه فكتب اليه خليفتك يسله ان يبعث اليه محمد
 35 بن زيد صاحب ذلك التاجر ليستخلفه على ما كان معه من
 المال فبعثه اليه في رهط من المسلمين فضر به ضرنا
 سيئا وكسر يده وحبسه ثلث ليال عنده حتى ظن انه قاتله
 ثم خلي سبيله فدعاه سلم بن سليمان عاملي الى اسوان بالبينة

This image shows a fragment of an ancient papyrus scroll, likely from the Late Period of Egypt. The document is written in two columns of text. The upper portion features hieroglyphs, which are more formal and standardized in appearance. The lower portion consists of hieratic script, which is more cursive and compact. The text is densely packed and appears to be a formal or official letter, as suggested by the caption 'A Letter on Egyptian-Nubian Relations'. The fragment is somewhat curved and shows signs of age, with some fading and wear along the edges.

على وصول تاجره اليكم وعلى ما صنع به خليفتك
 40 فاتاه برهط من المسلمين عدول من سكان اسوان فشهدوا
 له بما ذكر من امره وامر تاجره فكتب الى بذلك كله
 وبعث الى محمد بن زيد صاحب ذلك التاجر فوافي
 قدوم بطره رسولك الينا فجمعت بينهما ومع بطره
 رهط من اهل ملتك فذكروا انهم
 45 ظنوا حين اخذوه انه ممن كان يغير عليهم من البجة
 فامرت غوث بن سليمان قاضى اهل مصر ان ينظر في امرهم
 ثم تحملتم على مثل ما تحمل عليه الناس من الحق والعدل
 فقضى على بطره ان يرد ذلك التاجر وما كان معه من
 المال ان كان حيا وان كان قد قتل فعليكم ديته
 50 الف دينار

وبعث اليكم سلم رسولا له منذ تسعة اشهر ورسولا منذ اربعة
 اشهر فخبستموم معما عندكم من ارقا اهل الاسلام
 واهل ذمتنا وما عليكم من البقط فانه قد ذكر
 لى ان عليكم بقط سنين لم تودوه وما بعثتم به من البقط
 55 بعثتم بما لا خير فيه بين اعور او اعرج او كبير ضعيف
 او صبي صغير

على صور اربعة الصم وعلم ما صه ختم
 فاباه بدمك مرأ لم يدر زمر حيا ابور
 وبعث اليه بصدق وبعث صادق ملك السلام
 فدون من سبب الله الحكيم باربعه
 دمك من اقبل كمن كان يظن بالاله
 وامر من حيا لغير لاصي كذا
 على ان ياتي بالمال والارواح والاله
 فصر على كذا ازود ديل الاله ودا كذا
 لم يدر ان سببنا واركانه ما لك
 الاله
 ومن ثم لم يدر لاله كذا
 امه كذا كذا كذا كذا كذا كذا كذا
 واه كذا كذا كذا كذا كذا كذا كذا
 في ارض كذا كذا كذا كذا كذا كذا
 بعث الاله وبعث الاله اعني كذا
 او كذا

فانظر فيما كتبت اليك به وعجل
البعثة الينا بما بقى عليكم من البقط للسنين التي
قبلكم ولا تبعث بما لا خير فيه فلا تقبله وابعث
60 الينا بتاجر محمد بن زيد وبما كان معه من المال الا ان
يكون قد قتل فتبعث بالف دينار دية وبما كان معه
من مال وابعث الينا سعد التاجر الذي قبلكم ولا توخر
من ذلك شيئاً ان كنتم تحبون ان نفي لكم بعهدنا
ونكون على ما كنا عليه من الاستقامة لكم وعجل
65 ذلك ولا توخره وان انت لم تمتثل رايت فيما
بينى وبينكم راى ان شا الله فانى قد احببت ان اعذر
اليكم واتخذ عليكم والسلم على اوليا
الله واهل طاعته وكتب ميمون يوم الاحد
لاثنى عشرة بقيت من رجب سنة احدى واربعين ومائة

وَاَنْصُرْكُمْ بِالْحَقِّ
 الْمَعْنَى أَنَّهُ لَا يَأْتِي عَلَى كَرَمٍ مِنَ الْوَكَلَاءِ إِلَّا
 مَلِكٌ وَذُنُوبٌ سِوَا حَرَمِهِ فَذُنُوبٌ سِوَا حَرَمِهِ
 الْمَعْنَى مَا حَرَّمَ مُحَمَّدٌ تَزْوِجَهُ وَبِطَائِفٍ مِنْ الْهَالِكِ إِلَّا أَنْ
 يَكُونَ قَدْ مَلَكَ سِوَا الْوَالِدِ فِي حَرَمِهِ وَبِطَائِفٍ مِنْ
 مَرْمَالٍ وَأَسْمَاءٍ السُّبْحَانَ الَّذِي لَا يَلْمِ أَحَدًا مِنْكُمْ وَلَا يُوَدِّعُ
 مَرْدًا لَكُمْ بِمَا أَرَى كَرَمًا خَيْرًا مِنْ كَرَمِكُمْ بَعْدَ مَا
 وَكُنْتُمْ عَلَى مَا كُنْتُمْ عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الْأَسْمَاءِ الْحَرَامِ
 دَلِيلًا وَلَا يُوَدِّعُ أَحَدًا مِنْكُمْ بِمَا أَرَى كَرَمًا
 مِنْكُمْ وَتَسْكُرُونَ أَنْ تَرَى أَنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى لَا يَحْسَبُ أَنْ يَكُونَ
 الْكِرَامُ أَحَدًا مِنْكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ وَالْمَلِكُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ
 اللَّهُ وَتَسْكُرُونَ كَمَا كُنْتُمْ تَكُونُونَ يَوْمَ الْآخِرِ
 وَتَسْكُرُونَ لِمَا تَكُونُونَ مِنْ حَسْبِهِ أَحْسَنُ وَأَبْخَرُ مِنْهُ

TRANSLATION

- 1 In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful
- 2 From Mūsā b. K[a'b to] master of Muqurr(a) and Nubia.
Peace be upon
- 3 the friends of God and those who obey Him To them do I praise
God,
- 4 other than whom there is no God.
- 5 To continue. You (sing.) know that on the basis of which a peace
agreement was made with you and that which you took
- 6 upon yourselves to fulfil, so preserving your blood and property if
- 7 you fulfil [it]. God, blessed and exalted is He, says in His book
“Fulfil
- 8 the compact of God when you make a compact, and do not break
the oath after
- 9 it has been affirmed and you have made God your guarantor: verily
God
- 10 knows what you do”. And He said “Fulfil my compact and I shall
fulfil your compact;

2 Mūsā ibn Ka'b: it is clear from the details given by al-Ṭabari (*Ta'rikh*, II, 135S, 1586-87, 1952, etc.; III, 28, 35-36, 39-50, 56-57, 80, 81) that Mūsā was a leading figure in the 'Abbāsid propaganda movement in Khurāsān and in the subsequent take-over. However, after making reference to Mūsā in respect of the year 134/751-52, al-Ṭabari is silent about him for seven years until he reaches the year 141/758-59: under that year he refers to Mūsā's death while in charge of (a) the *shura'* of al-Manṣūr, (b) Egypt, and (c) al-Hind, but immediately follows this information with reference to the dismissal of Mūsā from Egypt and his replacement there by Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath (III, 138). Support for the view that Mūsā was dismissed from Egypt before his death is provided by al-Kindī, who says that he arrived as governor of Egypt on 15 Rabī' II, 141 (25 August 758), functioned in that capacity for a little over seven months, and left Egypt on 24 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 141 (28 March 759): his successor, Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath, arrived on 5 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja, 141 (8 April 759) (al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-wulat*, 106-8; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 306 [Bulāq]). De Zambaur (*Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie* [Bad Pyrmont, 1955], 26) varies in respect of the exact dates.

2 master of Muqurra and Nubia: in view of the date of this document, it is virtually certain that the missing name is Cyriacus (QRYAQWS and variants)—see Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia Cristiana*, 223 and index sub Ciriaco (re di Nubia).

7-10 Qur'ān XVI:91.

11 so fear me". We have fulfilled for you that which we took upon
 ourselves for you in
 12 desisting from your blood and your property and you (sing.) know
 your security in our land
 13 and your dwelling wherever you wish in it and the repairing of your
 merchants to us; no oppression
 14 or wrong comes to them from us; no one of you who is among us
 is attacked by us
 15 nor is he denied his right; no obstacle is placed between your
 merchants and what they want—[they are] safe
 16 and at ease wherever they go in our land, [this being] in fulfillment
 of our compact, in truth to our word,
 17 in belief in our Lord and in confirmation of the veracity of our
 Prophet.
 18 You however, in that which lies between us, behave otherwise. You
 do not hand over to us
 19 what you owe of the *baqt* about which a peace agreement was made 227
 with you; nor do you return those of our
 20 slaves who run away to you; nor are our merchants safe among you;
 nor do you hasten to send
 21 our emissaries [back] to us. You know that the people of all religions
 22 and the confessions which neither know a lord, nor believe in a
 resurrection, nor hope for recompense,
 23 nor fear punishment, [even these] do not attack a merchant or
 detain an emissary.
 24 You (sing.) make manifest to the people of your confession belief in
 Him who created

11 Qur'ān II:40.

13 dwelling (*sukūn*): note that SY and al-Maqrīzī's version specifically excludes residence (*mujtāz*ⁱⁿ *ghayr muqīm*ⁱⁿ).

15–16 safe and at ease: cf. Qur'ān XVI:112.

19 (also 53, 54, 58) the *baqt*: this confirms that the term refers not to any agreement as such but to the "heads"/slaves/captives due according to agreement. Whether the term is to be regarded as derived from *pactum*/πάκτον or from an Egyptian term, *bak*, signifying tribute in general (L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, IV [Milan 1911], 521) remains an open question.

21 (also 23, 43, 51) emissaries: for *rasūl* as "emissary, diplomatic agent", see Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, 240.

25 the heavens and the earth and what is between them, you (sing.)
 believe in Jesus the son of Mary and his book,
 26 and you (sing.) make manifest to them justice and the doing of
 what is right, while what you do in that which is between you
 27 and us is contrary to that which you make manifest. One of the
 merchants of the people
 28 of our country, Sa'd by name, came to you with much wealth.
 having made off
 29 with it from its owners, and you detained him among you, stood
 between him and the one who rightly pursued him
 30 and protected him from him. [Secondly] a man of the people of
 Aswān, named
 31 Muḥammad ibn Zayd, sent to you a merchant of his, on his business
 and seeking rights for him.
 32 You detained him and the wealth that he had with him, and my
 governor over Aswān
 33 wrote to me, mentioning that he had written to your deputy
 34 concerning him and that your deputy had written to him, asking
 him to send to him Muḥammad
 35 ibn Zayd, the master of that merchant, so that he might make over
 to him the wealth which he (the merchant) had

28 Sa'd: no further identification is possible. Professor Plumley has told us that the Coptic documents indicate that, by the time when Muḥammad ibn al-Ash'ath was governor of Egypt (i.e. from April 759), Sa'd was being held in Dongola.

31 Muḥammad ibn Zayd: no further identification is possible.

33 your deputy: as Professor Plumley has pointed out (*JEA* 61 [1975], 245), this is presumably a reference to the eparch of Nubia; see also L. V. Zabkar, "The Eparch of Nubia as King", *JNES* 22 (1963), 217-19. The Coptic document from the time of Cyriacus published by Krall ("Beiträge zur Geschichte der Blemyer und Nubier", *Denkschriften der k. Adad. der Wiss.* [Wien], phil-hist. Cl., 46 [1897], IV, 16-17) names Paulos Kolla as the eparch of Nobatia, but there is no way of knowing whether he was eparch at the particular time which concerns us here.

35 A more accurate translation would perhaps be "to make him swear an oath [reading *li-yastahlifahu* for *li-yastakhlifahu*] regarding to wealth", as Moshe Gil suggests (letter of 7 October 1984).

- 36 with him. So he (the governor) sent him (Muḥammad) to him (the
 deputy) with a group of Muslims, and he (the deputy) gave him
 (Muḥammad) a bad
 37 beating and broke his hand and detained him with him for three 228
 nights until he (Muḥammad) thought that he would kill him.
 38 Then he (the deputy) let him go, and my governor over Aswān,
 Salm ibn Sulaymān, asked him (Muḥammad) for evidence
 39 of the arrival of his merchant to you and of that which your deputy
 had done to him.
 40 He (Muḥammad) then brought to him a group of Muslims, persons
 of good morals from the inhabitants of Aswān, and they bore
 witness
 41 for him of what he had mentioned in the matter of himself and the
 matter of his merchant. He (Salm) then wrote to me about all of
 this
 42 and sent to me Muḥammad ibn Zayd, the master of that merchant.
 He came at the time of the
 43 arrival of BṬRH (Peter), your emissary to me, so I brought them
 together. With Peter
 44 [was] a group of your confession and they mentioned

36 (also 40) Muslims: it is worth noting that this document takes over from *PERF* 624 (A.D. 793 or later) as the earliest datable papyrus in which this term occurs; cf. P. Crone and M. A. Cook, *Hagarism* (Cambridge, 1977), 159, n. 50.

38 Salm ibn Sulaymān: no further identification is possible. Professor Plumley has told us that the Coptic documents indicate that by 759 he had been replaced as governor of Aswān by ʿĪsā ibn ʿUthmān.

40 persons of good morals (*ʿudūl*): the term is also open to the rendering “official witnesses”; see *EI*², s.v. “*ʿadl*”; also E. Tyan, *Histoire de l’organisation judiciaire en pays d’Islam*² (Leiden, 1960), 239.

43 Peter: Professor Plumley has noted (*JEA* 61 [1975], 245) that “according to the Coptic scroll he held the office of Notary and during his audience with the Governor of Egypt was threatened by him with imprisonment pending satisfaction being received from Nubia”. Professor Plumley has since told us that this governor is clearly Muḥammad ibn al-Ash’ath, that is, Peter had been held for at least four months. The document published by Krall (see note to line 33) names the *domestikos* of the eparch of Nobatia as Petros, but there is no way of telling whether this was the same man.

- 45 that they thought, when they took him (the merchant), that he
was one of the Beja who make attacks on them.
- 46 I then instructed Ghawth ibn Sulaymān, *qāḍī* of the people of Miṣr,
to look into their affair;
- 47 then were you made to bear the like of the right and justice which
the people (scil. of Egypt) are made to bear.
- 48 He judged that Peter should return that merchant, together with
the wealth that is
- 49 with him, if he is alive, and if he has been killed you are liable to
blood money of
- 50 one thousand dinars.
- 51 Salm sent to you an emissary of his nine months ago. and an
emissary four months
- 52 ago, and you detained them, together with those slaves of the people
of Islam and of the people
- 53 protected by us who are with you. and that of the *baqt* to which
you are liable. For he (Salm) mentioned to me
- 54 that you are liable to the *baqt* of [outstanding] years. which you
have not made over; [that, in respect of] such of the *baqt* as you
have sent,
- 55 you have sent that in which there is no good—the one-eyed. or the
lame, or the weak old man,
- 56 or the young boy.
- 229 57 So look (sing.) into that about which I have written to you (sing.)
and hasten (sing.)
- 58 the despatching to us of that of the *baqt* for which you are still liable
for the [outstanding] years, which is
- 59 with you, and do not send (sing.) that in which there is no good,
for we do not accept it; and send (sing.)
- 60 to us the merchant of Muḥammad ibn Zayd and the wealth which
was with him, unless

45 the Beja: tribesmen inhabiting the desert to the east of the Nile between the first and second cataracts. The *EI*² article “Bedja” needs to be qualified by the certain identification of the Beja with the Blemmyes (Plumley, *JEA* 61 [1975], 245).

46 Ghawth ibn Sulaymān: *qāḍī* of Egypt 135/752–144/762 and 167/783–168/784 (al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-wulāt*, 356–62, 373–76; see also Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire*, 238–39).

- 61 he has been killed, in which case send (sing.) the thousand dinars,
his blood money, together with
- 62 the wealth which was with him; and send (sing.) to us Sa'd the
merchant who is among you and be not tardy (sing.)
- 63 in that in any respect if you wish us to fulfil for you our compact
64 and to continue as we did in dealing correctly with you. Hasten
(sing.)
- 65 that and do not delay (sing.) it. If you (sing.) do not obey, I shall
have
- 66 my view concerning what is between you and me, God willing. I
have wanted to exceed the usual bounds in exhorting you
- 67 and to take proof against you. Peace be upon the friends of
68 God and those who obey him. Written by Maymūn on Sunday,
69 twelve nights remaining of Rajab in the year 141.

66 to exceed the usual bounds in exhorting you (*an u'dhir^a ilaykum*): this sense is given by E. W. Lane (*Arabic-English Lexicon*, Bk. I, pt. 5 [London, 1874], 1934). For some examples, see al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, I, 2996, 6; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 156, 2; I. 'Abbās, ed., *'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yaḥyā al-kātib*, (Ammān, 1988), 238, 1. For a close parallel, see G. Scarcia, "Lo scambio di lettere tra Hārūn al-Rašīd e Ḥamza al-Ḥārīgī secondo il 'Ta'rīḥ-i Sistān'", *Annali*, n.s. 14 (1964), 635, 12: *fa-innahū [Hārūn] a'dhara ilayka wa-ḥtajja 'alayka*.

69 twelve nights remaining: the reading is not entirely clear, but most closely resembles the form given; this produces not a Sunday but Friday/Saturday 24/25 November 758. The reading *li-ihdā 'asharat^a*, which would produce a Sunday, is not justifiable.

Maghāzī and *Sīra* in Early Islamic Scholarship

IT HAS for some time been evident to modern scholars that the earliest Muslim transmissions relating to the period of the Prophet Muḥammad appear to have been concerned with *maghāzī* and that the use of the term *sīra* in that connection came as a later development. It is also evident that those early transmissions about *maghāzī* were not restricted in scope to the expeditions and raids organised by the Prophet in the Medinan period. On these two connected matters, one may note for example the remarks of F. Sezgin (published in 1967) that “schon bei . . . der ältesten Generation der *tābi‘ūn*, tritt die eigentliche Prophetenbiographie unter dem Namen *mağāzī* in verhältnißmässig großen Werken auf. Sie wurden in recht früher Zeit *sīra* genannt”¹ and that “die *mağāzī*-Literatur . . . diente anfangs dazu, nicht nur die Kriegszüge des Propheten, sondern seine Biographie überhaupt aufzuzeichnen und wurde später *sīra* genannt”.² One point that becomes readily apparent from these statements is that the two phrases “wurden in recht früher Zeit *sīra* genannt”

From *La Vie du Prophète Mahomet*, ed. Toufic Fahd (Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1983), pages 57 to 66.

I am grateful to Michael Cook for comments on this paper and to him and Patricia Crone for some useful references.

¹ *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. I (Leiden, 1967) [hereafter cited as *GAS*] I, 275.

² *GAS* I, 251.

and “wurde später *sīra* genannt” are together less than specific about when the term *sīra* first became current in respect of material relating to the time of the Prophet. The purpose of this paper is to enquire into precisely this question.

To begin with, it will be convenient to consider those earliest transmitters and compilers of material relating to the time of the Prophet who died before the middle of the second century A.H. and so predeceased Ibn Ishāq. In Sezgin’s presentation³ there are nineteen of these, including notably ‘Urwa ibn al-Zubayr (d. 94/714), al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) and Mūsā ibn ‘Uqba (d. 141/758). No compilation from this early period has survived as a whole and the bulk of what is available survives as fragmented citations attributed in later works to those earlier transmitters and compilers. What is important here is to stress that the early compilations seem to have been identified in their own time as being about *maghāzī*, not *sīra*. It is therefore necessary to demonstrate that two apparent exceptions—namely the case of al-Zuhrī and that of his contemporary Ya‘qūb ibn ‘Utba (d. A.H. 128/745)—were not exceptions at all. Of these two cases that of Ya‘qūb ibn ‘Utba is the more straightforward since the only possible source of misunderstanding is Sezgin’s statement that “die bei at-Ṭabarī . . . erhaltenen Fragmente zeigen, dass seine *Sīra* keine *magāzī* enthielt” (p. 283). The fact that some of al-Ṭabarī’s citations from Ya‘qūb do refer to *maghāzī* in the later and narrower sense⁴ need not detain us here. What is important in the present context is that neither al-Ṭabarī nor any of the other references cited by Sezgin in connection with Ya‘qūb ascribes to him a work bearing the title *sīra*. Indeed, no compilation of any sort is ascribed to him; all that we have is a description attributed to Ibn Sa’d to the effect that Ya‘qūb had *aḥādīth kathīra wa-‘ilm bi-’l-sīra wa-ghayr dhālika*.⁵

More important than Ya‘qūb, however, is the case of al-Zuhrī, principally because of a tendency on the part of several modern scholars to associate him with a linkage between the Prophet and *sīra*. For example, Horovitz has remarked that al-Zuhrī, “as the quotations in Ibn Sa’d more particularly indicate, dealt with the whole life story of the Prophet, not

³ GAS I, 275–87.

⁴ *Ta’riḫ al-rusul wa-’l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.* (Leiden, 1879–1901) [hereafter cited as Ṭab.], I, 1556, 1593, 1598, 1652, 1654.

⁵ See A. Fischer, *Biographien von Gewährsmännern des Ibn Ishāq* (Leiden, 1890), 88, and Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* (Hyderabad, A.H. 1325–27), XI, 392.

only with the Maghāzi in the narrower sense of the word. He himself already employed the [term] *Sīrah* to describe the book he wrote at the command of Khālid [al-Qasrī].⁶ Duri comments that al-Zuhrī “provided the outlines and frame of the *Sīrah*”,⁷ while Sezgin says simply that al-Zuhrī “kannte schon den Terminus ‘*as-sīrah*’”⁸ and that “vielleicht ge-
 59 brauchte al-Zuhrī als erster den Terminus | *sīrah*”.⁹ It needs to be pointed out, however, that only one passage in the older Arabic sources actually uses the term *sīrah* in a report which purports to come from al-Zuhrī himself. This is a passage in the *Aghānī*,¹⁰ transmitted by al-Madā’inī: in it Khālid al-Qasrī (a leading member of the Yamanīya) asks al-Zuhrī to write about genealogy; al-Zuhrī makes a start by writing about the genealogy of Muḍar; Khālid disapproves of this and instructs al-Zuhrī “*uktub lī ’l-sīrah*”; al-Zuhrī offers to produce what he knows of the *siyar* of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib; and Khālid, evidently horrified, responds by saying “*lā, illā an tarāhu fī qa’r al-jahīm*”. Jones¹¹ (who misrepresents the passage by apocopation after the words *uktub lī ’l-sīrah*) cites this passage as sure evidence of *sīrah* signifying *sīrat al-nabī* in the time of al-Zuhrī. Hamidullah cites the passage in full but nonetheless goes on to talk about al-Zuhrī’s *sīrah* in terms which clearly indicate that he has the *sīrah* of the Prophet in mind.¹² But these are unacceptable observations, since it is quite clear that the *Aghānī* passage makes no reference whatsoever to the Prophet. While the extent to which al-Zuhrī engaged in any *literary* activity at all remains an open question, in view of the confused and contradictory character of the evidence in that regard,¹³ it is nonetheless apparent that he was primarily concerned with transmitting material about what he and his contemporaries regarded as *maghāzī*—this is shown by the numerous references given by Sezgin: and there is

⁶ *Islamic Culture* 2 (1928), 50.

⁷ *BSOAS* 19 (1957), 12.

⁸ *GAS* I, 282.

⁹ *GAS* I, 275.

¹⁰ Al-Ṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Bulāq, A.H. 1285), XIX, 59.

¹¹ In the introduction to his edition of al-Wāqidi’s *Kitāb al-maghāzī* (London, 1966),

19.

¹² In the introduction to his edition of [what he styles] *Sīrat Ibn Ishāq* [hereafter cited as *Ibn Ishāq/Hamidullah*] (Rabat, 1976), p. YH.

¹³ This question is discussed further by Michael Cook in a forthcoming work on *kitābat al-‘ilm*.

no good reason for believing that al-Zuhrī associated the term *sīra* with the Prophet.

Discussion of compilations by scholars who died in the second half of the second century A.H. must start with the work of Ibn Ishāq (the date of whose death was probably 150/767).¹⁴ It has been noticed by more than one modern scholar that Ibn Ishāq's material is referred to by Muslim writers of subsequent generations in a number of ways, for example, *al-maghāzī wa'l-mubtada'*, *al-mubtada' wa'l-maghāzī*, *al-siyar wa'l-maghāzī*, *al-maghāzī wa'l-siyar*, *al-sīra wa'l-mubtada' wa'l-maghāzī*, and [kutub] | *al-maghāzī wa'l-siyar wa-akhbār al-mubtada'*.¹⁵ There are, however, grounds for believing that the term *sīra* was not used by Ibn Ishāq and his contemporaries, just as Hartmann pointed out as long ago as 1899, when he observed that most references in that context are to *maghāzī*, not *sīra*, and concluded simply that "Ibn Ishāq hat keine *sīra* geschrieben".¹⁶ In support of Hartmann's conclusion,¹⁷ two further points can be made. In the first place, it can be remarked that the Qarawīyīn manuscript (dated A.H. 506) consisting of part of the recension of Ibn Ishāq's work made by Yūnus ibn Bukayr al-Shaybānī (d. 199/815)—although it has been catalogued as *Sīrat Ibn Ishāq*¹⁸—in fact gives the title as *Kitāb al-maghāzī*,¹⁹ while in the modern Rabat manuscript the title appears as *Al-Siyar wa'l-maghāzī*.²⁰ Similarly, the Zāhirīya manuscript consisting of part of the Ḥarrānī–Nufaylī-

¹⁴ E.g. Tab. III, 2513; for references to other dates (A.H. 151, 152, 153, 154), see Ibn Ishāq/Hamidullah, p. K and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'riḫ Baghdad* (Cairo, A.H. 1349), I, 242–44.

¹⁵ Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, vol. I (Chicago, 1957), 88; see also M. Hartmann, "Die angebliche *sīra* des Ibn Ishāq", in *Der islamische Orient. Berichte und Forschungen*, vol. I (Berlin, 1899), 33; Johann Fück, *Muḥammad ibn Ishāq. literarhistorische Untersuchungen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1925), 34; and Giorgio Levi della Vida, in *EI*¹, s.v. "*Sīra*".

¹⁶ "Die angebliche *sīra* des Ibn Ishāq", 33.

¹⁷ Which, curiously, is not mentioned in the later studies by Fück, Horovitz, Levi della Vida and Abbott.

¹⁸ See al-Fāsī, in *Majallat ma'had al-makḥṭūṭāt al-'arabīya* [hereafter *MMMA*] 5 (1959), 14 (and see also p. 165).

¹⁹ See Zakkār's edition of [what he styles] *Kitāb al-siyar wa'l-maghāzī* by Ibn Ishāq (Beirut, 1978) [hereafter cited as Ibn Ishāq/Zakkār], 70, 71 = Ibn Ishāq/Hamidullah, 48, 49.

²⁰ Ibn Ishāq/Zakkār, 71, 121, 189.

Muḥammad ibn Salama recension also gives the title simply as *Kitāb al-maghāzī*.²¹

Secondly, it is relevant that in connection with other scholars who died in the second half of the second century A.H. one encounters references to other works on *maghāzī*, but not on *sīra*. A work on *maghāzī* is attributed to each of the seven following figures: (1) Ma'mar ibn Rāshid, d. 154/770;²² (2) Abū Ma'shar Najīḥ ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, d. 170/786;²³ (3) 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr, d. 176/792;²⁴ (4) 'Alī ibn Mujāhid, d. 182/798;²⁵ (5) Yaḥyā ibn Sa'īd al-Umawī, d. 194/809;²⁶ (6) al-Walīd ibn Muslim al-Umawī, d. 195/810;²⁷ (7) 'Abd Allāh ibn Wahn, | d. 197/812.²⁸ There is at the same time no convincing attestation of use during that period of the term *sīra* in relation to the Prophet. Sezgin's reference²⁹ to the *Sīra* of al-Ḥunayfī (d. 162/778) as "eine Hauptquelle von al-Wāqidī" proves to be misleading: it is not apparent from al-Wāqidī's use of al-Ḥunayfī's material that this involved reference to a work bearing the term *sīra* in its title, and it may be that Sezgin was influenced by the description attributed to Ibn Sa'd that al-Ḥunayfī was *kathīr al-ḥadīth 'ālim^{an} bi'l-sīra wa-ghayrihā*.³⁰ The only other figure who needs to be mentioned in this pre-Wāqidī context is al-Fazārī (d. ca. 188/804), the title of whose work is given variously as *Kitāb al-siyar fī 'l-akhbār*, *Kitāb al-siyar fī 'l-akhbār wa'l-aḥdāth*, and *Kitāb al-sīra fī 'l-akhbār wa'l-aḥdāth*;³¹ al-Fazārī himself is described in the *Bidāya* of Ibn Kathīr³² as *imām ahl al-sha'm fī 'l-maghāzī wa-ghayr dhālika*. The two citations from this work which survive in the *Iṣāba* of

²¹ Ibn Ishāq/Zakkār, 303 = Ibn Ishāq/Hamidullah, 283.

²² *GAS* I, 290-91; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel (Leipzig, 1871-72) [hereafter cited as *Fihrist*], 94.

²³ *GAS* I, 291-92; *Fihrist*, 93.

²⁴ *Fihrist*, 226; cf. *GAS* I, 284.

²⁵ *GAS* I, 312.

²⁶ *GAS* I, 293.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 293; *Fihrist*, 109, 228.

²⁸ J. David-Weill, *Le Djāmi' d'Ibn Wahn*, vol. I (Cairo, 1939), xviii (citing the *Tartīb al-madārik*).

²⁹ *GAS* I, 291.

³⁰ Ibn Mākula, *Al-Ikmāl* (Hyderabad, 1962-67), III, 3; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, VI, 220.

³¹ *GAS* I, 292; *Fihrist*, 92; Yaḥyā, *Irshād al-arīb*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth (Leiden and London, 1907-26), I, 283.

³² Ibn Kathīr, *Al-bidāya wa'l-nihāya* (Cairo, A.H. 1351-58), X, 200.

Ibn Ḥajar relate—as might be expected—to the time of the Prophet,³³ one of them being from al-Zuhrī via al-Awzā‘ī; but it remains necessary to examine those portions of the work which survive in manuscript form in the Qarawīyīn³⁴ before expressing any definitive view about what its scope was.^{34a}

Even so, al-Fazārī’s links with al-Awzā‘ī and with Abū Ḥanīfa suggest that the term used in the title of his work was *siyar* and not *sīra*. The emergence of the term *siyar* in the second century A.H. as a technical term employed in *fiqh* has been discussed by various scholars. It was a term which covered the rules of war and of dealings with non-Muslims, apostates and rebels; it appears in the *Corpus iuris* ascribed to Zayd ibn ‘Alī (*kitāb al-siyar, bāb al-ghazw wa’l-siyar*), is supposed to have been used by Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), was the name by which the work of al-Awzā‘ī (d. 157/774) was known to Abū Yūsuf and al-Shāfi‘ī, and figures in the titles of two works by al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805).³⁵ “The term *al-siyar*”, explains the eighth/|fourteenth-century lexicographer al-Fayyūmī, “took over from [the term] *al-maghāzī* on the tongues of the *fuqahā’*”.³⁶ While this seems to be true in general, it should be noted that the same type of material appears elsewhere under other rubrics. The appropriate section in the *Muwatta’* of Mālik is entitled neither *maghāzī* nor *siyar* but *jihād*.³⁷ In the compilation called *al-Muṣannaf* by the Yemeni *muḥaddith* ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣan‘ānī (126/744–211/827), the *Kitāb al-jihād* includes the sort of material that the *fuqahā’* were styling *siyar*, but ‘Abd al-Razzāq also

³³ Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣāba fī tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba* (Calcutta, 1856 73), I, 680; III, 408.

³⁴ See *MMMA* 5 (1959), 164, 167.

^{34a} The work has now been published: Abū Ishāq al-Fazārī, *Kitāb al-siyar*, ed. F. Hammāda (Beirut, 1987). As surmised here, it deals with the rules of war, not the life of the Prophet.

³⁵ Muḥammad Hamidullah, *The Muslim Conduct of State*, 3rd rev. ed. (Lahore, 1953), 11; Majid Khadduri, *The Islamic Law of Nations* (Baltimore, 1966), 38–40; M. M. Bravmann, *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam* (Leiden, 1972), 136.

³⁷ Hartmann (see n. 15 above) is off the mark when he suggests “dass man mit diesem Worte [i.e. *siyar*] speziell die Lebensumstände des Propheten vor der Hīgra bezeichnete”.

³⁶ *Kitāb al-misbāḥ al-munīr fī gharīb al-sharḥ al-kabīr* (Cairo, A.H. 1289), I, 210 (I am grateful to Patricia Crone for a reference which led to this one).

³⁷ A. J. Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition* (Leiden, 1927), xv.

has a separate *kitāb al-maghāzī*³⁸ (discussed further below). Similarly, al-Bukhārī has separate books on *jihād* (*bāb faḍl al-jihād wa'l-siyar*) and on *maghāzī*, but he seems to be the exception among the major third-century compilers of *ḥadīth* material; the other compilations contain books on *jihād* (and, in some cases, *siyar*) but not on *maghāzī*.³⁹

While it would therefore seem that by the second half of the second century A.H. *siyar* had joined *maghāzī* as a genre of scholarly interest and literary output, the same cannot be said in respect of *sīra*. Even if Bravmann is correct in insisting on the reality of very early Islamic occurrences of the term *sīra* in phrases along the lines of *sunnat rasūl allāh wa-sīratuhu*,⁴⁰ it is nonetheless important here to notice that there are no examples of the term appearing during the first two centuries A.H. as a genre label or keyword in respect of written (or proposed written) material concerning the Prophet. In the passage from the *Aghānī* referred to above, al-Zuhrī reports that mention of *sīra* evoked a response on his part which focused on the *siyar* of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Sezgin refers to a work by Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774), which bears the title *Sīrat al-Ḥusayn*,⁴¹ but it would be necessary to examine the surviving manuscripts of the work before forming a view on whether this was the original title. As noted already by Levi della Vida,⁴² Ibn al-Nadīm ascribes to the Kalbite chronicler 'Awāna ibn al-Ḥakam (d. 147/764 or 153) a *Kitāb sīrat Mu'āwiya wa-Banī Umayya*⁴³ and to the rather later Abān al-Lāḥiqī (d. ca. 200/815–16) a *Sīrat Ardashīr* and a *Sīrat Anūshirwān*;⁴⁴ we may add here that Ibn al-Nadīm also ascribes to al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823) a *Kitāb sīrat Abī Bakr wa-wafātihi*.⁴⁵ In this same context, attention can also be drawn to the apparent predilection of early Baṣran and Omani proto-Ibāḍīs for *sīra* works, where the term *sīra* occurs in the title in conjunction with a named individual and the work

³⁸ Ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'zamī (Beirut, 1970–72), vol. V (I am grateful to Michael Cook for drawing my attention to the importance of this material in the present context).

³⁹ Wensinck, *Handbook*, xi–xv.

⁴⁰ *Spiritual Background*, 123ff.

⁴¹ *GAS* I, 309.

⁴² *EI*¹ s.v. "Sīra".

⁴³ *Fihrist*, 91, 18 (but note also the reference by al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje [Leiden, 1866], 164, 19–20) to *Kutāb maghāzī Mu'āwiya*).

⁴⁴ *Fihrist*, 119.

⁴⁵ *Fihrist*, 99, 4.

itself describes recommended normative practice;⁴⁶ but in the case of these works too it may be that the titles post-date the works themselves. In sum, there is not much evidence to support the notion of *sīra* as a literary genre of any sort during the first two centuries A.H., and none in respect of its having been a literary genre relating specifically to the Prophet.

That important Islamic doctrinal and juristic developments took place in the age of the *qāḍī* Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) and of al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204/820) is of course common knowledge to anyone familiar with the work of Schacht. More recently, and building upon the work of Schacht, Wansbrough has drawn attention to a transition from the *sīra-maghāzī* literature (as he styles it), where *ecclesia* is the dominant cognitive category and precedent is historically articulated, to the *sunna-ḥadīth* literature, where *nomos* is the dominant cognitive category and precedent is “idealized and hence shorn of its historical dimension”.⁴⁷ Wansbrough sees a development from loosely structured narrative to concise *exemplum* (Ibn Ishāq–Wāqidī–Bukhārī); for him, the passage from *sīra* to *sunna* was from *narratio* to *exemplum*.⁴⁸ In modification of this view, however, it may be said rather that the passage was from *maghāzī* to *sunna* via *siyar* and then *sīra*. Abū Yūsuf was clearly concerned with *al-sunna wa’l-sīra* and *sunnat rasūl allāh wa-sīratuhu*, as Schacht pointed out;⁴⁹ but here it is necessary to note too the observation of Bravmann, *contra* | Schacht, that “originally the two terms designate two different aspects of the same idea. Whereas *sīrah* means exactly and literally ‘the manner of proceeding (or procedure, or course of action) applied with respect to a certain affair’, the term *sunnah* describes this ‘manner of proceeding (procedure)’ as ‘something which has been established, instituted [by a certain individual]’”.⁵⁰ The point at issue in the present discussion is, of course, that of precisely when the term *sīra* was narrowed down to signify *sīrat rasūl allāh*, and in this connection it is of interest to note the ascription to al-Wāqidī by Ibn al-Nadīm of a *Kitāb*

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⁴⁶ See J. C. Wilkinson, in *Arabian Studies* 4 (1978), 192ff. for numerous examples (the ascription to al-‘Alā’ al-Ḥaḍramī of a work entitled *Sīrat al-nabī* may be noted and doubted).

⁴⁷ *The Sectarian Milieu* (Oxford, 1978), 87.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 77–78.

⁴⁹ *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1950), 75.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 169.

al-sīra, in addition to his *Kitāb al-ta'rīkh wa'l-mab'ath wa'l-maghāzī* and numerous other works;⁵¹ at the same time, it seems to have been first of all al-Wāqidī who restricted the term *maghāzī* to the narrower (and subsequently a conventional) sense of the expeditions, raids and other major events of the Prophet's Medinan period, as distinct from any broader sense.⁵² In this al-Wāqidī was evidently followed by Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845), in what forms volume II/2 of the edition published in Leiden of his *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*. In view of all this, it may be supposed that it was in the time of al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa'd that *maghāzī* and *sīra* first emerged formally as fields of study and enquiry which were related but could somehow be differentiated; perhaps the best early example of this trend is to be found in Ibn Sa'd's description of al-Wāqidī himself, of whom he says: *kāna 'ālim^{an} [1] bi'l-maghāzī wa'l-sīra wa'l-futūḥ wa-[2]-bi-'khtilāf al-nās fī 'l-aḥkām wa-'jtīmā'ihim 'alā mā 'jtama'ū 'alayhi . . .*⁵³ When Ibn Sa'd cites al-Wāqidī in respect of *aṣḥābunā min ahl al-Madīna wa-man rawā 'l-sīra*,⁵⁴ it is possible to accept that *sīra* may have been the term actually used by al-Wāqidī; but when Ibn Sa'd is cited regarding an interest in *sīra* on the part of earlier figures (as, for example, Ya'qūb ibn 'Utba and al-Ḥunayfī), one is perhaps justified in suspecting a retrospective designation, rather than one which obtained in the lifetimes of those earlier figures themselves. On the other hand, such suspicion can hardly attach to Ibn Hishām, who lived in Baṣra and then Egypt and died in 218/834 or 213. It is of course possible that close scrutiny of | surviving manuscripts of his compilation would permit modification of the assumption that he himself (rather than any later commentator) started that compilation with the words *hādihā kitāb sīrat rasūl allāh*; but it seems more likely that these were his own words and that he was simply introducing a large part of the *Maghāzī* of Ibn Iṣḥāq with a term which was in the idiom of his own times.

⁵¹ *Fihrist*, 98–99; Hamidullah (see above n. 35) p. 11 indicates (without a specific reference) that al-Shafī'ī refers in the *Kitāb al-umm* to the *Siyar* of al-Wāqidī, but I have been unable to find such a reference.

⁵² This, at least, is what must be inferred from al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-maghāzī* in its published form—ed. Jones (London, 1966).

⁵³ *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau *et al.* (Leiden, 1904–17), V, 314.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, II/1, 18.

It seems clear that the range of subject matter covered by the term *maghāzī* became narrower and that as this narrowing took place so inevitably that the signification of the term or label itself also changed. This change was from being a record of a past collective quest and achievement of goals⁵⁵ including, but not restricted to, the achievements of the Prophet, to one which was restricted to the period and background of the Prophet, and then to one which was further restricted (at least by al-Wāqidī) to the Medinan period of the Prophet's life. That early *maghāzī* material was not restricted to the lifetime of the Prophet has already been proposed by Horowitz in respect of the *Kitāb al-maghāzī* by Mūsā ibn 'Uqba, which, he suggests, may have included material relating to the period of *al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn* and even material relating to the Umayyad period.⁵⁶ Schacht was unwilling to accept this proposal,⁵⁷ but there is nonetheless other evidence to support the view that in early Islamic times the subject matter of *maghāzī* was drawn at least from the period of *al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn* in addition to that of the Prophet. This evidence is to be found in the *Kitāb al-maghāzī* contained within the *Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn Hammām al-Ṣan'ānī,⁵⁸ the majority of whose reports bear the *isnād* Ma'mar ibn Rāshid from al-Zuhrī and presumably reflect the view of those two authorities about what constituted the proper subject matter of *maghāzī*. This *Kitāb al-maghāzī* starts with the digging of the well of Zamzam (as does Yūnus ibn Bukayr's version of Ibn Ishāq's *Maghāzī*), moves on to the background of the Prophet and the main events of his lifetime, and then touches on various events after the Prophet's death; those events include the *bay'a* | of Abū Bakr at Saqīfat Banī Sā'ida, Abū Bakr's appointment of 'Umar as his successor, the conflict between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, the *shūrā*, the *ghazwa* (*sic*) of al-Qādisīya, and the marriage of Fāṭima. 66

While the narrowing-down of the scope of the *maghāzī* to the life and background of the Prophet seems to have been conventional from the third century A.H. onwards, it is nonetheless difficult to discern a

⁵⁵ It is, of course, far from certain that this was the exact early signification of the term, but lexical definitions such as *ghazā 'l-shay' ghazw^{an} arādahu wa-ṭalabahu ... wa'l-ghazw al-qaṣd* (Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab* [Būlāq, A.H. 1300-7], XIX, 359) seem to be preferable to Sachau's proposed calque on the "struggles" of Christian spiritual athletes (*Sitz. der königlich preussischen Akad. der Wiss.* [Berlin, 1904], 448).

⁵⁶ *Islamic Culture* 2 (1928), 166-67.

⁵⁷ *Acta Orientalia* 21 (1953), 296.

⁵⁸ See above, n. 38.

point at which al-Wāqidi's even narrower definition gained any exclusive currency; in addition, the term *sīra* is curiously absent from the titles of works where it might be imagined to be appropriate. It seems that in the third century A.H.—leaving aside Ibn Hishām—works were compiled not about *sīra* but about *maghāzī*;⁵⁹ very little of this work survives, however, and its scope remains to be investigated. The fifth/eleventh century al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī cites reports about Ibn Ishāq in which the terms *ṣāhib al-sīra* and *ṣāhib al-maghāzī* have every appearance of being synonymous.⁶⁰ In Andalus, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's contemporary Ibn 'Abd al-Barr wrote a work covering the lifetime and background of the Prophet entitled *Al-Durar fī 'khtisār al-maghāzī wa'l-siyar*,⁶¹ and the work entitled *Al-Iktifā' fī maghāzī rasūl allāh* (var. *fī maghāzī 'l-muṣṭafā*) *wa'l-thalātha 'l-khulafā'*⁶² by the later Andalusian al-Kalā'ī (d. 634/1237) also includes the lifetime and background of the Prophet; the same is true of the *'Uyūn al-athar fī funūn al-maghāzī wa'l-shamā'il wa'l-siyar*⁶³ by Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1334).

It looks as if the two senses of *maghāzī* co-existed. In its broader scope—the life and background of the Prophet—the term echoed an earlier scope which had been yet broader (note particularly the case of al-Kalā'ī) and seems to have been used more or less synonymously with *sīra* as a genre label. The narrower sense appears to have been a more technical one, that is, the *maghāzī* “proper”, as distinct from the *mab'ath*, for example. The term *sīra*, while occurring as a genre label more or less synonymous with *maghāzī*, also implied pre-eminently the account of the Prophet's life and background as transmitted by Ibn Hishām from Ibn Ishāq—the *maghāzī* which became *sīra* as *exemplum*, only to be overtaken by the *sunna-ḥadīth* literature.

⁵⁹ Judging by the references to works by Ibn 'Ā'idh (*GAS* I, 301) and others (*Fihrist* 101.8, 105.8, 110.11 [reading *maghāzī* for *ma'ānī*, as in the Tehran edition], 200.7, 228.6, 232.6).

⁶⁰ *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, I, 215–16.

⁶¹ Ed. Shawqī Dayf (Cairo, 1966).

⁶² Vol. I, ed. H. Massé (Algiers and Paris, 1931) and M. 'Abd al-Wāḥid (Beirut, 1968).

⁶³ Cairo, A.H. 1356.

The First Arab Conquests in Fārs

I

A CENTRAL FEATURE of early Arab military operations in Fārs is that they were carried out—first of all solely, and later mainly—by tribesmen from ‘Umān and al-Baḥrayn.¹ Those tribesmen had crossed by sea to Fārs and had no connection with Baṣra. Their commander

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The main sources consulted are as follows: al-Balādhurī (Bal.), *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866); al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rikh al-islām*, vol. II (Cairo, A.H. 1368); al-Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. V. Guirgass (Leiden, 1888); Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī ‘l-ta’rikh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leiden, 1851–76); Ibn Sa’d, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. E. Sachau *et al.* (Leiden, 1905–17); Khalifa ibn Khayyāt (Khal.), *Ta’rikh*, vol. I, ed. A. Ḍ. al-‘Umarī (al-Najaf, 1386/1967); *Naqā‘id Jarīr wa’l-Farazdaq*, ed. A. A. Bevan (Leiden, 1905–12); al-Ṭabarī (Ṭab.), *Ta’rikh al-rusul wa’l-mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *et al.* (Leiden, 1879–1901); al-Ya‘qūbī, *Tā’rikh*, vol. II, ed. M. T. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883); Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73).

¹ Al-Baḥrayn, of course, at this time signified not the island which now bears that name but the coastal region of eastern Arabia from present-day Kuwait as far as a somewhat indeterminate point in the present-day Union of Arab Emirates (see J. C. Wilkinson, “A Sketch of the Historical Geography of the Trucial Oman down to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century”, *GJ* 130 [1964], 347, note).

until 29/650 was 'Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī, who held the post of governor of al-Baḥrayn² and operated independently of the governors of Baṣra. It was not until 29/650 that the Baṣran and Baḥrayn-Fārs commands were fused. In that year, says Khalīfa ibn Khayyāṭ, "‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān dismissed Abū Mūsā from Baṣra and ‘Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-'Āṣ from Fārs; he made the combined command over to ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Āmir ibn Kurayz".³ The account given by al-Ṭabarī is similar: "‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Āmir arrived [at Baṣra] and the armies of Abū Mūsā and of ‘Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī were combined under his command; ‘Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-'Āṣ was among those who had crossed from ‘Umān and al-Baḥrayn".⁴

The role of the ‘Umānī and Baḥraynī tribesmen with ‘Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-'Āṣ in the Arab occupation of Fārs was recognized (indeed overstated) by Wellhausen in 1899: "Die Eroberung des eigentlichen Fārs ist in der Tat von dem gegenüberliegenden Bahrain ausgegangen";⁵ and it was to some extent apparent too to Caetani.⁶ But it has not been adequately recognized in more recent work: the brief and confused account given by Spuler⁷ refers only once to ‘Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-'Āṣ; and Shaban, who does not mention him at all, not only has the army of which he was in charge pull out of Fārs, but also has it do so as early as the caliphate of ‘Umar, that is, by 23/644: "Failing to establish a safe base in Fars, the tribesmen withdrew to the safer area of Basra where they were joined mainly by their fellow tribesmen of eastern Arabia".⁸

Both scholars fail to attend to something which was clear to Wellhausen and Caetani,⁹ namely, that the material transmitted by Sayf ibn

² Almost certainly also of ‘Umān, and perhaps of al-Yamāma too (see below, page 41ff.).

³ Khal., 136.7 (no authority cited: *wa-jama'a dhālika ajma'a li-'A.*).

⁴ Ṭab. I, 2832.4 (citing al-Madā'inī from al-Hudhalī: *wa-jumi'a lahu jund A. M. wa-jund 'U.*).

⁵ J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*. Sechstes Heft: *Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams* (Berlin, 1899) (chap. 13, "Die Eroberung von Iran", 94-113), 103.

⁶ L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam* (Milan, 1905-26), V, 31f.

⁷ B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1952), 11, 16-17, where it is believed, erroneously, that al-Baḥrayn in this context was the island now known by that name.

⁸ M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)* (Cambridge, 1971), 52.

⁹ Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI, 101ff; Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, IV, 153.

‘Umar *apud* al-Ṭabarī—in respect of Fārs no less than more generally—is very much at variance with what other sources have to say.¹⁰ In what follows, I shall present, first, a fuller treatment of the subject than that provided by Wellhausen¹¹ (not least because sources are available now which were not available to him), and secondly, an examination of the idiosyncrasies of Sayf’s account.

II

For reasons which will become apparent, a necessary preliminary to the discussion is clarification of the sequence and chronology of the early governors of al-Baḥrayn appointed from Medina.¹²

1. *al-‘Alā’ ibn al-Ḥaḍramī*. The first such governor was al-‘Alā’ ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, who was a confederate (*ḥalīf*) of B. Umayya ibn ‘Abd Shams.¹³ It is generally agreed that he was appointed governor of al-Baḥrayn by the Prophet in 8/629–30;¹⁴ but whether his governorship was interrupted, and when it came to an end, are matters on which the sources do not agree. Reports that the Prophet dismissed him and replaced him with Abān ibn Sa‘īd ibn al-‘Āṣ,¹⁵ although not confirmed by al-Ṭabarī, cannot be ignored; but al-Ṭabarī’s reference to al-‘Alā’ as governor of al-Baḥrayn in the year 10/631¹⁶ would suggest that any dismissal which may have taken place must be dated to shortly before the Prophet’s death in 11/632. In any event, Abū Bakr, on assuming the leadership at Medina, confirmed or reappointed al-‘Alā’ as governor

¹⁰ A. Noth, “Der Charakter der ersten grossen Sammlungen von Nachrichten zur frühen Kalifenzeit”, *Der Islam* 47 (1971), 168–99.

¹¹ But it is of course a fuller treatment of only part of what concerned Wellhausen; he was dealing with the conquest of Iran as a whole, not simply that of Fārs.

¹² In this connection, a great many references (but no discussion) are provided by A. A. al-Najm, *Al-Baḥrayn fī ṣadr al-Islām wa-atharuhā ‘alā ḥarakat al-Khawārij* (Baghdad, 1973), 153–55; also Caetani, *Annali dell’Islam*, IV, 147f.

¹³ Ibn Sa‘d, IV/2, 76.16. Bal., 78.11 (followed by Yāqūt, II/2, 508) tells us more generally that he was a *ḥalīf* of ‘Abd Shams, while al-Dhahabī (II, 43.10, citing Ibn Ishāq) tells us more specifically that his father had been a *ḥalīf* of Ḥarb ibn Umayya.

¹⁴ Ibn Sa‘d, IV/2, 76.19ff.; Bal., 78.11; Tab. I, 1600.9, 1737.12, 1750.18. Cf. E. Shoufani, *Al-Riddah and the Muslim Conquest of Arabia* (Toronto, 1973), 85.

¹⁵ Khal., 62.11; Ibn Sa‘d, IV/2, 77.9 (reads Abān ibn Sa‘d, but Abān ibn Sa‘īd on lines 26f.); Bal., 81.11 (*qālū*); Yāqūt, I/2, 509.8f. Cf. Shoufani, *Al-Riddah*, 85f.

¹⁶ Tab. I, 1737.14, 1750.18.

of al-Baḥrayn,¹⁷ and al-'Alā' had to respond to the *ridḍa* in that area in the years 11–12/632–33.¹⁸ In 13/634, at the beginning of the caliphate of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, he | went on to take the local Persian-held strongholds of al-Zāra and al-Ghāba;¹⁹ and his continuing appointment during that year is twice mentioned in the chronicle of al-Ṭabarī.²⁰ Soon afterwards—in 14/635, according to al-Wāqidī *apud* Ibn Sa'd—al-'Alā' sent 'Arfaja ibn Harthama al-Bāriqī on a maritime expedition, in the course of which he conquered an island off the coast of Fārs and raided a coastal area of the mainland;²¹ this initiative apparently displeased 'Umar, who gave orders that 'Arfaja was to reinforce 'Utba ibn Ghazwān at al-Ubulla.²² It was probably also in that same year that

¹⁷ Khal., 83.10/AH 11/ (al-Madā'inī) and 91.5; Bal., 81.15 (*qālū*). The appointment is mentioned also in Sayf's transmission (Ṭab. I, 1881.6/AH 11/); cf. Shoufani. *Al-Riddah*, 86f., 131–34. Khal. cites a report (91.6. al-Anṣarī ...) that Abū Bakr appointed Anas [ibn Mālik] over al-Baḥrayn and much the same report, with the same *isnād*, is to be found elsewhere (e.g., Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Iṣāba* [Cairo, A.H. 1328], I, 72.13ff.). But there seems to be no confirmation of this. Anas was probably too young (see *EI*²), and the report appears to have originated with his son.

¹⁸ Khal., 83; Bal., 83f. Also Sayf, in Ṭab. I, 1962–75, and in Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī. *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–74), XV, 255–62. Cf. Shoufani. *Al-Riddah*, 86f., 131–34.

¹⁹ Khal., 93.17ff./AH 13/ (Abū 'Ubayda); Bal., 85.9ff. (*qālū*), 14ff. (Abū 'Ubayda). These accounts say that the siege of al-Zāra started in the caliphate of Abū Bakr and that the town was taken in the caliphate of 'Umar. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, IV/2, 78.9 (*ṣulḥ*) and Yāqūt, II/2, 907/AH 12/.

²⁰ Ṭab. I, 2136.3, 2212.8.

²¹ Ibn Sa'd, IV/2, 78.11–13 (*raja'a 'l-ḥadīth ilā 'l-awwal*, i.e., al-Wāqidī: *aghāra 'alā BARYKhAN wa'l-asyāf*—where was BARYKhAN?); Bal., 386.7 (*qālū*), following the codd. for the form of 'Arfaja's name, rather than the editor (who turns it into H. ibn 'A.). Ibn Khaldūn (*Al-'Ibar* [Bulāq, A.H. 1274], I, 211.7f.) knew that 'Arfaja was sent by 'Umar to 'Umān and earned his displeasure by undertaking a maritime expedition: but no reference is made there to al-'Alā'.

²² The Balādhurī report just cited in fact says that 'Umar wrote to al-'Alā' instructing him to send 'Arfaja to reinforce 'Utba ibn *Farqad al-Sulamī*, but the evidence provided by al-Wāqidī *apud* al-Ṭabarī (I, 2382.10/AH 14/) and elsewhere by al-Balādhurī (341.17 [*qālū*]) suggests that this arises from a confusion. Al-Wāqidī says that 'Umar wrote to al-'Alā' instructing him to send 'Arfaja to reinforce 'Utba ibn Ghazwān, while the second Balādhurī report says that 'Arfaja (the text reads Harthama ibn 'A.) went to 'Utba [ibn Ghazwān] in Baṣra (*sic*) and later went to Mosul; this provides the key to understanding the confusion, for it was at Mosul that 'Utba ibn Farqad was to be found (Ṭab. I, 2481.8; Bal., 249.13, 331.15, 332.4, 10, 386.7). See also Yāqūt, III/2, 837.6ff. and cf. F. M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton, 1981), 196f. ('A. ibn H.) and 216 (H. ibn 'A.).

‘Umar appointed al-‘Alā’ in place of ‘Utba, but al-‘Alā’ died before taking up the appointment; this at least is the impression to be gained from the two main reports that we have, for all that they differ on points of detail. The first of them, that of al-Madā’inī (transmitted by Khalīfa ibn Khayyāṭ and Ibn Sa’d),²³ says that in the year 14/635 the caliph ‘Umar wrote to al-‘Alā’, who was in al-Baḥrayn, saying “Go to ‘Utba [ibn Ghazwān], for I have given you charge over his appointment (*fa-qad wallaytuka ‘amalahu*)”. So al-‘Alā’ set off, but died at Tiyyās²⁴ in the territory of B. Tamīm before reaching [‘Utba]; ‘Utba then went on to conquer al-Ubulla, al-Furāt and Abazqubādh. According to the second report, that of Abū Mikhnaḥ (transmitted by al-Balādhurī), “‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb wrote to al-‘Alā’ ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, who was his governor over al-Baḥrayn, instructing him to come to him. . . . And when al-‘Alā’ came to him at Medina he appointed him over Baṣra [*sic*] in place of ‘Utba ibn Ghazwān, but he [i.e. al-‘Alā’] died before getting there; that was in the year 14 or at the beginning of the year 15”.²⁵ What these reports have in common is not only that al-‘Alā’ died in 14 but also that he predeceased ‘Utba; and there are good grounds for believing that ‘Utba himself died in 15 or 16.²⁶ Certainly, al-Ṭabarī has al-‘Alā’ as governor of al-Baḥrayn and al-Yamāma in the year 16/637²⁷ and al-Balādhurī knew of a report that he continued as governor of al-Baḥrayn and did not die

²³ Khal., 96.3 (al-Madā’inī), also 128.9; Ibn Sa’d, IV/2, 78.16 (al-Madā’inī). Also al-Dhahabī, II, 43.5f. (*wa-qūla inna ‘umar wallāhu ‘l-baṣra fa-māta qabla an yaṣila ilayhā*).

²⁴ Wrongly NYAS in al-‘Umarī’s edition of Khal., (96.5, but correctly in S. Zakkār’s edition, vol. I [Damascus, 1967], 113.16); wrongly LYAS in Ibn Sa’d, IV/2, 78.27, 79.6. See *Naqā’id*, 1025.5ff., and Yāqūt, I/2, 904.

²⁵ Bal., 81.20ff. (followed by Yāqūt, I/2, 509.16ff.). The words omitted in this citation read “and he appointed ‘Uthmān ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ over al-Baḥrayn and ‘Umān”; it will be seen below (n. os35) that this has probably arisen by dittography and should be ignored.

²⁶ The contradictory chronological information relating to ‘Utba and Baṣra poses no less of a problem than that relating to al-‘Alā’ and al-Baḥrayn, and Sayf prolongs the life of ‘Utba as well as that of al-‘Alā’. Here it will be sufficient to note that the account of Khalīfa (98.8) and that of al-Ṭabarī citing al-Madā’inī (I, 2386.13). Both imply that it was very soon after A.H. 14 that ‘Utba left Baṣra and then died; in addition, al-Balādhurī tells us that ‘Utba left Baṣra in late 15 or early 16 (376.18 [*qālū*]), and he cites al-Wāqidī to the effect that he died in 16 (350.16). Needless to say, Sayf’s account of ‘Utba’s death appears under the year 17 (Ṭab. I, 2550.7).

²⁷ Ṭab. I, 2481.4.

until 20/641;²⁸ but al-Balādhurī himself was unconvinced (*fa-yuqāl*) and al-Ṭabarī must be regarded as having been misled by Sayf's defective chronology.²⁹

2. *Qudāma ibn Maẓ'ūn and Abū Hurayra*. After the demise of al-'Alā', we have a brief period during which Qudāma ibn Maẓ'ūn al-Jumaḥī and Abū Hurayra held office in al-Baḥrayn. In their case too the reports provided by al-Balādhurī and Khalīfa are jointly persuasive. Khalīfa knew that, after the death of al-'Alā' in 14/635, 'Umar appointed Qudāma over al-Baḥrayn and that he then dismissed him and appointed 'Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-'Āṣ; he also knew that Abū Hurayra and 'Ayyāsh ibn Thawr were among 'Umar's governors of al-Baḥrayn, but was evidently hazy about where they fitted into the chronology.³⁰ Now as far as 'Ayyāsh is concerned, all that can be said here is that he may have preceded Qudāma,³¹ perhaps as the deputy of al-'Alā'.³² The account of Abū Mikhnaf (*apud* al-Balādhurī and Yāqūt) makes no mention of him, and instead gives us a fuller and clearer picture of Qudāma and Abū Hurayra than that provided by Khalīfa: "after the death of al-'Alā', 'Umar appointed Qudāma ibn Maẓ'ūn al-Jumaḥī over the taxation (*jibāya*) of al-Baḥrayn and Abū Hurayra over the *aḥḍāth*³³ and ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*); then he dismissed Qudāma and inflicted on him the *ḥadd* punishment for wine-drinking and appointed Abū Hurayra over

²⁸ Bal., 81.15ff. (also cited by Yāqūt, I/2, 509.12ff.) where it is also improbably claimed that al-'Alā' visited Tawwaj. Al-Dhahabī (II, 43) places the necrology of al-'Alā' under the year 21; it is not clear why.

²⁹ It will be seen below, page 47, that there are no grounds for believing Sayf's report *sub anno* 17 that al-'Alā' was reappointed by 'Umar to al-Baḥrayn after he had been replaced there by Qudāma ibn al-Maẓ'ūn (*sic*).

³⁰ Khal., 128.11.

³¹ As noted by al-Najm (*Al-Baḥrayn*, 155). 'Ayyāsh is reported in the *Istrāḥ* of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (ed. 'A. Bijāwī [Cairo, A.H. 1358], III, 1230 and in the *Usd al-ghāba* of Ibn al-Athīr [Cairo, A.H. 1285-87], IV, 161) to have been appointed to al-Baḥrayn by 'Umar before Qudāma. The sequence of governors given by al-Najm is: al-'Alā', 'Ayyāsh, Qudāma, Abū Hurayra, al-Rabī' ibn Ziyād al-Ḥārithī, 'Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-'Āṣ. Such evidence as al-Najm may have found concerning the governorship of al-Rabī' has been omitted, perhaps by oversight on the part of the printer; I have not so far found any in the sources.

³² But this can be no more than a conjecture at present.

³³ Control of the *aḥḍāth* evidently involved the maintaining of order (see *EI*², I, 256b; and de Goeje's *Glossarium* in his introduction to Bal., 24f.), although the exact signification of the term remains unclear.

the *jibāya* together with the *aḥdāth*,³⁴ then he dismissed him and took half of his assets (*qāsamahu*); then he appointed ‘Uthmān ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ over al-Baḥrayn and ‘Umān’.³⁵ A further report cited by al-Balādhurī (on the authority of al-‘Umarī from al-Haytham [ibn ‘Adī]) says that Qudāma was over the *jibāya* and the *aḥdāth*, while Abū Hurayra was over the *ṣalāt* and judgement (*qaḍā’*); when Qudāma was accused and dismissed, Abū Hurayra took over full powers, only to be dismissed and replaced by ‘Uthmān ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ.³⁶ Al-Wāqidī (cited by al-Ṭabarī) also knew that ‘Umar dismissed Qudāma, inflicted on him the *ḥadd* punishment for wine-drinking, and appointed Abū Hurayra over al-Baḥrayn and al-Yamāma;³⁷ but, in dating those events to the year 20/641, he dated them about five years too late, since there are good grounds, as we shall see, for believing that ‘Uthmān ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ was governor of al-Baḥrayn from 15/636 to 29/650. We must accordingly conclude that the involvement of Qudāma and Abū Hurayra with al-Baḥrayn took place in the period 14–15/635–36.³⁸

3. *‘Uthmān ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ*. This brings us to the man destined to be the central figure in the first Arab conquests of Fārs, ‘Uthmān ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ al-Thaqafī. He rose to prominence among his fellow Thaqafīs at al-Ṭā’if with the Prophet’s backing in the year 9/630–31³⁹ and he was governor of that town during the ensuing years.⁴⁰ As we have just seen, Khalīfa was of the opinion that he was appointed to al-Baḥrayn after the dismissal of Qudāma, but then Khalīfa was unclear about the place of Abū Hurayra | in the chronological scheme of things. Abū Mikhnaf, on the other hand, was in no doubt that ‘Uthmān replaced Abū Hurayra in al-Baḥrayn; and, given that al-Wāqidī also knew that Abū Hurayra took over after the dismissal of Qudāma (albeit with the wrong date), it follows that Abū Mikhnaf’s account

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³⁴ This is Yāqūt’s version; al-Balādhurī’s says *al-ṣalāt wa’l-aḥdāth*, which makes no sense since they constituted Abū Hurayra’s pre-existing remit.

³⁵ Bal., 82.2–5; Yāqūt, II/1, 509.20–22. This passage is a direct continuation of the Abū Mikhnaf report referred to above (n. 25); it would seem that the final sentence here was by accident also placed in the earlier part of the report.

³⁶ Bal., 82.5–10.

³⁷ Ṭab. I, 2594.9.

³⁸ Ibn Sa’d’s reference (I/2, 28.1f.) to the Prophet’s having sent Qudāma and Abū Hurayra to al-Baḥrayn to collect *jizya* need not concern us here.

³⁹ Ṭab. I, 1691.9 (Ibn Ishāq).

⁴⁰ For example, Khal., 61.20, 91.14; Ṭab. I, 1983.2, 2135.16, 2212.7.

should not be treated lightly in this regard. Just why 'Uthmān was selected for the post, and whether or not he had any previous connection with the area, are matters which are less than clear.⁴¹ All we know from Khalifa and from al-Madā'inī (as cited by al-Balādhurī) is that 'Umar appointed him over the territory (*ard*) of 'Umān and al-Baḥrayn in the year 15/636, and that 'Uthmān himself went to 'Umān and sent his brother al-Ḥakam to al-Baḥrayn.⁴² A similar but fuller account is provided in the *Kitāb ansāb al-'arab*, a work compiled (perhaps in the late fifth/eleventh century) by an 'Umānī named Salama ibn Muslim al-'Awtabī.⁴³ There we are told that 'Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-Āṣ was appointed to 'Umān in 15/636 and then asked the caliph 'Umar to appoint his brother al-Ḥakam ibn Abī 'l-Āṣ to the vacant position of governor of al-Baḥrayn (scil., after the dismissal of Abū Ḥurayra). 'Umar did so and the two brothers went in the first instance to 'Umān; al-Ḥakam seems thereafter to have been for the most part in al-Baḥrayn, although he served as his brother's deputy in 'Umān whenever the latter visited al-Baḥrayn.⁴⁴ Al-Ṭabarī was aware that 'Uthmān was governor of al-Baḥrayn in 15/636,⁴⁵ but what he tells us

⁴¹ Muṣ'ab ibn al-Zubayr's later abuse of 'Uthmān's son, to the effect that his father had been a *'ilj* from the people of Hajar and had been absorbed by the people of al-Ṭā'if (Ṭab. II, 802), should be treated with due reserve.

⁴² Khal., 104.16; Bal., 431.20. Al-Balādhurī's version of this report goes on directly to say that 'Uthmān (1) sent an army to Tāna (near Bombay) and that this incurred 'Umar's displeasure, even though the army returned unscathed. (2) sent his brother al-Ḥakam to Barwaṣ (i.e. Broach), and (3) sent another brother, al-Mughīra, to Khōr al-Daybul, where he won a victory. No dates are given for these operations, which are not even mentioned by Khalifa or al-Ṭabarī, but it will become apparent from what follows that they are unlikely to have taken place before 21/642. M. Ishaq ("A Peep into the First Arab Expeditions to India under the Companions of the Prophet", *Islamic Culture* 19 [1945], 112) opts for the year 23 on the basis of a thoroughly confused and inaccurate treatment of the chronology of the governors appointed from Medina over al-Baḥrayn.

⁴³ For al-'Awtabī's floruit, see J. C. Wilkinson, "The Omani Manuscript Collection at Muscat. Part II: Early Ibaḍī *fiqh* works", *Arabian Studies* 4 (1977), 197. The Paris manuscript (B.N. Paris, Mss. arabes 5019) is cited here. [The section from this work which concerns the Muhallabids, including the material relevant to this study, was subsequently published by Martin Hinds, with translation and detailed commentary, in his posthumous *An Early Islamic Family from Oman: al-'Awtabī's Account of the Muhallabids* (Manchester, 1991).]

⁴⁴ Al-'Awtabī, fols. 223a.6-10, 281b.17; [= Hinds, *Muhallabids*, 13, 86].

⁴⁵ Ṭab. I, 2426.15; cited also by al-Dhahabī, II, 13.3.

beyond that is at variance with the other sources. For one thing, he describes 'Uthmān as governor of al-Baḥrayn and *al-Yamāma*, rather than of al-Baḥrayn and 'Umān;⁴⁶ for another, he takes him back to al-Ṭā'if as governor of that town in the following year,⁴⁷ only to restore him to al-Baḥrayn and al-Yamāma in 17.⁴⁸ His removal of 'Uthmān from al-Baḥrayn and al-Yamāma in 16 was presumably necessitated by his belief that al-'Alā' was governor there in that year;⁴⁹ and the reason why he could not have 'Uthmān as governor of 'Umān in the years 15–17 was that, for him, the governor of 'Umān in the years 13–17 was Ḥudhayfa ibn Miḥṣan,⁵⁰ of whom Khalīfa and al-Balādhurī know no more in that connection than that he was governor at the time of the death of Abū Bakr.⁵¹ Now while it may well have been the case that this Ḥudhayfa was in 'Umān as governor for some of the year 13,⁵² it is difficult to believe that he was any more than a governor *in absentia* for the next two years or so,⁵³ and it is even more difficult to believe that he was governor of 'Umān at all from 15 onwards, given what Khalīfa, al-Balādhurī and al-'Awtabī have to say about 'Uthmān ibn Abī l-'Āṣ; it would seem rather that we have here another instance of al-Ṭabarī having been misled by Sayf's defective chronology. In short, Ḥudhayfa cannot have been governor of 'Umān any later than 15/636. It was then that 'Uthmān ibn Abī l-'Āṣ was appointed by 'Umar to 'Umān and al-Baḥrayn, assisted by his brother al-Ḥakam; the

⁴⁶ The lack of any reference to governors of al-Yamāma alone in this period may be taken to suggest that al-Yamāma formed part of the governorship of al-Baḥrayn.

⁴⁷ Ṭab. I, 2481.1.

⁴⁸ Ṭab. I, 2570.2.

⁴⁹ See n. 27 above.

⁵⁰ Ṭab. I, 2212.13 (A.H. 13: governor of 'Umān and al-Yamāma), 2389.1 (A.H. 14), 2426.1 (A.H. 15: also al-Dhahabī, II, 13.4), 2481.1 (A.H. 16), 2570.2 (A.H. 17). Al-Ṭabarī also says (I, 2578.10, 2479.16) that the governors in 18 and 19 were the same as those in 17 and 18 respectively.

⁵¹ Khal., 91.9; Bal., 77.4. Also al-Ya'qūbī, 156.21.

⁵² Although the combination of 'Uman and *al-Yamāma* (Ṭab. I, 2212.13) is decidedly odd.

⁵³ He is said (admittedly by Sayf) to have been with al-Muthannā ibn al-Ḥāritha in Iraq in 13 (Ṭab. I, 2207.11) and in 14 to have taken part on two occasions in parleys with the Persians confronting Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ there (Ṭab. I, 2273.6, 2292.1).

appointment was to continue without interruption until it came to an end in 29/650.⁵⁴

III

With this background established, we are now in a position to turn to the question of military operations. These began in al-Baḥrayn in 11/632 when local elements loyal to Medina, notably from 'Abd al-Qays and Tamīm, supported the governor al-'Alā' against the *ridda* of the Bakrī al-Ḥuṭam ibn Ḍubay'a.⁵⁵ The *ridda* was suppressed and al-'Alā' followed up this success by capturing the local Persian-held strongholds in 13/634 and by despatching 'Arfaja in 14/635 on a maritime expedition which took an (unnamed) island off the coast of Fārs and raided on the mainland in an area which so far defies identification. This, then, was the first Arab maritime expedition against Fārs in the period of the Medinan caliphate; that it was a result of al-'Alā's own initiative rather than a response to a directive from Medina is apparent from 'Umar's reaction of displeasure. There is no evidence of any further offensive action having been taken either during the rest of the governorship of al-'Alā' (who in any case died soon afterwards), or during the brief administration of his successors Qudāma and Abū Ḥurayra, whose remits were spelled out in a way which suggests that *ḥarb* was deliberately excluded.⁵⁶ It was only with the governorship of 'Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-'Āṣ that the offensive against Fārs was resumed.

The beginnings of that offensive are referred to briefly by al-Balādhurī,⁵⁷ who mentions an engagement between 'Uthmān and the *marz-bān* (or margrave) of Kirmān at the island of Abarkāwān (i.e. present-

⁵⁴ Al-Balādhurī's report citing al-'Umarī from al-Ḥaytham ibn 'Adī (p. 82.9) not only implies that 'Uthmān's appointment over al-Baḥrayn included 'Umān from the start, but also states specifically that 'Umān was [still] included in it at the time of 'Umar's death; there is no evidence to suggest that this state of affairs changed in the period from 'Umar's death in 23/644 up to the end of 'Uthmān's tenure of office in 29/650. (Al-Ya'qūbī [p. 186.4f.] is of course completely at sea when he says that the governors of 'Umān and al-Baḥrayn at the time of 'Umar's death were Abū Ḥurayra and al-Ḥārith [*sic*] ibn Abī 'l-'Āṣ respectively.)

⁵⁵ See n. 18 above.

⁵⁶ *Aḥdāth* (see n. 33 above) and *ṣalāt*, rather than *ḥarb* and *ṣalāt*.

⁵⁷ Bal., 391.9 (no authority cited).

day Qishm),⁵⁸ in the course of which the *marzbān* was killed. Al-Ba-lādthurī specifies no date for that engagement, but he does elsewhere say, in what will be referred to here as his main account (*qālū*), that the capture of the island of Abarkāwān constituted a maritime preliminary to the Arab | advance on the town of Tawwaj in Fārs: “[‘Uthmān] sent his brother al-Ḥakam ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ by sea to Fārs with a large army [made up] of ‘Abd al-Qays, al-Azd, Tamīm, B. Nājiya and others. He conquered the island of Abarkāwān and then proceeded to Tawwaj, in the territory of Ardashīr Khurra . . .”⁵⁹ Now we shall see shortly that the conquest of Tawwaj and the engagement with Shahrak, the *marzbān* of Fārs, both took place in 19/640, so that we must conclude that the Abarkāwān operation took place in either 18 or 19. This dating fits well with al-‘Awtabī’s account, which also provides us with a *casus belli* and much further information.⁶⁰ According to him, it was shortly after the battle of Jalūlā’ (late 16/637 or 17/638)⁶¹ that news reached ‘Umar of a mustering of Sasanian military elements in the coastal areas (*shuṭūṭ*) of Sīrāf and Fārs. He accordingly instructed ‘Uthmān ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ to cross to Fārs in order to prevent a consolidation of Sasanian military strength there; he also instructed [the ‘Umānī rulers] ‘Abd and Jayfar, the sons of al-Julandā, to support ‘Uthmān with the tribes (*qabā’il*) of Azd ‘Umān who were with them. ‘Uthmān was thus able to mobilize 3,000 (or 2,600) men, mostly from al-Azd, but also from Rāsib, Nājiya and ‘Abd al-Qays; the main Azdī leaders were Ṣabra ibn Shaymān [al-Ḥuddānī] over Shanū’a, Yazīd ibn Ja‘far al-Jahḍamī over Mālik ibn Fahm, and Abū Ṣufra [Zālīm ibn Sarrāq al-‘Atakī] over ‘Imrān. ‘Uthmān went by land with this force to Jurrafār (i.e. Jullafār or present-day Ra’s al-Khayma),⁶² where they embarked and crossed to the island of Banī Kāwān (i.e. Abarkāwān),⁶³ the commander of the Persian garrison there

⁵⁸ Abarkāwān = Barkāwān = Kāwān = Banī Kāwān; also called Lāft, and now Qishm. See Yāqūt, II/1, 79.2 and III/2, 837.15; also G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), 261.

⁵⁹ Bal., 386.10ff. (*qālū*).

⁶⁰ Al-‘Awtabī, fols. 223a.10–223b.17, 281b.18–292a.8; [= Hinds, *Muhallabids*, 13–16, 86–89]; cited in abbreviated form by al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-‘ayān bi-sīrat ahl ‘Umān* (Cairo, 1961), I, 68f.

⁶¹ Khal., 107f. (A.H. 17); Bal., 265.10f. (Ibn al-Kalbī: end of 16); Ṭab. I, 2470.8f. (*qālū jamī’an*: Dhū ‘l-Qa‘da, 16).

⁶² Yāqūt, II/1, 63; Wilkinson, “Sketch” (see n. 1), 345.

⁶³ See n. 58.

made peace with 'Uthmān, without fighting him. At this, Yazdajird, the Sasanian monarch, sent written instruction to the lord ('*azīm*) of Kirmān to cross to Banī Kāwān and blockade the Arabs; a force, the size of which is put variously at 3,000, 4,000, 30,000 and 40,000, accordingly crossed from Hurmūz and was engaged and defeated by 'Uthmān and his army.⁶⁴ In more than one place in al-'Awtabī's account we are told that the name of the Persian leader who was killed in that battle was Shahrak, which is disquieting since we know that Shahrak was the name of the *marzbān* of Fārs subsequently encountered and killed by the Arab force on the mainland in the vicinity of Tawwaj. The confusion in al-'Awtabī's account is resolved, however, by a variant report (*yuqāl*) which makes the necessary distinction between (1) the Banī Kāwān operation (with no mention of Shahrak), and (2) the subsequent battle against Shahrak on the mainland, at which Shahrak's army consisted of 30,000 or 40,000 men.⁶⁵ This report also enables us to resolve the confusion over numbers: the Persian force which was defeated at Banī Kāwān consisted of no more than 4,000 men.

The evidence therefore shows that this expedition was authorized by the caliph in Medina, unlike the earlier expedition sent by al-'Alā' under the leadership of 'Arfaja. Strategically it made good sense. The Arab victory at Jalūlā' had secured the whole of Iraq and had obliged the Sasanian ruler and his followers to abandon the metropolitan province.

⁶⁴ The Persian force crossed from Hurmūz *ilā ra's al-Qishm* and was met by 'Uthmān *fī jazīrat al-Qishm wa'smuhā Jāsh* (al-'Awtabī, fols. 223b.8 [where *ilā ra's al-Qishm* is omitted], 282a.6f.). In other words, for al-'Awtabī, al-Qishm is the name of an island other than Banī Kāwān; and, if he is correct in that, we are presumably dealing with either Larak Island or Hormuz Island of the present day. [For these two passages, see Hinds, *Muhallabids*, 15, 87.] But it is possible that al-'Awtabī himself was confused by the welter of names: Jāsh may reasonably be equated with Jāsik, which was an island neighbouring Banī Kāwān or was *possibly merely another name for it* (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 261); and Yāqūt's description of it (II/1, 9) makes it suspiciously like Banī Kāwān, although he nowhere says that they are one and the same. It is difficult to see why a Persian force crossing from the mainland to dislodge an Arab force from island A should be engaged on island B; and it may rather be the case that *ra's al-Qishm* was at the eastern end of Banī Kāwān, in the vicinity of the present town of Qishm, and that that was where the engagement took place. (It can be added that present-day Jāsk, a town on the Persian coast due east of Dabā, is irrelevant to the present discussion.)

⁶⁵ Al-'Awtabī, fol. 223b.9ff. (they were *asāwira*, *marāziba* and *ajillā' al-'ajam*) [= Hinds, *Muhallabids*, 16].

for good as it turned out.⁶⁶ For the Arab tribesmen based on Baṣra, the conquest of the *kuwar* or districts of al-Ahwāz in the well-irrigated plains of Khūzistān as far as the foothills of the Zagros mountains now became a feasible goal.⁶⁷ At the same time, there was much to be said for putting more pressure on the Persians wherever that might be possible, and it looks as if the expedition sent (or led) by ‘Uthmān ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ to Fārs was meant to achieve two main immediate goals: (1) to impede the passage of Persian shipping in and out of the Gulf by exercising control over the Hurmūz strait from the island of Abarkāwān/Banī Kāwān,⁶⁸ and (2) to hamper support for the Persian forces in al-Ahwāz by establishing a garrison on the coastal plain of Fārs. That garrison was at Tawwaj.⁶⁹

The most detailed information about the establishment of the Arab garrison at Tawwaj is given by al-Balādhurī. Citing Abū Mikhnaf, he tells us that ‘Uthmān ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ crossed the sea to Fārs in person, “then stopped at Tawwaj, conquered it, built mosques (*masājid*) there, made it an abode (*dār*) for the Muslims,⁷⁰ settled ‘Abd al-Qays and

⁶⁶ In all probability, Yazdajird withdrew first to Iṣfahān and then to Iṣṭakhr, where he stayed until forced out of Fārs altogether (Bal., 301.15. [*qālū*], 315.3 [*qālū*], 374.12ff. [al-Madā‘inī]; Ṭab. I, 2561f. [al-Madā‘inī]). But Sayf takes him to al-Rayy before Iṣfahān and makes no mention of Iṣṭakhr (Ṭab.I, 2681f.), the report on the ultimate authority of ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Sulaymān (Ṭab. I, 2698) takes him to Jūr, and al-Dīnawarī tells us that he was at Qumm before going to Iṣṭakhr (141.8, 148.9).

⁶⁷ One which was effectively achieved in 20/641 with the taking of Tustar (Khal., 116f.; Bal., 374, 38of.; Ṭab. I, 2551ff., 2562).

⁶⁸ Al-Awtabī’s reference to the lord of Kirmān suggests that Abarkāwān formed part of Kirmān in the Sasanian scheme of things; and the Abarkāwān operation is indeed the first thing described by al-Balādhurī in his section on Kirmān (391.9ff.). Cf. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 261, where it is regarded as part of Fārs.

⁶⁹ Concerning Tawwaj, Le Strange remarks in his *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (259f.): “Its site has never been identified, but the position of the town is given as on or near the Shāpūr river, in a gorge, being 12 leagues from Jannābah on the coast, and four from the pass that leads down from Dariz”; he later opined that “the site of the town is probably to be identified with the present Dih Kuhnah (Old Village) [29°28’N, 50°59’E], the chief town of the (modern) Shabānkārah sub-district of the Dashtistān District” (*The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-qulub Composed by Hamd-Allāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn in 740 [1340]* [Leiden and London, 1919], 115, n. 2).

⁷⁰ *Fā-nazala Tawwaj fa-fataḥahā wa-banā bihā ‘l-masājid wa-ja‘alahā dār^{an} li‘l-muslimīn ...* (Bal., 386.14f.). Cf. al-Dīnawarī (141.1f.): *fa-nazala makān^{an} yusammā Tawwaj fa-ṣayyarahū dār hijra wa-banā masjīd^{an} jāmi‘^{an} ...*

others there, and sent out raiding parties from it against bordering Arrajān; then he went from Fārs to 'Umān and al-Baḥrayn, in response to a letter from 'Umar containing instructions to that effect, and deputed his brother al-Ḥakam"; authorities other than Abū Mikhnaf, al-Balādhurī remarks, say that Tawwaj was conquered by al-Ḥakam, who settled 'Abdī and other Muslims there in the year 19/640.⁷¹ Returning to his main account of the expedition as a whole (*qālū*), al-Balādhurī goes on to say that Shahrak, the *marzbān* of Fārs, reacted to its arrival by mobilizing a large army and advancing to Rāshahr (*sic*) in the territory of Sābūr, which was near Tawwaj.⁷² Al-Ḥakam went out to engage him, with Sawwār ibn Hammām [al-'Abdī] over his vanguard, and in the ensuing battle Shahrak was killed by Sawwār, who in turn was killed by Shahrak's son. The Persians were defeated and Rāshahr was taken by force of arms (*'anwatan*); and at this point al-Balādhurī inserts a report from one of the people of Tawwaj that Tawwaj was made into a *miṣr* (*muṣṣirat*), after the killing of Shahrak, "*wa'llāhu a'lam*". The main account goes on to tell us that 'Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-Āṣ then went to Fārs,⁷³ in response to instructions from 'Umar to that effect, and used Tawwaj as a base for campaigning. Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, who was the governor of Baṣra, was instructed by 'Umar to help (*yukānif*) and assist (*yu'āwin*) 'Uthmān, and accordingly began to make raids on Fārs, while remaining based on Baṣra. 'Uthmān himself at the same time made unaided progress with various other conquests in the area.⁷⁴

Now at this stage it will be useful to consider what al-Balādhurī has to tell us in terms of five main points: (1) 'Uthmān was in overall command of operations and his brother al-Ḥakam deputized for him in his absence; (2) the conquest of Tawwaj in 19/640 was followed by a battle in the same year against Shahrak, who was killed; (3) it was not until after that battle that Tawwaj became a *miṣr*; (4) from the

⁷¹ Bal., 386.13ff. Needless to say, al-Ya'qūbī is mistaken in saying that 'Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-Āṣ was sent to Tawwaj by *Abū Bakr* (151.15).

⁷² *Min arḍ Sābūr wa-hiya bi-qurb Tawwaj* (Bal., 387.1).

⁷³ For the first time, as far as the *qālū* account is concerned.

⁷⁴ Bal., 386.18ff. Much the same account (but with variants, e.g. Rāshahr for Rāshahr) is given by Yāqūt (II/2, 887.4ff. and III/2, 837.17ff., where the authorities are not identified). Al-Dīnawarī (141.7) and Yāqūt (III/2, 837.18) give the *marzbān*'s name as Suhrak, which seems likely to have been the original form (see T. Nöldeke, *Persische Studien [I]* [Vienna, 1881], 33; and F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* [Marburg, 1895], 292 *sub* σατρακης).

time of the *tamṣīr* ‘Uthmān made conquests in the area, sometimes aided by Abū Mūsā’s Baṣra-based raids on Fārs; and (5) ‘Uthmān’s army consisted (at least by implication) mainly of ‘Abdīs. We must now ascertain the extent to which these points are supported, contradicted, or nuanced by what other sources say.

On the first point, relating to command, there seems to be no doubt that ‘Uthmān was in overall command throughout. What is less clear in some contexts is whether or not he was actually present. Thus in the cases of the operation at Abarkāwān and of the conquest of Tawwaj we are confronted with conflicting accounts. On the one hand, Abū Mikhnaf and ‘Awtabī have it that ‘Uthmān was present as commander on both occasions; and al-Balādhurī himself was conscious of the fact that Abū Mikhnaf was alone in holding to the opinion that it was ‘Uthmān, rather than his brother al-Ḥakam, who conquered Tawwaj. On the other hand, there is al-Balādhurī’s main account (*qālū*), which has it that ‘Uthmān sent to Abarkāwān and Tawwaj his brother al-Ḥakam and that it was he who was the commander on those two occasions; and there is a report given by al-Ṭabarī on the ultimate authority of a certain ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Sulaymān,⁷⁵ which also says that ‘Uthmān sent his brother al-Ḥakam to Tawwaj. On the face of it, there is no solution to the contradiction, and we must pass on to the question of who was the commander of the Arab force in the battle against Shahrak. Here the answer is clear-cut: the commander was ‘Uthmān’s brother al-Ḥakam. This is the view of al-Balādhurī’s main report, of al-Ṭabarī’s report from ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Sulaymān,⁷⁶ and of al-Madā’inī.⁷⁷ Abū Mikhnaf takes ‘Uthmān back to ‘Umān and al-Baḥrayn after his conquest of Tawwaj and his despatch of raiding parties against Arrajān [territory], and says nothing specifically about the battle against Shahrak;⁷⁸ it is only Ghassān ibn Muḍar, one of Khalīfa’s sources, who tells us that ‘Uthmān was present at that battle,

⁷⁵ Tab. I, 2698.11ff.

⁷⁶ Tab. I, 2698ff.

⁷⁷ Khal., 113.8.

⁷⁸ Al-Dīnawarī (141.1–7) continues to echo Abū Mikhnaf (cf. n. 70), but with variants: after establishing the base at Tawwaj, ‘Uthmān spent a year gaining control of some of the territories of Sābūr, Iṣṭakhr and Arrajān; then he deputed his brother al-Ḥakam and went to Medina (presumably in order to report). Al-Ḥakam was the commander of the Arab force at the battle against Suhrak/Shahrak.

when he says that 'Uthmān and al-Ḥakam engaged Shahrak,⁷⁹ and the fact that he names both of the brothers may suggest that he was in fact in some doubt about who was present and who was commander. We may therefore conclude that, while it is unclear whether or not 'Uthmān had been in Fārs *before* the battle, he certainly was not present *at* the battle, at which al-Ḥakam functioned as the commander; there are in addition grounds⁸⁰ for thinking that it was not until 21/642 that 'Uthmān appeared (or reappeared) in Fārs, and the question therefore arises of what he may have been doing elsewhere in the years 19 to 21. Here again there is no clear-cut answer: one possibility is that he was in 'Umān and al-Baḥrayn (to which Abū Mikhnaf tells us he had returned from Fārs, while the main account implies that he simply stayed there), running his province, supporting al-Ḥakam in Fārs, and perhaps preparing for the forthcoming maritime expeditions in the direction of India;⁸¹ another possibility is suggested by Ibn Ishāq (cited by al-Ṭabarī), who says that 'Uthmān was sent by Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ in 19/640 to support 'Iyāḍ ibn Ghanm in the Jazīra and that he went on to campaign in Armenia IV.⁸² Whatever the case, there seems to be no reason for doubting that, even during his absence from Fārs, he continued to be the overall commander of operations there.

On the second point, concerning the conquest of Tawwaj and the battle against Shahrak, there seems to be no doubt that both events took place in 19/640. That is the year given for the conquest by al-Balādhurī's main account, and it is the year under which Khalīfa's reports on the conquest and the battle are grouped; al-Madā'inī even

⁷⁹ Khal., 113.12.

⁸⁰ They are considered below, in connection with the third point.

⁸¹ See n. 42 above.

⁸² Tab. I, 2505.15, 2606.5; also al-Dhahabī, II, 27.5. Although this may seem to be improbable, it was nonetheless the case that the conquest of the Jazīra constituted an important priority for the Arabs in the years 17-20 (see, for example, M. Hinds, "Kufan Political Alignments and Their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A.D.," *IJMES* 2 [1971], 351 [this volume, chap. 1]); by the time of his death in 20, 'Iyāḍ had conquered most of the Jazīra and had reached Byzantine Armenia (Bal., 176; Khal., 120). It can be noted too that the *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* (ed. M. T. Bahār [Tehran, A.H. 1314], 75) says that the caliph 'Umar sent 'Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-'Āṣ to conquer the *nawāḥī* of Ādharbayjān.

tells us the month in which the battle took place, Dhū 'l-Ḥijja.⁸³ |One 44
 difficulty, however, is that while al-Balādhurī's main account tells us
 that the conquest of Tawwaj took place before the battle, Khalifa's
 report from Ghassān ibn Muḍar does not refer to Tawwaj until after
 the account of the battle;⁸⁴ and the same is true of al-Awtabī.⁸⁵ This
 difficulty can be dealt with by noting that what Ghassān and al-Awtabī
 have to say is exceedingly brief and that their references are only to
 settlement, not to conquest, so that, on balance, the fuller account
 given by al-Balādhurī should be preferred. More problematic is the
 question of the location of the site of the battle: the Rāshahr given
 by al-Balādhurī can be equated with the (more conventional) Rīshahr
 given by Ghassān ibn Muḍar,⁸⁶ but modern scholars have been unable to
 agree about which Rāshahr/Rīshahr may have been involved.⁸⁷ While
 Rīshahr on the Bushire peninsula may make more obvious sense, the

⁸³ Khal., 113.9 (i.e. December 640).

⁸⁴ Khal., 113.12-14.

⁸⁵ Al-Awtabī, fols. 224a.8-10, 282a.16f. [= Hinds, *Muhallabids*, 18, 88]. For him, Tawwaj was in 'Irāq/arḍ al-'Irāq.

⁸⁶ Khal., 113.12 (*fa-laqū Shahrak b.n.y.s.h.r.*); the Damascus edition (ed. Zakkār [1967], 134.13) reads *fa-laqū Shahrak b.r.y.s.h.r.* The obvious reading is *fa-laqū Shahrak bi-Rīshahr*.

⁸⁷ H. Gaube (*Die südpersische Provinz Arraḡān/Kūh Gilūyeh von der arabischen Eroberung bis zur Safawidenzeit* [Vienna, 1973], 34f.) is the most recent of those who have argued that the Rīshahr in question lay between Arraḡān and Mahrūbān, at the site of present-day Zaydān (30°26'N, 50°03'E). This Rīshahr (Rīshahr¹) was some fifteen miles due north of the coast and some eighty miles north-west of the presumed site of Tawwaj as the crow flies. The case for Rīshahr² has been put most recently by Whitehouse and Williamson ("Sasanian Maritime Trade", *Iran* 11 [1973], 35-41): this is that the Rīshahr in question was at the site which still bears that name on the coast of the Bushire peninsula (28°55'N, 50°44'E). It possesses sheltered anchorages and is about forty miles south-south-west of the presumed site of Tawwaj. One of the attractions of this latter identification is that the Arab force which crossed by sea from Jurrafār would have required anchorages for its ships at a place not too distant from | the new base; and those ships would have been an obvious target for the *marzbān* (indeed Sayf [below, p. 47] says that the ships were sunk). A crux in this connection is al-Balādhurī's statement that Rāshahr was *min arḍ Sābūr bi-qurb Tawwaj* (see n. 72): Rīshahr² was more likely than Rīshahr¹ to have been reckoned as part of Sābūr territory; and Rīshahr¹ cannot be said to have been near Tawwaj, whereas Rīshahr² can. Indeed, Whitehouse and Williamson (p. 35) have remarked that Hieratis, toward the south end of the Bushire peninsula "presumably was the port of the Achæmenian palace near Taokē, the forerunner of medieval *Tawwaj*". Cf. (in addition to the references given by Gaube and Whitehouse-Williamson) J. M. Fiey, 52

problem does not end there: according to al-Madā'inī, the battle took place at Ṣuhāb,⁸⁸ the location of which is obscure;⁸⁹ and al-'Awtabī gives us yet another name, which is unintelligible.⁹⁰ Thus, while the date and sequence of the conquest and the battle seem to be clear, the exact location of the battle remains less than certain. Finally, it can be added that Shahrak's killer also possesses more than one identity: al-Balādhurī gives us the 'Abdī Sawwār,⁹¹ while Khalīfa gives us variously the Ḥimyarī Bāb ibn Dhī 'l-Jarra and the Azdīs Jadīd ibn Mālik al-Yaḥmadī (twice) and Mālik ibn Jadīd al-Yaḥmadī,⁹² and al-'Awtabī names the Azdī Abū Ṣufra, Bāb/Nāb ibn Dhī 'l-Jarra, and Jābir ibn Jadīd,⁹³ in this case too there seems to be no way of knowing who should be believed.

On the third point, the date of *tamṣīr*, the evidence indicates that it was indeed in 21/642 that Tawwaj became a *miṣr*: al-Balādhurī's Tawwajī knew that the *tamṣīr* took place after the battle against Shahrak, and Khalīfa associates it with the arrival of 'Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-Āṣ in 21.⁹⁴ Al-Ḥakam's job had been to hold a base and (it may be surmised) do his best to hamper the Persians in their efforts to support the defence of the *kuwar* of al-Ahwāz; that was in 19, by which time Abū Mūsā and the Baṣran forces with him had made important progress in al-Ahwāz and had commenced (or were about to commence) their siege of Tustar, the main stronghold of al-Ahwāz.⁹⁵ In the year 20/641, the Arab conquest of al-Ahwāz was in effect completed when Tustar was

"Diocèses orientaux du Golfe persique" in *Mémorial Mgr. G. Khouri-Sarkis* (Louvain, 1969), 179–80.

⁸⁸ Khal., 113.8. The same report is given by al-Dhahabī (II, 27.1, citing Khalīfa), except that Ṣuhāb appears as Iṣbahān.

⁸⁹ Yāqūt (III/1, 436) knows it as a place name but does not know where it is. Other sources know it simply as a village in Fārs (al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jam*, ed. M. al-Saqqā [Cairo, 1947–51], 334; C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse et contrées adjacentes* [Paris, 1861], 373).

⁹⁰ Al-'Awtabī, fol. 223b.16 [= Hinds, *Muhallabids*, 16]. The similarity of this form to the BARYKhan of al-Wāqidī *apud* Ibn Sa'd (see n. 21) is fairly obvious.

⁹¹ Against al-Balādhurī's report that Sawwār was himself killed at the battle, we have Khalīfa's report (122.10f.) that Sawwār ibn HBAR al-'Abdī lived until the year 21; an almost identical report is given by al-Dhahabī (II, 39.7), where the name is given as Sawwār ibn al-Muthannā.

⁹² Khal., 113.6f., 13.

⁹³ Al-'Awtabī, fols. 223b.19–224a.2, 282a.13f. [= Hinds, *Muhallabids*, 16–17].

⁹⁴ Khal., 122.10: *nazala ... Tawwaj wa-maṣṣarahā*.

⁹⁵ See n. 67 above.

taken, and in 21/642 the Arabs went on to win a decisive victory over the Persians at Nihāwand—a victory which permitted them to adopt an even more aggressive policy, including the use of Tawwaj as a base for making regular campaigns.⁹⁶ It was about then that ‘Uthmān ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ arrived in (or returned to) Fārs⁹⁷ and that was when Tawwaj became a *miṣr*.⁹⁸

The third point leads on directly to the fourth, the organization of early campaigning. It was when ‘Uthmān was established at Tawwaj, so al-Balādhurī tells us, that campaigning began in earnest and Abū Mūsā was instructed by ‘Umar to cooperate with him. Khalīfa furnishes us with more details: when, in 21/642, ‘Uthmān settled at Tawwaj and made it into a *miṣr*, “he sent to Sābūr Sawwār ibn HBAR [*sic*] al-‘Abdī, who was killed at ‘Aqabat al-Ṭīn. ‘Uthmān sent out raiding parties to the coastal areas (*sīf al-baḥr wa’l-sawāḥil*); he sent out al-Jārūd [ibn al-Mu‘allā al-‘Abdī] who was killed at ‘Aqabat al-Jārūd”.⁹⁹ A second report, given by Khalīfa under the same year and on the authority of al-Walīd ibn Hishām [al-Qaḥdhamī], says that ‘Umar sent to Abū Mūsā (at Baṣra) a copy of a letter he had sent to ‘Uthmān; in it he told ‘Uthmān that he had reinforced him with Abū Mūsā and that, if the two combined, ‘Uthmān was to be the *amīr*.¹⁰⁰ A further report provided by Khalīfa, also on the authority of al-Walīd ibn Hishām and *sub anno* 23/644, says that ‘Uthmān campaigned for a number of years from Tawwaj in the caliphates of ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān and that these were summer campaigns interspersed with winter resting periods at

⁹⁶ By the same token, campaigns in the direction of India (see n. 42) are unlikely to have taken place any earlier than 21/642.

⁹⁷ Al-Dīnawarī knows that ‘Uthmān arrived in Fārs after the conquest of al-Ahwāz (140.20); but either he is confused or he does not mean the whole of al-Ahwāz, since he goes on to give an account which resembles that of Abū Mikhnaf (see n. 78).

⁹⁸ In what seems to be the primary sense of “limit”: see Ibn Manẓūr *Lisān al-‘Arab* (Būlāq, A.H. 1300–1307), VII, 23.15 (*wa’l-miṣr al-ḥājjiz wa’l-hadd bayna ‘l-shay‘ayn*); cf. Ṣ. A. al-‘Alī, *Al-Tanzīmāt al-ijtimā‘iyya wa’l-iqtisādīyya fī ‘l-Baṣra fī ‘l-qarn al-awwal al-ḥijrī*, 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1969), 13n.

⁹⁹ Khal., 122.10–12 (and n. 91 above). Like Khalīfa, Ibn al-Athīr (III, 16.1) gives 21 as the date of al-Jārūd’s death, while Abū ‘Ubayda gives 22 (Bal., 389.2–5, where he also tells us that ‘Aqabat al-Jārūd was inland, between Jirra and Shirāz). On the other hand, Ibn Sa’d (VII/1, 61) says that he was killed in the battle against Shahrak.

¹⁰⁰ Khal., 123.3ff.

Tawwaj itself.¹⁰¹ It would seem from these reports that the year 21/642 must be taken as the time at which Baṣran activity in Fārs began; the identification in one of Khalifa's reports *sub anno* 19/640 (from Abū Usāma) of Mujāshi' ibn Mas'ūd [al-Sulamī], a prominent member of the Baṣran army, as conqueror of Tawwaj¹⁰² should accordingly be viewed with scepticism.

The fifth and last point arising from al-Balādhurī's account of the conquest and *tamṣīr* of Tawwaj relates to the composition of the Arab army there. On that subject, he gives us two pieces of information: (1) that 'Uthmān sent his brother al-Ḥakam by sea to Fārs with a large army made up of 'Abd al-Qays, al-Azd, Tamīm, B. Nājiya, and others;¹⁰³ and (2) that 'Abd al-Qays and other Muslims were settled at Tawwaj after it had been conquered in 19/624. These reports may be compared with sundry items of information provided by al-Awtabī's compilation: (1) the force that left Jurrafār for Banī Kāwān consisted of 3,000 or 2,600 men, mostly from al-Azd but also from Rāsib, Nājiya, and 45 'Abd al-Qays;¹⁰⁴ (2) (in the variant report *yuqāl*): (a) the force which occupied Banī Kāwān consisted of Azdīs, together with a negligible number of 'Abd al-Qays, and (b) since the Azdīs did not like to be mixed with other groupings, the 'Abdīs were left behind on Banī Kāwān when the rest of the force moved to the mainland of Fārs;¹⁰⁵ (3) at the battle in which Shahrak was killed, the Arab force consisted of 3,000 Azdīs, 2,000 of whom were from Azd 'Umān and 1,000 of whom were from Azd al-Baḥrayn.¹⁰⁶ There is in addition al-Ṭabarī's report (on the ultimate authority of 'Ubaydallāh ibn Sulaymān) that al-Ḥakam was sent to Tawwaj by his brother 'Uthmān with a force of 2,000 men;¹⁰⁷ 'Ubaydallāh goes on to cite al-Ḥakam himself to the effect that, in his dispositions for the battle against Shahrak, he appointed al-Jārūd al-'Abdī over the right wing and Abū Ṣufra [al-Atakī, from al-Azd] over the left wing.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 126.6-8.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 113.15f. Cf. Yaqut's statement (I/2, 890.11f.) that Tawwaj was conquered by Mujāshi'.

¹⁰³ See above, p. 42.

¹⁰⁴ See above, p. 42.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Awtabī, fol. 223b.9ff. [= Hinds, *Muhallabids*, 16].

¹⁰⁶ Al-Awtabī, fol. 223b.16f. [= *ibid.*].

¹⁰⁷ Ṭab. I, 2698.11.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 2699.4f.

What are we to make of this information? As far as numbers are concerned, the conclusion is clear: the force at Tawwaj when 'Uthmān arrived there in order to begin campaigning consisted of 2,000 to 3,000 men; whether or not he brought more men with him is not specified. Less clear is the tribal identity of the members of that force: al-Balādhurī implies that they were mainly 'Abdīs, while al-'Awtabī specifically excludes 'Abdīs and says that they were all Azdīs. Now while these two views obviously rule each other out at first sight, it may be that there is an element of truth in each. In the first place, al-Balādhurī's main account does acknowledge that the army sent with al-Ḥakam by 'Uthmān included Azdīs and others as well as 'Abdīs; and al-'Awtabī does acknowledge that the army which left Jurrafār included 'Abdīs, although he plays down their role and tells us that they were left at Banī Kāwān instead of moving on with the rest of the force to the mainland of Fārs. Secondly, it is clear that al-'Awtabī is wrong in stating that the army involved in the conquest and *tamṣīr* of Tawwaj was exclusively Azdī: in addition to al-Balādhurī's references to the involvement of Abdīs, we know from al-Ṭabarī's report that al-Jārūd al-'Abdī commanded the right wing in the battle against Shahrak, and we know from Khalifa that 'Uthmān sent Sawwār al-'Abdī and al-Jārūd out on raids in the year 2/642. But, if al-'Awtabī is wrong in thinking that the force was exclusively Azdī, where did he get that idea from?

The answer to this question is that, although the force involved in the conquest and *tamṣīr* of Tawwaj was not exclusively Azdī at that stage, it may have become so soon afterwards, by the time of the death of 'Umar in 23/644. The evidence for this is to be found in a report, cited both in the *Naqā'id Jarīr wa'l-Farazdaq* (N) and by al-Ṭabarī (Ṭ), which reads as follows:

Abū 'Ubayda [Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā] said: it has been claimed by (*za'ama*) Muḥammad ibn Ḥafṣ, Yūnus ibn Ḥabīb, Hubayra ibn Ḥudayr (Judayr in Ṭ) and Zuhayr ibn Hunayd (Hunayda in Ṭ) that Muḍar outnumbered Rabī'a in Baṣra and that the body (*jamā'a*) of al-Azd was the last of those who settled at (*ākhir man nazala*) Baṣra once it had been established (*haythu buṣṣirat al-baṣra* [N], *haythu muṣṣirat al-baṣra* [Ṭ]). When 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb transferred (*hawwala*) to Baṣra *m.n. t.n.kh.* (N: the Bodleian manuscript reads *m.n. t.b.w.ḥ.*)/*m.n. t.n.w.kh.* (Ṭ: no variants noted) from the Muslims, the body of al-Azd stayed and did not move; then they betook themselves to (*lahiqū bi-*) Baṣra

after that, at the end of the caliphate of Mu'awiya and the beginning of the caliphate of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiya.¹⁰⁹

The problematic reading is, of course, the phrase *m.n. t.n.kh./m.n. t.b.w.ḥ./m.n. t.n.w.kh.* The editors of al-Ṭabarī's chronicle fretted about this phrase and finally opted for reading *man tanakha*, with the signification "those [Bedouins] who became settled";¹¹⁰ and Bevan, the editor of the *Naqā'id*, satisfied himself with referring to and following their reading. But it is an unsatisfactory reading, for which the alternative *m.n. b.t.w.j.* can be proposed with some confidence, that is, *fa-lammā ḥawwala 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ... man bi-Tawwaj min al-muslimīn ilā 'l-Baṣra*.^{110a} To be sure, the passage as a whole is not without its problematical aspects: the use of the term *za'ama* indicates a need for caution, the whole question of the movement of the Azd to Baṣra is one which requires further work, and one may well muse about other names which may have been replaced by that of 'Umar (e.g. 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, 'Ubaydallāh ibn Ma'mar al-Taymī, 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, *et al.*). But there are nonetheless grounds for believing that the passage, or at least that part of it relevant to the present discussion, is correct and that the Arabs based at Tawwaj from 23/644 onwards were all Azdīs. Ghassān ibn Muḍar knew that the Arabs making up the expeditionary force settled at Tawwaj and then transferred (*taḥawwalū*) from it,¹¹¹ and his use of the term *taḥawwalū* is strikingly close to Abū 'Ubayda's *ḥawwala*: Sayf's version, for all that it is garbled, is | aware of a movement of

¹⁰⁹ *Naqā'id*, 729.14ff.; Ṭab. II, 449.20ff.

¹¹⁰ *Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda*, p. DCLXII: "lectio *tanūkh* corrupta esse debet, nam de tribu Jamanica *Tanūkh* quaestio esse nequit. Na [i.e. the *Naqā'id*] habet *tabawwakha* quod etiam corruptum est. Forte l. *man tanakha* [=] qui (e Bedawis) *sedes fixas sibi ceperant*." As noted, the Bodleian manuscript of the *Naqā'id* in fact gives *t.b.w.ḥ.* and not *t.b.w.kh.*

^{110a} An analogous problematic textual reading involving Tawwaj occurs in the *Risāla fī 'l-ḥakamayn* by al-Jāḥiẓ at a point where reference is made to the presence at Baṣra of al-Azd *m.q.d.m.h.ā.b.n. n.w.ḥ.* (Ms. Ambrosiana, no. H. 129, fol. 181b). Professor Pellat read this phrase as *yataqaddamuhā ibn nuḥ* ("Risālat 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāḥiẓ fī 'l-ḥakamayn wa-taṣwīb amīr al-mu'minīn 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib fī fi'lihi", in *Al-Machriq* 52^e année [1958], 428); but no Ibn Nuḥ is elsewhere attested in connection with al-Azd or Baṣra at the time in question, and effortless sense can be made of the reading *maqdamahā min Tawwaj*, "on their arrival from Tawwaj".

¹¹¹ Khal., 113.14.

Arab fighting men from Fārs to Baṣra before the death of 'Umar,¹¹² and al-'Awtabī's variant report does preserve, as we have seen, a memory of a force which had earlier included 'Abdīs but subsequently consisted solely of Azdīs.

Why 'Umar should have moved the 'Abdīs (and perhaps the other non-Azdī elements mentioned by the sources) from Tawwaj when he did is a matter about which one can do no more than speculate. It has already been noted that the Arab conquest of al-Ahwāz and the Arab victory at Nihāwand had opened up new territories for conquest; and as far as 'Uthmān ibn Abī l-'Āṣ and Abū Mūsā were concerned, the territory which most immediately concerned them was that part of Fārs which bordered al-Ahwāz. Abū Mūsā may well have needed more men and he probably already had some 'Abdīs with him, since al-Baḥrayn was close to Baṣra; on the other hand, we know that there were very few of Azd 'Umān in Baṣra at that time.¹¹³ Whether or not the 'Abdīs of Tawwaj were moved to Baṣra in an attempt to redress the imbalance between Muḍar and Rabī'a there, as may be inferred from Abū 'Ubayda's report, is a question which can only be asked, not answered; as for al-'Awtabī's claim (wrongly in the context of Banī Kāwān) that the Azdīs did not like to be mixed with other groupings, there is no obvious reason for thinking that their dislike in that regard was greater than that of anyone else. In the absence of evidence, the hypothesis can be advanced that 'Uthmān had brought more Azdīs with him from eastern Arabia to Tawwaj in 21/642 and that this permitted a reinforcement of Abū Mūsā with 'Abdīs from Tawwaj without any reduction of the erstwhile level of establishment there.

It now remains in this section to complete the account of Arab military operations in Fārs during the years 21/642 to 29/650. This can be done briefly, since the sources do not in fact tell us a great deal. Al-Balādhurī's account¹¹⁴ gives details both of progress made by

¹¹² As we shall see below, p. 47f.

¹¹³ Al-'Awtabī (fol. 224b.5-7 [= Hinds, *Muhallabids*, 19], cited by al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-a'yān bi-sīrat ahl 'Umān*, 69) tells us that the first 'Umānīs to go to Baṣra were eighteen men [among whom was] Ka'b ibn Sūr; Ka'b had gone from Tawwaj on a *wafd* to 'Umar, who appointed him as *qādī* of Baṣra. Al-'Awtabī implies that few if any other Azd 'Umān went to Baṣra before the caliphate of 'Uthmān.

¹¹⁴ Bal., 388.1ff. (*qālū*).

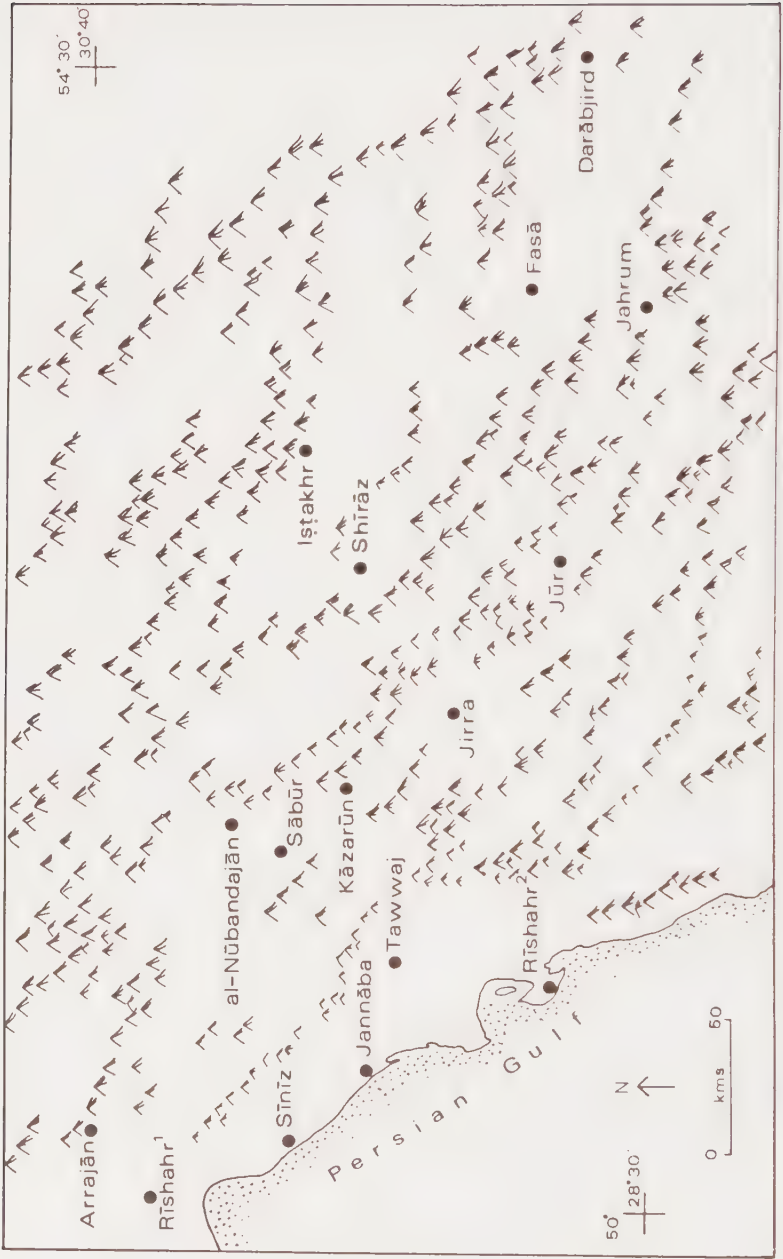


Fig. 1. Fārs at the time of the Arab conquests.

‘Uthmān unaided by Abū Mūsā (operations involving Sh.BYR,¹¹⁵ Qal‘at al-Shuyūkh,¹¹⁶ Jirra, Kāzarūn, and al-Nūbandajān) and of combined operations by ‘Uthmān and Abū Mūsā (involving Arrajān, Shīrāz and Sīnīz) at the end of the caliphate of ‘Umar. ‘Uthmān went on to take the fortress of Jannāba, made a peace agreement with the *herbadh* of Darābjird,¹¹⁷ conquered the territory of Jahrum, made a peace agreement with the lord | (*‘azīm*) of Fasā,¹¹⁸ and in 23 (or 24) and 26 was occupied at the *madīna* of Sābūr. Initially he made a peace agreement there with Shahrak’s brother, but the terms of this agreement were subsequently broken and the *madīna* of Sābūr was retaken by force of arms by Abū Mūsā, with ‘Uthmān in command of the vanguard.¹¹⁹ The date 26/647 for the reconquest of Sābūr is confirmed by Khalīfa, although his sources name ‘Uthmān as the *amīr* and make no reference to Abū Mūsā.¹²⁰ Khalīfa’s reports on operations at Qal‘at al-Shuyūkh and Kāzarūn are given under the same year, 26/647,¹²¹ while al-Balādhurī’s account implies an earlier date or dates; similarly, Khalīfa’s date for the

¹¹⁵ Which remains to be identified.

¹¹⁶ Correcting the text from *qal‘at al-s.t.w.j.* (Bal., 388.2); according to Khalīfa (133.18) and the *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* (79.1f.), it was at Jirra.

¹¹⁷ Bal., 388.11. Khalīfa (citing al-Madā’inī, see n. 122) also knew about this *herbadh* at Darābjird. On the functions of the Zoroastrian *hērbad* as a religious teacher, see M. L. Chaumont, “Recherches sur le clergé zoroastrien: le *hērbad*”, *RHR* 158 (1960), 55–80, 161–79; cf. A. Christensen, *L’Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1944), 119, 136, 302. If indeed it was a *hērbad* who made the peace agreement there, this would suggest that the more appropriate dignitaries had fled.

¹¹⁸ Bal., 388.14. A variant substitutes the afore-mentioned *hērbad* for the *‘azīm* (*wa-yuqāl innā ‘l-herbadh šālaḥa ‘alayhā ayq^{an}*).

¹¹⁹ Bal., 388.15–389.2 (*qālū*). Note that Hill wrongly believes that Shahrak, rather than his brother, was involved in this (D. R. Hill, *The Termination of Hostilities in the Early Arab Conquests* [London, 1971], 126, 136).

¹²⁰ Khal., 133.11ff. (citing al-Walīd ibn Hishām and al-Madā’inī); cf. al-Dhahabī, II, 78.8. Al-Ya‘qūbī (II, 190.3), al-Dīnawarī (148.5f.), and the *Ta’rīkh-i Sīstān* (78.4) also refer to ‘Uthmān alone in this connection: al-Ya‘qūbī and the *Ta’rīkh-i Sīstān* both give the date 26, and the *Ta’rīkh-i Sīstān* knows that this was the second occasion on which Sābūr was taken by the Arabs; al-Dīnawarī incorrectly implies that it took place in 29. The date 26 is further confirmed by Abū Zur‘a (*Ta’rīkh*, ed. al-Qūjānī [Damascus, 1980], 184.17 [citing Ibn Ḥanbal]), who refers to the operation as *ghazwat Sābūr al-junūd*.

¹²¹ Khal., 133.18f. The *Ta’rīkh-i Sīstān* also gives 26 as the date of ‘Uthmān’s capture of Kāzarūn (78.4).

peace agreements at Arrajān and Darābjird is 27/648,¹²² while an earlier date is implied by al-Balādhurī's account. By the time of the arrival of 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir in Baṣra in 29/650, says al-Balādhurī, "all of Fārs had been conquered save Iṣṭakhr and Jūr".¹²³ No source (apart from Sayf, below) suggests that 'Uthmān even attempted to conquer Jūr; and it is clear (despite claims to the contrary) that operations by him and Abū Mūsā against Iṣṭakhr in 23/644 failed.¹²⁴

In other words, for all that 'Uthmān and the force at Tawwaj made important progress in the conquest of Fārs, that progress was largely on the coastal plain and it was precisely the failure to take the two major mountain strongholds of Iṣṭakhr and Jūr which prevented them from taking over Fārs entirely and *a fortiori* from being able to open up a secure way for expansion further eastwards. Those strongholds accordingly became prime targets in 29/650 when 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir took on his new appointment, which included both the governorship of Baṣra and the erstwhile responsibilities of 'Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-'Āṣ; they were taken in the same year,¹²⁵ and 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir moved thereafter into Kirmān, Sīstān and Khurāsān. The advent of Ibn 'Āmir put an end to the 'Umān-Baḥrayn army as a separate entity, just as it put an end to the role of Tawwaj as a base for holding a front and making campaigns, that is, it ceased to be a *miṣr* in the primary sense.¹²⁶

¹²² Khal., 134.6ff. (al-Madā'inī [Arrajān and Darābjird] and al-Walid ibn Hishām [Darābjird]); also al-Dhahabī, II, 78.19 (citing al-Madā'inī's source. Dāwūd ibn Abī Hind) and *Ta'riḫ-i Sīstān*, 79.2f.

¹²³ Bal., 315.8.

¹²⁴ Khal., 126.4 (Bakr from Ibn Ishāq); Abū Zur'a, 180.12 (Ibn Ḥanbal); Bal., 315.3ff. (*qālū*); Ṭab. I, 2694.4 (Abū Ma'shar and al-Wāqidī); al-Ya'qūbī. 180.7f.; Ibn 'Asākir. *Tahdhīb ta'riḫ Dimashq al-kabīr*, ed. 'A.-Q. Badrān and A. 'Ubayd (Damascus, 1911–32), V, 404f.; also Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, V, 19f. It was Abū Ma'shar who said that Iṣṭakhr was conquered in that year, and the same claim was made by Elias of Nisibis (*Opus chronologicum* [Louvain, 1910], 135, citing al-Khwārazmī); but his information was presumably derived ultimately from Abū Ma'shar, as Wellhausen observed (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI, 112).

¹²⁵ Khal., 137, 139 (reading Jūr for KhWZ); Bal., 389. Al-Dīnawarī (148.10) credits 'Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-'Āṣ and 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir jointly with victory at Iṣṭakhr; on the other hand, the conquest of Iṣṭakhr is attributed by al-Wāqidī to Hishām ibn 'Āmir in the year 28 (Ṭab. I, 2827.15; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI, 112) and that date is given also by Abū Zur'a (185.6).

¹²⁶ See n. 98. According to al-'Awtabī (fol. 224b.8–11) [= Hinds, *Muhallabids*, 19–20], 'Abdallāh ibn 'Āmir, after he had assumed his appointment, left some of the Azdīs

It also put an end to the military career of ‘Uthmān ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ; he was in effect pensioned off by the caliph ‘Uthmān, who awarded him a substantial allocation of land, subsequently known as Shaṭṭ ‘Uthmān, between al-Ubulla and Baṣra.¹²⁷

IV

Now that we have seen what other sources have to say about the first Arab conquests in Fārs, it becomes feasible to examine and make some assessment of the material transmitted by Sayf ibn ‘Umar on this subject. There are two relevant passages. According to the first of these,¹²⁸ given by al-Ṭabarī *sub anno* 17/638, al-‘Alā’ ibn al-Ḥaḍramī had been governor of al-Baḥrayn under Abū Bakr, was dismissed by ‘Umar who replaced him with Qudāma ibn al-Maḏ‘ūn (*sic*), and was then reinstated by ‘Umar in place of Qudāma. Motivated by envy of the successes of Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ against the Persians in Iraq, and in defiance of ‘Umar’s express prohibition of his engaging in any maritime activity, al-‘Alā’ sent by sea to Fārs an expedition consisting of three bodies of men, led respectively by al-Jārūd ibn al-Mu‘allā, al-Sawwār (*sic*) ibn Hammām, and Khulayd ibn al-Mundhir ibn Sāwā/Sāwī; Khulayd was in overall command. These forces landed in Fārs, went in the direction

at Tawwaj but took others to Baṣra. If we are to believe [Abū ‘Ubayda (above, p. 45), 53 the last Azdīs to leave Tawwaj for Baṣra did so in the late 50s or early 60s, i.e. in the late 670s or early 680s.

¹²⁷ This, at least, is what we are told by Yāqūt (III, 290.15–291.8), who cites what purports to be ‘Uthmān’s letter to Ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ in that connection (dated 22 Jumādā II 29 = 2 March 650); cited by M. Ishāq, “Peep” (see n. 42), 114, who misrepresents the date as 29 February 650. The text of the document makes it clear that the award was intended to compensate Ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ for (1) property of his in the Ḥijāz which had been taken over by ‘Uthmān, and (2) his loss of office: the account given by al-Balādhurī (351.22, 362.6) alludes only to the first of these elements. On the other hand, it is a striking feature of Ibn Sa‘d’s biographical notice about Ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ (VII/1, 26.20–27.1) that it makes no reference whatsoever to his links with al-Baḥrayn and Fārs and says simply that he was sent by ‘Umar to Baṣra, where he constructed a *dār* and put lands—including Shaṭṭ ‘Uthmān—under cultivation (*wa’stakhraja fihā amwāl^{an} minhā Shaṭṭ ‘Uthmān*). It is therefore an open question whether ‘Uthmān ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ had any interests in Baṣra before 29/650.

¹²⁸ Ṭab. I, 2545.11–2550.17; much the same account is given (without an *isnād*) by al-Maqrīzī (*Khiṭāṭ* [Būlāq, A.H. 1270], II, 89.17–190.2).

of (?*kharajū fī*) Iṣṭakhr, were opposed by the people of Fārs led by the *herbadh*, were cut off from their ships, fought a battle at Ṭāwus (*sic*) in which al-Sawwār and al-Jārūd lost their lives, sought to head for Baṣra on finding that their ships had been sunk, and found their way blocked by a Persian army led by Shahrak. 'Umar, on receiving news of their predicament, dismissed al-'Alā' from al-Baḥrayn and instructed 'Utba, the governor of Baṣra, to send a force to the rescue; 'Utba accordingly sent a force of 12,000 men, led by Abū Ṣabra ibn Abī Ruhm. It was this force which fought and defeated Shahrak and brought the Arab survivors of the battle of Ṭāwus in safety to Baṣra, where those who stayed were known as *ahl ṭāwus*.¹²⁹ Sayf's account says of this campaign by the Baṣran rescue force that it was the campaign in which the *nābita* of Baṣra acquired *sharaf*.¹³⁰ 'Utba subsequently went on the *hajj*, had his request to 'Umar that he be relieved of his post turned down, and died on the return journey.

Now it will be readily apparent that this, while it makes for a rattling good yarn, is pretty garbled stuff: the lives of al-'Alā' and 'Utba have been prolonged, in the case of al-'Alā' by having him reappointed to al-Baḥrayn after Qudāma,¹³¹ the expedition now arises from envy of Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, and 'Umar has expressly forbidden maritime expeditions;¹³² the force is now commanded by a Tamīmī.¹³³ It is opposed by the people of Fārs under the command of al-Madā'inī's

¹²⁹ Al-Maqrīzī's version (which does not mention Shahrak) differs at this point, saying simply *fa-fataḥa 'llāh 'alā 'l-muslimīn wa-qutila 'l-mushrikūn wa-'ada 'l-muslimūn bi'l-ghanā'im ilā 'l-Baṣra wa-raja'a ahl al-Baḥrayn ilā manāzilihim* (II, 190.1-2).

¹³⁰ Ṭab. I, 2549.15: *hiya 'l-ghazāt allatī sharufat fihā nābitat al-Baṣra . . .*

¹³¹ On 'Utba, see n. 26 above.

¹³² Sa'd himself had of course been given 'Umar's well-known instruction that he should not be separated from the Muslims by water (Bal., 275.9-10, 276.2; Ṭab. I, 2360.5, 2483.8: *lā taj'al baynī wa-bayna 'l-muslimīn baḥr^{an}* and variants), and the later Tāna expedition (see n. 42) gave rise to 'Umar's famous remark "*yā akha Thaḡīf, qad ḥamalt^a dūd^{an} 'alā 'ūd*" (Bal., 432.2-3). But it would seem that a precedent had been set by that stage: it had been on 'Umar's instructions, as we have seen (p. 42), that the same *akhū Thaḡīf* had earlier transported Azdī, 'Abdī and other *dūd* by 'ūd to Abarkāwān and Tawwaj.

¹³³ Khulayd seems to be otherwise unknown, but his father al-Mundhir had of course been a prominent figure in Hajar in the time of the Prophet and a leading supporter of al-'Alā' at the time of the *rida* (W. Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī* [Leiden, 1966], II, 430 *sub* al-Mundhir ibn Sāwī).

peace-loving *herbadh* of Darābjird,¹³⁴ and it is engaged in battle at a place named in a form encountered nowhere | else;¹³⁵ (al-)Sawwār and al-Jārūd are killed before the encounter with Shahrak, instead of after it,¹³⁶ Shahrak simply blocks the way to Baṣra instead of fighting, and he remains alive instead of dying; far from being given another appointment by ‘Umar, al-‘Alā’ is dismissed by him; a Baṣran force, which is led by a Qurashī whose Baṣran links are known to Sayf alone¹³⁷ and includes several Tamīmīs among its main personalities,¹³⁸ comes to the rescue; and it is this force, not the expeditionary force, which defeats Shahrak (who still perversely remains alive) and takes the survivors of the expedition to safety in Baṣra.¹³⁹ The chronological and sequential inconsistencies are obvious, as is the bias in favour of Baṣra and Tamīm. It is clear that the passage fuses elements from what other sources represent as separate phenomena: (1) the expedition sent to Fārs by al-‘Alā’, probably in 14/635, under the leadership of ‘Arfaja, and (2) the force, sent (or taken) to Fārs by ‘Uthmān ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ and including Sawwār and al-Jārūd, which defeated and killed Shahrak in 19/640 and went on to campaign from the *miṣr* of Tawwaj. Sayf’s motif of disobedience on the part of al-‘Alā’ finds some parallel in the report

¹³⁴ See above, p. 45 and n. 117; presumably it is this report of Sayf’s that lies behind Christensen’s remark that “un témoignage de l’honneur dont jouissait la dignité d’hērbadh est le fait qu’un hērbadh a gouverné la Perside comme une espèce de prince prêtre, quand, au VII siècle, les Arabes conquièrent cette province” (119).

¹³⁵ J. Markwart (*A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr* [Rome, 1931], 94 *sub* Tavaḡ) remarks that the form *tāwūs* given by Sayf “originated from the Persian nisba *tačī”; and I am grateful to Dr. I. Gershevitch for his explanation of why this is acceptable (the old Persian toponym *tauka- produces the nisba *tāuāci [ya]-, which is raised to toponym status; and Iranian *ch* becomes *šād* in Arabic [A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch* (Göttingen, 1919), 38, 72], so that *tāwachi* becomes *tāwaši*). Presumably it was because Sayf and/or his authorities were familiar with the word *tāwūs*, as a proper noun and as a noun signifying “peacock”, that *tāwaši* became *tāwūs* and *tāwus*; but it remains to be explained why Sayf’s account is alone in opting for this form, while the other Arabic sources all stick with the form Tawwaj.

¹³⁶ Or possibly *at it*: see above, pp. 43, 44 and nn. 91 and 99.

¹³⁷ Al-Ṭabarī’s knowledge of such links arises from Sayf’s account; Ibn Sa’d (III/1, 293 and V. 328) knows nothing of them.

¹³⁸ ‘Āṣim ibn ‘Amr, al-Tarjumān ibn *fulān* [al-Hujaymī], al-Ḥuṣayn ibn Abī ‘l-Ḥurr, al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays, Ṣa’ṣa’a ibn Mu’āwiya, and possibly others (Ṭab. I, 2548.16–2549.2).

¹³⁹ Hence Shaban’s remark (see above, p. 39 and n. 8).

of al-Wāqidī and others that 'Umar's reaction to 'Arfaja's expedition was one of displeasure; however, Sayf's sole reference to 'Arfaja in the context of Fārs is as one of the participants in the Baṣran rescue force.¹⁴⁰ That rescue force and the move of *ahl ṭāwūs* to Baṣra look like distorted reflections of, on the one hand, Baṣran involvement in Fārs after 21/642, and, on the other hand, the movement in that year or shortly afterwards of 'Abdīs and others from Tawwaj to Baṣra.¹⁴¹ The second relevant passage in Sayf's transmission is given by al-Ṭabarī *sub anno* 23.¹⁴² There we are told that the Baṣrans who had earlier been sent to Fārs as *amīrs*¹⁴³ split up and that each one went to the area allocated to him. At that, the Persians (*ahl fārs*) who had massed at Tawwaj also split up, and returned to their own localities: this marked the end of any effective massing of Persian strength in Fārs. Mujāshi' ibn Mas'ūd headed for Ardashīr Khurra and Sābūr¹⁴⁴ and at Tawwaj he engaged and defeated an army of Persians (*ahl fārs*). That victory is described in Sayf's account as Tawwaj *al-akhīra*. [Tawwaj] *al-ūlā* having been the engagement in which the forces sent by al-'Alā' were rescued at the time of Ṭāwūs (*sic*).¹⁴⁵ The account then moves on—still *sub anno* 23—to the conquest of Iṣṭakhr, which is regarded as having taken place after Tawwaj *al-akhīra*.¹⁴⁶ In that connection, we are told that 'Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-'Āṣ headed for Iṣṭakhr,¹⁴⁷ engaged and defeated the people of Iṣṭakhr at Jūr, and took both Jūr and Iṣṭakhr. Then Shahrak forsook obedience (*khala'a*) at the end of 'Umar's leadership (*imāra*) and at the beginning of that of 'Uthmān [ibn 'Affān], inciting the Persians (*ahl fārs*) and calling upon them to break their compacts

¹⁴⁰ Ṭab. I, 2548.16.

¹⁴¹ It can be added that the reference to Ṭāwūs as the campaign in which the *nābta* of Baṣra acquired *sharaf* (see n. 130) should probably also be associated with Abū Mūsā's Baṣra-based raids on Fārs after 21/642. For other instances, see Ṭab. I, 2540.8 (Sayf: all who took part in the Ahwāz campaign), 2633.17 (Sayf: those *rawādif* who had shown valour at Nihāwand); cf. Hinds, "Kufan Political Alignments", 352. [Chap. 1].

¹⁴² Ṭab. I, 2694.8–2698.3.

¹⁴³ Their names and appointments are specified by al-Ṭabarī, citing Sayf, under the year 17 (I, 2569.1ff.).

¹⁴⁴ Those being the areas which had earlier been allocated to him (Ṭab. I, 2569.3f.).

¹⁴⁵ Ṭab. I, 2695.4f.: *wa'l-ūlā 'llatī tunuqqidahā fihā jumūd al-'Alā' ayyām Ṭāwūs al-waq'a 'llatī 'qtatalū fihā*.

¹⁴⁶ Ṭab. I, 2694.5f.

¹⁴⁷ Which had earlier been allocated to him (Ṭab. I, 2569.4f.).

[with the Arabs]. ‘Uthmān ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ was sent against him for a second time (*thānīyat^{an}*, but the reading is uncertain)¹⁴⁸ and was for this purpose reinforced by troops (Ibn al-Athīr adds: from Baṣra) led by ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Ma‘mar and Shibl ibn Ma‘bad al-Bajalī. The battle took place in Fārs, near Rīshahr,¹⁴⁹ and Shahrak and his son were killed; the person who killed Shahrak was al-Ḥakam ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ, the brother of ‘Uthmān.¹⁵⁰

Here too the points on which Sayf’s version differs from other sources are fairly obvious. As Wellhausen observed, the credit for the conquest of Fārs now goes to the Baṣrans,¹⁵¹ ‘Uthmān ibn Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ being merely one of a number of Baṣran *amīrs* who were despatched to different parts of Fārs. No connection is made between him and Tawwaj,¹⁵² where a victory is won rather by Mujāshī‘ ibn Mas‘ūd. He is instead busy taking Iṣṭakhr and Jūr, and this as early as 23/644; only after that does he deal (after being reinforced with troops from Baṣra) with the rebellious Shahrak, who is killed in battle near Rīshahr. It seems clear that the main elements being fused here are derived from four events which in fact occurred during a period of more than ten years: (1) the battle of 19/640, in which Shahrak was defeated and killed at Rīshahr; (2) the unsuccessful campaign against Iṣṭakhr by ‘Uthmān and Abū Mūsā in 23/644; (3) the reconquest of the *madīna* of Sābūr by ‘Uthmān (or by Abū Mūsā and ‘Uthmān) in 26/647, after Shahrak’s brother had broken the peace agreement;¹⁵³ and (4) the conquest of the fortresses of Iṣṭakhr and Jūr by ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Āmir in 29/650.

¹⁴⁸ Ṭab. I, 2697.7 and n. h): the main variant is *bi‘bnihi*, but there is no reference elsewhere to any son of ‘Uthmān’s in the context of the Fārs campaigns.

¹⁴⁹ Ṭab. I, 2697.10 (Add.).

¹⁵⁰ Ṭab. I, 2698.2 (*wa-waliya qatl Shahrak ...*); Ibn al-Athīr, III, 31.16 (*wa-‘lladhī gatala Shahrak ...*).

¹⁵¹ Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI, 103. It can be added that it is as an ‘Irāqī that the Kūfan Sayf magnifies the Baṣran achievement at the expense of the forces from ‘Umān and al-Baḥrayn; cf. his attribution of the conquest of the Jazīra to ‘Irāqīs rather than to Syrians (Ṭab. I, 2500 [‘Iyād ibn Ghanm was from *ahl al-‘Irāq*]; Ibn al-Athīr, II, 416.1f. [*wa-‘alā hādihā ‘l-qawl takūnu ‘l-Jazīra min futūḥ al-‘Irāq wa‘l-akthar ‘alā annahā min futūḥ ahl al-Sha‘m*]).

¹⁵² Which is now referred to conventionally.

¹⁵³ Although Sayf’s account makes no reference to any earlier campaign by ‘Uthmān against Shahrak, it is this reconquest which makes the reading *thānīyat^{an}* (above, and n. 148) intelligible and preferable. Hill (see n. 119) makes the same mistake as Sayf in confusing Shahrak’s brother with Shahrak himself.

In short, Sayf's account of the first Arab conquests in Fārs exhibits the usual Sayfian characteristics: the chronology is deviant and the sequence of events is eccentric; the shaping of the account is tendentious (e.g., playing up the Baṣrans and Tamīm) and it is embellished with odd and fanciful detail (e.g., a Persian army led by a *hērbadh*). What is unusual in the context of Fārs is the degree to which those characteristics are exhibited; as a result, while it is often possible to find historically useable data in Sayf's material on other subjects,¹⁵⁴ there seems to be
 49 little that is useable in the case of his material on Fārs. It helps to support the view that some of the Arab troops based on Tawwaj had been transferred to Baṣra by the death of 'Umar, and it is alone in alluding to the ships of those Arab troops; it also supports the notion that there was some sort of link (yet to be explained) between Tawwaj and the Baṣran Mujāshi' ibn Mas'ūd.¹⁵⁵ But that is all.

v

"Fārs, therefore, is one of the Baṣrah camping-grounds, for it was conquered by the army from Baṣrah." So says the *Fārs-nāma*.¹⁵⁶ and so indeed did matters turn out. But we are now in a position to see that the story is more complex than that. Although the conquest of Fārs was *completed* by a governor of Baṣra in 29/650, Arab military operations there prior to that year were carried out—first of all solely, and later mainly—by tribesmen who had crossed from eastern Arabia and had no connection with Baṣra. This is something which the account of Sayf ibn 'Umar seeks to play down: but other sources have permitted us to make a more detailed assessment than is usually possible of the idiosyncrasies of what Sayf has to say. Such an assessment has involved in the first place the unravelling of the contradictory information provided by the sources in connection with the chronology of the early governors appointed from Medina over al-Baḥrayn and 'Umān. This in turn has permitted us to locate 'Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-Āṣ, who,

¹⁵⁴ For some examples, see M. Hinds, "Sayf b. 'Umar's Sources on Arabia". *Studies in the History of Arabia*, I/2 (Riyad, 1979), 4 [Chap. 5 of this volume].

¹⁵⁵ See n. 102.

¹⁵⁶ "Description of the Province of Fārs, in Persia, at the Beginning of the Twelfth Century A.D.", translated from the MS. of Ibn-Al-Balkhi in the British Museum by G. Le Strange, *JRAS* (1912), 18.

in addition to being governor of al-Baḥrayn and 'Umān from 15/636 to 29/650, was commander of Arab operations in Fārs from 19/640 to 29/650. Those operations, which were preceded by an engagement at the island of Abarkāwān, started with settlement at Tawwaj on the coastal plain of Fārs, a victory over the *marzbān* of Fārs, and the establishment of Tawwaj as a *miṣr* from which summer campaigning was carried out; the Tawwaj force occasionally campaigned in conjunction with Baṣran forces. Their most important achievement was the reconquest of Sābūr in 26/647; their signal failure was that the fortresses of Jūr and Iṣṭakhr remained unconquered. The principal reasons for this were presumably that the going in the mountains was much harder than in the coastal plain and that 'Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-'Āṣ did not have sufficient forces at his disposal; in the year 21/642, the number seems to have been in the order of 2,000–3,000, and there is no evidence of any increase in that number thereafter. Further progress in Fārs became possible only from 29/650, when Ibn 'Āmir took on a newly created post which included both the governorship of Baṣra and the erstwhile responsibilities of 'Uthmān ibn Abī 'l-'Āṣ. His appointment marked the end of the Tawwaj force as a separate entity, and his subsequent successes marked the end of Tawwaj as a base for campaigning.

9

Miḥna

MIḤNA, an Arabic term “meaning in general usage a ‘testing’ or ‘trial’, whether by the accidents of fortune or the actions of men”.¹ This general sense is reflected in the *Kitāb al-miḥan* by Abū ’l-ʿArab where the author sets out to give an account of “those who have been afflicted (*ubtuliya*) by being killed, imprisoned, flogged, or threatened ...”. More particularly, the term (together with its counterpart *imtiḥān*) signifies the procedure adopted by the caliph al-Ma’mūn, and officially applied under his two immediate successors, for the purpose of imposing the view that the Qur’ān had been created.

THE COURSE OF HISTORICAL EVENTS

The circumstances of this initiative, which was set in motion by al-Ma’mūn in a letter in Rabīʿ I 218/April 833, four months before his death, are most fully described by al-Ṭabarī² and have been examined in detail by Patton.³ In the first instance, al-Ma’mūn, who was at al-Raqqā (or Damascus, according to al-Yaʿqūbī⁴), desired his deputy in Baghdād,

From the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, 2nd ed., VII (Leiden, 1990), pages 3–6.

¹ Patton, 1.

² *Taʾriḫ*, III, 1112ff.

³ 56ff.

⁴ *Taʾriḫ*, II, 571

Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm, to test the *qādīs* in his jurisdiction concerning God's creation of the Qur'ān. The language of his letter to this effect is powerful and direct: God has the right to have His religion carried out properly, and the great mass of the common people, who know no better, being without the light of knowledge, are mistaken when they espouse the view that the Qur'ān is eternal (*qadīm awwal*); for God has said in the Qur'ān "We have made it (*ja'alnāhu*) an Arabic Qur'ān" (XLIII.3), and everything He has made (*ja'ala*) He has created (*khalāqa*). In addition, they have made a fallacious link between themselves and the *sunna*, making themselves out to be 'the people of truth, religion and unity' and characterising those who do not agree with them as 'the people of falsehood, unbelief and schism'; but in reality they are, *inter alia*, 'the worst of the *umma*' and 'the tongue of the Devil' and are in no way to be trusted. The Commander of the Faithful will not rely on anyone who does not conform in this regard, nor are *qādīs* to accept the testimony of such people."

This letter to Ishāq was followed by another instructing him to send to al-Ma'mūn seven named individuals, including the traditionists Ibn Sa'd, Yaḥyā ibn Ma'in, and Zuhayr ibn Ḥarb. All seven were tested and, having acknowledged the doctrine of the created Qur'ān, were returned to Baghdād where their acknowledgement was publicised. By this time, too, *miḥna* letters from al-Ma'mūn were reaching other centres: the text of the letter which reached Miṣr in Jumādā II 218/July 833 was closely modelled on, or identical with, the first letter to Ishāq.⁵ But it was at Baghdād that the impact of the *miḥna* was felt most at this time: in response to further instructions from al-Ma'mūn, Ishāq went on to test about thirty leading *fuqahā'* and *ḥadīth* specialists, who, with only two exceptions, and in certain cases under some duress, acknowledged the doctrine of the created Qur'ān. The exceptions, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Muḥammad ibn Nūḥ al-'Ijlī, were despatched in irons to be dealt with by al-Ma'mūn at Ṭarsūs on his return from Byzantine territory, but the sudden death of the caliph (mid-Rajab 218/mid-August 833) saved them from this particular predicament and they were sent back. Muḥammad ibn Nūḥ died on the return journey, and Aḥmad was kept in detention after reaching Baghdād.

⁵ Ibn Taghrībirdī, II, 218f.; cf. al-Kindī, 193, 445ff.

Al-Ma'mūn had set in motion in the last four months of his life something which his brother and successor as caliph, al-Mu'taṣim, was left to cope with. He had moreover stipulated in his last will and testament that al-Mu'taṣim should, *inter alia*, hold to his policy on the Qur'ān and make (the Mu'tazilī) Aḥmad ibn Abī Du'ād his closest confidant;⁶ and al-Subkī with some justification advances this as the reason why, for all that Mu'taṣim himself was destitute of *'ilm*, he nonetheless required adherence to the doctrine of the created Qur'ān. Concerning the question of how this was achieved, it would seem that a distinction should be made between *miḥna* as a regular formality in courts of law and *miḥna* as a "test" applied beyond the confines of the courtroom: as an example of *miḥna* in the first of these senses, we are told that in Miṣr the *qāḍī* would accept the testimony only of those witnesses who acknowledged that the Qur'ān had been created and that "this [type of] *miḥna* lasted from 218 until [after] the accession of al-Mutawakkil in 232".⁷ On the matter of where the *miḥna* was applied, the evidence points to Baghdād, Kūfa, Baṣra, Damascus, Mecca and Medina⁸ in addition to Miṣr. The situation in the Ṭāhirid-controlled East is not clear: the *qāḍī* of Balkh is reported to have objected to a *miḥna* letter which stated that the Qur'ān had been created,⁹ and the author of the *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* says that, after the flogging of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, al-Mu'taṣim circulated letters to each community calling upon people to believe in the created Qur'ān;¹⁰ but that appears to be the sum total of our present knowledge about the matter as far as the East is concerned.

The sources give the impression that al-Mu'taṣim himself was in general predisposed to settle for *miḥna* as no more than a courtroom formality, and al-Kindī even remarks that "the matter of the *miḥna* was easy (*sahl^{an}*) during the reign of al-Mu'taṣim",¹¹ but there are nonetheless two instances early in his reign where it was applied outside the courtroom. The first of these does not seem to have been particularly

⁶ Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1137, 1139; al-Subkī, II, 59.

⁷ Al-Kindī, 447.

⁸ Patton, 62f.; Abū 'l-Arab, 448ff.; Ḥanbal ibn Ishāq, 38f.; Wakī, I, 268f.; also Ifrīqiya, see below.

⁹ Balkhī, *Faḍā'il*, 210.

¹⁰ 185f.; Eng. tr. Gold, 147: one may suspect here a fusion of al-Ma'mūn's letters with al-Mu'taṣim's treatment of Aḥmad.

¹¹ Al-Kindī, 451.

important: al-Mu'taṣim wrote to his governor of Miṣr, Muẓaffar ibn Kaydur (held office Rabī' II–Sha'bān 219/May–September 834), instructing him to test the 'ulamā' on the creation of the Qur'ān and he tested a group of them;¹² al-Kindī makes no mention of this, and it is possible that Ibn Taghrībirdī is misrepresenting al-Ma'mūn's letter transmitted by the future caliph al-Mu'taṣim to Muẓaffar's father Kaydur, when the latter was governor of Egypt and al-Ma'mūn was still caliph.¹³ The second instance, the matter of the unfinished business of what should be done with Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, was far more significant: indeed, the story of the *miḥna* of the Imām Aḥmad at the hands of al-Mu'taṣim looms large in later Sunnī hagiography. Abū Nu'aym, Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Subkī and others, drawing freely on material transmitted by members of Aḥmad's family, regale us with the details of how the courageous and intransigent imām resisted all attempts to make him acknowledge the created Qur'ān, was ultimately flogged on al-Mu'taṣim's orders until he was unconscious,¹⁴ and was released shortly afterwards when commotion among the population of Baghdād threatened to get out of hand. These accounts include some striking embellishments, for example, how Aḥmad's *sarāwīl* were supernaturally restored to their proper place (by a golden hand in some versions) when they were in the process of slipping off while he was being flogged. In sum, what is portrayed is an archetypal Sunnī hero, quietist by disposition but resolute when pressed to espouse a view he regards as religiously improper: there is no room for *taqīya* here.¹⁵

That Aḥmad was flogged is not in doubt, for all that the incident is ignored by al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Miskawayh; the sources give as the date of this event both Ramaḍān 219/September 834 and Ramaḍān 220/September 835, the second of which is to be preferred if it is correct that the total period of his detention was about two-and-a-half years.¹⁶ There are, however, certain respects in which the received Sunnī account may in fact be questioned, in view of what some of the sources have to say. In the first place, these sources are under the impression that Aḥmad was flogged until he actually acknowledged the created

¹² Ibn Taghrībirdī, II, 230.

¹³ Al-Kindī, 193, 445ff.

¹⁴ But cf. the alternative version given by Abū Nu'aym, IX, 205f.

¹⁵ For a detailed treatment of all this, see Patton, 93ff.

¹⁶ See, e.g., Ṣāliḥ ibn Aḥmad, 278; Ḥanbal ibn Iṣḥāq, 42.

Qur'ān: al-Ya'qūbī knew this to be the case,¹⁷ and Aḥmad's contemporary al-Jāḥiẓ tells us that it took only 30 strokes;¹⁸ al-Mas'ūdī thought that it took 38 strokes,¹⁹ while Ibn al-Murtaḍā opts for 68.²⁰ Secondly, these sources know nothing about Aḥmad's release having been occasioned by a public commotion; for them, his release was the consequence of his acknowledgement, although Ibn al-Murtaḍā would have us believe that it took place only after he had acknowledged the created Qur'ān before the assembled population of Baghdād. Thirdly, what these sources have to say provides an alternative explanation of why Aḥmad was subsequently left alone by the authorities; it was not because they lacked the nerve to test him again, but because he had capitulated. None of these sources can be regarded as other than more or less hostile to Aḥmad, but even so it is difficult to explain away the essence of what they have to say. The *en passant* remark by al-Jāḥiẓ, in particular, with its casual and matter-of-fact tone, has a convincing ring to it: Ibn al-Murtaḍā's reference to Aḥmad's public acknowledgement of defeat may well be dismissed as an embellishment, although it would have made good sense from the point of view of Ibn | Abī Du'ād, who was by this time *qāḍī 'l-quḍāt* and thus in effect chief inquisitor; and even Ibn al-Jawzī was aware of such accounts, for all that he eschewed them (337: *ḥikāyāt fī qiṣṣat ḍarbihi lam yathbut 'indanā ṣiḥḥatuhā fa-tanakkabnāhā*).

However the case of Aḥmad is to be viewed, it is apparent that this was the last occasion on which al-Mu'taṣim involved himself in any conspicuous way with the prosecution of the *miḥna*. Thereafter he was preoccupied with moving his capital to Sāmarrā', dealing with the rebel Bābak, mounting his celebrated offensive against Amorium, coping with the revolt of Māzyār, and in 226/841, the year before his death, overseeing the trial and execution of Afshīn. Although al-Kindī is (presumably) referring only to Miṣr when he says that the matter of the *miḥna* was easy during the rule of al-Mu'taṣim (see above), his remark appears also to be true more generally; Ibn Taghrībirdī even goes so far as to suggest that al-Mu'taṣim at some point banned the testing of 'ulamā':²¹ and the relative inactivity of Ibn Abī Du'ād during these years remains in need

¹⁷ *Ta'rīkh*, II, 577.

¹⁸ *Rasā'il*, ed. Sandūbī, 152.

¹⁹ *Murūj*, §2797.

²⁰ *Ṭabaqāt al-mu'tazila*, 125.

²¹ *Al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, II, 259.

of explanation. Not until the last year of al-Mu'taṣim's reign can any changes be observed in respect of the application of the *miḥna*, at Miṣr in one case and Baghdād in another. The first of these changes came when the Mālikī *qādī* of Miṣr, Ḥārūn ibn 'Abdallāh al-Zuhrī, who had accepted the doctrine of the created Qur'ān since the time of al-Ma'mūn and had henceforward tested witnesses in court, balked at transporting *fuqahā'* [scil. to 'Irāq] for testing and was suspended from duty in Ṣafar 226/December 840.²² Ibn Abī Du'ād immediately put in charge of the *miḥna* in Miṣr a certain Muḥammad ibn Abī 'l-Layth al-Aṣamm, who was a *faqīh* according to the "*madhhab* of the Kūfans"²³ and is identified as a Mu'tazilī.²⁴ He set about transporting people to 'Irāq for interrogation, among them the traditionists Nu'aym ibn Ḥammād and al-Shāfi'ī's disciple Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā al-Buwayṭī,²⁵ both of whom later died there in prison.²⁶ Two months later, Ibn Abī 'l-Layth was formally appointed *qādī* of Miṣr.²⁷ Secondly, there were the activities of Shu'ayb ibn Sahl, one of the Baghdād *qādīs*, who "tested" people and adorned the mosque of al-Ruṣāfa with writing to the effect that the Qur'ān had been created. In Rabī' I 227/January 842, only days after the death of al-Mu'taṣim and the accession of his son al-Wāthiq, Shu'ayb's residence was plundered and he himself was obliged to flee.²⁸ This too would seem to be indicative of an intensification of *miḥna* activity on the part of Ibn Abī Du'ād, and that at a time when al-Mu'taṣim had fallen ill.²⁹

According to al-Kindī's account, al-Wāthiq wrote immediately after his accession to Ibn Abī 'l-Layth in Miṣr instructing him to prosecute the *miḥna* with vigour, and the energetic *qādī* "left no *faqīh*, *muḥaddith*, *mu'adhdhin* or *mu'allim* untested. Many people fled and the prisons were full of those who had denied the *miḥna*"; he ordered that the words "There is no god but God, the Lord of the created Qur'ān" be inscribed on the mosques of Fuṣṭāt; and he denied Mālikī and Shāfi'ī *fuqahā'* access, or even proximity, to the [main] mosque.³⁰ In recognition

²² Al-Kindī, 447, 449.

²³ *Ibid.*, 449.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 467.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 447.

²⁶ Patton, 119; Ibn al-Jawzī, 397f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, X, 460ff., XI, 427ff.

²⁷ Al-Kindī, 449.

²⁸ Wakī', III, 277; cf. *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, IX, 243.

²⁹ Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1323.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 451; cf. Abū 'l-Arab, 253.

of his efforts, the poet al-Jamal al-Akbar praised him for having "protected" the *qawl* of Abū Ḥanīfa and having "smashed" the *qawl* of the Shāfi'īs and Mālikīs;³¹ and it was this same *qāḍī* who is reported to have tested the Mālikī Muḥammad (or 'Abd al-Ḥakam) ibn 'Abdallāh ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam and to have had him flogged in the *masjid* of Miṣr clad only in his underwear.³²

Ibn Taghrībirdī, on the other hand, says it was in 231/845-46 that the caliph wrote to the provinces (*'amāl*) instructing that the '*ulamā'*' be tested with regard to the created Qur'ān,³³ and this apparently included the people of the marches (*ahl al-thughūr*);³⁴ in the same year, he declined to ransom those Muslims held by the Byzantines who would not acknowledge that the Qur'ān had been created.³⁵ In this same year, too, Aḥmad ibn Naṣr al-Khuzā'ī became involved in a planned uprising in Baghdād that misfired. This Aḥmad, the scion of a distinguished partisan of the 'Abbāsids in the days of the coup that brought them to power, opposed the doctrine of the created Qur'ān and was much frequented by the Baghdādī *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*. On being brought before al-Wāthiq, he was questioned not about the uprising but about the Qur'ān, and his responses drove the enraged caliph to make a personal start on decapitating him; his head was thenceforward placed on public view in Baghdād as a grisly warning to potential non-conformists, while his cadaver stayed in Sāmarrā', also on display.³⁶ Coincidentally, it was also in the year 231/846 that Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn al-Aghlab seized power in Ifrīqiya from his brother Muḥammad (briefly, as it turned out), proclaimed the doctrine of the created Qur'ān, instituted a *mihna*, and had the distinguished Mālikī jurist Saḥnūn arraigned at al-Qayrawān before the Mu'tazilī *qāḍī* Ibn Abī 'l-Jawād; Saḥnūn held to the view that the Qur'ān was "the speech of God and not created" and was sentenced to house arrest.³⁷

Al-Wāthiq is said to have left off the doctrine of the created Qur'ān after a shaykh from Adana, who was one of *ahl al-fiqh wa'l-ḥadīth*,

³¹ Al-Kindī, 452.

³² Abū 'l-'Arab, 437, cf. 253.

³³ *Al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, II, 259.

³⁴ Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1352.

³⁵ Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1353 f.; al-Ya'qūbī, II, 589; Patton, 120.

³⁶ Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1342-49; al-Ya'qūbī, II, 589; Patton, 116-18.

³⁷ Talbi, *L'émirat aghlabide*, 228; Abū 'l-'Arab, 454ff., can be added to Talbi's references.

bested Ibn Abī Du'ād in argument on the subject.³⁸ But it was his brother al-Mutawakkil who succeeded him in Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 232/August 847, who put an end to the *miḥna*. Al-Subkī tells us³⁹ that this happened in 234/848–49, and Patton concurs.⁴⁰ Certainly, it appears to have been in Jumādā I–II 234/January–February 849 that al-Mutawakkil prohibited argument about the Qur'ān and sent instructions to this effect throughout his domains;⁴¹ and this decision may well have been facilitated by the fact that Ibn Abī Du'ād had become paralysed in the preceding year.⁴² But there are grounds for holding the view that it was not until 237/851–52 that the *miḥna* episode was completely phased out. In the first place, it was in that year that the mortal remains of Aḥmad ibn Naṣr were taken down and given over to his relatives and that those who had been imprisoned on account of the doctrine of the created Qur'ān were released;⁴³ it was in that year too that Aḥmad ibn Abī Du'ād and his sons were deprived of all influence, together with their estates and most of their wealth, and were sent by al-Mutawakkil away from Sāmarrā' to Baghdād.⁴⁴

Secondly, it is instructive to take note of the dates when *qāḍīs* who had implemented the *miḥna* were replaced: Ibn Abī 'l-Layth was dismissed as *qāḍī* of Miṣr in Sha'bān 235/February–March 850 at the order of al-Mutawakkil, who instructed that he be cursed from the *minbar*,⁴⁵ and his replacement was appointed in Jumādā I 237/November 851;⁴⁶ the *qāḍī* of Mecca throughout the *miḥna* period, 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Zayd ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanzala al-Makhzūmī (who was “doctrinally corrupt [*khabīth al-ra'y*] and used to test the people and frighten”), was dismissed at an unspecified date and his replacement was appointed in

³⁸ Patton, 121ff.; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, §§3132–38, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, IV, 151f., and Ibn al-Jawzī, 350ff. can be added to Patton's references.

³⁹ II, 54.

⁴⁰ Patton, 122.

⁴¹ Al-Kindī, 197; al-Ṭabarī, III, 1412 (*lammā afdat ilayhi 'l-khilāfa*); Ibn Taghrībirdī, II, 275.

⁴² Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1379.

⁴³ Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1412f.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, II, 290; cf. al-Ya'qūbī, II, 592, which implies that the prisoners were released earlier.

⁴⁴ Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1410f.

⁴⁵ Al-Kindī, 463.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 467.

238/852-53;⁴⁷ the *qādī* of Kūfa for practically the whole of the *miḥna* period, Ghassān ibn Muḥammad al-Marwazī (who “used to test the people . . . and was one of the *aṣḥāb* of Ibn Abī Du’ād”) was dismissed by al-Mutawakkil in 235/849-50 and his replacement was appointed in the same year;⁴⁸ and one of the Baghdād *qādīs*, ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ghālib (who was one of the *aṣḥāb* of Ibn Abī Du’ād), was dismissed by al-Mutawakkil in 234/848-49,⁴⁹ while another, ‘Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Yazīd al-Khalanjī (“one of the *aṣḥāb* of Ibn Abī Du’ād who used to test the people”), was dismissed at an unspecified date (probably 237) and his replacement was appointed in 237/851-52.⁵⁰ In short, al-Mutawakkil apparently thought it prudent to proceed cautiously in bringing the *miḥna* to an end: the beginning of the end was the edict of 234; the end of the end was the deportation of Ibn Abī Du’ād and his sons in 237.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MIḤNA

Why should al-Ma’mūn have wished to institute a *miḥna* at all and why should the issue have been the createdness of the Qur’ān? In attempting to answer these questions, we should first note that the prevailing view among early traditionists was an insistence that the Qur’ān was truly the speech of God and a denial that it had been created, “without turning this denial into a positive doctrine affirming its eternity or pre-existence”.⁵¹ In other words, in opposing the view that the Qur’ān had been created, such people were not saying that it was uncreated but simply that it was God’s personal speech, a view that was usually accompanied by a more general anthropomorphism and ran counter to the notion of stripping God of His attributes (*ta’tūl*); as God’s personal speech, the Qur’ān was perceived as an expression of the essence of God and was “associated with God much more closely than any part of his creation”.⁵² It is also clear, however, that, during at least part of

⁴⁷ Wakī’, I, 268f.

⁴⁸ Wakī’, III, 194.

⁴⁹ Wakī’, III, 277; Ibn Abī ‘l-Wafā’, I, 237.

⁵⁰ Wakī’, III, 291f., which reads “al-Khalanjī”; Tabarī, III, 1411. Cf. Ibn Abī ‘l-Wafā’, I, 290, no. 764 (al-Khalanjī) and II, 304, no. 397 (al-Khalanjī).

⁵¹ Madelung, “Controversy,” 513.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 511.

his career, Abū Ḥanīfa had taught that the Qur'ān had been created,⁵³ and that this contributed to serious differences of opinion within the ranks of his followers,⁵⁴ notably as between, on the one hand, those who were tradition-minded and adhered to the notions of the Qur'ān as the speech of God, “neither creator nor created”,⁵⁵ and, on the other hand, those who were robustly critical of *ḥadīth* and held the view that the Qur'ān had been created. Thus, in the course of the *miḥna*, we find followers of Abū Ḥanīfa among both the “testers” and the “tested”.⁵⁶

Al-Ma'mūn himself, we are told, “excelled in *fiqh* according to the *madhhab* of Abū Ḥanīfa”.⁵⁷ At the same time, his views on the Qur'ān, as spelled out in his *miḥna* letters/edicts, are quite unambiguous: he accused the objects of his odium of putting God and the Qur'ān on an equal level, of claiming that it is eternal and primordial, and that God has not created, originated or produced it; they are like the Christians, who claim that Jesus was not created because he is the word of God.⁵⁸ What was he trying to achieve? According to Sourdel, “jamais auparavant on n'avait vu un calife se présenter comme un ‘docteur’, chargé par Dieu d'éclairer la communauté et de lui communiquer la science qui lui avait été confiée”,⁵⁹ Lapidus, on the other hand, sees the *miḥna* as part of a general effort to restore (*sic*) the ideological authority of the caliphate;⁶⁰ and this idea is taken further by Crone and Hinds,⁶¹ who propose that the type of the caliphal religious authority which al-Ma'mūn sought to re-establish was one which had indeed been familiar in the time of the Umayyad caliphate. Whether he would have succeeded if he had lived longer is one of the great questions of counterfactual history, although the odds were certainly against him: for he had to contend not only with the choice of his 'Abbāsīd predecessors to play up their role as kinsmen of the Prophet (at the expense of their role as deputies of God) but also with the fact that by his time the transformation of *sunna* into Prophetic Sunna documented by *ḥadīth* had gone a long way.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 509f.

⁵⁴ See e.g. Watt, *Formative Period*, 197, 285.

⁵⁵ Madelung, 508.

⁵⁶ Watt, 286.

⁵⁷ Ibn Taghrībirdī, II, 225.

⁵⁸ Madelung, 517, citing al-Ṭabarī, III, 1113, 1118.

⁵⁹ “Politique religieuse”, 44.

⁶⁰ “Separation”, 379.

⁶¹ *God's Caliph*, chap. 5.

According to Watt, the point of insisting on a created Qur'ān as the central feature of the *miḥna* was that it had less prestige than an uncreated Qur'ān (since God might have created it otherwise), and "there could not be the same objections to its provisions being overruled by the decree of an inspired imam. Thus the doctrine of createdness enhanced the power of the caliph and the secretaries, that of uncreatedness the power of the ulama".⁶² But this misses the point: for one thing, the doctrine of the created Qur'ān is a doctrine about God, and more specifically about God's unity, rather than a doctrine about the Qur'ān, and there is in any case no evidence whatsoever to support the view that al-Ma'mūn wanted to overrule the Qur'ān; for another, it is clear that it was the populist *ḥadīth* enthusiasts who were al-Ma'mūn's target. What al-Ma'mūn in fact appears to have been doing is espousing that form of what may be called "hardline" Ḥanafī thinking which was cautious about *ḥadīth* and held to the doctrine of the created Qur'ān, and which to that extent had an affinity with the early Mu'tazilī insistence that the Qur'ān be "the only basis for their system of religious doctrine . . . [an insistence which] led them to the rejection of most traditions and, by implication, of legal doctrines based on traditions".⁶³ This is not to say that the inspiration for the *miḥna* necessarily came from Mu'tazilīs or that its initial purpose was the imposition of Mu'tazilī doctrine; indeed van Ess has drawn attention to Ibn Ṭayfūr's important indications (i) that the truly influential figure behind al-Ma'mūn was the Jahmite Ḥanafī Bishr al-Marīsī, who, while he shared with the Mu'tazila a belief in the doctrine of the created Qur'ān, did not hold with their doctrine of free will; and (ii) that al-Ma'mūn himself also left off *al-qawl bi'l-qadar*.⁶⁴ But this would appear to have been the only point of major difference between the two stances. Otherwise, there are simply further similarities. For example, Abū 'l-'Arab⁶⁵ knew of a *miḥna* letter from al-Ma'mūn to Ishāq which stipulated not only the doctrine of the created Qur'ān but also the denial of *'adhāb al-qabr* and other aspects of popular eschatology: this was very much in line with Mu'tazilī thinking. In addition, there is the striking association of many Mu'tazilīs of the period with Ḥanafī *fiqh*,⁶⁶

⁶² *Formative Period*, 179.

⁶³ Schacht, *Origins*, 258.

⁶⁴ Van Ess, "Ḍirār", 34.

⁶⁵ *Miḥan*, 451.

⁶⁶ E.g. Watt, 286.

and since the Mu'tazilīs never elaborated a system of legal doctrine of their own, it can be concluded that such people found "hardline" Ḥanafī *fiqh* perfectly congenial. In short, in the context of the *miḥna*, Mu'tazilī interests overlapped considerably with those of al-Ma'mūn, for all that they were not identical; and this is reflected in al-Ma'mūn's testamentary stipulation that al-Mu'taṣim should make Ibn Abī Du'ād his closest confidant.

Al-Ma'mūn's own commitment to vigorous prosecution of the *miḥna* comes across strongly in his letters/edicts on the subject. In the case of his successors al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq, however, no evidence attests to the same degree of commitment, and it would seem to be fair to conclude that they simply did not share al-Ma'mūn's vision in this regard. They were in addition functioning in the new military environment of Sāmarrā' and were thus more remote than al-Ma'mūn had been from the civilian Muslim population; al-Mu'taṣim in particular was preoccupied with other important matters; and al-Wāthiq, for all his early enthusiasm, may in the end have convinced himself that the *miḥna*, on any level beyond that of a courtroom formality, was simply not going to work. The tradition-minded *fuqahā'* and the *muḥaddithūn* and their constituencies among the *'amma* were manifesting seemingly inexhaustible dumb insolence in defence of their personal God and the lowbrow accretions that went with Him. With the advent of the apoplexy of Ibn Abī Du'ād, al-Mutawakkil can only have felt that he had more to gain than to lose by putting an end to the whole unfortunate affair.

The principal consequences of the failure of the *miḥna* were clear enough: it brought to a decisive end any notion of a caliphal role in the definition of Islam and it permitted the unchecked development of what in due course would become recognisable as Sunnism. The Mu'tazila and what they stood for were discredited, while populist sentiments and what passed as Prophetic *ḥadīth* were the order of the day. It was now unquestionably the *'ulamā'*, rather than the caliphs, who were "the legatees of the prophets" (*warathat al-anbiyā'*); and henceforward it would be they who, armed with this spiritual authority, and at a distance from those who held temporal power, elaborated classical Islam.

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In the arrangement adopted here, the Arabic definite article (*al-*) at the beginning of an entry, the transliteration symbols for the Arabic letters *hamza* (‘) and ‘*ayn* (‘), and distinctions between different letters transliterated by the same Latin character (e.g. *d* and *ḍ*) are ignored for purposes of alphabetization.

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