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Volume XVIII

Between Civil Wars: The Caliphate of Mu'awiyah

translated and annotated

by

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This selection is in the middle of Mu'awiyya's reign. It discusses the process he used to get his son Yazid accepted as his heir.

The Events of the Year 56 [173]
(November 25, 675-November 13, 676)

Among these events was the winter campaign of Junadah b. Abi Umayyah in Byzantine territory. `Abd al-Rahman b. Ma-s'ud is also said to have led this campaign. Yazid b. Shajarah al-Rahawi is also said to have raided by sea while `Iyad b. al-Harith did so by land.

Al-Walid b. `Utbah b. Abi Sufyan led the people in the pilgrimage according to the account I was told by Ahmad b. Thabit—someone—Ishaq b. `Isa—Abu Ma'shar.

During this year Mu'awiyah performed the minor pilgrimage (*'umrah*) during Rajab (May 20-June 18, 676).

During this year Mu'awiyah summoned the people to acknowledge his son, Yazid, as his successor, and made him heir apparent (*waif al-'ahd*).⁵¹⁸

**Why Mu'awiyah Made His Son, Yazid,
 Heir Apparent**

I was told by al-Harith—`Ali b. Muhammad—Abu Isma'il al-Hamdani and `Ali b. Mujahid—al-Sha'bi: Al-Mughirah came to

⁵¹⁸ Lit: "possessor of a pact."

Mu'awiyah, and gave him his resignation, while complaining of weakness. Mu'awiyah relieved him and wanted to appoint Sa'id b. al-'As. Al-Mughirah's secretary heard of that, so he came to Sa'id b. al-'As and informed him of this while a Kufan called Rabi'ah or al-Rabi' of the Khuza'ah was with him. The latter then came to al-Mughirah, saying, "O Mughirah, I certainly think that the Commander of the Faithful disliked you. I saw Ibn Khunays, your secretary, with Sa'id b. al-'As informing him that the Commander of the Faithful would put him in charge of al-Kufah." Al-Mughirah responded, "Does he not say as al-A'sha said;

Or was your master absent so you suffered a need?
and perhaps your master will return with backing.

[174]

Go slowly! I will go to Yazid." Al-Mughirah then went to see Yazid, and proposed the acknowledgement to him. When Yazid conveyed that to his father, Mu'awiyah reappointed al-Mughirah to al-Kufah, ordering him to work for Yazid's acknowledgement. Al-Mughirah then departed for al-Kufah, and his secretary, Ibn Khunays, came to him, saying, "By God, I did not deceive you nor betray you nor did I dislike your government, but I owed Sa'id a favor, and I was grateful to him for it." Al-Mughirah was pleased with him and took him back into his chancery. Al-Mughirah also worked for Yazid's acknowledgement, and sent an envoy to Mu'awiyah about it.

I was told by al-Harith—'Ali—Maslamah: When Mu'awiyah wanted to acknowledge Yazid (as his successor) he wrote to Ziyad, asking him for advice. Ziyad then sent for 'Ubayd b. Ka'b al-Numayri, saying, "Everyone who asks advice has trust, and every secret has a place to put it. Indeed people have devised for them two qualities—revealing secrets and giving out advice to people who do not deserve it. The only repository for secrets is one of two men—an otherworldly man who hopes for a reward and a man of this world who has self-respect and discernment which preserves his esteem. I have experienced them both from you, therefore I have praised that on your behalf. I have summoned you about a matter which I hesitate to put in writing. Indeed the Commander of the Faithful has written to me claiming that he has decided to acknowledge Yazid [as his

successor]. However, his is afraid of the people's disapproval. He hopes for their agreement, and asks my advice. Support for Islam and its security is important, while Yazid is easy-going and neglectful, given his devotion to hunting. So meet the Commander of the Faithful, acting on my behalf, and inform him about Yazid's actions. Tell him, 'Go slowly in this matter, for it would be more appropriate in order to accomplish what you want. Don't hurry, because attainment with delay is better than haste without success.'⁵¹⁹

[175]

'Ubayd answered him, "There is an alternative." Ziyad asked, "What is it?" 'Ubayd advised, "Don't disparage Mu'awiyah's view to him, and don't make him hate his son. I shall meet with Yazid in secret, informing him on your behalf that the Commander of the Faithful has written to you asking your advice about Yazid's acknowledgement [as successor], and that you fear the disapproval of the people because of flaws which they hold against him. I shall also tell him that you think he should abandon the behavior that is held against him, so that the Commander of the Faithful's argument before the people would be strengthened. What you desire will be easy. Thus you will have prepared Yazid and satisfied the Commander of the Faithful, as well as having avoided what you fear regarding the community." At that, Ziyad replied, "You have hit the nail on the head."⁵²⁰ Depart with God's blessing. If you are successful, it will not be disavowed; and if you are mistaken, [it will] not be deception. I do not consider you to be one who makes mistakes, if God wills." 'Ubayd responded, "You say what you think, and God determines in secret what He knows." He then came to Yazid and conferred with him (about) that, while Ziyad wrote to Mu'awiyah urging him to be cautious and not to hurry. Mu'awiyah accepted that, and Yazid refrained from doing much of what he used to do. Then 'Ubayd came back to Ziyad, and the latter gave him a land-grant.

I was told by al-Harith—'Ali: When Ziyad died, Mu'awiyah called for a document about appointing Yazid as his successor and read it to the people. In the event of his death, Yazid would

⁵¹⁹ The text reads: *fawt*; C reads: *mawt*, "death."

⁵²⁰ Lit. "You have hit the matter with its stone."

be heir apparent. He was able to get the people to acknowledge Yazid except for five persons.⁵²¹

I was told by Ya'qub b. Ibrahim—Isma'il b. Ibrahim—Ibn 'Awn—a man at Nakhlah.⁵²² The people acknowledged Yazid b. Mu'awiyah except for al-Husayn b. 'Ali, Ibn 'Umar, Ibn al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Bakr, and Ibn 'Abbas. So when Mu'awiyah came (to al-Madinah) he sent for al-Husayn b. 'Ali, saying, "O cousin, the people have been able to acknowledge Yazid except for five persons of the Quraysh whom you lead. O cousin, what is your purpose in disagreeing?" He replied, "Do I lead them?" Mu'awiyah replied that he did. Al-Husayn said, "So send for them, and if they acknowledge [Yazid], I would be one of them, and if not, don't be rushing me into something." Mu'awiyah asked, "And would you do so?" When al-Husayn replied that he would, Mu'awiyah then obliged him not to inform anyone about their conversation. Although that was difficult for him, al-Husayn granted that, and then left. Ibn al-Zubayr had a man wait for al-Husayn in the street, who said, "Your brother, Ibn al-Zubayr asks you, 'What happened?'" He continued thus with al-Husayn until he got something out of him. Then, after (meeting with) al-Husayn, Mu'awiyah sent for Ibn al-Zubayr, saying to him, "The people have been able to do this except for five persons of the Quraysh. You lead them, O cousin, so what is your purpose in disagreeing?" Ibn al-Zubayr asked, "Do I lead them?" When Mu'awiyah replied that he did, Ibn al-Zubayr said, "So send for them, and if they acknowledge, I would be one of them, and if not, don't be rushing me into something." Mu'awiyah asked, "And would you do so?" When he replied that he would, Mu'awiyah obliged him not to inform anyone of their conversation. He replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, we are in the sanctuary of God, Almighty and Great, and the pact of God, praise Him, is serious." So he refused him and left. Then, after Ibn al-Zubayr, Mu'awiyah sent for Ibn 'Umar and spoke with him in

[176]

⁵²¹ According to Ibn Khayyat, *Ta'rikh*, I, 248, Mu'awiyah had the Syrians acknowledge Yazid in the year 50(670/71).

⁵²² This place is either Nakhlat Muhmud, the first stopping-place on the way from Mecca to al-Sadir, or Nakhlah al-Yamaniyyah, the valley south of Mecca where the Battle of Hunayn was fought. See Yaqut, *Mu'jam*, IV, 769.

words that were softer than those he had used with his companion, saying, "Indeed, I fear that I would leave the community of Muhammad after me like sheep without a shepherd. It has been possible for the people to do this except for five persons of Quraysh, whom you lead. So what is your purpose in disagreeing?" Ibn 'Umar replied, "What would you think about something that will avoid censure and spare blood while you achieve your purpose thereby?" Mu'awiyah replied, "I would like that." Ibn 'Umar said, "Set up your throne publicly, then I will come and acknowledge you on condition that I will enter after you into whatever the community shall agree upon. For, by God, if the community should agree upon an Abyssinian slave after you, I would do the same." Mu'awiyah asked, "And would you do so?" He answered that he would. Then he left, and arriving at his home, he shut his door. People began to come but he would not admit them. Mu'awiyah then sent for 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Bakr saying, "O Ibn Abi Bakr, by what hand or foot do you come to disobey me?" He replied, "I hope that it would be good for me." Mu'awiyah responded, "By God, I intended to kill you." He answered, "If you do so, may God cause a curse to follow you in this world for it and make you enter the fire in the next [world] for it." The man at Nakhlah did not mention Ibn 'Abbas.⁵²³

[177]

Marwan b. al-Hakam was the governor of al-Madinah during this year, while al-Dahhak b. Qays was in charge of al-Kufah, 'Ubaydallah b. Ziyad was in charge of al-Basrah, and Sa'id b. 'Uthman was in charge of Khurasan.

The reason why Sa'id was governor of Khurasan is in the account which I was told by 'Umar—'Ali—Muhammad b. Hafs: When Sa'id b. 'Uthman asked Mu'awiyah to make him governor of Khurasan, the latter replied, "Ubaydallah b. Ziyad is there." Sa'id then asked, "Did not my father make you and raise you until you achieved through his effort the utmost point which he was not able to attain nor seek to surpass? But you were not grateful for his favor nor requited him for his benefits. You put this one (that is Yazid b. Mu'awiyah) ahead of me

⁵²³ According to Ibn Khayyat, *Ta'rikh*, I, 252-57, these events occurred in year 51 (671/2)

and acknowledged him. By God, I am better than he with respect to father, mother, and self." Mu'awiyah replied, "As far as your father's favor is concerned, I am obliged to repay him. It was out of gratitude for that that I sought revenge for his blood until matters ran their course, and I will not blame myself for rallying my forces. Regarding the superiority of your father over Yazid's, your father, by God, was better than I and closer to the Messenger of God. Concerning the superiority of your mother over Yazid's, it is not denied. A woman from Quraysh is better than a woman from the Kalb. As for your superiority over him, by God, I want the Ghutah⁵²⁴ to be filled by men like you for Yazid." At that, Yazid told Mu'awiyah, "O Commander of the Faithful, he is your paternal cousin, and you are the most worthy to consider his case. He censured me to you, so censure him." Mu'awiyah then put Sa'id in charge of the military affairs of Khurasan and Ishaq b. Talhah in charge of collecting taxes there. This Ishaq was a maternal cousin of Mu'awiyah, and his mother was Umm Aban bt. 'Utbah b. Rabi'ah. When he reached al-Rayy, Ishaq b. Talhah died, so Sa'id was put in charge of both the taxes and military affairs of Khurasan.

[178]

~~I was told by 'Umar—'Ali—Maslamah: Sa'id left for Khurasan accompanied by Aws b. Tha'labah al-Taymi, the master of Qasr Aws, Talhah b. 'Abdallah b. Khalaf al-Khuza'i, al-Muhallab hallab b. Abi Sufrah, and Rabi'ah b. Isl, one of the Banu 'Amr b. Yarbu'. There were bedouin folk barring the road against pilgrims in the depth of a defile. Sa'id was told, "Here are folk barring the road against pilgrims, and they fear to take to the road lest you take them out with you. Sa'id then took out some folk of the Banu Tamim, among whom was Malik b. al-Rayb al-Mazini, along with youths who were with him.⁵²⁵ Concerning them the poet declaimed:⁵²⁶~~

⁵²⁴ The Ghutah is the fertile cultivated region around Damascus irrigated by the Barada River. See *EI*² s.v. al-Ghuta.

⁵²⁵ For additional details according to Abu 'Ubaydah and Abu al-Hasan al-Mada'ini, see 'Abd al-Qadir al-Baghdadi, *Khizanat al-adab*, II, 210; Kufi, *Futuh*, IV, 187-99.

⁵²⁶ See Isfahani, *Aghani*, XIX, 163; Ibn Qutaybah, *Shu'ara*, 270.

This selection is given by Tabari as part of his death notice for Mu`awiyya.

and Habib b. Maslamah al-Fihri married her. Then after Habib, al-Nu'man b. Basher al-Ansari married her. Al-Nu'man was killed and his head was put in her lap. Among Mu'awiyah's wives was Katwah bt. Qurazah, the sister of Fakhitah. He raided Cyprus⁵⁷⁰ while she was with him, and she died there.

Some of Mu'awiyah's Affairs and Conduct

I was told by Ahmad b. Zuhayr—'Ali: When allegiance was rendered to Mu'awiyah as Caliph, he put Qays b. Hamzah al-Hamdani in charge of his police. Then he dismissed him and appointed Zumayl b. 'Amr al-'Udhri,⁵⁷¹ or al-Saksaki Mu'awiyah's secretary and the person in charge of his business was Sarjun b. Mansur al-Rumi. One of his mawali called al-Mukhtar was in charge of his guard (*haras*). This is also said to have been a man called Malik, who was nicknamed Abu al-Mukhariq, a mawla of Himyar.⁵⁷² Mu'awiyah was the first to make use of bodyguards. Sa'd,⁵⁷³ his mawla, was in charge of his gatekeepers. Fadalah b. 'Utbah al-Ansari⁵⁷⁴ was in charge of rendering judgment. When Fadalah died, Mu'awiyah appointed Abu Idris 'A'idhallah b. 'Abdallah al-Khawlani⁵⁷⁵ to render judgment. So far this has been the account of Ahmad according to 'Ali. Others than 'Ali said: 'Abdallah b. Mihsan al-Himyari was in

⁵⁷⁰ Cyprus was attacked by Mu'awiyah in 28(648/9) See *EP*² s.v. Kubrus.

⁵⁷¹ Zumayl b. 'Amr (or Zama b. Rabi'ah) b. al-'Anaz b. Khashaf b. Khudayj al-'Udhri had been a member of his tribe's delegation to Muhammad. The latter gave him a standard which he kept until he fought at Siffin along with Mu'awiyah, where he was one of the witnesses to the arbitration agreement. He witnessed the rendering of allegiance (*bay'ah*) to Marwan at Jabiyah, and died at the battle of Marj Rahit in 64(683/4) See Ibn al-Athir, *Usd*, II, 205; and Ibn Hajar, *Isabah*, I, 551, II, 19. For a slightly different account see Ibn Khayyat, *Ta'rikh*, I, 276.

⁵⁷² Ibn Khayyat, *Ta'rikh*, I, 276, calls him Abu al-Mukhtar.

⁵⁷³ Ibid.: Abu Ayyub.

⁵⁷⁴ Fadalah b. 'Utbah (or 'Ubayd) al-Ansari (d. 53[673]) was a Companion of Muhammad at Hudaybiyah, participated in the conquest of Egypt, and settled in Syria where Mu'awiyah put him in charge of rendering judgment at Damascus when he went to Siffin. He also led sea raids against the Byzantines. See Ibn al-Athir, *Usd*, IV, 182.

⁵⁷⁵ Abu Idris 'A'idhallah b. 'Abdallah al-Khawlani (9-ca. 86 [630-ca. 705]) one of the greatest of the Followers, was judge at Damascus from 53(673) until his death. See Ibn al-Athir, *Usd*, III, 99, V, 134.

charge of the department of the seal. Mu'awiyah was the first one who used a department of the seal. The reason for that was that Mu'awiyah ordered one hundred thousand dirhams for 'Amr b. al-Zubayr to relieve the latter of his debts. Mu'awiyah wrote about that to Ziyad b. Sumayyah while the latter was in charge of Iraq. 'Amr then opened the letter and changed the one hundred to two hundred. When Ziyad presented his invoice, Mu'awiyah disclaimed it, required 'Amr to return the money, and imprisoned him. His brother, 'Abdallah b. al-Zubayr, paid it on his behalf. At that, Mu'awiyah established the department of the seal, and he tied up letters, which had not been tied (before).⁵⁷⁶

[206]

I was told by 'Abdallah b. Ahmad b. Shabbawayh—his father—Sulayman—'Abdallah b. al-Mubarik—Ibn Abi Dhi'b—Sa'id al-Maqburi⁵⁷⁷ Umar b. al-Khattab: You speak of Kisra and Qaysar and their shrewdness while Mu'awiyah is with you!

I was told by 'Abdallah b. Ahmad—his father—Sulayman: I read—'Abdallah—Fulayh.: I was told that when 'Amr b. al-'As visited Mu'awiyah with the Egyptians, 'Amr told them, "Pay attention when you enter the presence of Ibn Hind lest you greet him as Caliph. That will make you great in his eyes. Reduce him as much as you can." When they came to him, Mu'awiyah told his gate-keepers, "Indeed, as I know Ibn al-Nabighah, he will have reduced my position with the folk, so pay attention when the delegation enters, shake them as strongly as you can, and don't let a single one of them reach me unless he is concerned about his own destruction." The first one who entered his presence was an Egyptian called Ibn al-Khayyat. He entered shaken, saying, "Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God!" The folk did that in succession, and when they left, 'Amr told them, "God curse you! I forbade you to greet him as amir, so you greeted him as Prophet."

[207]

One day Mu'awiyah wore his black turban and lined his eyelids with kohl, and he was the most handsome person when he

⁵⁷⁶ Ibn Khayyat, *Ta'rikh*, I, 276, adds that 'Ubayd b. Aws al-Ghassani was Mu'awiyah's correspondence secretary (*katib al-rasa'il*).

⁵⁷⁷ Sa'id b. Kaysan was Called Sa'id b. Abi Sa'id al-Maqburi. See Nawawi, *Tahdhib*, I, 219.

did that. `Abdallah doubted whether he heard that about him or not.

I was told by Ahmad b. Zuhayr—`Ali b. Muhammad—Abu Muhammad al-Umawi: `Umar b. al-Khattab left for Syria and saw Mu`awiyah come to receive him with a procession; Mu`awiyah had gone out to `Umar with a retinue. At that, `Umar told him, "O Mu`awiyah, you go with a retinue, and you leave in the same way. I heard that you start the day in your residence while petitioners are at your door." Mu`awiyah replied, "O Commander of the Faithful, our enemy is close to us, and they have scouts and spies, so I wanted, O Commander of the Faithful, for them to see that Islam has power." `Umar answered, "This is the ruse of an intelligent man or the deception of a clever man." Mu`awiyah then said, "O Commander of the Faithful, instruct me with what you want and I shall fulfill it." `Umar replied, "Woe unto you! Whenever we discuss something which I disapprove of you doing, you leave me not knowing whether I should order you to do it or forbid you."

I was told by `Abdallah b. Ahmad—his father—Sulayman—`Abdallah—Ma`mar—Ja`far b. Burqan: Al-Mughirah wrote to Mu`awiyah, "Now then, indeed my age has become great, my bones are frail, and the Quraysh detest me, so if you see fit to dismiss me, do so." Mu`awiyah wrote back to him, "Your letter reached me in which you state that your age became great, and by my life, no one but you consumed your life. You state that the Quraysh detest you, and by my life, you obtain good only from them. Since you ask me to dismiss you, I have done so. If you were sincere, I have satisfied you; but if you were deceiving, then I have cheated you."

[208]

I was told by Ahmad—`Ali b. Muhammad—`Ali b. Mujahid: Mu`awiyah said, "If an Umawi were not taking care of his wealth prudently, he would not be like one of them. And if a Hashimi were not generous and magnanimous, he would not be like one of them. However, you don't hear about the eloquence, generosity and courage of the Hashimi."

I was told by Ahmad—`Ali—`Awanah and Khallad b. `Ubaydah: Mu`awiyah had lunch one day while `Ubaydallah b. Abi Bakr and his son, Bashir, were with him—it is also said, someone other than Bashir—so he ate a lot, and Mu`awiyah no-

ticed him. 'Ubaydallah b. Abi Bakr realized it and wanted to signal his son, but he was not able to do so, as his son did not raise his head until he was finished. When they left, he scolded his son for what he did. Then he returned to Mu'awiyah without his son, So Mu'awiyah asked, "What did your son, the mouthful, do?" "Ubaydallah replied "He complained." At that, Mu'awiyah remarked "I knew that his food would make him sick."

I was told by Ahmad—'Ali—Juwayriyyah b. Asma': Abu Musa came to Mu'awiyah and entered his presence in a black burnous, saying "Peace be upon you, O Commander of the Faithful." He replied, "And upon you be peace." When he left, Mu'awiyah commented, "The shaykh came for me to make him a governor, and, by God, I would not make him one."

I was told by 'Abdallah b. Ahmad—his father—Abu Salih Sulayman b. Salih—'Abdallah b. al-Mubarik—Sulayman b. al-Mughirah—Humayd b. Hilal—Abu Burdah: I entered Mu'awiyah's presence when his abcess afflicted him, so he said, "Come over here, O cousin, and look." I looked, and, behold, it had been probed, so I said, "There is no harm to you, O Commander of the Faithful." Yazid then entered and Mu'awiyah said, "If you were in charge of anything regarding the people. I would entrust you with this, since his father⁵⁷⁸ was my dear friend"—or words to that effect—"except that I thought differently from him about fighting."

[209]

I was told by 'Ali—Shihab b. 'Ubaydallah—Yazid b. Suwayd: Mu'awiyah admitted al-Ahnaf, and he had begun his turn. Then Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath entered and sat between Mu'awiyah and al-Ahnaf. Mu'awiyah told (al-Ahnaf), "We did not admit him before you, and you are ahead of him. You have behaved as someone who felt ashamed of himself. Just as we rule your affairs, we rule your admission. Desire from us what we desire from you, and it will be more lasting for you."

I was told by Ahmad—'Ali—Suhaym b. Hafsa: Rabi'ah b. 'Isl al-Yarbu'i spoke for Mu'awiyah,⁵⁷⁹ so Mu'awiyah said, "Give

⁵⁷⁸ Abu Burdah's father, Abu Musa al-Ash'ari, had been neutral during the first civil war.

⁵⁷⁹ That is, he offered to arrange a marriage for Mu'awiyah.

him *sawiq*⁵⁸⁰ to drink." Mu'awiyah asked him, "O Rabi'ah, how are the people where you are?" He replied, "Disagreeing about such and such a faction." Mu'awiyah inquired, "So which of them do you belong to?" He answered, "I don't belong to any of them." At that, Mu'awiyah remarked, "I think there are more of them than you said."⁵⁸¹ Rabi'ah then asked, "O Commander of the Faithful, assist me with twelve thousand tree-trunks to build my house." Mu'awiyah asked, "Where is your house?" He answered, "In al-Basrah, and it is more than two *farsakhs* [twelve km] by two *farsakhs* [square]." Mu'awiyah inquired, "Is your house in al-Basrah or is al-Basrah in your house?" Afterwards, one of Rabi'ah's sons entered the presence of Ibn Hubayrah,⁵⁸² saying, "May God make the amir prosper, I am the son of the chief of his folk. My father spoke for Mu'awiyah." Ibn Hubayrah asked Salm b. Qutaybah, "Who says this?" Salm said, "This is the son of the most foolish of his folk." Ibn Hubayrah inquired, "Did your father marry off Mu'awiyah?" When he replied that he had not, Ibn Hubayrah remarked, "Then I don't think your father accomplished anything."

[210]

I was told by Ahmad—'Ali—Abu Muhammad b. Dhakwan al-Qurashi: 'Utbah and 'Anbasah, two sons of Abu Sufyan, engaged in a dispute. 'Utbah's mother was Hind while 'Anbasah's mother was the daughter of Abu Uzayhir al-Dawsi. Mu'awiyah was rude to 'Anbasah, who retorted, "The same to you, O Commander of the Faithful!" When Mu'awiyah responded, "O 'Anbasah, 'Utbah is the son of Hind," 'Anbasah said:

We were getting along properly, our enmity was straightened
out
formerly. Then Hind began to discriminate between us.

And even if Hind did not bear me, indeed I
would be a sword which great men of glory employ.

⁵⁸⁰ *Sawiq* is a broth of barley or wheat to which sugar, honey, dates, oil, or pomegranate syrup may be added. See *Et*¹, s.v. *Sawik*.

⁵⁸¹ That is, Rabi'ah himself constituted one more faction.

⁵⁸² This is either 'Umar b. Hubayrah, governor of Iraq from 102(7:20) until 105(724) or his son Yusuf b. 'Umar, governor of Iraq from 129(741) until 132(749) See *Et*², s.v. Ibn Hubayra.

Her⁵⁸³ father a great host in every winter,
and a shelter for weak people which does not collapse from
strain.

His pots still exist
for whoever of the two valleys of Tihamah and Najd might
fear.

At that, Mu'awiyah said, "I shall never felicitate her in your
presence."

I was told by 'Abdallah b. Ahmad—his father—Sulayman—
'Abdallah—Harmalah b. 'Imran: One night Mu'awiyah heard
that the Byzantine Emperor (Qaysar) was heading for him with
an army, that Natil b. Qays al-Judhami took over Filastin and
seized its treasury, that the Egyptians whom he had impris-
oned had escaped, and that 'Ali b. Abi Talib was headed for him
with an army. At that he told his announcer (*mu'adhdhin*),
"Call [to worship] right now"—that was in the middle of the
night. 'Amr b. al-'As then came to him, asking, "Why did you
send for me?" Mu'awiyah replied, "I did not send for you."
'Amr responded, "The announcer only summoned me just
now." Mu'awiyah explained, "I was shot at by four bows."
'Amr advised, "As for those who escaped from your prison,
they are in the prison of God, Almighty and Great. They are
folk who are Sellers; you won't have to go to them. But assign
the blood price to whoever brings you one of them or his head,
and they will be brought to you. Look to the Emperor [Qaysar]
and be peaceful to him. Offer him wealth and Some of the 'gar-
ments of Egypt, and he will accept that from you. Look to Natil
b. Qays. By my life, religion did not motivate him. He only
wanted what he got, so write to him, and grant that to him, and
congratulate him for it. If you should have power over him,
[fine,] and if you don't, then don't be distressed about him. De-
vote your blade and your iron to this one who has the blood of
your cousin upon him." All of the folk had escaped from Mu'a-
wiyah's prison except Abrahah b. al-Sabbah. Mu'awiyah asked,
"What prevented you from escaping with your companions?"
Abrahah replied, "I was prevented from that by hatred for 'Ali,

[211]

⁵⁸³ That is, 'Anbasah's own mother.

not by love for you, and I cannot overcome it." Mu'awiyah then released him.

I was told by 'Abdallah—his father—Sulayman—'Abdallah b. Mas'adah⁵⁸⁴ b. Hakamah al-Fazari from the sons of the family of Badr:⁵⁸⁵ Mu'awiyah moved from one of the districts of Syria to some province of his and settled in a residence in Syria. His camp was spread out for him on the surface of a plain overlooking the road, and he permitted me to stay with him. When the caravans, trains of camels, slave girls, and horses passed by, he said, "O Ibn Mas'adah, may God have mercy on Abu Bakr who did not want this world and this world did not want him. As for 'Umar"—or Ibn Hantamah—"this world wanted him but he did not want it. As for 'Uthman, he caused losses to this world and it caused losses for him. As for us, we wallow in it." Then he seemed to repent, saying, "By God, it is the sovereignty which God brought us."

[212]

I was told by 'Ahmad—'Ali b. Muhammad—'Ali b. 'Ubaydallah: 'Amr b. al-'As wrote to Mu'awiyah asking him to grant his son 'Abdallah b. 'Amr what Mu'awiyah had granted the father with regard to Egypt. Mu'awiyah remarked, "Abu 'Abdallah wanted to write, but he babbled. I testify to you that should I outlive him, I would cancel his contract." 'Amr b. al-'As said, "Whenever I saw Mu'awiyah reclining on his arm, crossing his legs, blinking his eye, and saying to someone, 'Speak!' I had pity on that man."

I was told by Ahmad—'Ali b. Muhammad: 'Amr b. al-'As asked Mu'awiyah, "O Commander of the Faithful, am I not the most sincere person towards you?" He replied, "Because of that you have gained what you did."

(According to) Ahmad—'Ali—Juwayriyyah b. Asma': Busr b. Abi Artat spoke against 'Ali in the presence of Mu'awiyah while Zayd b. 'Umar b. al-Khattab was sitting (there). At that, Zayd assaulted Busr with a stick and injured him. Mu'awiyah told Zayd, "You turned on the shaykh of the Quraysh, a chief

⁵⁸⁴ Cairo reads: al-Mubarik.

⁵⁸⁵ 'Abdallah b. Mas'adah (or Mas'ud) b. Hakamah b. Malik al-Fazari was a Companion who settled at Damascus, fought along with Mu'awiyah at Siffin, and led raids against the Byzantines. He lived to acknowledge Marwan at Jabiyyah. See Ibn al-Athir, *Usd*, III, 255-6.

of the Syrians, and you struck him!" Then he turned to Busr, saying, "You revile `Ali who is Zayd's grandfather, while Zayd, the son of al-Faruq,⁵⁸⁶ heads the notables. Haven't you considered that he endures that?" Then they were both satisfied. Mu`awiyah also said, "Indeed I am above letting an offense be more important than my pardon, and foolishness greater than my forbearance, or a flaw which I shall not conceal privately, or a misdeed greater than my beneficence." Mu`awiyah said, "The beauty of the noble [man] is virtuousness." Mu`awiyah said, "There is nothing I like better than a bubbling spring in an easy land." `Amr b. al-`As then said, "I like nothing better than to spend the night as a bridegroom with the pick of Arab wives." At that, Wardan, the mawla of `Amr b. al-`As said, "I like nothing better than generosity between brothers." Mu`awiyah said, "I am more entitled to that than you." Wardan replied, "Do what you like."⁵⁸⁷

[213]

I was told by Ahmad—`Ali—Muhammad b. Ibrahim—his father: When Mu`awiyah's official in charge of al-Madinah wanted to dispatch the courier to Mu`awiyah, he used to order his herald to announce, "Whoever has a need should write to the Commander of the Faithful." Zirr b. Hubaysh or Ayman b. Khuraym wrote a charming letter and cast it among the others. It contained:

When the men beget their children,⁵⁸⁸
and their biceps twitch from age,

And their illness becomes chronic,
they are crops whose harvests approach.

When Mu`awiyah received the letters and read this one, he remarked, "He has announced my own death to me." Mu`awiyah also said, "There is nothing sweeter for me than anger which I swallow." Mu`awiyah told `Abd al-Rahman b. al-Hakam b. Abi al-`As, "O cousin, indeed, you have been very fond of poetry. So beware of flirting with women lest you dishonor honorable ones, and satire lest you dishonor a noble person and provoke

⁵⁸⁶ The Caliph `Umar I was called al-Faruq.

⁵⁸⁷ See Mas'udi, *Muruj*, V, 58-60.

⁵⁸⁸ That is, they had grandchildren.

someone ignoble. Praise is the bait of the shameless, but be proud of the glorious deeds of your folk, and say those proverbs that would adorn you and edify others."

I was told by Ahmad—'Ali—Abu al-Hasan b. Hammad: Mu'awiyah observed al-Thuma in a woolen cloak, so he slighted him. At that, al-Thuma said "O Commander of the Faithful, the woolen cloak does not speak to you, but the person who is in it does."

[214]

I was told by Ahmad—'Ali—Sulayman: Mu'awiyah said, "If two men should die, they would not die, while if one man should die, he would die. If I should die, my son would succeed me, and if Sa'id should die, 'Amr would succeed him; but if 'Abdallah b. 'Amir should die, he would die [without a successor]." Marwan heard of it and asked, "Did he mention my son, 'Abd al-Malik?" When he was told that Mu'awiyah had not, he remarked, "I would not exchange my son for both of theirs."

I was told by Ahmad—'Ali—'Abdallah b. salih: Someone asked Mu'awiyah, "Which person do you like the most?" He replied, "The one who shows the most love to the people for me." Mu'awiyah also said, "Intelligence and forbearance are the best things granted to mankind. If someone is reminded, he should remember; if someone is granted [something], he should be thankful; if someone is tested, he should be steadfast; if someone is angry, he should suppress [it]; if someone has power [over another], he should forgive; if someone does wrong, he should ask forgiveness; and if someone makes a promise, he should carry it out."

I was told by Ahmad—'Ali b. 'Abdallah and Hisham b. Sa'id—'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umayr: A man was rude to Mu'awiyah and did it constantly. When Mu'awiyah was asked, "Are you gentle with this [man]?" He answered, "I do not come between people and their tongues as long as they do not come between us and our rule."

I was told by Ahmad—'Ali—Muhammad b. 'Amir: Mu'awiyah criticized 'Abdallah b. Ja'far about singing. One day he entered Mu'awiyah's presence while Budayh was with him, and Mu'awiyah had his legs crossed. At that, 'Abdallah said to Budayh, "Well, O Budayh, so you sing." When Mu'awiyah moved

[215]

his foot,—`Abdallah asked, "What is it, O Commander of the Faithful?" Mu'awiyah replied, "The noble is joyful." `Abdallah b. Ja'far also came to Mu'awiyah accompanied by Sa'ib Khathir, a mawla of the Banu Layth, who was immoral.⁵⁸⁹ Mu'awiyah told him, "Mention what you need" He did, and mentioned a need of Sa'ib Khathir as well. Mu'awiyah then inquired, "Who is this?" When he told him, Mu'awiyah said, "Admit him." When Sa'ib stood at the door of the audience chamber (*majlis*), he sang:

The traces of the settlements are desolate,
the winds play with them and the dripping rain.

And it has been without occupants
for eight or ten years,

And the saffron upon her upper chest,
the throat and the upper chest choking with it.

At that, Mu'awiyah exclaimed, "Well done!" and took care of his needs.⁵⁹⁰

I was told by `Abdallah b. Ahmad—his father—Sulayman—`Abdallah—Ma'mar—Hammam b. Munabbih—Ibn `Abbas: "I never saw anyone more suitable for sovereignty than Mu'awiyah. Indeed people used to find him like the sides of a broad valley. He was not like the narrow, blocked opening," that is, Ibn al-Zubayr.

I was told by `Abdallah—his father—Sulayman b. `Uyaynah—Mujalid—al-Sha'bi—Qabisah b. Jabir al-Asadi: I shall certainly inform you about those with whom I associated. I associated with `Umar b. al-Khattab, and I never saw a man more comprehending with regard to knowledge (*fiqh*), nor better at discussing (things). Then I associated with Talhah b. `Ubaydallah, and I never saw a man who gave more abundantly without being asked than he. Then I associated with Mu'awiyah, and I never saw a man who liked a friend more than he, or who was

⁵⁸⁹. Isfahani, *Aghani*, VII, 188: "a merchant."

⁵⁹⁰. 189.

more the same in private and in public. If al-Mughirah were put in al-Madinah, he would not exit from any of its doors⁵⁹¹ unless he did so by treachery.⁵⁹²

[216]

⁵⁹¹. The text reads: *abwab*, which could also mean "gates", but al-Madinah is not supposed to have been walled in this period.

⁵⁹². Co reads: "by excuses." C adds: "end of the tenth volume, and, if God will, what is subsequent will follow it."