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(Ta'rikh al-rusul wa'l-muluk)**

Volume XXII

**The Marwanid Restoration**

translated and annotated  
by  
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This selection describes al-Hajjaj's speech upon taking up the post of governor of Iraq after a very unsettled few years when the Iraqis had supported Alid rebels and the anti-Caliph Ibn al-Zubayr against the Umayyads.

## The Events of the Year 75 (May 2, 694-April 20, 695)

### The Events of This Year

Among the events of this year: Muhammad b. Marwan's summer expedition when the Byzantines attacked near Mar'ash.<sup>51</sup>

In this year, 'Abd al-Malik appointed Yahya b. al-Hakam b. Abi al-As governor of Medina.<sup>52</sup>

In this year, 'Abd al-Malik appointed al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf governor of Iraq, excluding Khurasan and Sijistan.<sup>53</sup> Al-Hajjaj proceeded to al-Kufah.

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<sup>51</sup> According to Ibn Khayyat, *Ta'rikh*, 269f., the Byzantines advanced to al-'Amq or al-A'maq in the environs of Mar'ash in Jumada 175 (August-September 694), where they suffered a defeat; see also Baladhuri, *Ansab*, V, 186; Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, II, 337; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, IV, 374; Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, IX, 7. Muhammad was 'Abd al-Malik's brother.

<sup>52</sup> Ibn Khayyat, *Ta'rikh*, 294ff., 299; Baladhuri, *Ansab*, V, 160-63, and XI, 69, 188f.; Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, IX, 7. Yahya b. al-Hakam was 'Abd al-Malik's paternal uncle.

<sup>53</sup> See Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *Futuh*, VII, 1-3; Ibn Khayyat, *Ta'rikh*, 295f.; Baladhuri, *Ansab*, XI, 69, 266f., 269f.; Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, II, 326f.; Mas'udi, *Muruj* (Paris, 1861-77), V, 291f.; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, IV, 374-79; Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, IX, 7; Périer, *Vie d'al-Hadjdjadj*, 65ff. The dramatic accounts an Ibn A'tham al-Kufi and

(Footnote continued on next page)

According to Abu Zayd<sup>54</sup>—Muhammad b. Yahya Abu Ghasan—'Abdallah b. Abi 'Ubaydah b. Muhammad b. 'Ammar b. Yasir: Al-Hajjaj b. Yusuf left Medina when he received the letter from 'Abd al-Malik appointing him governor of Iraq, after the death of Bishr b. Marwan. He left with a party of twelve riders on thoroughbred camels. They reached al-Kufah, unannounced, at midday. Al-Muhallab had been sent off by Bishr against the Haruriyyah.<sup>55</sup> Al-Hajjaj went directly to the mosque, entered it, and ascended the pulpit, his face covered by a red silk turban. He called out, "Summon the men!" They thought that he and his companions were Kharijites, and came ready to attack them. But when the men were assembled, he rose, uncovered his face, and said:<sup>56</sup>

[864]

I am the son of splendor, who scales the heights;  
when I remove the turban, you will know me.<sup>57</sup>

By God! I take full accounting of wickedness, match it in  
return, and pay it back in kind! I see heads ripe and ready for  
harvest, and blood ready to flow between turbans and beards!

She has tucked up her skirts in readiness.<sup>58</sup>

The time for attack has come, so drive hard, war,  
to whom night has brought a violent driver.

(Footnote continued from previous page)

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Mas'udi place al-Hajjaj at 'Abd al-Malik's court in Damascus at the time of his appointment.

<sup>54</sup> Abu Zayd 'Umar b. Shabbah, d. 264 (877); see Sezgin, GAS, I, 345.

<sup>55</sup> The Haruriyyah are the Kharijites, so called from their assembling against 'Ali at .Harura', near al-Kufah; see text above, I, 3387-89; Mubarrad, *Kamil*, 450; *El<sup>2</sup>*, s. v. Harura.

<sup>56</sup> This most famous of all Umayyad orations is reproduced in a wide range of sources, with considerable variation in its order and structure; some authorities assign parts of it to a later parallel oration in al-Basrah. Relatively early versions include Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *Futuh*, VII, 5-10; Jahiz, *Bayan* (Cairo, 1956), II, 347-50; Ibn Qutaybah, *Uyun al-akhbar* (Cairo, 1925), II, 243; Baladhuri, *Ansab*, XI, 266ff.; Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, II, 326f.; Mubarrad, *Kamil*, 215ff.; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Iqd*, V, 17-19; Mas'udi, *Muruj*, V, 292-302; *Aghani*<sup>1</sup>, XI, 266ff. See also A. Safwat, *Jamharat rasa'il al-'arab* (Cairo, 1937), I, 274; Périer, *Vie d'al-Hadjdjadj*, 70ff.

<sup>57</sup> Verse by Suhaym b. Wathil al-Riyahi, d. c. 40 (661); see Sezgin, GAS, II, 202f. Further verses in Asma'i, *Asma'iyyat* (Cairo, 1964), 17-20, and *Aghani*<sup>1</sup>, XII, 13f. See also Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, *Futuh*, VII, 5; Mubarrad, *Kamil*, 215; Maydani, *Amthal*, I, 28.

<sup>58</sup> A version of this proverb appears in Maydani, *Amthal*, II, 35, where "she" is glossed as "disaster" (*dahiyah*).

No ordinary herder of sheep or camels he,  
nor a butcher working at his slaughter-board!<sup>59</sup>

Night has brought them a harsh driver,  
mettlesome, well traveled in the desert,  
but a settled man, no bedouin he.<sup>60</sup>

It is not the time to despise the mixed herds  
that she has brought, or the young unbridled she-camels  
that scurry along like racing sand-grouse.<sup>61</sup>

By God, O people of Iraq, I cannot be squeezed like a fig, or  
abashed by rattling old waterskins at me.<sup>62</sup> I have been  
proven to be at the height of my vigor and have run the  
longest races. The Commander of the Faithful, 'Abd al-Malik,  
has emptied out his quiver and tested the wood of his arrows;  
he found me the strongest and least likely to break, and thus  
aimed me at you. Long have you pursued a course of faction  
and followed the path of waywardness; but now, by God, I  
will bark you as one does a tree, hack you as one does a  
mimosa,<sup>63</sup> and beat you as one does a camel not of the herd at  
the watering-hole. By God, I do not make promises without  
fulfilling them, and I do not measure without cutting. I will  
see no more of these gatherings, with "it was said" and "he  
said" and "what does he say?"—what does all this have to do  
with you? By God, you will stay on the straight paths of the  
right, or else I will leave every man of you preoccupied with  
the state of his body. If I find any man from al-Muhallab's  
expedition still here after three days, I will spill his blood and  
seize his property.

[865]

<sup>59</sup> Attributed variously to Ruwayshid b. Rumayd al-'Anazi, al-Hutam al-Qaysi, and Abu Zughbah al-Khazraji. See Ibn Manzur, *Lisan al-'Arab*, s.vv. hutam, wadam; *Aghani*<sup>1</sup>, XIV, 44; Mubarrad, *Kamil*, 215f. My translation conforms to the glosses given in the text below.

<sup>60</sup> No attribution in the sources. Ibn Manzur, s.v. 'aslab, glosses "them" as camels.

<sup>61</sup> No attribution in the sources. For *sabiq*, "racing," some MSS read *sa'iq*, "driver" (of a sand-grouse).

<sup>62</sup> As is done to make camels run; see Maydani, *Amthal*, II, 191.

<sup>63</sup> For the phrase, see Maydani, *Amthal*, II, 191.

Then he went into his residence, without saying anything more.

Another account: When al-Hajjaj stood a long time silently before speaking, Muhammad b. 'Umayr<sup>64</sup> took some pebbles and was going to pelt him with them, saying, "May God oppose him! Not only tongue-tied, but ugly, too; and I expect that what he has to say will match his appearance!" But when al-Hajjaj spoke, the pebbles began to spill from his hands without his even noticing. Al-Hajjaj said in his oration:

Faces scowl because God has coined "a similitude: a vil-  
lage which was safe and secure, its sustenance coming to it in  
abundance from every side; but they were ungrateful for  
God's blessings, and God made them taste the garment of  
hunger and fear, because of what they had been doing."<sup>65</sup> You  
are like them, just the same! Obey your herdsman, and go  
straight, for, by God, I will make you taste abasement until  
you learn how, and hack you as one does a mimosa until you  
consent to be led. I swear by God, you shall embrace justice  
and leave off this seditious talk, with your "It was thus and  
thus," and "I was informed by So-and-so on the authority of  
So-and-so," and "The Cutting; what is the Cutting?"<sup>66</sup> I will  
give you a Cutting with the sword which will leave your  
women widows and your children orphans—and that until  
you leave off these gossamer fantasies and give up all this  
"See here! See here!" Let me see no more of these gatherings.  
No man among you shall ride except alone. If rebels were  
allowed to get away with their insubordination, no spoil<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Presumably Muhammad b. 'Umayr b. 'Utariq al-Tamimi, a former supporter of al-Mukhtar; see text above, II, 635. In the version of Mubarrad, *Kamil*, 215 and others, however, the subject of this anecdote is 'Umayr b. Dabi' al-Burjumi, who was subsequently al-Hajjaj's first victim in al-Kufah, as related below, II, 869ff.

<sup>65</sup> Qur'an 16:112.

<sup>66</sup> *Al-habr wa-ma al-habr*, perhaps imitating Qur'anic phraseology (e.g., 101:1-2: *al-qari'ah ma al-qari'ah*), although *habr* does not occur in the Qur'an. *Habr* refers to the cutting up of meat; Tabari, glossarium, s.v., notes Ibn Manzur (*Lisan*, s.v.): *wa-fi hadith al-shurah fa-habarnahum bi-l-suyuf* ("and in the *hadith* [?] of the Kharijites, 'we sliced them up with swords.'").

<sup>67</sup> *Fay'*, originally meaning "booty," but quickly shading off to "revenue." See *EP<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. *fay'*; F. Lokkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classic Period* (Copenhagen, 1950), 38ff.

would be collected and no enemy fought, and the frontiers would be unmanned; and were they not compelled by force to go out and fight, they would never do so voluntarily. I have heard how you defied al-Muhallab and came back to your garrison, mutinous rebels! I swear to you by God, if, after three days, I find any of you here, I will cut off his head!

Then he summoned the marshals (*urafa*)<sup>68</sup> and said to them, "Take the men to join al-Muhallab and bring me the vouchers of their arrival;<sup>69</sup> and let the gates of the bridge remain open night and day until this has been accomplished."

Commentary on the oration:<sup>70</sup> "Son of splendor" is the morning, because its splendor chases away the darkness. The "heights" are small promontories among the mountains. Fruit "ripens" when it reaches maturity. Where he says, "Drive, *ziyam*," *ziyam* is a word for war.<sup>71</sup> A "violent" person is one who destroys everything he encounters. A "slaughter-board" is what protects meat from touching the ground. A "harsh driver" is a severe one. The "desert" is a desolate land where one can hear the sound of the camels' steps. An "unbridled" camel is one without a head-rope, as in this line reported by Abu Zayd al-Asma'i:<sup>72</sup>

Umm al-Fawaris rode the feisty, unbridled camel bareback,  
sputtering it on to a trot and a gallop.

"*Shinan*" is the plural of "*shannah*," meaning a worn-out, dried-up waterskin, as in this verse:<sup>73</sup>

~~You are like one of the camels of the Banu Uqaysh,~~

<sup>68</sup> Sg. *'arif*, officials responsible for pay and discipline of small units of men (originally ten). See *Et*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *'arif*; Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; Fries, *Heereswesen*, 17f.

<sup>69</sup> *Bara'at*; see Tabard, *glossarium*, s.v.; Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.

<sup>70</sup> This commentary is missing in some MSS, but appears, abridged, in Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil* IV, 377-Mubarrad, *Kamil*, 217ff., supplies rather different glosses.

<sup>71</sup> Mubarrad glosses *ziyam* as (the name of) a horse or camel.

<sup>72</sup> An error (?) for Abu Sa'id al-Asma'i, the famous philologist, d. 213 (828) (see *Et*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Asma'i), perhaps conflated here with his contemporary, Abu Zayd al-Ansari, d. 214-215 (830-831) (see *Et*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abu Zayd al-Ansari). The following verse is by Abu Du'ad al-Ru'asi, fl. c. 81 (700); see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 414; Ibn Manzur, *Lisan*, s.v. *'ulut*.

<sup>73</sup> Verse by al-Nabighah al-Dhubyani, d. c. 602 A. D.; see Sezgin, *GAS*, II, 110f.; Mubarrad, *Kamil*, 376; W. Ahlwardt, *The Divans of the Six Ancient Arabic Poets* (London, 1870), 30.



~~common people call "Satan's snot," that is, the "sun's drool" or gossamer, which appears at midday. Abu al-Najm al-'Idjli<sup>79</sup> said:~~

~~The sun's drool flowed and covered things,  
and the balance of time stood in equilibrium.~~

~~"Gatherings" are groups of people. End of commentary.~~

According to Abu Ja'far<sup>80</sup>—'Umar—Muhammad b. Yahya—'Abdallah b. Abi 'Ubaydah: On the third day, al-Hajjaj heard "God is Great" (*takbir*)<sup>81</sup> pronounced in the market, and went out and took his seat in the pulpit and said:

[868]

O people of Iraq! O people of faction and hypocrisy, and of vicious morals! I have heard a *takbir*—not a *takbir* meant to inspire devotion to God, but rather a *takbir* meant to inspire fear; and I know that this is a dust cloud with a violent wind behind it. Sons of slatters! Slaves of the rod!<sup>82</sup> Scions of husbandless women! Is there not a man among you who will take into account his lameness,<sup>83</sup> value his life, and watch his step? I swear by God, I am on the point of dealing you a blow that will serve as a punishment for those who come before and an example for those who come after!

When he says a "violent wind" he means a strong gale. A "slatter" is a foolish woman, that is, a brutish servant girl. "Lameness" is weakness and fatigue from too much walking.

In the line "Which scurry along like racing sand-grouse," *ghutat*, with a *u*, is a kind of bird.<sup>84</sup> On the other hand, al-Asma'i said that the *ghatat*, with an *a*, is a kind of bird, citing this line by Hassan b. Thabit.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>79</sup> D. after 105 (724); see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s. v. Abu al-Najm al-'Idjli.

<sup>80</sup> Al-Tabari.

<sup>81</sup> The expression *Allahu akbar* ("God is great!"), enunciated at the beginning of prayer, but also as a call to attack; see A. Noth, *Quellenkritische Studien zur Themen, Formen und Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtserlieferung* (Bonn, 1973), I, 128f.

<sup>82</sup> For the story behind this proverbial expression of contempt, see Maydani, *Amthal*, I, 424.

<sup>83</sup> That is, acknowledge his limitations; see Maydani, *Amthal*, I, 268.

<sup>84</sup> The commentary reverts here to al-Hajjaj's previous speech.

<sup>85</sup> D. c. 40 (659); see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s. v. Hassan b. Thabit. The *Diwan of Hassan b. Thabit* (ed. 'Arafat, GMS, n. s. XXV), no. 13, line 12, reads *sawad*, "crowd," for *ghatat*.

They are visited so often that their dogs do not whine;  
they are undisturbed by a hubbub of approaching sand-  
grouse—

with *ghatat* with an a. Then he said that *ghatat* with a u is the  
mixture of light and darkness at the end of the night, as in this  
*rajaz* verse:

[869]

He rose and went to a dusky lady at daybreak,  
walking along with what looked like a tent-upright.

End of commentary.

Then `Umayr b. Dabi' al-Tamimi al-Harzali<sup>86</sup> came to al-Hajjaj  
and said, "May God be gracious to the amir! I am a member of  
this expedition, but I am an old man, and sick. Here is my son; he  
has more vigor than I." Al-Hajjaj said, "And who are you?" He  
said, "I am `Umayr b. Dabi' al-Tamimi." Al-Hajjaj said, "Did you  
hear what I said yesterday?" He said, "Yes." Al-Hajjaj said, "Was  
it not you who attacked the Commander of the Faithful  
`Uthman?" He said, "Yes, it was." Al-Hajjaj asked, "What im-  
pelled you to do that?" He said, "He had imprisoned my father,  
who was an old man." Al-Hajjaj said, "And wasn't it he who said  
this verse:

I meant to do it, but I didn't—I was about to—and would that I  
had!—  
left `Uthman's wives weeping over him!

It seems to me that killing you would be a service to the two  
garrisons. Take him, guards, and strike off his head!" One of the  
men approached and struck off his head. His property was also  
seized.<sup>87</sup>

According to one account, `Anbasah b. Sa'id<sup>88</sup> said to al-Hajjaj,  
"Do you know who this is?" He said, "No." `Anbasah said, "This

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<sup>86</sup> Hanzalah is a clan of Tamim. In the variant of this story given below, the  
man is called al-Burjumi; the Barajim were a subclan of Hanzalah. See Ibn Hazm,  
*Jamharah*, 211f.

<sup>87</sup> On this incident, see text above, I, 3033-36, 3048; Port A`tham al-Kufi,  
*Futuḥ*, VII, 11-14; Baladhuri, *Ansab*, IVA, 575-77, and XI, 272, 274f.; Mubarrad,  
*Kamil*, 217, 219f., 665f.; Mas`udi, *Muruj*, V, 298; *Aghani*<sup>1</sup> XIII, 42; Ibn al-Athir,  
*Kamil*, IV, 377-79; Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, IX, 9.

<sup>88</sup> An intimate of al-Hajjaj; see Baladhuri, *Ansab*, IVA, 453, and XI, 274f.

is one of the murderers of the Commander of the Faithful `Uthman." Then al-Hajjaj said, "O enemy of God, you did not send a substitute on your expedition against the Commander of the Faithful, did you?" and ordered his head struck off. Then he ordered a herald to proclaim through the town, "Hear ye! `Umayr b. Dabi', having heard the proclamation, has come after the third day, and we have ordered his execution. Hear ye! God's protection is withdrawn from any member of al-Muhallab's forces who spends this night in the town." At this, the men began to move out, and there was soon a crowd at the bridge. The marshals went to al-Muhallab, who was at Ramhurmuz, and took from him letters vouching for their arrival. Al-Muhallab said, "Today a real man has come to Iraq, and from today the enemy will see what battle is." [870]

According to the account of Ibn Abi `Ubaydah, four thousand men of the tribe of Madhhij crossed the bridge that night. Then al-Muhallab said, "Today a real man has come to Iraq."

According to `Umar—Abu al-Hasan: When al-Hajjaj had `Abd al-Malik's letter read out to the men, the reader began, "After a greeting of peace, I praise God to you." Al-Hajjaj said, "Stop! O slaves of the rod, when the Commander of the Faithful gives you a greeting of peace, does no one among you return the greeting? These are the manners of Ibn Nihyah!<sup>89</sup> By God, I swear I will teach you better manners than these! Start the letter again!" This time, when he reached the words "After a greeting of peace," every one of them without exception responded, "And upon the Commander of the Faithful be peace and God's mercy!"

According to `Umar—`Abd al-Malik b. Shayban b. `Abd al-Malik b. Misma' —`Amr b. Sa'id: When al-Hajjaj arrived in al-Kufah, he addressed the men and said, "You are deserters from al-Muhallab's army! Let not a single man from his forces remain here after three days!" After the three days had passed, a man came to him with blood dripping from his head. Al-Hajjaj asked him, "Who did this to you?" He said, "'Umayr b. Dabi' al-Burjumi. I ordered him to go out to his camp, but he was incensed and struck me."<sup>90</sup> Al-Hajjaj sent for `Umayr b. Dabi', and he was [871]

<sup>89</sup> According to a gloss on Mubarrad's *Kamil*, 216, Ibn Nihyah was a former head of the *shurtah* in al-Basrah; see also Mas'udi, *Muruj*, V, 298.

<sup>90</sup> *Fa-darabani wa-kadhaba `alayhi*.

brought in, an old man. Al-Hajjaj asked him, "What kept you away from your camp?" He said, "I am an old man, without vigor; so I sent my son as a substitute, since he is both stronger and younger than me. Ask around to see if what I say is true; if it is not, then punish me." But `Anbasah b. Sa`id said, "This is the man who went up to `Uthman's corpse and slapped his face, then jumped on it and broke two of his ribs." Al-Hajjaj then ordered him executed, and this was carried out.

`Amr b. Sa`id said: By God, while I was on my way between al-Kufah and al-Hirah, I heard the chant of some Mudarite camel-drivers.<sup>91</sup> I turned to meet them and asked, "What news?" They said, "A man came to us from the foulest of the tribes of the Arabs, that tribe descended from Thamud.<sup>92</sup> He had spindly legs, and no flesh on his buttocks, and he was bleary-eyed.<sup>93</sup> He took the chief of the tribe, `Umayr b. Dabi', and he struck off his head."

When al-Hajjaj executed `Umayr b. Dabi', Ibrahim b. `Amir, who was one of the Banu Ghadirah of the Banu Asad, met `Abdallah b. al-Zabir<sup>94</sup> in the market and asked him about the news. Ibn al-Zabir said:

Meeting Ibrahim, I say to him,  
 'I see things have become difficult and complicated.  
 Get ready, get going, and catch up with the army! I see  
 no alternative to the army but perdition.  
 Take your choice! You must either visit Ibn Dabi' [872]  
 `Umayr, or else visit al-Muhallab.

<sup>91</sup> *Sami`tu rajazan Mudariyyan*; see Tabari, glossarium, s.v. rajaz. The Mudar tribal grouping included Tamim.

<sup>92</sup> That is, the tribe of Thaqif, frequently derided for their uncertain ancestry. For traditions linking Thaqif to the semi-legendary Thamud, whose destruction by God is described in the Qur'an, see I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle, 1888-90), I, 99f. Al-Hajjaj is reported to have responded to such accusations by appealing to Qur'an 53:51, *wa-Thamuda fa-na ahqa* misinterpreting this as "Thamud, and what (of them) He preserved" and arguing that only the best of them would have been so preserved; al-Hasan al-Basri, however, countered with the correct interpretation, "Thamud, and He did not preserve (them)." See *Aghani`*, IV, 74; Mubarrad, *Kamil*, 266; Perier, *Vie d'al-Hadjjadj*, 2.

<sup>93</sup> Compare the unflattering descriptions in Mas`udi, *Muruj*, V, 289, 327f.

<sup>94</sup> On this poet, see Sezgin, GAS, II, 329f.; the following verses, with numerous variants, appear also in Ibn A`tham al-Kufi, *Futuh*, VII, 13f.; Baladhuri, *Ansab*, XI, 272; Mubarrad, *Kamil*, 217, 666; Mas`udi, *Muruj*, V, 300f.; *Aghani`*, XIII, 42; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, IV, 379.

Faced with these two disagreeable courses, your only salvation is to ride off on a snowy-gray one-year-old.<sup>95</sup> In such circumstances, were he required to ride to Khurasan, it would seem as near as the market, or yet nearer! And how many a flabby man you see now, forced to ride, who has become so intimate with the bend of the saddle that he is hunch-backed.

It is reported that al-Hajjaj's arrival in al-Kufah was in the month of Ramadan of this year (December 694-January 695).<sup>95</sup> He sent out al-Hakam b. Ayyub al-Thaqafi as amir in charge of al-Basrah and ordered him to treat Khalid b. 'Abdallah harshly.<sup>96</sup> When word of this reached Khalid, he left al-Basrah before al-Hakam entered it, and went to al-Jalha'.<sup>97</sup> The men of al-Basrah turned out to see him off, and Khalid did not leave his place of prayer (*musalla*) until he had distributed a million dirhams among them.<sup>98</sup>

According to Ahmad b. Thabit—anonymous— Ishaq b. 'Isa— Abu Ma'shar: The leader of the pilgrimage in this year was 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan.<sup>99</sup> In this year, Yahya b. al-Hakam went to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, leaving Aban b. 'Uthman as his deputy in charge of Medina; but 'Abd al-Malik ordered Yahya b. al-Hakam to continue in his position as governor of Medina.<sup>100</sup> Al-

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<sup>95</sup> This statement is contradicted by the text below, II, 874, 944, which implies that al-Hajjaj arrived in Rajab (October-November 694), as stated explicitly by Ibn Khayyat, *Ta'rikh*, 295f., and Baladhuri, *Ansab*, XI, 269f.

<sup>96</sup> Ibn Khayyat, *Ta'rikh*, 295; Baladhuri, *Ansab*, V, 179; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamil*, IV, 379; Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, IX, 9. Baladhuri, *Ansab*, XI, 275, however, puts al-Hakam's appointment after al-Hajjaj's own arrival in al-Basrah.

<sup>97</sup> A place on the pilgrim road from al-Kufah, some 140 miles south of the latter; see A. Musil, *Northern Negd* \* (New York, 1928), 206f., 210, 235, and references there.

<sup>98</sup> A *musalla* is a large open space reserved for collective prayers on certain formal occasions; see *Et*<sup>1</sup>, s.v. *musalla*. On Khalid's *musalla*, see text above, II, 628, and below, II, 1704; L. Massignon, "Explication du plan de Kufa," *Mélanges Maspéro*, III (1935-40), 336, places it on the western edge of the town. Khalid apparently distributed the local treasury to the populace or resident troops, before it could fall into the hands of al-Hajjaj, perhaps the intention of this assertion is to justify al-Hajjaj's subsequent rescission of the troops' pay increase (see below). This anonymous report is not confirmed by other sources.

<sup>99</sup> Ibn Khayyat, *Ta'rikh*, 301; Ya'qubi, *Ta'rikh*, II, 327, 336; Ibn Kathir, *Bidayah*, IX, 9.

<sup>100</sup> Ibn Khayyat, *Ta'rikh*, 294, 299. On Aban b. 'Uthman, son of the third

(Footnote continued on next page)