The History of al-Ṭabarî

VOLUME XI

The Challenge to the Empires

TRANSLATED BY KHALID YAHYA BLANKINSHIP
Although this volume deals with the part of al-Ṭabarî’s History covering the years 12 and 13 (633-35), in the caliphates of Abû Bakr al-Siddîq and ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the narratives contained in it, which are lengthy and detailed, are concerned with the first Muslim conquests in Iraq and Syria. Although it might be expected, therefore, that this volume would be a basic source for these conquests, the actual value of the bulk of the reported traditions is in considerable doubt because most of the material is derived from a later Kūfī traditionist, Sayf b. ʿUmar (d. 170-93/786-809), who apparently exaggerated and distorted his material considerably. Indeed, Sayf’s transmissions clearly reveal the tendency of his party, an anti-Shīʿite faction based on the Arab Mudar tribal group in al-Kūfah that had lost out with the fall of the Umayyads and the coming of the ʿAbbāsids to power. Although Sayf’s transmissions thus have limited value as far as the earliest conquests themselves are concerned, they are of the utmost value in revealing the content and character of Islamic historical debates in the late 2nd/8th century. In addition, they permit us to elucidate and reconstruct an early harmonizing tendency in Islam that undoubtedly had a significant effect on the way later Muslims viewed their earliest history.

The translation is preceded by an introduction analyzing the tendencies of Sayf and his party as revealed in this volume. Extensive notes accompany the text for the benefit of historians in other fields, as well as of Islamic specialists.
THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ
AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XI

The Challenge to the Empires
A.D. 633–635/A.H. 12–13
The History of al-Ṭabari

Editorial Board
Ihsan Abbas, University of Jordan, Amman
C. E. Bosworth, The University of Manchester
Franz Rosenthal, Yale University
Everett K. Rowson, The University of Pennsylvania
Ehsan Yar-Shater, Columbia University (General Editor)

Estelle Whelan, Editorial Coordinator

Center for Iranian Studies
Columbia University

SUNY
SERIES IN NEAR EASTERN STUDIES
Said Amir Arjomand, Editor

The preparation of this volume was made possible in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency.
The History of al-Ṭabarī
(Taʾrīkh al-rusul waʾl-mulūk)

VOLUME XI

The Challenge to the Empires

translated and annotated
by

Khalid Yahya Blankinship

Temple University

State University of New York Press
Preface

The History of Prophets and Kings (Tārīkh al-rusul wa'l-mu'lūk) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarir al-Ṭabari (839–923), here rendered as The History of al-Ṭabari, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

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

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

Al-Ṭabari very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (iṣnād) to an original source. The chains of
transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Išāq" means that al-Ṭabarî received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Išāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarî's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater
Contents

Preface / v

Abbreviations / xi

Translator's Foreword / xiii

Genealogical Table of the Later Sasanians as Represented by Sayf b. 'Umar / xxxi

Genealogical Table of the Later Sasanians as Attested in Sources Other than Sayf b. 'Umar / xxxii

Maps 1. Iraq at the Time of the Muslim Conquest / xxxiii
2. Syria at the Time of the Muslim Conquest / xxxiv

The Caliphate of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq

The Events of the Year 12 (633/634) / 1

The Battle of al-Madhār / 15
The Battle of al-Walajah / 19
About Ullays, Which Is on the Euphrates Itself / 21
The Affair of Amghishiyā / 26
The Day of al-Maqr and the Mouth of Furāt Bādaqālā / 26
Contents

What Happened after al-Hirah / 37
Al-Anbār, Which Is Dhāt al-‘Uyun, and Kalwādhā / 49
About ‘Ayn al-Tamr / 53
Dūmat al-Jandal / 57
Huṣayd / 62
Al-Khanāfīs / 62
Al-Muṣayyakh of the Banū al-Barshā / 62
Al-Ṭanī and al-Zumayl / 65
Al-Firād / 67
Khālid’s Pilgrimage / 68
Those Who Say Abū Bakr Led the Pilgrimage / 71
Those Who Say ‘Umar Led the Pilgrimage / 72

The Events of the Year 13 (634/635) / 73

Al-Yarmūk / 87
Continuation of the Report of Ibn Ishāq / 122
Continuation of the Report of Abū Zayd / 128
[Abū Bakr’s Illness and Death] / 129
Who Washed Abū Bakr, His Shroud, Who Prayed over Him, the Time of His Funeral Prayer, and the Time at Which He Died / 133
Abū Bakr’s Appearance / 138
Abū Bakr’s Genealogy, His Name, and What He Was Known by / 139
The Names of Abū Bakr’s Wives / 140
The Names of His Judges, Secretaries, and Tax Officials / 142
[His Appointment of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as His Successor] / 145

The Caliphate of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb

The Events of the Year 13 (cont’d) (634/635) / 157
[The Expedition of Fiḥl and the Conquest of Damascus] / 159
The Report about Damascus According to Sayf / 161
The Affair of Fiḥl According to Sayf / 170
Baysān / 172
Tiberias / 172
Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah and Abū ‘Ubayd b. Mas‘ūd / 173
Contents

Al-Namâriq / 176
Al-Saqātiyyah in Kaskar / 182
The Battle of al-Qarqus, Which Is Also Called al-Quss, Quss al-Nāṭif, the Bridge, and al-Marwah / 188
Lesser Ullays / 195
Al-Buwayb / 196
Al-Khanāfis / 215
What Stirred Up the Matter of al-Qādisiyyah / 221

Bibliography of Cited Works / 227

Index / 235
Abbreviations


This volume of al-Ṭabarî’s history covers the years 12–13 A.H. (633–35 C.E.), including most of the reign of the caliph Abû Bakr (reigned 11–13/632–34) and the beginning of that of the caliph ‘Umar (reigned 13–23/634–44). It thus deals with one of the most crucial points in the history of Islam, when the early Medinan state established by the Prophet Muḥammad was transformed into a much larger empire through the Muslim conquest of the Fertile Crescent. Because the whole volume is devoted exclusively to only two years of history, one would expect its accounts to be more detailed than other parts of al-Ṭabarî, and indeed they are. They are also far more detailed than most other early, partially independent accounts that have come down to us, such as those of Ibn Khayyāṭ (d. 240/854), al-Baladhuri (d. 279/892), and al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 282/895). As a result, the material contained in this volume constitutes one of the most important of the basic sources that must be considered for the early Islamic conquests, for the bulk of the volume is concentrated exclusively on the earliest Muslim military campaigns in the Fertile Crescent.

These campaigns fall into two distinct sections: the campaigns against the Persians in Iraq (pp. 1–70, 116–24, 173–224, total 128 pages) and those against the Romans in Syria (pp. 73–116, 124–29, 158–73, total 63 pages). Most of the reports consist of long, detailed prose descriptions of various battles; poetry is scarce. However, there is also occasional information about the peace terms agreed to by the conquered populations and other administrative arrangements subsequent to the conquest. The reports dealing with Iraq
provide details on the exploits of the renowned Khālid b. al-Walid, who first subdued the region around the future al-Bāṣrah in the south (pp. 1, 7–19), then conquered the vicinity of al-Ḥīrah, near the future al-Kūfah in the center (pp. 2–7, 19–57, 70), and finally took the outlying areas of Dūmat al-Jandal (pp. 57–60, 70) and the Euphrates River up to the Roman border (pp. 60–70). Then the Syrian campaign is connected with that of Iraq through a description of Khālid’s march through the desert to Syria to reinforce other Muslim troops already there (pp. 109–17, 122–26). As with the Iraqi campaigns, the invasion of Syria is treated as a series of thinly connected episodes built up around the individual battles fought there: al-Yarmūk (pp. 83–104), Marj al-Ṣuffār (pp. 81–83, 109), Ajnādayn (pp. 126–29), Fīḥl (pp. 160–65, 170–72), and the siege of Damascus (pp. 160–61, 165–69). Some information is also offered about subsequent administrative arrangements. Finally, the scene returns to campaigns and countercampaigns on the central front in Iraq (pp. 116–22, 173–224), building toward the decisive Battle of al-Qādisiyyah, which is covered in the next volume of this series, Volume XII.

It is important that the reader note that for several of the battles or campaigns described in this volume alternative versions appear only in Volume XII. They include the campaigns of al-Ubullah (Volume XII, pp. 161–72), al-Yarmūk (pp. 132–35), and Ajnādayn (pp. 185–89). These passages also must be consulted to obtain a complete picture of the information that al-Ṭabarī has to offer on the earliest conquests.

Most of the twenty pages in this volume that are not concerned with campaigns in Iraq and Syria contain miscellaneous accounts inserted on the occasion of Abū Bakr’s death. They include the notice on the caliph’s death itself (pp. 129–38), personal biographical notes about him (pp. 138–41, 149–53), a listing of his officials (pp. 142–45), and reports on his appointment of ‘Umar as his successor (pp. 145–49). Finally, very short notices appended at the end of each year list governors, leaders of the pilgrimage, and deaths of a few notables (pp. 70–72, 224–25). The volume contains little material on the establishment of the basic institutions of the Islamic caliphate, which must have been in process at the time. Whatever administrative, social, and economic information may be found occurs only incidentally.
Although the reports in this volume are quite detailed for what they do cover, they must be carefully scrutinized for their sources and content before we can be satisfied that they do in fact contain accurate information, as the better part of three centuries separated al-Ṭabari, who died in 310 (923), from the events he described here. Although he scrupulously cited his sources and can be shown to have often quoted from them almost verbatim, these sources themselves can be traced with certainty only to an earlier stage in the collection of Islamic history, represented by the writers Ibn Isḥāq (d. 151/767), Ibn al-Kalbi (d. 204/819), al-Wāqidi (d. 207/822), and Sayf b. ‘Umar (d. 170–93/786–809). From the first three, all of whom are cited in this volume, there are works extant that enable us to assess their tendencies to some extent, as well as to verify their use of their own sources. For an assessment of the value of their transmissions, the reader is referred to the relevant articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and other secondary literature.

It is the fourth writer extensively quoted by al-Ṭabari, Sayf b. ‘Umar, with whom we are mainly concerned here. As his work survives principally in the transmission of al-Ṭabari and those who took from him and is found nowhere in independent form, he has unfortunately been rather ignored in modern criticism. Yet it is Sayf’s lengthy reports that fill most of the pages of this and several other volumes. The historical evaluation of this volume therefore depends to a large extent on our assessment of the nature of Sayf’s reports and al-Ṭabari’s use of them, and it is to these problems that we must turn our attention.

Abu ‘Abdallah Sayf b. ‘Umar al-Usayyidī al-Tamīmī was a Kufan traditionist who died in the reign of Harθun al-Rashid (170–93/786–809).1 Other than the possibility that he was accused of zandaqah (Manichaeism) in the inquisition (miḥnah) that began under al-Mahdi in 166 (783) and continued into the time of al-Rashid,2 nothing is known of his life, except what can be determined from his traditions. As he is alleged to have transmitted from at least nine

traditionists who died in 140–46 (757–63), and even from two who
died in 126–28 (744–46), he may have been elderly when he died.
This is also suggested by the possibility that Abū Mikhnaf, who
died considerably earlier than Sayf, in 157 (774), may have quoted
from him. Sayf’s work was originally recorded in two books, *Kitāb
al-futūḥ al-kabīr wa-al-riddah* and *Kitāb al-jamal wa-masīr ‘A’īs-
hah wa-‘Ali*, which are now lost but survived for a number of cen-
turies after Sayf’s own lifetime. They made an enormous impact on
the Islamic historical tradition, especially because al-Ṭabari chose
to rely mainly on them for the events of 11–36 (632–56), a period
that spanned the reigns of the first three caliphs and included all the
early conquests of Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and Iran. Although al-Ṭabari
also quoted other sources in this volume, as we have indicated, the
overwhelming bulk of his material for this period is from Sayf. In-
deed, it is also probable, though not certain, that he has reproduced
the vast majority of Sayf’s work. Sayf is only rarely cited by other
writers independently of al-Ṭabari.

Generally, Sayf’s description of the conquests transmitted in this
and other volumes of al-Ṭabari emphasizes the heroism of the Mus-
lim warriors, the hardships they endured, and the toughness of their
opponents, features that seem plausible enough and are also found
in other conquest narratives beside those of Sayf. However, Sayf’s
narratives differ in the extent to which he introduces traditions not
found elsewhere, often reporting them from transmitters not other-
wise known. These unique narratives frequently contain fantastic
or legendary motifs to an extent far greater than is found in the ver-
sions of other historians. Although the fantastic and tendentious na-
ture of Sayf’s reports has often been noted, for example, by Julius
Wellhausen, the exact value of his corpus as a primary source has
never been assessed in detail.

Clearly, Sayf’s exaggerated traditions cannot have been entirely
invented by him, for they were intended to be convincing as history
to an audience that had a certain knowledge of its own immediate
past. Sayf thus has to deal with subjects and personages already fa-
miliar to his hearers in ways that would not offend them. This lim-

5. One certain instance is Ibn Muzāḥim, *Ṣifīn*, 5–6, 9–10, citing Sayf four times.
ited the possibilities of invention. Furthermore, the very exaggerated nature of Sayf's traditions suggests a preceding period of oral transmission. As Sayf himself was clearly a writer of prose compositions, it is most unlikely that the characteristics suggesting oral transmission are his own contribution; it is more probable that they go back to his sources.

The exaggerated language characteristic of oral transmission in Sayf is especially apparent in the narratives of the conquest of Iraq, which have a clear tribal origin and bias. These narratives can be traced mostly to two rival groups, the Rabi'ah and the Tamim, whose enmity had originated in pre-Islamic times. That Sayf should present the traditions of the Rabi'ī opponents of his own Tamimī tribal group might appear laudably fair and impartial, but he had his own reasons for including them. Probably by Sayf's time the old tribal differences had less impact, as new groups around the 'Abbāsids gained power. The old tribal army divisions that had formed the elite under the Umayyads rapidly lost influence and may have tended to forget their differences and close ranks to hold onto whatever privileges their lineages still entitled them to. Sayf thus may have preferred to bring all tribal traditions together without untoward prejudice, in order to gain a wider hearing.

Another characteristic of Sayf's work that may have been partly derived from the tribal tradition is the favoritism for Iraq that he expressed, and in particular for the city of al-Kūfah. This is hardly surprising, as Sayf was a Kūfān and relied almost exclusively on Kūfān informants. This pro-Iraqi bias is reflected, for example, in the much greater space he devoted to the conquest of Iraq, and especially the neighborhood of al-Kūfah, compared with that devoted to Syria. It is also manifest in the exaggerated role that he attributed to Khalid b. al-Walid in the conquest of Syria [pp. 86–90, 94–99, 102–4, 111–17, 166–67, 170], for Khalid and the troops that he brought with him are characterized as Iraqis [pp. 88, 90, 116]. In Sayf's account Khalid is improbably assigned the command and credited with the victory at the Battle of al-Yarmūk [pp. 89–90, 94–95, 97–98, 102, 104], though other sources attributed this victory to Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ. The length to which Sayf went to prove that Khalid, rather than Abū 'Ubaydah, had held command on that day, even to

7. E.g., Ibn Khayyāt, Ta'rikh, 118.
the extent of claiming that the message appointing Abū 'Ubaydah had arrived immediately after the battle (p. 95), probably indicates special pleading, even though his version is paralleled by traditions with a similar motif but referring to different battles (pp. 159–61). But Sayf has remolded these traditions for his own purposes and pushed the date of al-Yarmūk to 13 (634), two years earlier than that given in all other sources, precisely in order to accommodate his claim of Khālid’s command, as it was most likely known to Sayf’s hearers that the caliph ‘Umar had dismissed Khālid on his accession, so that he could not have been in command as late as 15 (636). Because Khālid had initiated the conquest of Iraq, he is represented in Sayf’s pro-Iraqi traditions as the standard bearer of that province, though there really could as yet have been no question of the Muslim troops identifying themselves with either Syria or Iraq, a later development.

In general, the tribal traditions transmitted by Sayf are most unconvincing in detail. Even Fred Donner, who reacts against the tendency to denigrate Sayf, nevertheless denounces his “Battle of Buwayb” (pp. 196–213) as a complete fabrication. In another instance that falls outside this volume, that of the alleged conquest of Khurāsān in 18 (639), the entire narrative is a palpable fabrication of tribal tradition and is of interest only as evidence that that tradition was current in Sayf’s time, not as a real source for the events that it purports to cover. Furthermore, the geographical extent of the earliest conquests has also been improbably exaggerated, indicating deep penetration of the Iraqi plain even before the defeat of the main Persian armies.

Although Sayf clearly drew on tribal traditions and possibly other, more reputable sources for much of his narrative, he nevertheless appears also to have made a considerable personal contribution to

10. Ţabari, I, 2680–93; Gibb, Arab Conquests, 15, dismisses Sayf’s report as “Arab legend” in a single sentence.
11. For example, the assertion that Khālid b. al-Walid advanced toward Kaskar on the Tigris already in his first raid. See pp. 15–20, below. However, as both Abū Mikhnaf (p. 5, below) and Ibn Khayyat, Ta’rikh, 100–2, contain similar reports drawn from independent sources, they cannot have been created by Sayf, however much he may have embroidered on the battle scenes; rather, they belong to the tribal tradition.
the traditions that he transmitted. It would be most useful to assess what this contribution is, because then we could isolate some of the elements that have been added to the tradition later. But such an assessment has never been made, because the partisan tendencies of Sayf, though they must have existed, have never been adduced, even though his corpus in al-Ṭabarî provides plenty of suggestive material.

As Sayf lived under the early 'Abbāsids, it might logically be thought that his work shows the same pro-'Abbāsid and therefore anti-Umayyad tendencies that are generally alleged for historians of the 'Abbāsid period. It might further be thought than any pro-Umayyad snippets in his reports might go back to earlier sources that he borrowed from. Actually, neither is the case. Despite certain concessions to the 'Abbāsid dynasty,12 the work of Sayf b. 'Umar is propelled mainly by other concerns entirely: opposition to the extreme claims of the 'Alids and justification of all the Companions of the Prophet.

Although he hailed from al-Kūfah, the crucible of early Shi‘ism, Sayf belonged to a completely anti-Shi‘ī undercurrent, representing the Kūfan faction that had earlier opposed the rebellions of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ali and Zayd b. ‘Ali.13 This undercurrent was generally represented by Arabs from the Mu‘ād tribal group, which had been favored by the Umayyads. Sayf was an Usayyidi and therefore a member of the main branch of the Tamīm, which, along with the rest of the Mu‘ād, had stood by the Umayyads in Khurāsān.14 With the advent of the ‘Abbāsids, an event that Sayf probably witnessed, a party had come to power that ultimately derived its legitimacy from ‘Alid claims, even though the ‘Alid party itself rejected the ‘Abbāsid parvenus. With the fall of the Umayyads, the public cursing of ‘Ali was stopped, and instead the ‘Alids were free to curse the opponents of ‘Ali, many of whom had been Companions of the Prophet. But

---

12. E.g., when al-‘Abbās alone of all the Medinan Muslims is reported to have piously refused to receive delegations from the riddah tribesmen, Ṭabarî, I, 1873.
13. This is indicated by his quotation from sources involved in the killing of al-Ḥusayn [pp. 204, 206, 216, 222]. Sayf’s partisanship also suggests that the factions of early Islam persisted longer in the original kin groups than has generally been recognized.
'Alid legitimist claims had been disappointed by the 'Abbāsids' usurpation of what the 'Alids considered their rightful place, and 'Alid supporters could, of course, not publicly criticize the new dynasty. Therefore, in order to vent their frustrations, the partisans of 'Ali laid blame in ever more strident tones on those Companions of the Prophet who had deprived 'Alī of the succession in the first place: Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, the Umayyads, and the Quraysh in general.

It was in this heated atmosphere that Sayf b. 'Umar rushed to the defense of those Companions attacked by the 'Alids and produced a narrative of the conquests and first civil war meant to justify them. Placing new material in the framework of the received historical tradition of his time, he reshaped the story of the early caliphate to prove the blamelessness of all the Prophet's Companions. In seeking to counteract the early Companions' later mistakes, he portrayed the harmoniousness of their earlier relations and showed how they had fought hard against the non-Muslims in the conquests. At the same time he blackened the non-Arab opponents of Islam to show the Muslims' superiority and to emphasize their unity against the non-Muslims. Sayf thus represented the early conquests in a picture of harmonious cooperation among all the Arab tribes against the Persians and the Romans, quite unlike the picture that was being promoted in circles sympathetic to Shi‘ism. Those tribal traditions emphasizing the struggle against the non-Muslim Persians clearly suited his purpose. At the same time it must be remembered that Sayf's anti-Shi‘i tendency did not extend to casting aspersions on the careers of 'Ali or his supporters. Rather, Sayf also sought to justify 'Ali and to exculpate him from all blame.

The egregious tendentiousness of Sayf's corpus comes out most plainly in other volumes of al-Ṭabari, in such episodes as Saqīfat Bani Sā'idah (Tabari, I, 1844–50), the burial of 'Uthmān (3049–50), and the tale of 'Abdallāh b. Saba' (2858–59, 2922, 2928, 2942–44, 2954, 3027, 3163–65, 3180). In each of these instances, other versions that do not confirm Sayf's own are available for comparison and reveal the impudence of his "daring constructions."15 The material in this volume, on the other hand, is often unparalleled elsewhere and thus more difficult to criticize. Nevertheless, Sayf's par-

15. For this phrase, see Petersen, 'Ali and Mu'āwiya, pp. 81–82.
tisanship can be recognized here as well when his reports are carefully scrutinized.

Sayf’s tendencies are most clearly revealed in this volume in his reports glorifying the Companions of the Prophet. But which Companions receive the most such attention? The first beneficiaries of his encomia are the Quraysh, precisely the group that was being most denounced by the ‘Alids. To counteract such talk, Sayf bestowed military commands and roles on Qurashis that are not attested elsewhere and appear unlikely in view of the tendency for celebrated early Companions to remain at Medina, possibly as a result of a deliberate policy, while the conquests were carried on by a select set of military leaders, many of whom had embraced Islam only in the last few years of the Prophet’s life and some of whom either were not Qurashis or were associated with the marginal Qurashi clan of Fihr. Much of this material seems to be a direct addition to the tradition by Sayf himself in the interests of defending the Qurashi Companions, especially early ones, against ‘Alid accusations. This is a likely supposition because many of the military roles mentioned for such Qurashis are mentioned nowhere else but in Sayf’s reports.16 Sayf also appended longer military careers to the lives of certain non-Qurashi Companions.17

The same is also true of certain alleged participants in the Battles of the Camel and Siffin in 36–37 (656–58). Some of them were said to have been Companions; others were not, but Sayf endowed them with military roles in the conquests not attested elsewhere. He did so particularly for those who fought against ‘Ali, which confirms his anti-‘Alid and pro-Umayyad tendency. He never attacked pro-‘Alid Companions directly, however, for his paramount concern, as with later Sunnis, was the justification of all the Companions, or, if that

---

16. In this volume he exaggerated the role of Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fihri, to whom only Sayf attributed a role on the Iraqi front (pp. 28, 30, 43, 117), his purpose was to endow Iraq with more Companions of the Prophet. Other Qurashis whose roles were exaggerated include ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālid b. al-Walid (p. 90), Ḥabīb b. Maslamah al-Fihri (p. 91), Ṣafwān b. Umayyah al-Jumahi (p. 91), Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb al-Umawi (pp. 93–94, 100), and Abū Mūsā al-Aṣḥārī, actually a Qurashi mawalid (p. 92). The motif of the justification of those Qurashis who became Muslims only at the conquest of Mecca in 8 (630) is particularly evident in the report featuring ‘Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl and his fictitious son, on pp. 99–100.

17. Those in this volume include al-Zibriqān b. Badr al-Tamimi (pp. 53, 60), ‘Utbah b. Rabi‘ah al-Bahrānī (p. 93), and Ghālib b. ‘Abdallāh al-Laythi (pp. 201, 209).
proved impossible, at least the greatest number possible. As the 'Alid party had already provided justification for the supporters of 'Ali, 18 Sayf probably felt that it was the supporters of the Umayyads and the Zubayrids whose reputations were most in need of defense. 19

Beside exaggerating the roles of certain Companions in the early conquests, Sayf also embellished his work with the exploits of other, imaginary Companions and with heroes whom he invented, especially to represent his own tribal group. The most outstanding of these fabrications is al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr, a hero and alleged Companion of the Prophet, who is, not surprisingly, said to be a member of Sayf's own subtribe, the Usayyid (in this volume, pp. 8, 24, 36, 40, 42–43, 45, 48, 60–63, 65, 90, 95, 166, 168). His being an Usayyidi suggests that his fabrication is owing to Sayf himself and not to any of Sayf's alleged sources, as none of the latter is identified as an Usayyidi. In addition, many other persons supposedly belonging to the Tamim tribal group appear to be fabrications, some of them having stereotypical names that suggest almost playful invention, like "Wrap, the son of Skirt," "Spring Herbage, the son of Rain, the son of Snow," and "Sea, the son of the Euphrates." 20 The reader will find dozens of persons who are named only in Sayf's traditions recorded in this volume.

Not all the invented personages are Muslim Arabs, however, for in order to glorify further the exploits of the Arab conquerors, Sayf attributed exalted lineages to many of the opponents whom they conquered. Thus, one finds that most of the Persians mentioned are

18. However, Sayf nonetheless endowed certain of 'Ali's partisans with military roles in the early conquests that are not attested elsewhere. Those mentioned in this volume include Mālik al-Ashtar b. al-Hārith al-Nakha'i (pp. 100, 168), Sa'd b. 'Amr b. Harām al-Khazzāji (p. 109), al-Hārith b. Hassān al-Dhuḥli (p. 117), Maḥdā b. Abī Ṭālāb b. al-Khuzā'ī (p. 117), 'Urwah b. Zayd al-Khayl al-Ta'ī (p. 209), and possibly 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Awṣī (pp. 190, 193–94).

19. Among those who fought against 'Ali's party and who were attributed military roles in the early conquests in Sayf's reports alone, this volume includes Rabī'ah b. 'Isl al-Yarbū'ī (p. 48), Dhū al-Kalā' b. Ḥimyarī (pp. 77, 81, 92, 165, 168, 172), Abū al-A'war b. Sufyān al-Sulami (pp. 91, 164, 168, 170, 172), Mu'awiyah b. Ḥudayj al-Sukūnī (p. 92), Ḥawshab b. Yazīd al-Hamdānī (p. 92), Masrūq b. Harmalah al-'Akkī (pp. 93, 165, 168), Qābātī b. Ashyam al-Laythī (pp. 93–94), Bishr b. 'Īsmah al-Muzani (p. 164), 'Alqamah b. Ḥakim al-Kinānī (pp. 165, 168), 'Amr b. Shīmr (p. 168), and Shabāh b. Rībi'ī al-Riyāḥī (p. 203).

20. On Sayf's fabricated personages in general, see al-'Askari, Khamsūn wa-mi'ah ṣahāḥī, which is entirely devoted to twenty-three Tamimis whom Sayf is said to have fabricated, most of them are mentioned in this volume.
linked with the Sasanian royal house by improbable genealogies (e.g., pp. 120, 182). Shahbaraz, Khusraw II's general whose usurpation of the throne had been suppressed shortly before the conquest is said to have been a member of the royal family (p. 117). Scions of other defunct families also appear, like the Ghassânids of Buṣra (pp. 58–59, 115); the Lakhmids of al-Ḥira, who had disappeared more than thirty years before (p. 58; cf. p. 216; see also Ṣabari, I, 1960–61, 2226); and even the family of Bahram Chūbin, the Persian usurper who had been decisively suppressed almost forty-five years earlier than the conquest (p. 53)!

Beside having fabricated many of the personages who appear in his transmissions, it also appears that Sayf fabricated the names of many, perhaps most, of his alleged authorities. In fact, medieval Muslims already had noticed that most of his authorities were majhūlūn, or unknowns, the quality of whose transmissions could not be verified because no information about them existed. In view of the enormous corpus of medieval Muslim biographical literature, it is very strange that nothing can be discovered about most of Sayf's immediate sources, especially as they were apparently from al-Kūfah, a major center for the recording of the Islamic tradition. In the case of other transmitters of Sayf's generation, it occasionally happens that an unknown authority will appear, but, in the case of Sayf, the majority appear to be unknown. Given the shared traits found in many of Sayf's traditions that we can attribute with some confidence to Sayf himself, it would appear that many of his alleged "authorities" are simply his own inventions.

Frequently it seems that these invented "authorities" served as intermediate links between Sayf and earlier genuine traditionists.

---

Translator's Foreword

whose authority Sayf wished to use to bolster his own inventions. Had Sayf himself alleged to have transmitted from, say, the famous al-Sha‘bī, the fraud would have been quickly discovered, for Sayf was probably a notorious and controversial celebrity in his own time. Had he claimed to have transmitted from one of al-Sha‘bī’s known pupils, he would also have been denounced had he deviated from that pupil’s tradition. But, when he alleged an unknown pupil of al-Sha‘bī as his intermediary, no one could offer a sure proof against his forgery based on the chain of transmission alone, especially when the generation of Sayf had passed from the scene.

For example, in this volume, Sayf cited ‘Amr b. Muḥammad as transmitting from al-Sha‘bī (pp. 1, 7, 13, 17, 19–20, 25, 38–39, 47, 83, 176), Sufyān al-ʿĀhmārī as transmitting from Māhān (pp. 39, 41, 45, 48), Sahl b. Yūsuf as transmitting from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (pp. 79, 81, 173, 175), and Mubashshir b. Fuḍayl as transmitting from Sālīm b. ʿAbdallāh (pp. 81, 175). From this list we can see that Sayf normally used his invented “authority” only a few times as a link to a proven traditionist from an earlier generation; more often, he cited these same immediate “authorities” of his by themselves, without carrying the chain of transmission back farther. But from his few citations of reliable earlier traditionists as sources for his own “authorities” he gained tremendously in credibility, for he made it appear that they were the students of earlier great traditionists. As a result, when he subsequently cited ‘Amr, without carrying the chain of authority back to al-Sha‘bī, he gave the impression that the transmission must have come from al-Sha‘bī or at least must have been something the latter would have approved, while at the same time he made himself safe from the accusation that he had put something into al-Sha‘bī’s mouth.

Beside fabricating intermediaries, it appears that Sayf sometimes extended a chain of transmitters back an additional generation by adding the nameless father of the earliest transmitter to the beginning of the chain (e.g., p. 37). These persons are frequently unknown in any source, even though Sayf’s named authority is known, which suggests that Sayf gratuitously introduced the authority’s parent in order to strengthen his documentation.

Sayf often quoted from well-attested authorities also and sometimes offered chains of transmitters whose existence in every generation can be documented from rijāl books or other sources. But he
usually cited these "real" authorities only for brief passages, whereas the bulk of his reports he attributed to what Donner called the "MTZMAS group": Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, Ziyād, al-Muhallab, ‘Amr, and Sa‘īd b. al-Marzubān, only the last of whom is a well-attested transmitter; in fact, he does not even properly belong in the group, as he is infrequently quoted, compared to the others. It thus appears that Sayf cited reliable authorities to give the impression that he was using a wide variety of informants, while he created his own version of events using the names of mostly imaginary informants whom he had invented or whose material, even if it actually came from such persons, he reworked freely. As he apparently did not even quote his reliable informants accurately, he was roundly condemned in the Sunni tradition for having foisted falsehoods on trustworthy transmitters.

Although up to this point we have portrayed Sayf’s reports as totally devoid of historical relevance for the period they claim to cover, the picture may not be entirely bleak, for Sayf of necessity transmitted much authentic material in which he embedded his fabrications, which otherwise would not have carried conviction with his audience. However, that material is difficult to disentangle and generally may be entertained as historical evidence only when corroborated by another source.

A couple of examples may be given, both for authentic material in Sayf and for the difficulty of distilling it from the invented. First, Alois Musil was convinced that Sayf’s transmissions were reliable because of their geographical plausibility. Based on Musil’s research, one will have to admit at least the real existence of most of the places mentioned by Sayf. However, this proves not that the alleged association of these places with particular historical events is also accurate, but only that he based his reports in many cases on accurate geography.

A second testimony in favor of Sayf’s work’s containing some authentic material is the frequency with which he cited names of in-
individuals who are attested independently in other early Muslim historical or literary works. Such personages are much less likely to be fabrications than those found only in Sayf's reports. Their presence suggests that it may be possible to separate some authentic information from Sayf's fabrications. An example is the list of participants in the Battle of al-Yarmūk [pp. 90–94]. Although not all those named may actually have fought at that battle, most seem indeed to be attested elsewhere as at least having taken part in some phase of the conquest of Syria. The list, which may actually predate Sayf, can therefore be cited as corroborative evidence, except where those named can otherwise be shown not to belong there, as in the case of the ubiquitous al-Qa‘qā‘ b. ‘Amr, whom Sayf himself had presumably inserted.

Generally Sayf’s transmissions compare unfavorably with those of more authentic transmitters of tradition like Ibn Ishāq, Ibn al-Kalbī, and Abū Mikhnaf. This is not to deny that their transmissions also involve many problems, but they are nonetheless superior to those of Sayf. Their reports nearly always are very terse, representing almost all that remains of the older tradition, whereas Sayf’s work represents huge, tendentious elaborations in support of his own political stance. For example, whereas Ibn Ishāq’s account of al-Yarmūk (Ṭabari, I, 2347–49) is brief,25 Sayf’s report is much longer (pp. 83–104).

The matter can be taken a step farther if we consider the transmissions of Ibn A‘tham al-Kūfī [d. 314/926], another Kūfīan, who lived a century later than Sayf. Ibn A‘tham dropped all pretense of citing sources, preferring to combine whatever sources he used with his own creative writing in one unified and seamless version. Although, like Sayf, he may have preserved some authentic material, it is buried in his wildly tendentious reshaping of the story. His account of al-Yarmūk is more than fifty pages long.26 In Ibn A‘tham’s work Muslim defeats like the Battle of the Bridge, described poignantly by Sayf [pp. 188–93], have been absurdly turned into Muslim victories.27 The Persian commander, Jābān, improbably claimed by Sayf to have been captured and then to have escaped by a ruse [pp.

25. Or see Ibn al-Kalbī’s even briefer version, cited in Ibn Khayyāt, Tā’rikh, 118.
not only remained captive in Ibn A‘tham’s version but became a Muslim as well. Thus the fanciful Kūfī tradition of the conquests grew, perhaps encouraged by the need for the constantly repressed and downtrodden city of al-Kūfah to recover a modicum of military self-esteem through the elaboration of a glorious, if mythical, past.

Like the work of Ibn A‘tham, the transmissions of al-Ṭabari from Sayf contained in this volume belong more to the realm of historical romance than to that of history. But, unlike early tribal or national epics, which arose entirely in an oral milieu and were notoriously devoid of interested messages, the work of Sayf arose in the highly articulated political environment of the ‘Alids’ controversy with their opponents and is thus filled with ideological content and tendentiousness. Its nearest parallel outside Muslim history is perhaps to be sought in the Late Roman Historia Augusta (c. 395 C.E.), itself a work by a single polemicist who was on the losing side in an ideological struggle. Like Sayf, that anonymous Latin writer strove to present personages whom he identified as being of his own party in earlier times in a favorable light by retrojecting his own fabrications about them into the past. Like Sayf’s work, the Historia Augusta contains some authentic matter that it may be possible to disengage from the mass of fabrications and alterations.

This assessment of Sayf in no way undermines the authority of other early Muslim writers whose works may have an entirely different character, just as the Late Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus is in no way affected by the fraud of the Historia Augusta. On the contrary, it is greatly to the credit of the medieval Sunni Muslims who assessed the quality of traditions in the rijal books that they unanimously rejected Sayf’s authority in the most absolute way possible. They did so despite the fact that his traditions could have been used to back their emerging Sunni consensus on early Islamic history. This suggests that their condemnation of Sayf’s traditions was motivated by a concern for the truth, rather than by a wish to gain advantage in the partisan arena of the time. They realized that his transmissions were exaggerated and fraudu-

29. On the Historia Augusta, see Syme, Ammianus; Syme, Emperors; Syme, Historia Augusta; and Syme, Historia Augusta Papers.
lent, and they said so. In fact, the condemnation of Sayf by the medieval Muslim 'ulamā’ ought to serve as a reminder to modern scholars that ancient and medieval texts were not always dictated by the prevailing political or religious climate and that the search for truth had its place in earlier times as well as in our own.

Finally, it should be remembered that Sayf’s work remains important, even though his traditions have been shown to be largely unhistorical. For, although they may cast only a limited amount of light on the early Islamic conquests, they constitute one of the most important sources of the early ‘Abbāsid period for the development of Sunni attitudes toward early Muslim history, as well as for the emergence of polemic between Sunnī and Shi‘ī. In particular, they enlighten us on the position of the minority anti-'Alid party in al-Kūfah and provide details of the party’s attitude toward many individual historical personages.

There remains the question why the generally sober al-Tabari adopted Sayf’s versions wholesale in his history, probably to the detriment of other versions that were still available in his time but that may have perished partly because of his ignoring them in favor of Sayf. Although a final answer cannot be given here, it seems likely that Sayf’s transmissions fulfilled two important desiderata in al-Tabari’s mind. First, his versions agreed with al-Tabari’s ideological position for he, too, was a jama‘ī Sunnī who preferred to minimize the strife among the early Muslims. Al-Tabari thus handed on Sayf’s transmissions, even though he can hardly have been unaware of the latter’s poor reputation, which had already developed before his time. Perhaps he felt that he did not have to be as meticulous about historical transmissions as he might have been about normative hadīths. In a couple of instances al-Tabari showed an awareness of Sayf’s weakness, once when he denied Sayf’s story of Khalid b. al-Walid’s conquest of al-Baṣrah (pp. 14 – 15) and once again when he changed Sayf’s dating of the alleged Tamīmī conquest of Khurāsān (Tabarî, I, 268o).

But in describing the conquests generally al-Tabari scarcely deviated from Sayf’s reports. This brings us to the second attraction that Sayf may have had for al-Tabari: detail. Sayf’s transmissions are almost always far more verbose than parallel reports of more sober traditionists. This characteristic probably not only made them preferable to al-Tabari but may have seemed a guarantee of their accu-
racy. Living in medieval times, al-Ṭabari did not, in the majority of instances, have available to him the modern critical tools that would have enabled him to discover Sayf’s tendentiousness. And, after all, Sayf’s reports have continued to receive the approbation of a minority of scholars even up to the present.  

As for the translation itself, I have tried to be as literal as possible while keeping to readable English. Owing to the elliptical nature of the Arabic, I have frequently had to add words where pronouns were meant to be understood. In many other instances I have had to repeat a noun or name in order to make the reference clear. In all other instances in which I have added something to the text to make it more understandable, I have put the addition in brackets [ ]. Words enclosed in ordinary parentheses ( ) are part of the original text, except for Common Era dates, which are also in parentheses. Furthermore, I have striven to make the footnotes as comprehensive as possible, identifying each proper name at its first occurrence. To identify a name, the reader should find its first occurrence in the index; the relevant footnote should lie on the first page in the text on which that name appears.

One matter of word choice requires a bit of explanation. In this volume I have chosen to refer to the East Romans and their empire as Roman, rather than Byzantine. I have done so, despite the prevalence of the contrary practice for this period, for three reasons. First, it seems to be that “Roman” is more consonant with the prevailing trend of allowing peoples to be known by their own self-designation. Certainly the East Romans would have resented any implication that they were not Romans and would have viewed the term “Byzantine” as pejorative, as indeed it is. Second, although the division of the history of the Roman Empire into “Roman” and “Byzantine” phases may be convenient for scholars who wish to label their narrow specializations accordingly, it actually represents a western European perspective, in which it is considered that, after Rome “fell” in 476 C.E., all that went on in the East was purely secondary and very remote. It seems better to stress the continuity of Rome in the East. Finally, even if the term “Byzantine” were to be applied to that phase of the East Roman Empire when it had lost most of its non-Greek territories and ceased to be as multinational as before, say af-

30. Crone, Slaves, 9, 206 n. 51.
ter 717 C.E., the term would still not be appropriate to that empire in the early seventh century C.E., the period covered in this book. At that time the Romans still held, however tenuously, vast areas of Syrian, Egyptian, Punic, Berber, Armenian, and Latin population, and the extent of their rule differed little from what it had been in the mid-fifth century C.E., a period for which the designation "Roman" is generally accepted.

I wish to extend my thanks to the Tabari Translation Project for the opportunity to translate, annotate, and publish this work. I also give my thanks to my wife for her patience and support while I was working on this volume.

Khalid Yahya Blankinship
Genealogical Table of the Later Sasanians as Represented by Sayf b. 'Umar

(Names mentioned only in Sayf's transmissions and apparently invented by him are underscored.)

Kisra I Anushirwan

Unnamed = Unnamed female

Bistam (p. 183) Unnamed = Hurmuz IV female

Narsi (pp. 179, 182–84, 186) Binduyah (p. 183) Tiruyah (p. 183)

Kisra II Barwiz = Unnamed female

Siyavukhsh al-Razi (pp. 110, 177)

Bahrâm VI Jūbin

Mihrân (pp. 53–54)

Shirā (pp. 11–12) Shahriyār

Būrān = al-Farrukhzād b. al-Bindawān (pp. 48, 120, 176–78)

Shāh-i Zanān (pp. 176–79) also called Dukht-i Zabān (p. 120)

Ardashir III = Unnamed female

Ardashir

Qubād (pp. 12–14, 16–17) Anūshājan (pp. 12–14, 16–17)

Shahrbarāz (pp. 117–18, 120, 178)

Brothers, but without specified link to the Sasanian family

Sābūr (pp. 110, 178)

1 Falsely located in the genealogy
Genealogical Table of the Later Sasanians as Attested in Sources Other than Sayf b. 'Umar

(Names are given in Arabic form; all dates are C.E.)

Aštahbadh

Bint Khāqān

al-Turk = Kīsrā I Anūshirwān

(d. 579)

Unnamed female

Bindūyah or Bindi

(d. 591–92)

Unnamed female

Hurmuız IV

Bahrām Jushnas

(d. 590)

Yazdāndār

Shirīn1 = Kīsrā II Abarwiz

(d. 628)

Kurdīyyah

Bahrām VI

Kurdi

Jūbin or Kurduyāh

(d. 591)

Şahrabakht = Mihrā Jushnas

Sahariyār

(d. 628)

Mardānshāh

(d. 628)

Būrān

(d. 631)

Āzarmidukht

Khusraw IV

(d. 632)

14 brothers killed by Shirīyah in 628

Shirīyah

Fayrūz

Kīsrā

(Qubadh II, d. 632)

(d. 632)

Ardashir III

(d. 630)

Jushnasmāh1

[nal Hirbadh!]

Narsi

Khusraw

Shāh-i Afrīd = Caliph al-Walid I

b. 'Abd al-Malik

(670–715)

(d. 651)

Yazdigird III

Caliph Yazid III (708–44)

Anūshajān = Kāmin Dār or Tamāhij

of Burs

Bistām

[al Hirbadh!]

1. A Christian from Khuzistān.
2. The marriage of Kīsrā II to this daughter of the Byzantine emperor Maurice is generally believed to be legendary.
3. This group is said to be of royal descent, but no link with the dynasty is found save in Sayf’s accounts [p. 182, Ibn Khayyāt, Ta’rikh, 100, 114.]
Map 1. Iraq at the Time of the Muslim Conquest.
Map 2. Syria at the Time of the Muslim Conquest.
The Caliphate of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq
Abū Jaʿfar: When Khalid was done with the business of al-Yamāmah, Abu Bakr al-Šiddiq wrote to him while Khalid was still there. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Saʿd al-Zuhri—his uncle—Sayf b. ʿUmar—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—al-Shaʿbī: [Abu Bakr wrote,] “Go on toward...
The Caliphate of Abu Bakr al-Šiddiq

Iraq until you enter it. Begin with the gateway to India, which is al-Ubullah.9 Render the people of Persia [Fārs]10 and those nations under their rule peaceable."

‘Umar b. Shabbah11—Ali b. Muhammad,12 by the chain of transmitters previously mentioned—those I recorded in that chain: Abu Bakr sent Khalid b. al-Walid to the territory of al-Kufah, in which was al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah al-Shaybānī.13 Khalid departed in al-Muharram 12 (18 March–16 April 633), going by way of al-Baṣrah, where Quṭbah b. Qatādah al-Sadūsī14 was.

Abū Ja`far—al-Wāqidi:15 There is a difference of opinion about the matter of Khalid b. al-Walid. One view holds that he went straight from al-Yamāmah to Iraq, whereas another states that he returned from al-Yamāmah to Medina and then went to Iraq from Medina, going by way of al-Kūfah until he reached al-Ḥiraḥ.16

---

9. Ancient Apologos, on the site of present-day Iraqi al-Baghdād, a few miles up the Shag al-‘Arab from the Persian Gulf. Its position as the chief port of Iraq probably earned it the title "the gateway to India." See Tabari, I, 2377; El, s.v al-Obolla; Le Strange, Lands, 47; Donner, Conquests, 329 n. 66. Donner notes that it is unlikely that Khalid b. al-Walid had anything to do with the conquest of al-Ubullah, which was actually accomplished by `Utbah b. Ghazwān somewhat later. However, Ibn Khayyāt, Taʾrikh, 100–1, records Khalid’s campaign in the vicinity of al-Ubullah, which suggests that Khalid at least may have led a raid there although `Utbah actually reduced the area. Baladhurī, Futuh, 418–22, mentions Khalid’s prior presence in the vicinity of al-Baṣrah but gives the major role in its conquest to `Utbah.

10. Although this word often refers to the mountainous province of southwestern Iran centered around Shirāz, which was the homeland of the Sāsānian dynasty, its meaning here and elsewhere appears to encompass the whole Sāsānian kingdom. In such cases I have used its English cognate Persia to translate.


16. Important town on the west bank of the Euphrates, capital of the defunct Lakhmīd kingdom. See EI, s.v. al-Ḥira; Musil, Middle Euphrates, 102–3, esp. n. 57.
The Events of the Year 12

Ibn Humayd17—Salamah18—Sha‘ih b. Kaysän:20 Abū Bakr wrote to Khalīd b. al-Walid, ordering him to go to Iraq. Khalīd went on his way toward Iraq, until he stopped at certain towns in al-Sawād21 called Baniqā‘,22 Bārusmā,23 and Ullays.24 Their people made peace with him. The man who made peace with him on their behalf was Ibn Sha‘ibā.25 That took place in the year 12. Khalīd accepted the jizyah26 from them and wrote a document for them, which read:

In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. From Khalīd b. al-Walid to Ibn Sha‘ibā al-Sawadi, whose residence is on the bank of the Euphrates:27 You are safe by the guarantee of God (for he had spared his blood by paying the jizyah) and you have paid one thousand dirhams for yourself and for those having to pay the land tax and head tax28 and those who are in your two towns, Baniqā‘ and Bārusmā. I have accepted it from you, and those of the Muslims who are with me are satisfied with this amount from you. You have the solemn guarantee (dhimmah) of God, the guarantee of

---

19. Muhammad b. Ishāq, d. 151/768, the famous historian and biographer of the Prophet. See EP, s.v. Ibn Ishāq.
21. The alluvial plain of Iraq, especially central Iraq. See EI', s.v. al-Sawād; Morony, Iraq, 121, 127 map.
23. Aramaic Beth Rushme, north of al-Hillah, though Morony places it between the two branches of the Euphrates; Le Strange has it east of the eastern branch. See Morony, Iraq, 147–48, 177 n. 48; Le Strange, Lands, 70, 81, map II. Donner, Conquests, 334 n. 127, expresses doubts about its exact location.
24. If this town was near the other two just named, it must have been north of al-Hillah in the district called Bihqubādh (Veh-Kavat); otherwise it was south of al-Hirah. It has been considered the ancient Vologesias. See Morony, Iraq, 127 [map], 152; Donner, Conquests, 329 n. 66. Musil, Middle Euphrates, 288, 293, places it firmly about 35 km. southeast of al-Hirah on the west bank of the Euphrates at the present town of al-Shāfi‘.
26. Tax paid by non-Muslims to the Muslims to guarantee the peace. See EP, s.v. Dzizya.
27. See EP, s.v. al-Furāt.
28. See Ṭabari, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, cxvii, ccxi.
Muḥammad, and the guarantee of the Muslims regarding that. Witnessed by Hishām b. al-Walid. 29

Then Khalīd went on with those in his company until he reached al-Ḥirah, whose nobles came out to him with Qabīṣah b. Iyās b. Ḥayyah al-Ṭā‘lī. 30 Kisrā had made Qabīṣah the governor of al-Ḥirah after al-Nu‘mān b. al-Mundhir. 32 Khalīd said to him and his companions: “I call you to God and to Islam. If you respond to the call, then you are Muslims: You obtain the benefits they enjoy and take up the responsibilities they bear. If you refuse, then [you must pay] the jizyah. If you refuse the jizyah, I will bring against you tribes of people who are more eager for death than you are for life. We will then fight you until God decides between us and you.”

Qabīṣah b. Iyās answered, “We have no need to fight you; rather, we will keep to our religion and pay you the jizyah.” Thus he made peace with the Muslims, agreeing to pay ninety thousand dirhams. This was the first jizyah agreed to in Iraq: al-Ḥirah and the villages for which Ibn Ṣalūbā made the agreement.

Abū Ja‘far — Hishām b. al-Kalbi: 33 When Abū Bakr wrote to Khalīd b. al-Walid while the latter was in al-Yamamah, that he [should] set out for Syria, he also commanded him to begin with Iraq, so that he might pass through it. Khalīd then began his journey from al-Yamamah, going along until he reached al-Nibaj. 34

Hishām — Abū Mikhnafl — Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Ḥamzah b. ‘Ali —

---

29. Khalīd’s brother. See Zubayrī, Nasab, 323.
30. This appears to be a mistake for Iyās b. Qabīṣah, who ruled 602–11 in succession to al-Nu‘mān III as the last prince of the Sasanian tributary state of al-Ḥirah. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, II, 361; Ibn Khayyāt, Ta‘rikh, 101. Conceivably that Iyās could have had a son Qabīṣah who was present here, but that is doubtful in view of the confusion about this personage in the sources. See Donner, Conquests, 329 n. 67.
31. Arabic name of the Sasanian king Khusraw II Parwiz (590–628 C.E.).
33. Ibn Muḥammad b. al-Sā‘īb, d. 206/821, the great scholar, historian, and genealogist. See EP, s.v. al-Kalbi; Ibn al-Nadim, Fihrist, 1081f.
34. Although several possible localities with this name exist, the one meant here is that on the route from al-Baṣrah to al-Yamamah, deep in the desert. The Bakr and the Tamīm fought over it before Islam, and it was thus in Arab territory, not under Persian control. See Yaqūt, Mu‘jam, V, 255–56.
36. He is further identified as Ḥamzah b. ‘Ali b. Muḥaffiz on p. 211, below, but does not seem to be found elsewhere.
The Events of the Year 12

a man from the Bakr b. Wā'il. Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah traveled until he reached Abū Bakr. Al-Muthannā said, "Give me command over those of my people who are nearby, and I will fight those Persians who border me and will cover my district." Abū Bakr acceded to his request. Al-Muthannā then came back, collected his men together, and began to raid the district of Kaskar one time and the lowest Euphrates another time. Khālid b. al-Walid stopped at al-Nibaj while al-Muthannā was encamped at Khaffān. Khālid b. al-Walid wrote to al-Muthannā [ordering] that the latter come to him and also sent al-Muthannā a letter from Abū Bakr enjoining him to obey Khālid. At this, al-Muthannā rushed to Khālid by fast horse until he caught up with him. The Banū 'Ijli claim that one of their men named Madh'nr b. 'Adi went forth with al-Muthannā. Madh'nr contended with al-Muthannā [over the command], so that the two of them wrote to Abū Bakr. The latter wrote back to al-'Ijli, bidding him to go with Khālid to Syria, while he confirmed al-Muthannā in his command. Al-'Ijli reached Egypt, where he enjoyed a noble estate and an important position. His house there is well known today.

Khālid pressed on. Jābān, the governor of Ullays, opposed him. Khālid sent against him al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah, who fought and defeated Jābān, killing most of his troops beside a canal there called Blood Canal (nahr dam) because of that battle. Khālid then made peace with the inhabitants of Ullays. [After this] he went on until he neared al-Ḥirah. The cavalry of Azādhbih, who was the commander of the Sasanian cavalry stationed in outposts along the

---

37. The most important part of the Rabi'ah group of tribes, the Bakr were located in northeastern Arabia. They tended to be more sedentary than their nemesis, the Tamim. They played a big role in the conquest of Iraq. See EIP, s.v. Bakr b. Wā'il.
39. The modern Qaṣr al-Qa'im, a spring and favorite campground on the edge of the desert west of the Euphrates, 22 km. southeast of al-Qādisiyah. See Musil, Middle Euphrates, 284, and accompanying map of northern Arabia.
40. A Rabi'ah tribe later prominent in al-Kūfah and evidently already found in the vicinity before Islam. See EIP, s.v. 'Ijli; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamhārat, I, 141; II, 24–26, 353.
42. Attested independently as well in Ibn Khayyāt, Ta'rikh, 108. See also Morony, Iraq, 187.
43. The marzubān of al-Ḥirah. See Donner, Conquests, 180, 329 n. 67; Morony, Iraq, 187.
44. Lit., "Kisrā's cavalry."
frontier between the Sasanian domains and the Arabs, came out to fight Khalid. They met the Muslims at the confluence of the rivers. Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah went against the Iranian cavalry, and God routed them. When the people of al-Ḥirah saw that, they came out to receive Khalid. Among them were ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. ʿAmr b. Buqaylah⁴⁴ and Hānī b. Qabıṣah.⁴⁶

Khalid asked ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, "From where do you come?" He replied, "From my father's back." Khalid asked, "From where did you come out?" ʿAbd al-Masīḥ answered, "From my mother's womb." Khalid said, "Woe to you! On what are you standing?" He replied, "On the ground." Khalid said, "Woe to you! What are you in?" ʿAbd al-Masīḥ responded, "In my clothes." Khalid said, "Woe to you! Do you comprehend (ta`qīl)?" He replied, "Yes, and I register (uqayyid) too."⁴⁷ Khalid said, "I only ask you." ʿAbd al-Masīḥ said, "And I answer you." Khalid then asked, "Are you for peace or war?" ʿAbd al-Masīḥ replied, "For peace." Khalid went on, "Then what are these fortresses that I see?" ʿAbd al-Masīḥ answered, "We built them for the foolish, in order to confine him, until the mild-tempered comes to restrain him."⁴⁸

Then Khalid said to them, "I call you to God, to His worship, and to Islam. If you accept, you obtain the benefits we enjoy and take up the responsibilities we bear. If you refuse, then [you must pay] the jizyah. If you refuse the jizyah, then we will bring against you a people who love death more than you love drinking wine." They answered, "We have no need to fight you." He made peace with them on [the payment of] one hundred and ninety thousand dirhams.⁴⁹ It

⁴⁶. Hānī b. Qabıṣah b. Hānī b. Maspūd al-Shaybānī. Abū ʿUbaydah says he already was an important leader at the time of the Battle of Dhu Qār, but that statement also could refer to his grandfather. See Ṭabarī, I, 1028–29; Ibn al-Kalbi, Ḟamḥarat, I, 149; II, 279; Balāḏurī, Futūḥ, 297; Yāqūt, Muʿjam, IV, 293–94; Donner, Conquests, 183, 331 n. 84.
⁴⁷. This contains an untranslatable play on the two words, both of which mean "to bind or tie," in addition to their other meanings.
⁴⁸. This story appears in a slightly different form in Balāḏurī, Futūḥ, 297, and also is repeated below, p. 33.
⁴⁹. Elsewhere the payment of al-Ḥirah is said to have been eighty, eighty-four, or one hundred thousand dirhams, the latter possibly rounded up from the former figures, which have the authority of Yāḥyā b. Adam. See Balāḏurī, Futūḥ, 297–98. This report would seem to represent the mathematical sum of two versions giving ninety and one hundred thousand as the amount.
The Events of the Year 12

was the first jizyah that was borne to Medina from Iraq. After this Khalid descended on Baniqya. Busbuhr b. Salubah made peace with him on the payment of one thousand dirhams and a hooded cloak (taylasan). Khalid wrote a document for them.

Khalid made peace with the inhabitants of al-Hira'h in exchange for their agreeing to scout, which they did.

Hisham — Abu Mikhnaf — al-Muajlid b. Sa'id — al-Shabi: The Banu Buqaylah read to me the letter of Khalid b. al-Walid to the inhabitants of al-Madain:

From Khalid b. al-Walid to the rulers of the Persians:
Peace be upon whosoever follows right guidance. Praise be to God, Who has scattered your servants, wrested your sovereignty away, and rendered your plotting weak. Whoever worships the way we worship, faces the direction we face in prayer, and eats meat slaughtered in our fashion, that person is a Muslim who obtains the benefits we enjoy and takes up the responsibilities we bear. Now then, when you receive this letter, send me hostages and place yourselves under my protection. Otherwise, by Him other than Whom there is no god, I will most certainly send against you a people who love death just as you love life.

When they read this letter, they became astonished. That was in the year 12.

Abu Ja'far: As for others beside Ibn Isdaq, Hisham, and those I have mentioned before, regarding the matter of Khalid and his march to Iraq, they include what was reported by [the following]:

Ubaydallah b. Sa'd al-Zuhri — his uncle — Sayf b. Uma — 'Amr b. Muhammed — al-Shabi: When Khalid b. al-Walid was done with al-Yamamah, Abu Bakr wrote to him, "God has given you victory; therefore, go into Iraq until you meet 'Iyad." He also wrote to 'Iyad

50. Kos. has help here instead, which is also possible.
53. The former Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon east of the Tigris.
54. 'Iyad b. [Abd] Ghanm b. Zuhayr al-Fihri, the famous conqueror of upper Mesopotamia, d. 20/641. His mention here would imply that Khalid's orders were to enter Iraq from the middle or south, then pass through it to the north, possibly following
b. Ghanm when he was between al-Nibāj and al-Ḥijāz, "Go until you reach al-Muṣayyakh. Begin with it, then enter Iraq from its uppermost part and penetrate it until you meet Khālid. Let both of you permit whoever wants to return to do so. And do not open the campaign with mutual aversion." When the letter came to Khālid and ʿIyāḍ, they allowed men to return according to the command of Abū Bakr. The people of Medina and its vicinity went back, leaving the forces of the two commanders bare. Therefore they sought reinforcements from Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr reinforced Khālid with al-Qaʿqāʾ b. ʿAmr al-Tamīmī. Abū Bakr was told, "Are you reinforcing a man whose troops have deserted him with [only] one man?" Abū Bakr answered, "An army in which there is the like of this man will not be defeated." He also reinforced ʿIyāḍ with ʿAbd b. ʿAwf al-Ḥimyarī. Abū Bakr wrote to the two commanders, saying, "Call to arms those who fought against the apostates (ahl al-riddah) and those who have remained steadfast to Islam after the Prophet. Do not let anyone who had apostatized campaign with you until I give my opinion." The campaigns of conquest (al-ayyām) did not subsequently see any apostate [participating].
When the letter came to Khalid appointing him to command in Iraq, he wrote to Harmalah, Sulmā, al-Muthannā, and Madh’ūr, ordering them to join him. He also ordered them to bring their troops against al-Ubullah on an appointed day, which he named. That was because Abu Bakr, in his letter, had commanded Khalid when he entered Iraq to begin with the gateway to the people of Sind and India, which today is al-Ubullah. Then Khalid gathered to arms whoever was between him and Iraq. In this way he mobilized eight thousand from the Rabī‘ah and the Muḍar, adding them to the two thousand who were already with him. After that he came with this ten thousand to the eight thousand who were with the four amirs, meaning by the four amirs al-Muthannā, Madh’ūr, Sulmā, and Ḥarmalah. Thus he met Hurmuz with eighteen thousand men.

‘Ubaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf b. ‘Umar—al-Muhallab al-Asadi—‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāḥ, and Ṭalḥah b. al-A‘lām—al-Mughī-

59. Ḥarmalah b. Murayṭah al-‘Adawi of the Tamim, mentioned only by Sayf. See Donner, Conquests, 417, 425, 434. His name and that of his father are both terms for garments, meaning approximately “Wrap, the son of Skirt,” which suggests a legendary invention. The inclusion of the two Tamimis illustrates Sayf’s anxiety to show the role of the Tamim in the conquest, which in fact was accomplished more by the Rabī‘ah, in conjunction with certain Hijāzī tribes. Al-‘Askari gives a detailed analysis, in which he denies Ḥarmalah’s existence. See al-‘Askari, Khamsūn wa mi‘āb saḥābi, 245–60.

60. Sulmā b. al-Qayn al-‘Adawi of the Tamim, always mentioned by Sayf in conjunction with Ḥarmalah, as here, and also said to be an imaginary figure; see previous note. However, his mention by Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 67; II, 509, with a complete genealogy shows that he was not invented by Sayf but already existed in the Tamimi tribal tradition and could have been a real person.

61. Two of the great tribal groupings of the Arabs, the Rabī‘ah and the Muḍar represent the two major branches of the Nizār or Ma‘ād. This genealogical connection could be brought forth to justify an alliance in case of need, but more often the Rabī‘ah were at odds with the Muḍar in Islamic times. The Rabī‘ah generally derived from settled or partly settled tribes of eastern Arabia and Iraq, whereas the Muḍar tended to represent the nomads of northern Arabia. See EI, Supplement, s.v. Rabī‘a and Muḍar.

62. This commander appears only in Sayf and probably is a fabrication of the tribal tradition, as Caetani, Annali, II, 957 n. 3, holds. The name may have been suggested by that of the mawlā Hurmuz, who was captured at ‘Ayn al-Tamr and whose descendants lived in al-Ḥārām in early ‘Abbāsid times. See Ibn Khayyāt, Ta‘rikh, 102.

63. Ibn ‘Uqbah, unknown except in Sayf’s isnāds.

64. Al-Ahmari, unknown except in Sayf’s isnāds.

65. Al-Ḥanafi, he occurs almost exclusively in Sayf’s isnāds and very frequently is
rah b. `Utabayah:66 Abū Bakr wrote to Khālid b. al-Walid, when he made him commander on the Iraqi front, enjoining him to enter it from its lowest reaches. [He also wrote] to `Iyāḍ, when he made him commander on the Iraqi front, that he [should] enter it from its uppermost part. Then they would race to al-Hirah, and whoever reached al-Hirah first would become the commander of the other. He also said, 'When you have joined each other at al-Hirah, have broken the defenses to Persia, and are sure that the Muslims will not be attacked from behind, let one of you cover the Muslims and his comrade [by staying] at al-Hirah. Let the other attack God's enemy and your enemy among the Persians in their own house and the abode of their power: al-Madā'in.'

`Ubaydallah—his uncle—Sayf—al-Mujālīd—al-Sha'bī: Khālid wrote to Hurmuz before the latter's going forth with Azadhbih, the ancestor of al-Zayādhibah67 who are in al-Yamāmah. Hurmuz was then the commander of that front. [Khālid’s letter read,] 'Now then, embrace Islam so that you may be safe, or else make a treaty of protection for yourself and your people and agree to pay the jīzāyah. Otherwise, do not at all blame anyone but yourself, for I have brought you a people who love death as you love life.'

Sayf—Tālib b. al-A`lam—al-Mūghīrah b. `Utabayah, who was the judge of the people of al-Kūfah: When Khālid departed from al-Yamāmah for Iraq, he divided his troops into three groups. He did not send them by one way. Rather, he sent out al-Muthanna, with his guide Zafar, two days ahead of him. Then he sent out `Adi b. Ḥātim68

---

66. Al-Mūghīrah b. `Utabayah b. al-Nahhās al-`Ijjī. He was appointed the judge of al-Kūfah by either `Umar b. Hubayrah [gov. 103–5/722–24] or Khālid b. `Abdallāh [gov. 105–20/724–38]. See Waki`, Quddh, 1, 1241, below. Al-`A`askarī, Khamsīn wa mi`āh sahābī, 274, 278, points out, however, that this Tālibah is attested as a transmitter in an insād other than through Sayf; the one such case of this that I have come across is in Tabārī, I, 3139, which would show that he is not one of Sayf’s inventions. Ḥānẓalāh b. al-A`lam, who appears in Tabārī, I, 3249, is probably a Ḥanafī and in the right generation to be Tālibah’s brother.

67. Presumably a plural of al-Zādhabī or rather al-Zādhabīhi. See Tabārī, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DCXI, Samā’īn, Ansāb, VI, 228; Ibn al-Athir, Lubāb, I, 488 [al-Zādhabīhi].

68. Son of the famous pre-Islamic poet Ḥātim al-Ṭā‘ī, who was renowned for his generosity. `Adi was the most important leader of the Ṣayyī in early Islam. See EP, s.v. `Adi b. Ḥātim; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 256; II, 139; Ibn Hazm, Jamharah, 402; Donner, Conquests, 33, 178–79, 195, 201, 243, 371, 385, 387.
The Events of the Year 12

and 'Āṣim b. 'Amr69 and their guides Mālik b. 'Abbad70 and Sālim b. Naṣr, one before the other by a day. Finally, Khālid and his guide Rāfīć set out. Khālid had set for all of them a rendezvous at al-Hufayr,71 where they were to combine and fight their enemy. The gateway of India was the most important and the most strongly guarded of the entrances into Persia, and its commander would fight the Arabs on the land and the Indians at sea. (Al-Muhallab b. 'Uqbah and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Siyāh al-Āhmarī — to whom the Ĥamrā' attribute their origin and are thus called Ĥamrā' Siyāh72 — also participated with Khālid).

When Khālid's letter reached Hurmuz, he sent the news to Shīrā b. Kisra73 and to Ardashīr b. Shīrā74 and mobilized his forces. Then he hastened to al-Kawāzīm75 with those of his forces who were first

69. Al-Usayyidi, whose alleged brother is al-Qa`qā' b. 'Amr al-Tamīmī. 'Āṣim's existence is rejected as legendary by al-'Askari, Khamsūn wa mi`ah šahābi, 149–78, and 'Abdallāh b. Saba', 182–85; however, his participation in a raid against Jawbarah (or Jawbarah) in the Kaskar district is attested in Ibn Khayyāt, Ta'rikh, 108, in a report from Ibn Ishāq, which would show that this 'Āṣīm was not fabricated by Sayf, though Sayf has exaggerated his role. Ibn Khayyāt, Ta'rikh, 110, mentions his participation at the disastrous Battle of the Bridge. Kūfī, Futūḥ, I, 196, also reports his presence at al-Qādisiyah. Donner, Conquests, 370, 378, 390, 406, 425, summarizes the list of reports about him, all of which probably derive from Sayf except that of Ibn Khayyāt.


71. The first stage on the pilgrimage route from al- Başrah to Mecca. See Yāqūt, Mu`jam, II, 277.

72. This implies that 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Siyāh in fact may be a legendary eponymous ancestor, for the Ĥamrā' were certainly not all descended from one male ancestor contemporary with Khālid b. al-Walīd. On the Ĥamrā', see Morony, Iraq, 197, 243. However, note that the texts on which he relies are drawn exclusively from Sayf's reports in Tabari and that these texts contain exaggerated legendary matter regarding "al-Qa`qā' b. 'Amr," who is made the commander of the Ĥamrā'.

73. An anachronism representing Shīrūyāh, who ruled as Qubādh II over the Sāsānian empire in February—September 628 C.E., before dying of the plague. Christensen, L'Iran, 487–91; CHI, III/1, 170; Caetani, Annali, II, 951 n. 1, 957 n. 4.

74. An anachronism representing Ardashīr III, who reigned over the Sāsānian realm September 628—April 630. See Morony, Iraq, 72. According to CHI, III/1, 170–71, however, he had already been killed in June 629. Also Ardashīr appears as an adult in Sayf's reports, whereas he actually seems to have been a very young child. See also Christensen, L'Iran, 491–92; Frye, The History of Ancient Iran, 337, 361; Caetani, Annali, II, 957 n. 4, 963 n. 1.

75. The same as (al-) Kāzīmīmah, a watering place containing many wells of brackish water two stages south of al- Başrah on the road to al-Bahrāyin. It also was the southern extremity of the great trench dug by the Sāsānian king Sābūr II Dhū al-Aktāf (309–
to arrive, in order to meet Khalid, sending ahead his fast horses, but he did not find it to be Khalid's trail. However, Hurmuz learned that the Muslims had set a rendezvous at al-Ḩufayr; therefore he changed his line of march, preceding them to al-Ḩufayr. Hurmuz stopped there to arrange his forces. He put in charge of his two wings two brothers named Qubādh and Anūshajān, who shared a common descent with Ardashir and Shirā from Ardashir the Great. The Persians bound themselves together in chains. Those who did not favor that said to those who did, "You have chained yourselves for your enemy! Do not do so, for this is an evil omen." Those chained answered the others, saying, "As for you, you are telling us that you intend to flee."

When the news reached Khalid that Hurmuz was at al-Ḩufayr, he turned his troops toward Karīmah. That reached Hurmuz, who then hastened to precede Khalid to Karīmah and reached it exhausted. Hurmuz was one of the worst of the governors of that frontier in his treatment of the Arabs, so that all the Arabs were enraged at him. He had become a proverbial paragon of wickedness to them, so that they would say, "More wicked than Hurmuz" and "More ungrateful than Hurmuz."

Hurmuz and his troops ordered their ranks, binding themselves with chains. The water was in their hands. Khalid, coming against them, stopped in a waterless place. His men spoke to him about that; therefore, he commanded his herald to say, "Will you not make camp and put down your baggage, then fight them over the water?"
For, by my life, the water will most assuredly go to the more persistent of the two forces and the most noble of the two armies.' Then the baggage was put down while the cavalry was standing by. The infantry came forward and then advanced against the enemy until it met them and the two sides fought. God sent a cloud, which left [puddles of] water behind the Muslims’ line, thereby giving them strength. When the daylight shone forth, there was no chained man in the valley.

‘Ubaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Aṭā’ al-Bakkārī: Likewise. Both this and the preceding isnāds report: Hurmuz sent his men treacherously to trick Khalid, and they plotted with him to do that. Thus Hurmuz went forth while different men [of his] called out, ‘Where is Khalid?’ Meanwhile, Hurmuz had made an arrangement with his horsemen [to surprise Khalid]. When Khalid showed himself Hurmuz dismounted and summoned him to individual combat. Khalid dismounted and walked over to Hurmuz. They met, exchanging a couple of blows. When Khalid seized him closely, Hurmuz’s bodyguards attacked treacherously and pursued Khalid. But that did not keep Khalid from killing Hurmuz. Al-Qa‘qā‘ b. ‘Amr attacked Hurmuz’s bodyguards, laying them low, while Khalid was fighting them. The Persians were defeated. The Muslims rode hard in pursuit of them until night. Khalid collected their equipment, which included the chains. These were a camel load, a thousand pounds (ratl). The battle was called Dhat al-Salāsīl. Qubād and Anūshajān escaped.

‘Ubaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — ‘Amr b. Muḥammad — al-Sha’bī: The Persians made their conical caps (qalānis) suit the level of their ranks in their tribes (‘asha‘ir). Those of the highest nobility had caps worth one hundred thousand dirhams. As Hurmuz was from among the highest nobility, his cap was worth one hundred

82. Text: mā; read: mā’.  
83. Another name known only from Sayf’s isnāds.  
84. Text: baraz; read: baraz, as in IH.  
85. Text: andmahum; read: andmahum.  
86. This battle, which is found only in Sayf, has the same name as the expedition of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣi in the year 8/629, where it refers to a place. Probably Sayf has only taken a popular etymology that would suggest itself for that battle and created another battle out of it. On ‘Amr’s expedition, see Ibn Hishām, Sirāh, II, 623–24; Wāqidi, Maghāzī, 769–74; Ibn Sā‘d, Tabaqāt, II, 131.
The Caliphate of Abu Bakr al-Šiddiq

thousand. Abu Bakr gave it as spoil to Khalid. It was inlaid with jewels. The highest nobility among the Persians is to be from [one of] the seven houses.87

‘Ubaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — Muhammad b. Nuwayrah88 — Hanẓalāh b. Ziyād b. Hanẓalāh:89 When those sent out in pursuit came back on that day, Khalid’s herald called [on the troops] to break camp. Khalid went with his forces, followed by the baggage train, until he stopped at the site of the present great bridge at al-�ṣrah. Qubādh and Anūshajān had escaped. Khalid sent news of the victory and what was left of the spoils (akhmās), as well as the elephant, [to Medina] and also proclaimed the victory to his men. When Zirr b. Kulayb90 brought the elephant along with the spoils and it was led around in Medina so that the people might see it, the weak among the women would say, “Is what we are seeing from among God’s creatures?” for they considered it invented. Then Abu Bakr sent it back with Zirr.

When Khalid stopped at the site of the present great bridge at al-�ṣrah, he sent al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah in pursuit of the enemy. He also sent Ma‘qil b. Muqarrin al-Muzāni91 to al-Ubullah to collect its money and captives for him. Ma‘qil went forth until he reached al-Ubullah and then collected the money and captives.

Abū Ḥafrā: This story about al-Ubullah and its capture differs from what is known to the biographers and differs from what the true traditions have brought [us].92 For the conquest of al-Ubullah was only in the days of Ḫumar, when it was accomplished at the hands of ‘Utba b. Ghazwān93 in the year 14 (635 – 36) of the hijrah.

87. Text: buyūtāt; read: al-buyūtāt, as IH.
88. Muhammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Sawād b. Nuwayrah, another transmitter unknown except in the isnāds of Sayf’s reports. The element b. Sawād in his nomenclature suggests “a son of the soil of Iraq.” For his full name, see p. 221, below.
89. Possibly an imaginary transmitter made up by Sayf. See al-‘Askari, Khamsūn wa mi‘ah sahābi, 238 – 39.
90. Mentioned only by Sayf. Donner, Conquests, 373, 434.
91. Brother of al-Nu‘mān b. Muqarrin, the Muslim commander at Nihāwānd. Also said to have been killed at Nihāwānd. Ibn Sa‘d, Ṭabaqāt, VI, 19; Donner, Conquests, 328 n. 64, 371, 429.
92. Al-Tabari here takes the rare and unusual step of denouncing Sayf’s story of the conquest of al-Ubullah by Khalid b. al-Walid as false. This is remarkable because he has just spent several pages relating this same story. However, it must be admitted that some of the points of Sayf’s story also are related by Ibn Khayyāt, Tarīkh, 100–1, with isnāds from others than Sayf.
93. Al-Māzīnī of the Qaysi Māzin b. Manṣūr, a confederate of the Quraysh, d. 17/638, an early Muslim and Companion of the Prophet. His leadership of the conquest
We will mention this matter and the story of its conquest when we reach that [time], God willing.

Continuation of the report of Sayf—Muhammad b. Nuwayrah—Hanżalah b. Ziyād: Al-Muthannā went along until he reached the canal of the woman (nahr al-mar'ah),94 where he came to the fortress in which the woman was [holding out]. He left al-Mu‘annā b. Ḥarīthah95 to besiege her in her castle. Meanwhile, al-Muthannā moved against the man, besieging him. Al-Muthannā stormed their positions by force, killing them and dividing up their property as spoil. When the woman heard that, she made peace with al-Muthannā and became a Muslim. After that al-Mu‘annā married her.

Khalīd and his amirs did not move the peasants during any of their conquests, because Abū Bakr had instructed him beforehand [not to do so]. Thus he took captive the children of the fighters who had been acting on behalf of the Persians but left alone those of the peasants who had not resisted, making a covenant of protection for them.

On the day of Dhát al-Salāsīl and al-Thīnī,96 the share of a horseman [in the spoils] reached one thousand dirhams, whereas that of a foot soldier was a third of that.

The Events of the Year 112

The Battle of al-Madhār97

[This battle] occurred in Șafar 12 (17 April – 15 May 633). In those days people would say, “The Șafar of Șafars,”98 in which every mighty
The Caliphate of Abū Bakr al-ṣiddiq

... oppressor was slain upon the confluence of the rivers."

ʿUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Ziyād99 and al-Muhallab—ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh al-ʿĀḥmari, but in the version of al-Sāri100—Shuʿayb101—Sayf (the report is from Sayf)—al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah, Ziyād b. Sarjīs al-ʿĀḥmari, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh al-ʿĀḥmari, and Sufyān al-ʿĀḥmari:102 Hurmuz had written to Ardashīr and Shīrā with the news of Khalīd's letter to him about his setting out from al-Yamāmah against him. Ardashīr103 supplied Hurmuz with Qārin b. Qaryānīs.104 Qārin went forth from al-Madāʾin to reinforce Hurmuz until, when he came to al-Madhār, word of the defeat reached him, as well as those who were fleeing from it. They encouraged each other to [return to the] fight, the remnants of [the forces of] al-Ahwāz105 and Fārs saying to the remnants of al-Sawād and al-Jabal,106 "If you split up, you will never join together again afterward. Therefore join together to go back [to fight] once more. These are the king's reinforcements, and this is Qārin. It may be that God will give us victory and cure us of our enemy, so that we may regain some of that which they took from us." They followed this advice, making camp107 at al-Madhār. Qārin put Qubādh and Anūshājān in charge of his two wings.108

Al-Mūthannā and al-Muʿannā brought back the news to Khalīd. When the news reached Khalīd about Qārin, he divided the spoils among those to whom it had been granted by God and also distributed a certain amount from the [state's] fifth. He then sent al-Walīd b. ʿUqba109 to Abū Bakr with the rest of the fifth and the news of the victory, as well as the report about the enemy's gathering by the twisting stream (thiny), both those of them needing help and those

---

99. Ibn Sarjīs al-ʿĀḥmari, another informant of Sayf whose name occurs only in Sayf's isnāds.
100. Al-Sāri b. Yabīyā, as elsewhere in Ṭabarī.
102. Unknown except in Sayf's isnāds.
103. Or Shīrā.
104. Vocalization conjectural.
105. The capital of Khūzistān in southwestern Iran. See EP, s.v. al-Ahwāz.
106. The mountainous region of Media in western Iran, centered around Hamadhān. See EP, s.v. Dībāl.
107. Text: 'askar; read: 'askarū, as IH and Cairo ed.
108. Text: mujānnabatih; read: mujānnabatayh, as Kos., IH, and Ibn Kathīr.
coming to the rescue. (The Arabs call every river\textsuperscript{110} \textit{nahr}, a twisting stream \textit{thiny}. Khalid went forth, going along until he descended on Qārīn with his masses of troops at al-Madhār. The two sides met while Khalid was in battle formation. They fought with rage and rancor. Qārīn came out to challenge the Muslims to individual combat. Khalid and Abyaḍ al-Rukbān\textsuperscript{111} Ma‘qil b. al-A‘shā b. al-Nabbāsh\textsuperscript{112} responded to the challenge, racing for him. Ma‘qil beat Khalid to Qārīn and killed him, while ‘Aṣīm slew Anūshajān\textsuperscript{113} and ‘Adī slew Qubādh. Qārīn’s nobility had lapsed. After him the Muslims did not fight anyone whose nobility had lapsed among the Persians. An enormous number of the Persians were slain. At this the Persians gathered their ships together, so that the waters kept the Muslims from pursuing them.

Khalid stayed at al-Madhār. He turned over the spoils to those who had taken them [in combat], as much as these spoils amounted to. He divided [the four-fifths of] the spoils [that the troops were entitled to among them] and also gave out of the fifths to those who had been tried in battle. Then he sent the rest of the fifths with a delegation under Sa‘īd b. al-Nū‘mān\textsuperscript{114} of the Banū ‘Adī b. Ka‘b.\textsuperscript{115}

‘Ubaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallah—Abū ‘Uthmān: Thirty thousand were slain on the night of al-Madhār, aside from those who were drowned. If not for the water [obstructing the Muslims’ pursuit], they would have been wiped out completely. Those who escaped did not get away except weaponless or virtually so.

Sayf—‘Amr and Mujālid—al-Sha‘bī: The first to encounter Khalid when he descended on Iraq was Hurmuz at al-Kawāzim. Then he stopped on the Euphrates on the Tigris bank,\textsuperscript{117} finding no

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{110} Or, “canal.”
\textsuperscript{111} Lit., “the white horseman.”
\textsuperscript{112} Cited only by Sayf, in this report. Donner, \textit{Conquests}, 373.
\textsuperscript{113} Text: al-Anūshajān; read: Anūshajān.
\textsuperscript{114} Cited only by Sayf. Donner, \textit{Conquests}, 374.
\textsuperscript{115} The text is not entirely clear, but it appears that Khalid is portrayed as distributing some of the fifth of the spoils to which the government was entitled among those who had stood out in the battle.
\textsuperscript{116} Either Abū ‘Uthmān al-Nahdi or Abū ‘Uthmān Yazid b. Asīd al-Ghassānī, neither of whom is found anywhere except in the isnāds of Sayf in Ţabari. For their complete names, see pp. 87, 94, 107, 193, below, and Ţabari, I, 2226.
\textsuperscript{117} This odd phrase appears to mean that Khalid, after having been at al-Kawāzim, in the relative safety of the desert south of al-Baṣra, ventured to cross the Eu-
\end{footnotesize}
t treachery and having an easy time there. Then came al-Theny. He did not meet anyone after Hurmuz but that the subsequent battle was greater than that which had preceded it, until he came to Dūmat al-Jandal.\textsuperscript{118} He increased the share of a horseman in the spoils on the day of al-Theny above what it had been at Dhat al-Salāsil. Khālid remained at al-Theny, taking captive the families of the [enemy's] troops and those who had helped them. But he left the peasants alone, as well as whoever agreed to pay the kharāj\textsuperscript{119} among all the people after they had been summoned [to do so]. All that had been conquered by force, but nevertheless they were invited to pay the kharāj.\textsuperscript{120} They responded favorably, returned, and came under the protection of the Muslims, while their land became theirs. This is how what had not been divided [as spoils] was treated, but, if it had been divided, it was not [returned].

Among the captives were Ḥabīb Abū al-Ḥasan, that is, the father of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,\textsuperscript{121} who was a Christian, as well as Māfannah,\textsuperscript{122} the mawld\textsuperscript{123} of ‘Uthmān, and Abū Zayd, the mawld of al-Mughirah b. Shu’bāh.\textsuperscript{124}

Khālid put Saʿīd b. al-Nuʿmān in charge of the troops and Suwayd b. Muqarrin al-Muzani\textsuperscript{125} in charge of the kharāj.\textsuperscript{126} He commanded

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{118} The present oasis of al-Jawf in northern Saudi Arabia, to which Khalid is said to have gone on his departure from Iraq for Syria. See EP, s.v. Dumat al-Djandal.

\textsuperscript{119} The land tax, but often used in historical texts interchangeably with jizyah. See EP, s.v. Kharāj.

\textsuperscript{120} Text: al-jizā; read: al-kharāj, as Ms. C.

\textsuperscript{121} The famous early scholar of al-Baṣr, who lived 211-10642-729. But his father’s name is more usually given as Yasār. See EP, s.v. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, II, 263-70.

\textsuperscript{122} Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, VIII, 414; XII, 309, provides the information that Māfannah was a woman’s name.

\textsuperscript{123} A mawld is basically a client of an Arab tribe. In the Jāhiliyyah mawld was to have been most often freed slaves, as is the case here. But in Islamic times, in the wake of the early conquests, it became normal for a non-Arab embracing Islam to enroll in an Arab tribe under the sponsorship of a tribal member as his mawld, and this latter sense of mawld as client became more widespread than the first meaning. The second meaning is virtually ignored in EP, s.v. Mawld.

\textsuperscript{124} These two mawld do not seem to appear elsewhere.

\textsuperscript{125} Brother of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Muqarrin, he participated in the conquest of Tihāmah, settled in al-Kūfah, and took part in later campaigns in Iraq and Iran. See Ibn Saʿd, Tabaqūt, VI, 19; Donner, Conquests, 87, 371, 406, 428-29, 438.

\textsuperscript{126} Text: al-jizā; read: al-kharāj.
the latter to scatter his agents about and put his hand on the tax money. Then he waited for his enemy, gathering intelligence.

**The Battle of al-Walajah**

Next, [the Battle of al-Walajah] occurred in Safar 12 [17 April – 15 May 633]. Al-Walajah is among the districts directly adjoining Kaskar.

‘Ubaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—‘Amr and Mujālīd—al-Sha’bi: When Khālid was done with al-Thiny and the news reached Ardashīr, the latter sent forth al-Andarzaghar, who was a Persian from among the mixed-bloods of al-Sawād.

‘Ubaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Ziyād b. Sarjīs—‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh; and al-Sarī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—al-Muḥallāb b. ‘Uqbah, Ziyād b. Sarjīs, and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Siyāh: When news of the defeat of Qārin and the army at al-Madhar reached Ardashīr, he sent al-Andarzaghar, who was a Persian from among the mixed-bloods of al-Sawād and one of its inhabitants. However, he was not among those who had been born at al-Madā’in, nor had he grown up there. Ardashīr then sent Bahman Jāḥūyah after him with an army, commanding him to cross the path of al-Andarzaghar. Before that al-Andarzaghar had been in charge of the frontier of Khurāsān. Al-Andarzaghar set out, going from al-Madā’in until he came to Kaskar. Then he passed beyond it to al-Walajah. Bahman Jāḥūyah followed after him, taking another way, going through the middle of al-Sawād. Of those between al-Ḥirah and Kaskar both the Arabs of that quarter and the dihqāns muster to join al-Andarzaghar. These camped beside his camp at al-Walajah. When those forces he desired had joined him and become complete, [the strength] he possessed pleased him, so that he resolved to march against Khālid.

When the news about al-Andarzaghar and his encampment at al-Walajah reached Khālid while he was at al-Thiny, he commanded [his forces] to decamp. He left behind Suwayd b. Muqarrīn, ordering him to stay at al-Ḥufayr, and also sent forward to those whom he had left behind on the lowest reaches of the Tigris, commanding them to

---

127. See Donner, *Conquests*, 329 n. 66; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 293, places it at ‘Ayn Dāhik near the Euphrates about 52 km. southeast of al-Ḥirah.

128. Unidentified.

129. Local notables of the Sāsānian empire and its former territories in the caliphate. See *EI*, s.v. Dīhkān.
be wary and to avoid negligence and overconfidence. He then went forth with the rest of his troops toward al-Walajah until he attacked al-Andarzaghar, his troops, and those who had gathered to him. They fought a hard battle, greater than the battle of Thiny.

‘Ubaydallah — his uncle — Sayf — Muḥammad — 130 Abū ‘Uthmān: Khalīd attacked al-Andarzaghar at al-Walajah in Safar. They fought a hard battle there so that the two sides thought that their ability to persevere had been exhausted. Khalīd considered his ambush too slow. He had laid an ambush for the enemy on two sides. These forces were commanded by Busr b. Abī Ruhm131 and Sa‘īd b. Murrah al-‘Ijli.132 When the ambush came out from two directions, the ranks of the Persians were defeated and they turned in flight. Khalīd then took them from the front and the ambush from behind, so that no man among them saw his companion being slain. Al-Andarzaghar escaped from his defeat but died of thirst.

Khalīd stood up to speak, making the men desire the land of the Persians and shun the land of the Arabs. He said, "Do you not regard [your] food like a dusty gulch? By God, if struggle for God's sake and calling [people] to God were not required of us, and there were no consideration except [our] livelihood, the [wise] opinion would [still] have been that we strike this countryside until we possess it and that we leave hunger and decrease to whoever of those too slow to join your enterprise possesses them."

Khalīd behaved among the peasants as he had previously. He did not kill them but took captive the children of the warriors and those who had aided them. He called on the inhabitants of the land to pay the jizyah and accept protection. Then they withdrew.

Al-Sāri — Shu‘ayb — Sayf, and ‘Ubaydallah — his uncle — Sayf — ‘Amr — al-Sha‘bī: On the day of al-Walajah Khalīd fought in single combat a Persian who was equal to a thousand men and slew him. When he was done, he leaned on him and called for his midday meal.

130. Text: bn; read: ‘an. Muhammad b. Abī ‘Uthmān is unknown except in this isnād, whereas Muḥammad — Abū ‘Uthmān is frequent. See Ṭabari, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DCLI.

131. Al-Juhani, apparently found only in reports derived from Sayf. See Donner, Conquests, 373, 385, 403. His mention in Ya‘qūbi, Ta‘rīkh, II, 164, probably also derives from Sayf.

Among those taken from the Bakr b. Wā'il he captured a son of Jābir b. Bujayr and a son of 'Abd al-Aswad.

About Ullays, Which Is on the Euphrates Itself

Abū Ja'far—'Ubaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥā—Abū 'Uthmān, and Ṭalḥā b. al-A'lam—al-Mughirah b. 'Utabah, and al-Sarī—Shu'aib—Sayf—Muḥammad b. 'Abdal-lāh—Abū 'Uthmān and Ṭalḥā b. al-A'lam—al-Mughirah b. 'Utabah: When on the Day of al-Walajah Khālid had taken captive certain of the Christians of the Bakr b. Wā'il who had helped the Persians, the other Christians among their people became enraged on their account. Therefore they corresponded with the Persians, and the Persians wrote back to them. Subsequently, they gathered at Ullays under the command of 'Abd al-Aswad al-Ijli. The fiercest people against those Christians were the Muslims of the Banū 'Ijl: Utaybah b. al-Nahhas, Sā'id b. Murrah, Furāt b. Ḥayyān, al-Muthannah b. Lāhiq, and Madhūr b. 'Adī.
Ardashir wrote to Bahman Jādhūyah, who was at Qusyāthā. Bahman was the spokesman (rāfid) of Persia on one day out of their month. They divided their months so that each month consisted of thirty days. On each day the Persians had a [different] spokesman, who was appointed to speak for them before the king. Their spokesman was Bahman on the second day of the month. [Ardashir wrote to Bahman,] “Go until you come to Ullays with your army and those of the Persians and Arab Christians who have joined you.” Bahman Jādhūyah sent Jābān ahead, urging speed on him. But he also said, “Hold yourself and your troops back from fighting the enemy until I catch up with you, unless they attack you first.” Thus Jābān went off toward Ullays, while Bahman Jādhūyah went to Ardashir to see him in person and consult with him about what he wanted to command. When he found him sick he stayed over, leaving Jābān alone on that front. Jābān advanced until he came to Ullays, making camp there in Safar (17 April–15 May 633). Those garrisons that faced the Arabs came to him, as well as ‘Abd al-Aswad with the Arab Christians of the Banū ‘Ijl, the Taym Allāt, the Ḍubay‘ah, and the outlying Arabs from the people of al-Ḥirah. Jabir b. Bujayr was a Christian who supported ‘Abd al-Aswad.

When Khalid had been informed of the concentration of ‘Abd al-Aswad, Jābir, Zuhayr, and those who had rallied to them, he arose to face them. Khalid did not know of Jābān’s approach, so that he was not concerned except about the Arabs and Christians of the area (dāḥiyah) who had gathered against him. Thus he advanced. When he appeared to Jābān at Ullays the Persians said to Jābān, “Shall we hasten against them, or shall we feed the men the midday meal in order to show them that we are not concerned about them, then attack them after finishing?” Jābān replied, “If they have left you

139. A place on the left bank of the Euphrates near al-Ḥirah, identical to Quss al-Nāṭif and Baqṣyāthā, mentioned elsewhere in al-Tabari. See Musil, Middle Euphrates, 306.
140. Translated according to the note in the Leiden edition.
141. A tribe of the Bakr b. Wā‘il. See EI, s.v. Taimallāh; see also Ibn al-Athīr, Lubāb, I, 190–91, for the variety of genealogies offered for the Bakri Taym.
142. A tribe of the Bakr b. Wā‘il later prominent in al-Baṣrah. It would seem from the existence of a separate Ḍubay‘ah b. Rabi‘ah that the Ḍubay‘ah were originally independent of the Bakr but later joined them. See Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharah, 292–93, 319–21; Ibn al-Athīr, Lubāb, II, 70.
143. Unidentified.
alone, making light of you, then make light, but I think they will hasten against you and quickly divert your attention from the food." But his men disobeyed him, for they spread out carpets, put out the food, and invited each other to eat, so that they came to the meal in groups.

When Khālid reached them he halted, ordering the baggage to be set down. When it had been put down he went to face them. Khālid personally appointed certain troops to guard his rear. Then he came forward in front of the line and called out, "Where is Abjar? Where is ʿAbd al-Aswad? Where is Malik b. Qays?" [The last was a man from the Jidhrah]. These men all shrank back from him, except for Malik, who came forth to fight in single combat. Khālid asked him, "O son of a filthy woman, what made you dare show yourself to me from among them, though there is no faithfulness in you?" Then he struck him and killed him.

Khālid thus turned the Persians away from their food before they had eaten. Jābān said, "Did I not tell you, O people? By God, I have never felt anxiety on account of any [enemy] chief until today." As they were unable to eat, [the Persian troops], to display their toughness, said, "We will leave our food until we finish with them; then we will come back to it." Jābān replied, "Nevertheless, I think, by God, that you have only put it aside for them, though you do not perceive. Therefore now obey me. Poison it, so that, if it is for you, it will be the easiest way to die, whereas, if it is against you, [at least] you will have done something to justify yourselves." They answered, "No!" [believing themselves] to have the strength to defeat the Muslims.

Jābān put ʿAbd al-Aswad and Abjar in charge of his two wings. Khālid had kept to combat formation during the previous days. The two sides fought fiercely. The polytheists were increased in rabidity and ferocity because they expected Bahman Jadhūyah to come.
Therefore, they persevered against the Muslims to the extent that it was in God's knowledge that He would bring them to do so.

The Muslims raged against them. Khalid said, "O God, if You deliver their shoulders to us, I will obligate myself to You not to leave any one of them whom we can overcome until I make their canal run with their blood." Then God defeated them for the Muslims and gave their shoulders to them. Khalid then commanded his herald to proclaim to the men, "Capture! Capture! Do not kill any except he who continues to resist." As a result, the cavalry brought prisoners in droves, driving them along. Khalid had detailed certain men to cut off their heads in the canal. He did that to them for a day and a night. They pursued them the next day and the day after, until they reached al-Nahrayn and the like of that distance in every direction from Ullays. And Khalid cut off their heads.

Al-Qa'qā and others like him said to Khalid, "Even if you were to kill all the population of the earth, their blood would still not run. Blood has not done more than glistened ever since it was forbidden to flow and the earth was forbidden to dry blood. Therefore send water over it, so that you may fulfill your oath." Khalid had blocked the water from the canal. Now Khalid brought the water back, so that it flowed with spilled blood. Owing to this, it has been called Blood Canal to this day. Others, among them Bashir b. al-Khašāšiyah, said, "It has reached us that the earth, when it had dried the blood of Adam's son, was then forbidden to dry [spilled] blood, and blood was forbidden to flow except enough to congeal."

When the enemy had been defeated and driven from their camp and the Muslims had returned from pursuing them and entered that camp, Khalid stood over the food and said, "I give it to you as spoils; it is yours." He also said, "The Prophet of God, if he came upon prepared food, would offer it as spoils." Thus the Muslims sat down to eat it for their dinner at night. Those who had never seen [settled] countryside and did not know of flat bread (ruqāq) would say, "What are these white patches?" Those who knew it would answer them, saying jokingly, "Have you heard of 'soft living' (raqīq al-`aysh)??"
The others would respond, "Yes." Then those who knew would say, "This is it; therefore it has been named *ruqāq.*" The Arabs would call it *qirā*.\(^{150}\)

'Ubaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—'Amr b. Muḥammad—al-Sha'bī—an informant—Khālid: On the day of Khaybar, the Prophet of God gave the people as spoils bread, stew, roast meat, and whatever other than that they would put into their bellies without becoming sated.

Al-Sāri—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Ṭalḥah—al-Mughirah: On the river were mills that ran with water red [with blood] for three days, grinding grain for the troops, who were eighteen thousand or more. Khālid sent the news by a man called Jandal from the Banū 'Ijl. A tough guide, he brought to Abū Bakr the news of the conquest of Ullays, the amount of spoils, the number of captives, how the spoils (akhmās) had been divided, and who had done great deeds of valor. When he came to Abū Bakr and the latter, noticing his toughness and the solidity of the news he had brought, said, "What's your name?" the man said, "Jandal." Abū Bakr said, "How wonderful, Jandal!

The soul of 'Īsām has made 'Īsām black and accustomed him to attack and daring."\(^{151}\)

Abū Bakr then commanded that he be given a girl from among those captives, and she subsequently bore him a child.

The enemy's dead reached seventy thousand,\(^{152}\) most of them from Amghishiyā.\(^{153}\)

Abū Jaʿfar—'Ubaydallāh b. Saʿd—his uncle: I asked about Amghishiyā by al-Hirah and was told [it is] Manishiyā.\(^{154}\) I then told Sayf, who said, "These are two [different] names."

---

\(^{150}\) Meaning "hospitality" or "a meal served to a guest."


\(^{152}\) This legendary fabrication of Sayf, representative of his anti-Iranian sentiment, is quoted by Morony, *Iraq*, 191.


\(^{154}\) Cairo ed. has "Manishiyā," possibly based on Ms. C.
The Caliphate of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq

The Affair of Amghīshiyā

[It was] in Șafar, and God gave the Muslims spoil without horses. Ṭabaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — Muḥammad — Abū ʿUthmān and Ṭahlāḥ — al-Mughirah: When Ḳhālid was done with the Battle of Ullays he decamped and came to Amghīshiyā. He had taken the defenders by surprise, so that they left their property and fled, scattering in al-Sawād. From that day there have been bonded laborers (ṣakarāt) in al-Sawād. Ḳhālid commanded that Amghīshiyā be demolished, along with everything in it. It was a military center (mīṣr) like al-Ḥirah. The Furāt Bādaqlā ended in it. Ullays was one of its subordinate military posts. The victors took spoils in it the like of which they never obtained again.

Al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Bahr b. al-Furāt al-ʿIjli — his father: The Muslims did not obtain as spoils between the battles of Dhat al-Salasil and Amghīshiyā anything like what they took at Amghīshiyā. The share of a horseman reached one thousand five hundred [dirhams], aside from the additional spoils allotted to those who had stood out.

All informants together: When news of that reached Abū Bakr, he said, reporting to them what had come to him, “O people of the Quraysh! Your lion has attacked the [enemy’s] lion and overcome him, [taking away] the pieces of his prey. Women are incapable of ever giving birth to the like of Khālid.”

The Day of al-Maqr and the Mouth of Furāt Bādaqlā

Abū Jaʿfar — al-Sarī — Shuʿayb — Sayf — Muḥammad — Abū ʿUthmān and Ṭahlāḥ — al-Mughirah: Al-Āzādhibih had been the gover-

---

155. This word appears to be related to the more familiar Arabic root s-ḥ-r, itself taken perhaps from Aramaic in this meaning. A gloss in the Cairo ed. from Yaqūt, Muṣfam, supports this explanation.

156. Unknown except for his mention here and in one more report shortly after this. His name, which means “Sea, the son of the Euphrates River,” would seem another of Sayf’s topical inventions, like Ḥarmalah b. Muraytah (see note 59, above) and al-Rabi’ b. Ṭahlī “Spring Herbage, the son of Rain, the son of Snow.” See al-ʿAskari, Khamsun wa miṣḥah šahābi, 165–68.

157. Perhaps suggested by the name of al-Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ʿIjli, who chronologically could not have had a son who transmitted to Sayf.

158. Text: yunṣiḥiʿū, read: yansulna, as in Kos. and Cairo ed.

159. Apparently an unidentified place.

160. A canal flowing out of the Euphrates, perhaps near the present Abū Šukhāyr.
nor (marzubān) of al-Hirah from the times of Kisrā up to that day. They\(^{161}\) used not to support each other except by permission of the king. Al-Ăzādhbih had reached [the rank of] “half noble,” and the value of his tall cap\(^{162}\) was fifty thousand [dirhams]. When Khalīd had destroyed Amghishiyā and its people had become bonded laborers (sakarat) to the landlords (dahāqīn) of the villages, al-Ăzādhbih realized that he would not be left alone. Therefore he began to consider his situation and prepare for war with Khalīd. He first sent forth his son and set out himself after him, until he encamped outside al-Hirah. He commanded his son to dam the Euphrates. After he had departed from Amghishiyā, carrying the infantry in boats along with the spoils and baggage, Khālid was surprised to find his boats running aground. This greatly alarmed his men. The boatmen said, “The Persians have broken the dams of the canals, causing the water to flow in other than its accustomed course. The water will not come to us unless we dam the canals up again.” Khālid then hurried with his cavalry toward the son of al-Ăzādhbih. When some of Khālid’s horse encountered the son of al-Ăzādhbih by Fam al-‘Atiq,\(^{163}\) they surprised the Iranians just at the moment that the latter thought themselves safe from Khālid’s attacking them. Khālid laid them low in their battles.\(^{164}\) After this he immediately departed. But the news had reached al-Ăzādhbih, whom Khalīd encountered along with his troops at the mouth of Furāt Bādaqlā. When they fought each other Khalīd laid the Persians low, broke the dikes of the Euphrates, and blocked up the entrances to the canals, so that the water returned to its natural course.

Al-Sari—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad—Abū ʻUthmān and Ťalḥah—al-Mughirah and Bahr—his father; and ʻUbaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—Muḥammad—Abū ʻUthmān and Ťalḥah—al-Mughirah. When Khalīd had defeated the son of al-Ăzādhbih at the mouth

\(^{161}\) Apparently, the governors.

\(^{162}\) Ar. qalansuwwah. This would appear to be the type of headgear worn by Persian and Mesopotamian officials and nobles since early antiquity. It also is parallel to, if not the same as, the high crowns of the kings shown on Sāsānian coins. See Morony, *Iraq*, 186–88, *Ed*, s.v. Libās.

\(^{163}\) According to Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 295, this was at the modern Abū Șuḫhāyir, in the gardens of Jaʿārah, on the Euphrates southeast of al-Hirah. The various canals originated from here, so that Fam al-ʻAtiq actually was the starting point of the ʻAtiq canal from the Euphrates.

\(^{164}\) See Ṭabari, *Introductio*, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DCXI.
of Furât Bâdaqlâ, he headed for al-Ḥirah, commanding his companions to follow him and going on until he encamped between al-Khawarnaq and al-Najaf. Khâlid reached al-Khawarnaq when al-Āzâdhhîbîh had already crossed the Euphrates, fleeing without a fight. He was impelled to flight only by the news that reached him about the death of Ardashîr, as well as the defeat of his own son. Al-Āzâdhhîbîh’s camp was between al-Ghariyyayn and al-Qaṣr al-Abyâd. When Khâlid’s forces had completely gathered to him at al-Khawarnaq, he went forth from the camp [there] in order to camp at the site of al-Āzâdhhîbîh’s camp between al-Ghariyyayn and al-Qaṣr al-Abyâd.

Meanwhile the people of al-Ḥirah had taken to their fortifications for defense. Khâlid sent horsemen from his camp into al-Ḥirah, putting a man from among his commanders in charge of each fort, that he might besiege its defenders and engage them in battle. Thus, Dirar b. al-Azwar laid siege to Qaṣr al-Abyâd, in which was Îyas b. Qabišah al-Ṭâ‘î. Dirar b. al-Khattîb besieged Qaṣr al-Sâdiyyîn, in which was ‘Adi b. ‘Adi, who was killed. Dirar b. Muqar-

165. A place about 17 km. southeast of al-Najaf containing a Sâsâniân palace. See Elâ, s.v. al-Khawarnaq; Le Strange, Lands, 75–76; Musîl, Middle Euphrates, 104–6, esp. n. 59.

166. A place in Iraq 10 km. west of al-Kûfah. Although later a famous city owing to its possession of the shrine of ‘Ali, at this time it was probably of no importance, if it existed at all. See Elâ, s.v. al-Nadjaf; Le Strange, Lands, 76–78.

167. Lit. "the two ruined towers." These were located in the suburbs of al-Kûfah and gave their name to their locale. See Yâqût, Mu’jam, IV, 196–200.


169. Al-Asâdî. A Companion of the Prophet, he is variously said to have died at Yamamah in 11/632, Ajnâdayn in 13/634, or Harrân later and to have participated at al-Yarmûk in 15/636 and the conquest of Damascus. See Ibn al-Kalbî, Gamharat, I, 55; II, 242; Ibn Sâ’d, Taḥaqût, I, 292; VI, 39; Balâdhrî, Futûh, 117, 300, 317; Ya’qûbî, Ta’rikh, II, 86; Ibn Ḥajar, Isâbah, II, 208–9; Donner, Conquests, 359, 367, 369, 388.

170. Al-Fîhri, he was a poet, fought for the Meccans at Uhud and became a Muslim on the conquest of Mecca in 8/630. He was said to have been killed in the Battle of Yamamah in 11/632, although Ibn Khayyât, Ta’rikh, 94, does not list him among the dead there. He seems to have been mentioned on the Iraqi front only by Sayîf, though others said he went to Syria and died there. See Ibn al-Kalbî, Gamharat, I, 34; II, 242; Ibn Sâ’d, Taḥaqût, VII, 407; Zubayrî, Nasab, 448; Balâdhrî, Ansâb, I, 40–41, 136, 254–55, 297, 319, 328–30, 334; Isâbâhînî, Aghânî, VII, 28–29; Ibn Ḥajar, Isâbah, II, 209–10; Donner, Conquests, 372, 405, 407.

171. This character, along with Zayd b. ‘Adî and the latter’s father, ‘Adî al-Awsat, appears to have been mentioned only by Sayîf. Probably ‘Adî b. ‘Adî is meant to be the brother of Zayd, owing to their collocation in the tradition. See below p. 30. As ‘Adî al-Awsat, their father, is said to have been slain at Dhû Qâr, he cannot be the same as the famous
The Events of the Year 12

rin al-Muzani, who was the tenth of ten brothers, besieged Qaṣr Bani Māzin, where Ibn Akkāl was, while al-Muthanná laid siege to Qaṣr Ibn Buqaylah, inside of which was ‘Amr b. ‘Abd al-Masiḥ. The Muslims invited all of them [to terms], giving them a day's grace, but the people of al-Ḥirah refused obstinately, so that the Muslims skirmished with them.

‘Ubaydallāh b. Sa’d—his uncle—Sayf—al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim—a man from the Banū Kinānah (Abū Ja’far said that ‘Ubaydallāh’s version was thus), and [also] al-Sārī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim—a man from the Banū Kinānah: Khālid had enjoined his commanders to begin by calling on [the enemy to surrender]. If they accepted, they accepted, but if they refused, the commanders should give them a day’s respite [before attacking]. Khālid also said, “Do not give your enemy access to your ears, thus lying in wait for you to meet with disaster, but rather fight them, and do not turn the Muslims away from the struggle with their enemy.”

The first of the commanders to start the battle after the day when the enemy had been given a respite was Dirār b. al-Azwar, who was in charge of fighting the people of al-Qaṣr al-Abyād. They arose in the morning to find themselves besieged. Dirār called on them [to choose] one of three things: Islam, payment of jizyah, or resistance. They chose resistance, shouting to each other, “Use ceramic rollers [al-khazāzīf]!” Thereupon Dirār said, “Stand back so that what they throw will not reach you, until we see what they are shouting about.” Immediately the top of the fortress was filled with men

Hiran poet ‘Adī b. Zayd al-Mar‘ī, who also had a son named Zayd but was killed by al-Nu‘mān b. al-Mundhir c. 600 C.E., long before Dhī Qar. It is not impossible that it was the poet and his son who suggested the names for this later alleged family, especially given the propensity for Sayf’s traditions to show famous throwbacks to the Ḥijāḥiyyah as embellishments. On ‘Adī b. Zayd al-Mar‘ī and his son, see Ṭabarî, I, 1016–19; Ḥishān, Aghānī, II, 18–43; EP, s.v. ‘Adī b. Zayd.

172. Mentioned only by Sayf, who often seems to create brothers of more famous persons. See Donner, Conquests, 372. Only six brothers are listed by Ibn Sa’d, Ta’baqṭ, VI, 18–19.

173. Unidentified, but he appears below (p. 35) as Ḥiri b. Akkāl. The first name, identifying him as a Hiran, seems merely a means of filling in the absence of a real first name for him in the tradition.


175. Al-Kinānah. Only mentioned in Sayf’s isnāds.

176. An important branch of the Muḥar concentrated in the Hijāz. See EP, s.v. Kinānah.
30 The Caliphate of Abu Bakr al-Ṣiddiq

[wearing] suspended bags, [from which] they pelted the Muslims with *khazāzīf*, which are ceramic rollers (*madāḥi*). Dirār then said, "Bombard them!" At this, the Muslims drew near them, raining arrows upon them and thus clearing the tops of the walls.

Then the Muslims launched their attack against those [outside] who belonged to the people in the fortresses. The commander of each group of troops greeted his men with the like of that in the morning, so that they conquered the [enemy's] houses and monasteries (*dayrāt*) and slew many [of them]. The priests and monks therefore called out, "O people of the fortresses, it is only you who are killing us!" At this, the people of the fortresses shouted, "O Arabs, we now accept one of the three [choices]. Therefore, renew your [peaceful] summons to us and hold back from attacking us until you inform Khalīd."

At this Iyās b. Qabīṣah and his brother went forth to Dirir b. al-Azwār, while 'Adī b. 'Adī and Zayd b. 'Adī went out to Dirir b. al-Khaṭṭāb. 'Adī al-Awsāṭ was the one whose mother had sung his eulogy and who had been killed on the Day of Dhū Qār. 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Masīḥ and Ibn Akkāl went forth, the first to Dirār b. Muqrārin, the other to al-Muthannā b. Hārithah. The commanders sent them to Khālid but kept their positions.

Al-Sarī — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Muhammad — Abū 'Uthmān, and Ṭalḥah—al-Mughirah: The first one who sought peace was 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Masīḥ b. Qays b. Ḥayyān b. al-Ḥārith, who is Buqaylah. He was named Buqaylah only because he had come out to his people wearing two green cloaks, so that they said, "O ḥārī, you are noth-

---

177. The exact form and purpose of these is obscure, but they were probably cylindrical household implements of some kind. See al-Fayruzābādī, *Muḥīt*, s.v. *m-d-y, kh-z-f.*
178. The father of 'Adī b. 'Adī and Zayd b. 'Adī. See note 171, above.
180. Thus the Leiden text. This word caused earlier writers considerable difficulty. If it is interpreted as the vocative of the participle of *ḥara*, *yahārī*, it could mean "decreasing." Ibn Durayd, *Iṣḥiqāq*, 485 n. 3, suggests that it be read Ḥārīth, Buqaylah's name.
ing but a little green herb [buqaylah]!” and that name stuck. 'Amr
sent them, the chiefs, to Khalid, each accompanied by a confidant,
in order that he might make peace with the people of each fortress
through the mediation of its commander.

Khalid met the party of each fortress among them separately,
without the others. He began with the companions of 'Adi, saying,
"Woe to you! You are not Arabs! Why do you seek vengeance from
the Arabs or the Iranians? Why do you seek vengeance from fairness
and justice?" 'Adi answered him, "Indeed we are pure Arabs, and
others arabicized." Khalid continued, "If you were as you say, you
would not have opposed us and detested our business." 'Adi told
him, "That we have no tongue but Arabic most certainly proves
what we say." Khalid said, "You have said the truth." Then he con-
tinued: "Choose one of three things. You may enter our religion, in
which case you will enjoy what we enjoy, and you will bear the ob-
ligations we bear, whether you arise and migrate [with us] or stay in
your dwellings. Otherwise, there is payment of the jizyah, or else re-
sistance and fighting. By God, I have brought you a people who are
more covetous of death than you are of life." 'Adi replied, "Rather,
we will give you the jizyah." At this Khalid said, "May you perish!
Woe to you! Disbelief is a desert that makes one lose his way. It is the
foolish [one] among the Arabs who follows it."

At this point, two guides met Khalid, one of them an Arab. Khalid
left aside the Arab and employed the Iranian instead. 182

The people of al-Hirah then made peace with him for 190,000 [dir-
hams], 183 and they kept that agreement. They also gave him gifts.
He sent [the news of] the conquest and the presents to Abu Bakr

---

181. Here the pure Arabs are 'Arab 'aribah, whereas the arabicized are muta'ar-
ribah. This twofold division was basic to the early Arab Muslim genealogical scheme.
According to the version favored by the Yemen tribes, the Arabs descended from Qab-
tan were al-'aribah, the pure, original Arabs, and those descended from 'Adnan, who
in turn was distantly descended from Abraham's son Ishmael, were only arabicized
Arabs, called al-musta'ribah. See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Qasd wa amam, 12-14; Inbāh,
57-58. However, another version, less favorable to the Yemen, stated that al-'aribah
had become entirely extinct long before, so that all present Arabs were only musta'-
ribah. See Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Qasd wa amam, 11-12; Ibn Hazm, jamharah, 8-9.
Here, however, Sayf's intention seems to be to show that the Christian natives of al-
Hira, although they spoke Arabic, were the result of a more recent mixing of Arab
and non-Arab elements and thus unlike the pure Arabs coming from the desert.
182. The purpose of these guides is obscure.
183. See p. 6, and note 49, above.
with al-Hudhayl al-Kāhili. Abū Bakr accepted them as a part of the jizyah payment, writing to Khalid, "Reckon their gifts for them as a part of the jizyah, unless they are [already] part of the jizyah. Take the rest of what is due and strengthen your troops with it."

Ibn Buqaylah said:

Do I see, after the Mundhirs, freely grazing livestock herded at al-Khawarnaq and al-Sadir? And after the horsemen of al-Nu'mān, do I graze a young camel between Murrah and al-Ḥufayr? We have become after the death of Abū Qabūs like a herd of sheep on a rainy day.

The tribes from Maʿadd divide us up openly like the shares of a slaughtered beast.

We used to be [such] that no sacred thing of ours would be coveted, so that we were like an excellent, milk-giving udder.

We give what is due after the tax (kharāj) of Kisra and the payment of the Banū Qurayzhah and al-Naḍir.

---

184. The former Lakhmid kings of al-Hirah, who had possessed the greatest of the Arab kingdoms before their sudden downfall in 602 C.E. See EP, s.v. Lakhmids.
185. Two Sasanian-period palaces at al-Hirah. See Le Strange, Lands, 75–76. On al-Sadir, see Yāqūt, Muʿjam, III, 201–2, where the first four lines of this poem are quoted.
186. Or "gardens." See Ṭabarî, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DCLX–DCLXII.
187. Or "have divided." See Ṭabarî, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DCLX–DCLXII.
188. Text: Qubays, read: Qabūs, as Kos. This is a shortening of Qābūs by poetic license. Abū Qābūs is al-Nuʿmān III b. al-Mundhir IV (d. 602 C.E.), the last king of al-Hirah.
189. Or "like the mange of goats." See Ṭabarî, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, CLX–CLXII.
190. Or "have divided." See Ṭabarî, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DCLX–DCLXII.
191. Ar. ka-ḥarrat al-ḍarʿ al-fakhūrī. The meaning does not seem entirely satisfactory, but the words ḍarrāh and ḍarʿ are connected by Ibn Manṣūr, Lisān, s.v. ḍ-r-ṛ, and Fayruzābādī, Muhīṯ, s.v. ḍ-r-ṛ, where both terms give the sense of udder. In this line of poetry the implication appears to be that, when the Hirans were strong, no one could dare even to covet their possessions, let alone attack them, while at the same time they were inexhaustibly generous.
192. Text: min; read: Banī, with Yaʿqūbī and M. See Ṭabarî, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DCLX–DCLXII.
The Events of the Year 12

Such is time: its turning [brings] ups and downs, a day of misfortune or joy.

Al-Sarī — Shu'ayb — Sayf — al-Ghusn b. al-Qāsim — a man from the Banū Kinānah; and Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq with the like of it from him: They would come to Khalīd, entrusting 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Masīh with their needs. Khalīd asked, “How old are you?” ‘Amr answered, “Hundreds of years.” Khalīd continued, “What is the strangest thing you have seen?” ‘Amr replied, “I saw the towns connected in a line between Damascus and al-Hirah, so that a woman could go forth from al-Hirah with no provisions except a loaf of bread.” Khalīd smiled and said, “Do you have anything from your old age except its effect? You are senile, by God, O ‘Amr!”


Thus Khalīd found him, when he had tested him, to be a sage. The people of his town were more knowing about him: Khalīd said, “A land has killed its ignorant one, but its knowing one has killed a land. The people know best what is among them.” ‘Amr said, “O

---

196. See p. 6, above.
amīr, the ant knows better than the camel what is in its own house.”

Muḥammad197 — Abū al-Safar198 — Dhū al-Jawshan al-Ḍibābī:199

[These] agree with this report from this place.

Al-Zuhri:200 A man from al-Ḍibāb agrees with them about this report.

All these: With Ibn Buqaylah was a servant who had a pouch tied around his loins. Khalid took the pouch and poured its contents into his palm. He inquired, “What is this, O ‘Amr?” ‘Amr answered, “This, by the faith of God, is poison of an hour.” Khalid asked, “Why do you fill your pouch with poison?” ‘Amr replied, “I am afraid that you might follow other than what I prefer. I have reached my term of life, and death is dearer to me than any evil thing that I might bring upon my people and my town.” After saying, “No one dies until he comes to his allotted time,” Khalid declared, “In the name of God, the best of names, the Lord of the earth and the Lord of the heaven, by Whose name no sickness harms, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful!” At this, those present reached for him to stop him from [taking] it, but he was too swift for them and swallowed it. Then ‘Amr said to them, “By God, O Arabs, you will possess whatever you want as long as there is one of you, O generation!” When he came to the people of al-Ḥirah, he said, “I have not seen anything clearer in good fortune than today.”

Khalid refused to write any agreement for them except on condition of the handing over of Karāmah bt. ‘Abd al-Masiḥ to Shuwayl [as a hostage]. That was hard for the Hirans to bear, but she said, “Make it easy for yourselves and hand me over, for I will ransom myself.” Thus they did, and Khalid wrote the agreement between him and them, [as follows:]

In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. This is the covenant that Khalid b. al-Walid has made

197. Probably this is Sayf’s informant Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh again.
200. The same as the al-Zuhri on p. 1, above; see also note 4.
The Events of the Year 12

for ‘Adī and ‘Amr,²⁰¹ the two sons of ‘Adi, ‘Amr b. ‘Abd al-Masiḥ, Iyās b. Qabiṣah, and Ḥirī b. Akkal. ‘Ubaydallāh said [the name of the last was] Jabrī. These men were the leaders (nuqabā‘) of the people of al-Ḥirah, who accepted their role and enjoined it on them.) Khālid has given them a covenant in return for one hundred ninety thousand dirhams payable annually, for the jizyah of those working in this world, [including] their monks and priests, except for those among them who have no work, cut off from worldly life, abandoning it (‘Ubaydallāh reported here, “Except for those having no work, cut off from worldly life, abandoning it.”) or ²⁰² [those who are] traveling, abandoning the worldly life. Khālid promises that he will protect them. If he does not protect them, then they have no obligations until he does protect them. If they commit betrayal in deed or in word, then the [Muslims’] conscience is free of [any obligation to] them.

This was written in the month of Rabī‘ al-Awwal of the year 12 [16 May – 14 June 633], and the document was given to the people of al-Ḥirah.

When the people of al-Sawād rebelled after the death of Abū Bakr they made light of the agreement and caused it to be lost, rebelling among those who had rebelled. The Persians dominated them. When al-Muthannā conquered them for the second time they offered [to accept] the same terms [again]; however, al-Muthannā did not respond favorably, but answered them with an additional condition. When al-Muthannā was driven back from the land, they rebelled [again] among those who rebelled and assisted [the revolt], making light of the agreement and causing it to be lost. When Sa‘d²⁰³ conquered the land and they [once again] offered the same agreement, he asked them [to accept] one of two conditions, but they did not re-

²⁰¹. Previously, on p. 30, above, Zayd b. ‘Adi had been mentioned. Perhaps ‘Amr here is a confusion with the name of ‘Amr b. ‘Abd al-Masiḥ.
²⁰². Text: wa; read: aw, as Kos. and Cairo ed.
²⁰³. That is Sa‘d b. Abi Waqqās Mālik al-Zuhri, the victor of al-Qādisiyyah and the conqueror of central Iraq, who also founded the city of al-Kūfah. He was governor of al-Kūfah from its foundation to 20/641 and again in 25/646. He died at al-‘Aqiq near Medina in 50/670 or 55/675. See EP, s.v. Sa‘d b. Abi Waqqās; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 20; II, 495; Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, III, 137–49; VI, 12–13.
spond to either. He therefore imposed [conditions] on them, investigating what he deemed that they could bear [paying]. He imposed on them [a tax of] four hundred thousand [dirhams], aside from the choice spoils (harazah).²⁰⁴ (‘Ubaydallāh reported, “Other than al-kharazah.”)²⁰⁵

‘Ubaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf and al-Sarī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—al-Ghuṣn b. al-Qāsim al-Kinānī—a man from the Banū Kinānāh; and Yūnus b. Abī Iṣḥāq: Jarīr b. ‘Abdallāh²⁰⁶ was among those who had gone out to Syria with Khālid b. Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣī.²⁰⁷ Jarīr asked Khālid leave [to go] to Abū Bakr in order to speak to him about his people, to collect them to him, for they were scattered among the Arabs, and to deliver them. Khālid b. Sa‘īd gave him permission. On coming to Abū Bakr, Jarīr mentioned to him a promise from the Prophet. He brought forth witnesses to that promise and requested that the caliph effect it. But Abū Bakr became angry and said to Jarīr, “You see our work and what we are doing to help the Muslims against those two lions who are before them, the Persians and the Romans. Then you force me to pay attention to what will not avail me in place of what I am content with for [the sake of] God and His Prophet. Leave me and go to join Khālid b. al-Walīd so that I may see what God decrees on these two fronts.” At this, Jarīr went forth until he came to Khālid when the latter was at al-Ḥirah. Thus Jarīr did not participate in anything that occurred in Iraq, except for what happened after [the conquest of] al-Ḥirah, nor was he present at any of Khālid’s battles with the apostates (ahl al-riddah).

Regarding the battles of al-Ḥirah, al-Qa‘qā’ b. ‘Amr said:

God has provided slain victims by the Euphrates abiding and others in the midst of the enclosing sand hills.

²⁰⁴. As is apparent from pp. 40 and 184, below, this refers to the property abandoned by either members of the defunct Sāsānian dynasty or those nobles who had fled with them.

²⁰⁵. This term, meaning “gem” in the singular, appears to fit the context less well.

²⁰⁶. Al-Bajālī; he was famous not only for his participation in the early conquests and the founding of al-Kūfah but also for his role on ‘Alī’s side in the First Civil War. He is said to have died at Qarqisīyā’ in 51/671. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 222, II, 258; Donner, Conquests, 68, 175, 178, 196–98, 200–2, 216, 242–43, 260, 369, 381–82, 387, 407, 409, 432, 438; Crone, Slaves, 114.

²⁰⁷. Al-Umawī al-Qurashi, d. 13 (635). An early Muslim, he appears to have been somewhat headstrong and to have disagreed with both Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. See EP, s.v. Khālid b. Sa‘īd; Donner, Conquests, 87, 113–14, 116–17, 135, 358, 360, 365–67.
And we trampled Hurmuz at al-Kawāzim,
and at al-Thiny [we trampled] the two horns of Qārin by the
running torrents.
And on the day when we surrounded the castles, there followed
directly
for spacious al-Ḥirah one of the turns of time.
We brought them down from their castles when their throne had [2047]
almost
begun to topple through the act of the transgressing coward.
We bombarded them with kindness after they had seen
the evening draught of deaths around those extremities,
On the morning on which they said, “We are a people who went
down
to the countryside from the land of the Arabs of firm coun-
sel.”

What Happened after al-Ḥirah

ʿUbaydallāh b. Saʿd al-Zuhri—his uncle—Sayf—Jamil al-Ṭāʾī—his father:210 When Shuwayl was given Karāmah bt. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, I said to ʿAdi b. Hātim, “Are you not astonished by Shuwayl’s asking for Karāmah bt. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ in spite of his low status (ḍaʿf)?” He responded, “He has always praised her immoderately.” Shuwayl said, “That occurred because when I heard the Prophet of God naming those towns that would be given to him, he included al-Ḥirah among those which would be given, as if the terraces of its fortresses were the molars of dogs. I knew [from this] that he had been shown it and that it would be conquered. Thereupon I brought up the mat-
ter of the request with him.”211

---

208. That is, they claimed to be nomadic Arabs who had become sedentarized.
209. Jamil b. Zayd. As a traditionist, he was considered weak, though some impor-
tant people like Sufyān al-Thawrī transmitted from him. Although he is said to have
been either a Kūfī or a Baṣrī, his associations seem to have been mainly with al-
Kūfah, and Sayf’s claim to have transmitted from him only confirms this. See Ibn
Ḥajar, Tuhdhib, II, 114.
210. Unknown. Ibn Ḥajar’s article on Jamil does not mention any transmission
from his father. It would appear that Sayf has tacked “his father” on to the end of an
isnād, as he may have done in many other cases as well.
211. This report appears to mean that Shuwayl heard the Prophet listing the towns
that would be conquered, information that he was given by God. Knowing that Karā-
‘Ubaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—‘Amr and Mujālid—al-Sha‘bī; and al-Sari—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—al-Mujālid—al-Sha‘bī: When Shuwayl came to Khalīd, he said “I heard the Prophet of God mentioning the conquest of al-Hiraḥ, so I asked him for Karāmah. He answered, ‘She is yours if it is taken by force.’” His claim was attested to [by witnesses]. According to that, Khalīd made peace with the Hirans provided they delivered Karāmah to him. But it was hard for her family and town to bear what had befallen her, and they considered the danger great. But Karāmah said, “Do not risk [resistance], but rather be patient. What do you fear for a woman who has reached eighty years of age? This is only a foolish man; he saw me when I was in my youth and supposed that [my] youthfulness would last.” Therefore they turned her over to Khalīd, and Khalīd gave her to Shuwayl. She said, “What do you need from an old woman such as you see? Ransom me.” Shuwayl replied, “No, only by my own judgment.” She said, “You may decide freely.” He said, “I would not belong to Umm Shuwayl if I lowered your [price] below one thousand dirhams.” Karāmah [pretended to] consider that too much in order to deceive him, but then she brought it to him. Thus she returned to her family. When the people heard about that, they rebuked him, so that he declared, “I did not think that any number was greater than a thousand.” But they insisted that he quarrel with them, so that he said, “My intention was [to demand] the largest amount possible. They have stated that there are numbers greater than a thousand.” Khālid said, “You wanted something, but God wanted something else. We will go by what is visible and will leave you with your intention, whether you be lying or telling the truth.”

Al-Sari—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—‘Amr—al-Sha‘bī: When Khālid conquered al-Hiraḥ, he prayed the prayer of victory, [which is] eight prostrations (rakʿāt) without any interruption in them.\(^{213}\) Then he went away, saying “When I fought on the Day of Mu‘tah,\(^{214}\) nine

---

\(^{2048}\) See the next report.

\(^{212}\) Text: fa daʿa`aha; read: bi-da`iha, as Kos.

\(^{213}\) Normally, salāḥ is broken after at most every four raka‘āt, when the leader of the worship says salām to his right and left.

\(^{214}\) The famous Muslim long-distance raid of the year 8/629 into modern Jordan east of the Dead Sea, in which Khālid b. al-Walid is said to have saved the Muslim army. However, there is some doubt about the actual nature of this raid, as the sources
swords were broken in my hand, but never did I encounter a people like those I met from among the Persians. And I never met among the Persians a people like those of Ullays."

'Ubaydallah — his uncle — Sayf — 'Amr and al-Mujālid — al-Sha'bi: Khalid performed the prayer of victory and then went away. After this, he reported the like of al-Sari's version.

'Ubaydallah — his uncle — Sayf; and al-Sari — Shu'ayb — Sayf — Ismā'īl b. Abī Khālid — Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim, who came with Jarir to Khalid: We came to Khalid at al-Hīrah when he was wearing his sword, which pulled his robe tight around his neck. He was offering worship in it alone. Then he went away, saying, "Nine swords were broken in my hand on the Day of Mu'tah. Then a broad-bladed Yamani sword lasted in my hand, and it has not ceased to be with me."

'Ubaydallah — his uncle — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Abū 'Uthmān, Ṭalḥah b. al-A'lam — al-Mughirah b. 'Utaybah, al-Ghūṣn b. al-Qāsim — a man from the Banū Kinānah, and Sufyān al-Aḥmari — Māhān; When the people of al-Hīrah had made peace with Khālid, Ṣalūbā b. Naṣṭūnā, the ruler of Quss al-Nalif went forth

report very few martyrs by name, other than the three top commanders. See Watt, Medina, 53–55; Ell, s.v. Mu'ta.

215. A mawla of the Aḥmas of the Bajīlah and a miller by trade, he was a very famous Kūfī traditionist, who was regarded as reliable by such mukaddimah as Abū Mūammad b. Ḥanbal and al-Bukhārī, owing to his transmissions from al-Sha'bi. He transmitted particularly plentifully from Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim, who is mentioned in this isnād. He is said to have transmitted between three hundred and five hundred hadiths. He died in 145–46/762–63. See Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, VI, 344; Ibn Khayyāt, Tūrīkh, 651; Ibn Ḥajar, Taḥdhib, I, 291–92.

216. Abū 'Abdallāh Qays b. Ḥusayn b. 'Awf b. Abū al-Ḥārīth b. al-Ḥārīth b. 'Awf al-Bajahlī al-Ḥāmasi, a Kūfī traditionist who nevertheless transmitted traditions from many Companions of the Prophet who never left Medina. He is said to have been on his way to render allegiance to the Prophet when the latter died. He is also claimed to have preferred 'Uthmān and to have attacked 'Ali, wherefore many of the early Kūfī transmitters avoided quoting from him. In spite of this, he generally enjoyed a high reputation later. He died in the period 84–98/703–17. See Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, VI, 36, 67; Ibn Khayyāt, Tūrīkh, 425; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Isti'āb, III, 247–48; Ibn Ḥajar, Taḥdhib, VIII, 386–89; Isābah, III, 267, 271–72.

217. Apparently Māhān Abū Sālim al-Ḥanāfī, a Kūfī traditionist who was executed in 83/702 by al-Hajjāj. This would make him a little early for Sayf's isnād, but Sayf is not meticulous about chronology. See Ibn Ḥajar, Taḥdhib, X, 25–26.

218. Unidentified.

219. The same as Qusṭāthā or Bāqusṭāthā on the west bank of the Euphrates opposite al-Marwaḥah not far from al-Kūfah. See Musil, Middle Euphrates, 306.
until he entered Khālid’s camp, whereupon he made peace with him for Bāniqyā and Basmā, guaranteeing to him all that was in them and their lands from the bank of the Euphrates. He also contracted for himself, his family, and his people to pay ten thousand dinārs, other than the choice spoils, the spoils of Kisrā. In addition, every person had to pay four dirhams [as capitation tax]. A document was written up for them. Both sides were faithful to the charter, which was not to apply should Persia [re]conquer [the concerned lands] by treachery.

Al-Mujālid joins the other transmitters regarding the [text of] the charter [as follows]:

In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. This is a document from Khālid b. al-Walid to Ṣalūbā b. Naṣṭānā and his people. I give you a covenant on condition [of payment] of the jizyah in return for protection. [This is a requirement] for whoever is able [to pay in] both Bāniqyā and Basmā, in the amount of ten thousand dinārs, aside from the chosen spoils, the wealthy according to the amount of his wealth, and the poor according to the extent of his poverty, every year. You have been made your people’s representative; they have accepted you. I and those with me have accepted. I am satisfied, and your people are also satisfied. Therefore, you have a guarantee of security and protection, so that, if we protect you, we are entitled to the jizyah, but, if not, then not until we do protect you. Witnessed by Hishām b. al-Walid, al-Qa`ga` b. `Amr, Jarir b. `Abdallah al-Ilimyari, and Ḥanzalah b. al-Rabi‘, and written in Ṣafar 12 (17 April – 15 May 633).

---

220. Probably the same as Bārūṣmā. See p. 3, above.
221. Text: kharazah; read: ḥarazah, as on p. 36, above.
222. This would seem to be a mistake for al-Bajali, as Ms. IH somewhat clumsily tried to emend. However, it is possible that Safi was trying to emphasize that Jarir al-Bajali did not participate in the earliest conquests, as he does elsewhere, e.g., p. 36, above. Note that in this list only this Jarir is identified by a tribal surname.
223. Al-Usayyidi and a Companion of the Prophet; he was sent by the latter to al-Ṭā‘if, fought later at al-Qadisiyyah and Nihawand, settled in al-Kufah, abandoned ‘Ali at the Battle of the Camel, and then went to Qarqisīya’, where he died in the reign of Mu‘awiyyah. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Ṣamharat I, 83; II, 298; Ibn Muzābihim, Siffin, 8, 95–96; Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt VI, 55; Ibn Khayyāt, Ta‘rikh, 77, 110; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah I, 359–60; Donner, Conquests, 369, 393, 430.
The Events of the Year 12

Al-Sari—Shu'ayb—Sayf—Muhammad b. 'Abdallah—Abu 'Uthmân—Ibn Abi Muknif,224 'Alâh—al-Mughirah, and Sufyân—Mâhân; also Ubaydallâh—his uncle—Sayf—Muhammad—Abu 'Uthmân, and 'Alâh—al-Mughirah: The dihqâns were waiting for Khalid, watching what happened to the people of al-Hirah. When the relations between the people of al-Ḥirah and Khalid stayed in order and the Hirans fulfilled the agreement, the dihqâns of al-Mîltâţayn225 came to him. Thus, Zâdh b. Buhaysh, the dihqân of Furât Siryâ,226 and Şâlûbâ b. Naṣṭûnâ b. Buṣbuhrâ came to him. (It is given thus in the version of al-Sari; however, 'Ubaydallâh says Şâlûbâ b. Buṣbuhrâ and Naṣṭûnâ.) These men made peace with him for the lands from al-Falâlij227 to Hurmuzjîrd228 for two million [dirhams]. (However, 'Ubaydallâh in his version says one million heavy229 [dirhams].) In addition, the Muslims received whatever had belonged to the family of Kîsra and those who, along with them, had left their homes and thus were not parties to the peace agreement. Khalid set up his tent in his camp and wrote out a charter for them, [as follows:]230

In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful.
This is a charter from Khalid b. al-Walîd to Zâdh b. Buhaysh and Şâlûbâ b. Naṣṭûnâ. You have a guarantee of security and must pay the jizyah. You are guarantors of those whom you have been chosen to represent of the people of lower and central Bihqubâdh.230 (‘Ubaydallâh says: You are responsi-

---

224. Unidentified and considered to be a fabrication by ‘Askari, Khamsûn wa mî'âh šahâbi, 87.
225. The banks of the Euphrates in the vicinity of al-Kûfâh. See Yâqût, Mu'jam, V, 192; Donner, Conquists, 180.
226. A subdistrict of lower Bihqubâdh east of al-Falâlij and west of Hurmuzjîrd. See Morony, Iraq, 149. Zâdh is not mentioned elsewhere.
227. Two districts between the two arms of the Euphrates just above the Great Swamp and extending to the modern al-Fallûjah in the north; west of the lower Nahr Sûrâ. See EP, s.v. Fallûdja and al-Fallûdja; Le Strange, Lands, 74, 81; Musil, Middle Euphrates, 125 n. 67; Morony, Iraq, 149.
229. Or “received,” according to other manuscript evidence.
230. Bihqubâdh consists of a large district divided into three subdivisions on the east bank of the medieval Euphrates, which is the modern Hillah branch. The most detailed discussion is in Morony, Iraq, 147–51. See also EP, s.v. Bihqubâdh; Le Strange, Lands, 81.
The Caliphate of Abu Bakr al-Šiddiq

ble for the jizyah\textsuperscript{231} of those whom you have been chosen to represent.] [The jizyah is] two million [dirhams] to be paid every year by\textsuperscript{232} everyone who is able, other than what is required of Banīqyā and Basmā. You have given satisfaction to me and the Muslims, and we have given satisfaction to you, to the people of lower Bihqubād, and to whoever has joined with you of the people of central Bihqubād, regarding your possessions, that there is in them nothing belonging to the family of Kisrā or those who fled with them. Witnessed by Hishām b. al-Walid, al-Qa‘qā‘ b. ‘Amr, Jarīr b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥīmyari, Bashīr b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Khāsāṣiyah, and Ḥanṣālah b. al-Rabī‘, and written in Ṣafar 12 (17 April – 15 May 633).

Khālid b. al-Walid sent out his agents (‘ummāl) and support troops. He sent as agents [the following]: ‘Abdallāh b. Wathimah al-Naṣrī\textsuperscript{233} stayed at the upper part of the district at al-Falālīj to offer protection and collect the jizyah. Jarīr b. ‘Abdallāh was in charge of Banīqyā and Basmā. Bashīr b. al-Khāsāṣiyah was in charge of al-Nahrāyn and stayed at al-Kuwayfah\textsuperscript{234} by Bānbūrā.\textsuperscript{235} Suwayd b. Muqarrin al-Muzani was sent to Nistār\textsuperscript{236} and stayed at al-‘Aqr,\textsuperscript{237} which is called ‘Aqr Suwayd to this day and was not named for Su-

\textsuperscript{231} Text: \textit{harb}; read: \textit{jizyah}, as Cairo ed. See also Tabari, \textit{Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda}, DCXII.

\textsuperscript{232} Text: \textit{thumma}; read: \textit{an}, as IH and Cairo ed. See also Tabari, \textit{Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda}, DCXII.


\textsuperscript{234} Also known as Kuwayfat Ibn ‘Umar for ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who stayed there when he was out of favor for slaying the alleged assassins of his father without a hearing. It was near Bazīqiyā, which, according to Ibn Rustah, Al‘āq, 182, lay 10 km. south of the Nahr Kūthā and 15 km. north of Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah. See Yaqūt, \textit{Mu‘jam}, IV, 496; Le Strange, \textit{Lands}, map II. This would place it near to Bārūmā according to Le Strange. But Yaqūt, \textit{Mu‘jam}, I, 412, followed by Morony, \textit{Iraq}, 149, would place it near al-Ḥillah in Bihqubād.

\textsuperscript{235} Described by Yaqūt, \textit{Mu‘jam}, I, 331, as a place near al-Hirah, but his report parallels that of Sayf here and may be derived from it.

\textsuperscript{236} A subdistrict of lower Bihqubād, possibly north of Furāt Siryā on the Great Sarāt Canal, a part of the Nahr Sūrā. See Morony, \textit{Iraq}, 149–50; EP, s.v. Bihqubād.

\textsuperscript{237} ‘Aqr Bābil, near the site of Babylon on the east side of the east branch of the Euphrates. See Yaqūt, \textit{Mu‘jam}, IV, 136; Morony, \textit{Iraq}, 150.
wayd al-Mingārī. Uṭṭ b. Abī Uṭṭ was sent to Rūdhmistān, staying at a place on a river; that river was named after him and thus is called Nahr Uṭṭ to this day. Uṭṭ is a man of the Banū Sa'd b. Zayd Manāh. Those were the agents for the collection of the kharāj in the time of Khālid b. al-Walid.

The frontiers in the time of Khālid were at al-Sīb. Khālid sent out Dirār b. al-Azwar, Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb, al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah, Dirār b. Muqarrin, al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr, Busr b. Abī Ruhm, and 'Utaybah b. al-Nahhās. They took up quarters at al-Sīb in the midst of his dominion. These were the commanders of the frontiers of Khālid. Khālid ordered them to raid and to be persevering. Thus they penetrated into what was beyond that [place] up to the bank of the Tigris.

[The same authorities] report: When Khālid had conquered one of the two sides of al-Sawād, he called for a man from among the inhabitants of al-Ḥirah and sent with him a letter to the Persians, who were then at al-Madā'in disputing and supporting different parties because of the death of Ardashīr. However, they did send Bahman.

238. Suwayd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, who fought against al-Mukhtār in al-Kūfah in 66/685, defended it again against Shāhīb b. Yazīd in 76/695, and was rewarded with the governorship of Ḥulwān in 77/696. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 76; II, 519.

239. His existence is denied by al-'Askārī, Khamsin wa mi‘ād shabīb, 277–79, and 'Abdallāh b. Saba', 187, as he is found only in reports derived from Sayf. His mention in Ibn Ḥajar, Isābāh, I, 110, appears to be derived only from Sayf.

240. A subdistrict of lower Bihqubād. See Morony, Iraq, 149–50. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, V, 317, gives it as Dawrāqistān, which is clearly wrong, as it refers to a place in Khūzistān.

241. Mentioned by Yāqūt, Mu'jam, V, 317, as a place near al-Ḥirah, but the report is clearly derived fromSayf, showing no independent knowledge.

242. One of the three great branches of the great northeast Arabian tribe of the Tamīm. The others are the Ḥanẓalāh b. Mālik, which is divided into the Dārīm and the Yarbū', and the 'Amr b. Tamīm. See Elπ, s.v. Sa'd al-Fīzīr, Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 59; II, 9, 497.

243. Lit., “the watercourse.” Although several places with this name are mentioned, here it refers to two subdistricts, upper and lower Sib, in the tassāj of Sūrā near Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah north of al-Ḥillah and east of the east branch of the Eu-phrates. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, III, 293; Le Strange, Lands, map II. In this volume, it normally appears in reference to a specific canal, presumably that from which the district took its name.

244. The first three persons on this list are attested in sources other than Sayf, though not, except for al-Muthannā, in this campaign; the presence of the latter four appears to be fictitious.
Jādhūyah\textsuperscript{245} down to Bahurasir.\textsuperscript{246} It was as if he were in charge of the vanguard [of a larger force]. Accompanying Bahman Jādhūyah was al-Azādhbih with others like him. Khalid also called on Šalūbā to provide a man and then sent two letters with the two men. One of the men was to be sent to the elite; the other was to go to the commoners. One of them was a Ḥīran; the other was a Nabaṭī.\textsuperscript{247} When Khalid asked the messenger from al-Ḥirah, "What is your name?" the latter replied, "Murrah." Khalid then said, "Take the letter and bring it to the Persians, so that God may make their life bitter, or that they may become Muslims\textsuperscript{248} and turn to God in repentance." Khalid also asked the messenger of Šalūbā, "What is your name?" He answered, "Hizgil." Khalid said, "Then take the letter," also saying, "O God, wipe them out!"\textsuperscript{249} (Al-Sari - Shu'ayb - Sayf - Mujālid and others reported a like version.) [The texts of] the two letters:

In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful.
From Khalid b. al-Walid to the kings of Persia. Praise be to God Who dissolved your order, made your plotting weak, and divided you among yourselves. Had he not done that to you, it would have been worse for you. Therefore, enter into our faith; we will leave you and your land alone and pass beyond you to others different from you. If not, that will happen [anyway], even though you loathe [it], by force, at the hands of a people who love death just as you love life.

In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful.
From Khalid b. al-Walid to the governors (marāzibah) of

\textsuperscript{245} This man is mentioned by Ibn Khayyāt, Tarīkh, 109, in connection with the Battle of the Bridge. Ibn Khayyāt calls him Bahmān b. Khurhumuzān [voweling of last word is conjectural]. Presumably both Jādhūyah and Khurhumuzān are derived from a single original word, as they resemble each other somewhat in the Arabic script. As Ibn Khayyāt's report is derived from Ibn Ishāq, this Bahman must not be an invention of Sayf, though Sayf may have introduced him into contexts where he did not originally exist, as here. Sayf's version of Bahman's role in the Battle of the Bridge [see below pp. 188-93] may be profitably compared with Ibn Khayyāt's.

\textsuperscript{246} Original Pahlavi name is Veh-Ardashir. This city, a part of the Sāsānian capital complex of al-Mada'in, was a round, walled city on the west bank of the Tigris and already in decline by the time the Muslims came. See EP, s.v. al-Madā'in; Le Strange, Lands, 34-35, map II.

\textsuperscript{247} This term, meaning "Nabataean," is used to refer to the non-Arab Syriac-speaking population of the Fertile Crescent. See EP, s.v. Nabataeans.

\textsuperscript{248} Or "surrender."

\textsuperscript{249} Both comments to the messengers are plays on their respective names.
Persia. Embrace Islam so that you may be safe. If not, make a covenant of protection with me and pay the jizyah. Otherwise, I have brought you a people who love death just as you love drinking wine.

‘Ubaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — Muḥammad b. Nuwayrah — Abū ‘Uthmān, and al-Sarī — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh — Abū ‘Uthmān, al-Muhallab b. ‘Uqbah, Ziyād b. Sarjis — Siyāh,250 and Suṭyān al-Aḥmārī — Māhān: The kharāj was brought to Khālid within fifty nights. Those who had guaranteed payment and those who were the chief men of the country districts (rasātiq) were hostages in his hands. Khālid gave all of that to the Muslims, who were thereby strengthened in their affairs. The Persians were left split by the death of Ardashīr regarding the kingship but in agreement on fighting Khālid and supporting each other [in that]. The Persians stayed like that for a year, while the Muslims were penetrating up to the Tigris. The Persians held nothing between al-Ḥīrah and the Tigris, nor did any of them have a guarantee of security except for those who had written to Khālid and received a written charter from him. The rest of the people of al-Sawād were either in flight, defending themselves in fortresses, or fighting [in the field]. The agents for collecting the kharāj were asked for written acknowledgments and would write releases for those liable to pay the kharāj out of one prototype:

In the name of God, the All-Compassionate, the Merciful. Release is given to whoever is from such-and-such from the jizyah for which the amīr Khālid b. al-Walid made peace with them. I have received that for which Khālid made peace with them. Khālid and the Muslims are a united force for you against whoever changes Khālid’s peace. As long as you acknowledge the jizyah and refrain [from breaking the agreement], your security will be guaranteed and your peace kept. We will be faithful to you.

They made to witness for them those companions whom Khālid had caused to witness: Hishām, al-Qa‘qā‘, Jābir b. Ţāriq,251 Jarir, Bashīr,

Hanẓalah, Aṣṣād,252 al-Ḥajjāj b. Dhī al-‘Unuq,253 and Mālik b. Zayd.254

‘Ubaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf—‘Aṭiyyah b. al-Ḥārith255—‘Abd Khayr:256 Khālid departed after the people of al-Ḥiraḥ had written a document that he approved stating, “We have paid the jizyah for which Khālid, the good servant of God, and the Muslims, God’s good servants, made a covenant with us, on condition that they and their commander protect us from aggression from the Muslims or others.”

Al-Sarī, in what he has written for me—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—‘Aṭiyyah b. al-Ḥārith—‘Abd Khayr—Hishām b. al-Walīd: Khālid was finished . . . ; then the rest of the report is like the report of ‘Ubaydallāh b. Sa’ād.

‘Ubaydallāh—his uncle—Sayf; and also al-Sarī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Siyāḥ257—Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit258—Ibn al-Hu-

---

252. Aṣṣād b. Fasā’ah al-Fārisī, the Persian mawla of Bahīr b. Raysān al-Ḥimyāri. One of his traditions transmitted by other than Sayf appears in the collection of Ibn Mājah, so that he does not appear to be a fabrication of Sayf. But his status as Companion is denied by the best authorities, including al-Bukhārī and Abū Ḥātim. See Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, I, 29. As his patron Bahīr b. Raysān appears only as a governor of Yemen for Yazīd b. Muʿawiyyah and is later mentioned in connection with al-Kūlah at the time of al-Mukhtar’s revolt in 66/686, it seems that the reference to Aṣṣād here is chronologically far out of place. See Ṭabari, II, 277, 601.


254. Mentioned only by Sayf, apparently once. Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, III, 485, gives his name as Mālik b. Yazīd, but derives the report from Sayf; thus it is unlikely that this Mālik was a Companion of the Prophet. Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, II, 396, lists two Mālik b. Yazīd and twenty Mālik b. Zayd but provides little information about them, so that one of them may be the one meant here.

255. Abū Rawq al-Hamḍānī; he was a Kūfī transmitter generally deemed reliable who also wrote a tafsīr of the Qur’ān. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 227; II, 205; Ibn Sa’d, Ṭabaqāt, VI, 369; Ibn Durayd, Isḥiqiq, 418 (giving his nisbaḥ as al-ʿAsharī); Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, VII, 224.


257. The mawla of the Asad; he was a Kūfī transmitter of tradition and had a good reputation but is said to have been a leader of the Shiʿah. He lived with Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit and died in the time of al-Manṣūr. See Ibn Sa’d, Ṭabaqāt, VI, 363; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, VI, 340–41.

The Events of the Year 12

47

dhayl al-Kāhili, a similar version: Khālid commanded the two messengers whom he sent out to bring him the news. Khālid stayed in office for a year, residing at al-Ḥirah, traveling around and about before his departure for Syria. Meanwhile, the Persians were overthrowing kings and enthroning others, there being no defensive effort except at Bahurasir. That was because Shīrā b. Kīsra had slain all his [male] relatives descended from Kīsra b. Qubādān, then the people of Persia had risen after Shīrā and after Ardāshīr his son and killed all [the descendants of the kings] between Kīsra b. Qubādān and Bahram Jūr. After that, they remained unable to agree on anyone to make king.

‘Ubaydallāh — his uncle — Sayf — ‘Amr and al-Mujālid — al-Sha’bi: In the period between his conquest of al-Ḥirah and his departure for Syria, Khālid b. al-Walid continued for more than a year to deal with the work of ‘Iyād that had been reported to him. Khālid declared:

If not for what the caliph entrusted me with, I would not have saved ‘Iyād. He was grieving and causing grief at Dūmah. There was nothing left to do except to conquer Persia. It was behavior (sunnah) like the behavior of women. The caliph had enjoined him not to invade their land further as long as any of their organized forces were behind him. And the Persians [then] had a force at al-‘Ayn another at al-Anbār, and another at al-Firād. When Khālid’s dispatches fell into the hands of the people of al-Ma-

259. Unidentified.
260. The Sāsānian king Khusrwān I Anūshirwān, who reigned 531–79 C.E.
261. The Sāsānian king Bahram V, who reigned 420–38 C.E.
262. ‘Ayn al-Tamr. An oasis 61 km. west of Karbalā and due south of al-Ramādī, it was administratively part of upper Biḥqubādān. Its inhabitants were of the Tagḥiḥ, Namīr, and ‘Asād. See EP, s.v. ‘Ayn al-Tamr; Le Strange, Lands, 65, 81; Musil, Arabia Deserta, 361–63, 365, esp. n. 92; Middle Euphrates, 297–98, 307–8; Yāqūt, Muḥ‘jam, IV, 176–77.
263. A large town on the Euphrates strategically situated at the head of the irrigation system of central Iraq. See EP, s.v. al-Anbār; Le Strange, Lands, 65–66; Musil, Middle Euphrates, 295–97.
264. Identified by Musil as al-Furādah, then further identified with the ruins of al-Ṣālībiyyah 48 km. northwest of Abū Kamāl on the Euphrates. The same as ancient Roman Dura Europus, which marked the Roman-Persian frontier. See Musil, Middle Euphrates, 10–13, 252, 313.
dā'īn, the women of Kisrā’s family spoke up, so that al-Farrukhzādhd al-Bindawān66 was put in charge until such time as Kisrā’s family agreed on a man [to make king], if they could find him.

Al-Sārī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh—Abū ʿUthmān, Ṭalḥah—al-Mughirah, al-Muhallab—Siyāh, and Sufyān—Māhān: Abū Bakr had charged Khālid to approach Iraq from below and ʿIyāḍ to approach Iraq from above, [saying]:

Whichever of you two is first to al-Ḥirah, he is the amīr of al-Ḥirah. Then when you have joined forces at al-Ḥirah, God willing, routed the forces between the Arabs and Persia, and are safe from the Muslims being attacked from behind, let one of you stay at al-Ḥirah while the other attacks the Persians. Fight them patiently for the sake of what you have in your hands. Seek God’s help and protect yourselves from His wrath. Prefer the matter of the afterlife to this world so that you may obtain the benefits of both, and do not prefer this world lest you be denied both. Be watchful [to uphold] that which God has cautioned you about: abandon sins and hasten to repentance. Do not by any means persist [in sinning] and delay repentance.

Khālid kept what he had been commanded [to do], stationing himself at al-Ḥirah. The lands between al-Falālij and the lower Sawād came under his control. At that time, he divided the Sawād of al-Ḥirah among Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥīmyari, Bashīr b. al-Khaṣṣiyyah, Khālid b. al-Wāṣim,266 Ibn Dhi al-ʿUnuq, Uṭṭ, Suwayd, and Dirār.267 He divided the Sawād of al-Ubullah between Suwayd b. al-Muqarrin, Ḥasakah al-Ḥabati,268 al-Ḥuṣayn b. Abī al-Ḥurr,269 and Rabī‘ah b. ʿIsl.270 He confirmed [the placement] of the forces on the frontiers and left al-Ḥirah. Then Khalid departed for ʿIyāḍ’s province to settle what was

265. Mentioned only in transmissions from Sayf in this volume, otherwise unidentified.
266. Unidentified.
267. But which Dirār?
268. As he does not occur in other sources, he is called an invention of Sayf by al-ʿAskari, ʿAbdallāh b. Saba’, 187.
270. Of the ʿAmr b. ʿAyrūb of the Tamīm, a Baṣran, he fought on the side of ʿĀʾishah at the Battle of the Camel in 36/656, then was governor of Herat for Muʿāwiya. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 68; II, 479.
between them and to help him. He went by way of al-Fallūjah until he stopped at Karbala',\(^{171}\) where 'Āṣim b. 'Amr was in charge of the garrison. Al-Agra` b. Ḥābis\(^{272}\) was in command of Khalīd’s vanguard because al-Muthanna was [then] in charge of a frontier post facing al-Madā‘īn. The Muslims would raid the Persians, reaching the bank of the Tigris, both before Khalīd’s departure from al-Ḥira‘ and after he had left to help ʿIyāḍ.

Al-Sarī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Abū Rawq—someone who was present with them, giving a similar account, until the point where he said: Khalīd stayed at Karbala’ some days. ʿAbdallāh b. Wathīmah complained to him of the flies. Khalīd told him, “Be patient for I want only to empty the [enemy’s] armed posts that ʿIyāḍ had been commanded to deal with, so that we might settle the Arabs in them. By this the Muslims’ troops will be safe from being attacked from the rear, and the Arabs coming to us will be sheltered and not have to sink in the sand. Thus the caliph has commanded us, and his opinion equals the support of the [whole] community.” A man of the Ashja’\(^{273}\) said regarding Ibn Wathīmah’s complaint:

My mount has been detained in Karbala’
and in al-ʿAyn until its fat [part] has become thin.
If she slackly moves from a kneeling place, she returns to it;
by the life of her father, I most certainly despise her.
There keeps her from the water of every drinking place
a company of flies whose eyes are blue.

Al-Anbār, Which Is Dhāt al-ʿUyūn, and Kalwādhā\(^{274}\)

Al-Sarī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and their companions: Khalīd b. al-Walīd went forth with that mobilization in which

---

171. The site of al-Ḥusayn’s martyrdom. See EP, s.v. Karbala’.
172. Al-Mujāshi’ī al-Dārimi, of a noble Tamīmi lineage, he is said to have become a Muslim in Medina before the fall of Mecca in 8/630, more likely in the year of delegations, 9/631. He is alleged to have been the cause of the revelation of Qur’an 49:4–5. Migrating to al-BAṣrah, he participated in many conquests in Iraq and Iran and conquered al-Jūzjan in northern Afghanistan in 32/651–53. See EP, s.v. al-Agra` b. Ḥābis; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 61; II, 191; Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt, I, 288, 294, 358, 447; II, 153, 161; IV, 246, 273, 282; VII, 37; Balādhuri, Futūḥat, 78, 503–4; Ibn ʿAsākir, Taḥdhib, III, 89–94; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, I, 58–59.
174. The seat of a subdistrict on the east bank of the Tigris not far south of Baghdad. See EP, s.v. Kalwādhā; Le Strange, Lands, 32, 80.
he left al-Ḥirah. Al-Aqrā‘ b. Ḥābis was in command of his vanguard. When al-Aqrā‘ stopped at the last stage on the way to al-Anbār, a group of the Muslims had camels about to give birth but could not halt, finding no escape from proceeding forward with their camels in labor following them. When departure was commanded, they tied up the teats of the camels with young and carried the newborn camels on the rumps of others, for the newborns could not bear walking, and thus they came riding to al-Anbār.

Meanwhile, the people of al-Anbār had fortified themselves and built a ditch to stop the enemy, while they stayed high up in their castle. The commander of those troops was Shīrzdāḥ, the governor of Sābāt, who was the most sensible Persian on that day, as well as the most lordly and best liked among the people, both Arabs and Persians. The Arabs of al-Anbār that day called out from the wall, “Evil has overtaken al-Anbār by morning: a [grown] camel carrying its young one, and a camel whose seeking of shelter has made it strong.” Shīrzdāḥ asked, “What are they saying?” When it was explained to him, he said, “As for these, they have pronounced against themselves a sentence [of defeat]. That is because, if a people pronounce a sentence against themselves, its effect tends to stick to them. By God, if Khālid had not [already] passed by, I would have made peace with him.”

While they were talking, Khālid came to the vanguard and approached the ditch. Fighting broke out. Khālid would become impatient regarding it if he saw it or heard of it. He came to his archers to give them instructions, saying, “I see groups of people [here] who have no knowledge of warfare. Therefore shoot at their eyes; do not aim elsewhere.” The archers shot one volley of arrows, then continued. As a result, a thousand eyes were put out on that day, so that that battle was named Dḥāt al-‘Uyun. The people shouted to one another, “The eyes of the people of al-Anbār have gone!” Shīrzdāḥ asked, “What are they saying?” Then it was explained to him. He said, “Ābādh, ābādh,” and sent a messenger to Khālid requesting

---

275. A part of the Madā‘in complex of cities, it lay on the west bank of the Tigris 5 km. south of Veh-Ardashir = Bahurasir. See EP, s.v. al-Madā‘in.
276. Text himl; read jamal, as in Ms. B and Cairo ed.
277. Or “He started the fighting.” See Ṭabari, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DCXXI.
278. This is a Persian expression meaning “Good! Bravo!” See Steingass, Persian Dictionary, 3.
peace with a condition that Khalid did not accept, so that he sent back Shirzadh's messengers empty-handed.

Khalid came to the narrowest place in the trench with the army's weakest camels, which he slaughtered and then threw into the ditch, filling it up. Then he launched an assault across the ditch, the weak camels' [bodies] being the bridges for his troops. The Muslims and the polytheists came together in the ditch, but the enemy recoiled into their fortress. Shirzadh sent messengers to Khalid, [again] requesting peace according to what he wanted. [This time] Khalid accepted his request, including the condition that he leave Shirzadh's way free, delivering him with a group of light cavalry to the Persian lines, but without letting them take any goods or valuables with them. Thus Shirzadh departed.

When he came to Bahman Jadhuyah and told him the news, Bahman blamed him. Shirzadh answered,

I was among a people who had no minds! Their origin is from the Arabs. I heard them at their coming pronouncing upon themselves a sentence [of defeat]. Rarely does it happen that a people pronounce a sentence against themselves but that it takes effect upon them. Then the troops fought against the Muslims, but these put out a thousand eyes among our troops and the inhabitants of the land. At this, I knew it was sounder to make peace.

When Khalid and the Muslims had become secure at al-Anbār, and the inhabitants of al-Anbār, feeling safe, had come forth, Khalid saw that they wrote in Arabic and were learned in it. He asked them, 'What are you?' They replied, 'A group of Arabs who settled amid a group of Arabs [who were here] before. The first of them settled al-Anbār in the days of Bukhtinaššar, when he allowed the Arabs. Thereafter they did not leave it.' Khalid then asked, 'From whom did you learn writing?' They answered, 'We learned writing from the Iyād.' They quoted the saying of the poet:

279. Lit., "a safe place for him."
281. Lit., "the book."
282. An Arab tribe living in many widely dispersed locations west of the Euphrates. See EP, s.v. Iyād.
283. These lines are attributed to Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt al-Thaqafi in Ibn Hishām, Sirah, I, 47.
The Caliphate of Abū Bakr al-Šiddīq

My people are the Iyād, if they were nearby,
or if they had stayed, even though their camels would have become thin,
A people who gained the broad expanse of Iraq when
they went off all together, as well as gaining the script[^284] and the pen.

Khālid also made peace with those around al-Anbār. He began with the inhabitants of al-Bawāzīj[^285] The people of Kalwādhā also sent a messenger to him to make an agreement. He wrote out a charter for them and they became his confidants beyond the Tigris. Then the people of al-Anbār and the areas around it rebelled as a part of what would happen between the Muslims and the various nations of polytheists, except for the people of al-Bawāzīj, for they remained loyal just as did the people of Bāniqyā.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, that is, Ibn Siyāh—Ḥabīb b. Abī Thabit: No one in al-Sawād obtained a treaty before the battle except for the Banū Ṣalūbā, who are the people of al-Ḥirah, Kalwādhā, and some of the towns on the Euphrates. Then these betrayed their agreements until they were invited to accept a guarantee of security [even] after they had committed betrayal.

[^2062] Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad b. Qays:[^286] I asked al-Shaʾbī, "Was al-Sawād taken by force?" He answered, "Yes, including all the land except for some of the castles and fortresses. For some of these made peace on terms with their besieger,[^287] whereas some were conquered outright." Then I inquired, "Did the people of al-Sawād obtain a security agreement that they concluded before the flight?" He replied, "No, but after they were called on [to accept an agreement], when they had shown willingness to pay the kharaj and it was taken from them, their security then became guaranteed."

[^284] Or, "the cut sheet," referring to writing material, as in Ibn Hishām.
[^285] Here Bawāzīj al-Anbār, near the town of al-Anbār, is meant, rather than the distant Bawāzīj on the upper Tigris. According to Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 301, and Yāqūt, Muʿjam, 1, 503, it was conquered not by Khālid, but by Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī, certain of whose mawlās settled it.


The Events of the Year 12

About ‘Ayn al-Tamr

Al-Sari—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muhammad, Talhah, al-Muhallab, and Ziyād: When Khālid was done with al-Anbār, it being thoroughly under his control, he left al-Zibrīqān b. Badr288 as his deputy in charge of it. Khālid then headed for ‘Ayn al-Tamr, where at that time there were Mihrān b. Bahrām Jūbin289 with a great force of Persians and ‘Aqqah b. Abī ‘Aqqah290 with a mighty force of Arabs from the Namir,291 Taghlib,292 Iyād, and those who rallied to them.

When they heard of Khālid, ‘Aqqah said to Mihrān, “Arabs are more knowledgeable about fighting Arabs. Therefore, leave Khālid to us.” Mihrān said, “You have spoken the truth. By my life, you are indeed more knowledgeable about fighting the Arabs, just as you indeed are our equals in fighting the Persians.” Thus he deceived ‘Aqqah and used him for defense [against the Muslims]. Mihrān then said, “There they are for you! If you need us, we will help you.” When ‘Aqqah had marched off toward Khālid, the Persians asked Mihrān, “What made you say these words to this dog?” Mihrān replied, “Let me be, for I sought only what is better for you and worse for them. There have come against you those who have slain your

288. Ḥuṣayn b. Badr al-‘Awfi of the Sa‘d Tamim. He was appointed by the Prophet to collect the ṣadaqah of part of the Tamim and the Ribāb. He stayed in the desert later, though he frequently visited al- Başrah. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Ġamharat, I, 77, II, 335, 606.

289. This would be a son of Bahrām Chūbin, the general who rebelled against Khusraw II Parwīz 590—91 C.E. and is enumerated as Bahrām VI in the list of Sasanian monarchs. In view of the fact that the rebellion was put down and its adherents executed, it is unlikely that anyone from this family would reemerge as a commander of a frontier garrison at this late date. Rather, this is probably another case of Sayf’s adorning his reports with invented personages of illustrious ancestry, a tendency that also occurs with the reappearance of the defunct dynasty of al-Hirah in Tabari, I, 2226. On Bahrām Chūbin, see Theophylact, History, 101—2, 150, 152—53, and passim; Pseudo- Sebeos, History, 14—16, 18—20, 29, 31—32.


291. Al-Namir b. Qāsīt, a smaller branch of the Rabī‘ah who originated in southern Yamāmah, then migrated in the wake of the Taghlib to al-Jazirah, where they were located partly at Ra‘s al-‘Ayn on the Khābūr River. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Ġamharat, I, 141; II, 444.

292. One of the two branches of the Wā‘il, the other being the Bakr, the Taghlib were located in the Jazirah. They opposed Islam and clung to Christianity for a long time. See EI, Supplement, s.v. Taghlib; Ibn al-Kalbi, Ġamharat, II, 27—28, 541—42.
kings and routed your crack troops. I am warding them off with these Arabs. If our Arabs defeat Khālid, it is your victory. If it is the other way, you will not be reached by them until they have become exhausted. Then we will fight them while we are strong and they are weakened." At this, they admitted the excellence of his view.

Thus Mihrān stuck to the spring, while Aqqah confronted Khālid on the road. In charge of Aqqah's right was Bujayr b. So-and-So,293 one of the Banū 'Utbah294 b. Sa'd b. Zuhayr.295 On his left was al-Hudhayl b. 'Imrān.296 Between Aqqah and Mihrān was half a day's journey.297 Mihrān was in the fortress with the mobile troops of Persia, while Aqqah was on the road of al-Karkh298 in a defensive position.

Khālid came upon him while putting his troops in battle formation. Khālid completed readying his troops for battle and then said to his two wings, "Hold back for us what the enemy has, for I am going to charge." He personally assigned covering forces and then charged while Aqqah was arranging his lines. Khālid engaged him in close combat and took him prisoner. Aqqah's line was defeated without fighting, the Muslims taking many of them prisoner. Bujayr and al-Hudhayl fled, with the Muslims in pursuit. When the news reached Mihrān, he fled with his troops and abandoned the fortress. When the defeated remnants of Aqqah's forces, both Arabs and Persians, reached the fortress, they rushed into it, taking refuge there.

Khālid approached with the Muslim troops to besiege the fortress. He had with him Aqqah as a prisoner and Amr b. al-Ša'iq.299 The
enemy hoped that Khālid would be like those of the Arabs who would raid [and withdraw], but when they saw Khālid was intent [on taking them], they asked for a safe-conduct. But Khālid refused any but his own terms, and they agreed to this readily. When they opened [the gates], Khālid handed them over to the Muslims, who bound them.\textsuperscript{300} Khālid commanded that ‘Aqqah, who had been their protector, be beheaded so that the prisoners might despair of life. When the prisoners saw him thrown onto the bridge, they despaired of life. Then Khālid called for ‘Amr b. al-Ṣa‘iq, who was beheaded as well. Khālid beheaded all the men of the fortress and took possession of all that their fortress contained, seizing as spoils what was in it.

Khālid found in their church forty boys who were studying the Gospel behind a locked door, which he broke down in getting to them. He asked, "What are you?" They replied, "Hostages." He divided them among the Muslims who had performed outstandingly in battle. They included Abū Ziyād, the mawlä of the Thaqīf,\textsuperscript{301} Nuṣayr, the father of Musā b. Nuṣayr,\textsuperscript{302} Abū ‘Amrah,\textsuperscript{303} the grandfather of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-‘Alā‘ the poet,\textsuperscript{304} Sirīn,\textsuperscript{305} the father of Muḥammad b. Sirīn,\textsuperscript{306} Hurayth, and ‘Ulāthah.\textsuperscript{307} Abū ‘Amrah went to

---

\textsuperscript{300} See Cairo ed., n. 2.

\textsuperscript{301} Unidentified.

\textsuperscript{302} The later conqueror of North Africa and Spain, he died in 97/716. His father, Nuṣayr, was the commander of Mu‘āwiyyah’s guard. They usually are considered to have been mawla of the Lakhm, but other identifications also exist. See EP, s.v. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, V, 318 – 29; ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, Ta’rikh al-maghrib al-‘arabi, 238 – 56.

\textsuperscript{303} An Arab, al-Shaybānī of the Murrah b. Dhulh b. Shaybān, he founded a famous family in Medina, celebrated by the great poet al-Farazdaq. See ‘Alwān, Sirāh, 73 – 75.

\textsuperscript{304} An accomplished traditionist, poet, and orator, he was the tutor of Ayyūb, son of the caliph Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik. This was an important post, as Sulaymān was grooming Ayyūb for the succession when the latter died in 98/716. ‘Abdallāh continued to be a companion of the Umayyad caliphs, including ‘Umar II and Yazīd II, but fell afoul of Hishām. He lived until at least 126/744. See ‘Alwān, Sirāh, 77 – 82. See also note 658, below.

\textsuperscript{305} According to al-Shāfī, Wāfī, III, 146, he was taken captive at Jarjarāyā, not ‘Ayn al-Tamr. Baladhurī, Futūḥ, 303, reconciles the two reports by making him a visitor from Jarjarāyā in ‘Ayn al-Tamr at the time of the capture. Yāqūt, Muṣjam, IV, 176, has the information that Sirīn was Ibn Sirīn’s mother, rather than his father, which may represent an attempt to harmonize the conflicting traditions.

\textsuperscript{306} The mawla of the Anṣār, one of the most famous traditionists of his time; he lived in al-Baṣrah. His dates are 33 – 110/654 – 729. See al-Shāfī, Wāfī, III, 146; Ibn Ḥaḍārī, Tahdhib, IX, 214 – 17.

\textsuperscript{307} These two men are unidentified.
Shurahbil b. Hasanah,308 Hurayth to a man from the Banû ' Ibîd,309 'Ulãthah to al-Mu'annâ, and  Humran310 to 'Uthman.31 They also included 'Umayr and Abu Qays,312 who retained his family relationship (nasab) as one of the old mawlâs of the Syrians. Nuṣâr was considered one of the Banû Yashkur,313 whereas Abu 'Amrah was considered one of the Banû Murrah.314 These captives also included Ibn Ukht al-Namir.315

Al-Sari — Shu'ayb — Sayf — Muḥammad,  Ṭalhah,  Abû Sufyân

308. Reportedly an early Muslim, he is said to have been of the marginal al-Ghawth (or Sūfât al-Rabi') b. Murr b. Udd, who were confederates of the Jumab of the Quraysh, according to Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, II, 532; Ibn 'Asâkir, Tahdhib, VI, 299. However, according to another tradition, he was the son of  'Abdallâh b. 'Amr b. al-Muni' al-Kindi but was attributed to his mother Hasanah, a mawldh of the Jumab. This tradition also states that Shurahbil was himself a confederate of the Qurashi Zuhrah clan. See Ibn Sa'd,  Tabaqât, VII, 514; Ibn Qutaybah, Ma'drif, 325; Ibn Hazm, Jamharat, 162. Balidhuri, Ansâb, I, 214, gives both versions but prefers that of Ibn al-Kalbi. In any case, he was associated with the Qurashi nobles. He participated in the conquest of Syria and died in 18/639.

309. This tribal grouping from al-Hirah contained settled Christian elements from various origins. See Ibn al-Athîr, Lubâb, II, 11; Tringham, Christianity, 156, 171, 225, 278.

310. Humran b. Abân al-Namari; he was actually the captive of a Fazârî, who sold him to 'Uthmân. He became one of the secretaries or the chamberlain of 'Uthmân during the latter's caliphate. 'Uthmân became angry with him for an indiscretion, whereupon Humran moved to al-Basrah, where he lived in the quarter of al-Jufrah and was one of the leaders of the pro-'Umayyad party against al-Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr in 71/692. After al-Muṣ'ab was killed he was able to take power briefly as governor of al-Basrah for the 'Umayyads. He also is said to have taken power in al-Basrah for the 'Umayyads on the abdication of al-Hasan b. ' Ali at the beginning of 41/661, which would appear to be a retrospective duplication of the later occasion. He is further said to have been a Syriac speaker, to have had a Jewish mother, and to have been given his Namari genealogy by his descendants. See Tabari, I, 2923-24, 3030, II, 11, 799, 801, 817-18, 837; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 167; II, 332; Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqât, V, 283; Ibn Khayyä, Tü'rîkh, 195, 342; Balâdhuri, Futûh, 432; Yaqût, Mu'jam, IV, 176.

311. That is, Ibn 'Affân the caliph. See Note 310, above.

312. These two men are unidentified.

313. The Yashkur were an important subgroup of the Bakr b. Wâ'il, who were settled mostly in the oases of al-Yamamah. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, II, 26, 592.

314. The Murrah b. 'Awf, a subgroup of the Ghaṭafân who were later prominent in al-Jazîrah. See EP, s.v. Ghaṭafân; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 92, 127; II, 19-20, 433. However, the family of Abû 'Amrah are usually considered to have belonged to the Shaybân. See notes 303 and 304, above.

315. Ibn Ukht al-Namir is al-Sâ'îb b. Yazid al-Kindi. His tribal designation is in some doubt, however. Both he and his father are usually considered to have been Companions. Some have held Ibn Ukht al-Namir to have been the last Companion alive in Medina, dying in 82/701 or later. His paternal uncle was al-'Alâ' b. al-Ḥâdrami, the early governor of al-Bahrain. The caliph 'Umar is said to have put him in charge of the market of Medina. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 239; II, 499; Ibn Hajar, Isâbah, II, 12-13; Tahdhib, III, 450-51.

Also it is most striking that this list does not include Yasâr, the grandfather of the
The Events of the Year 12

57

Talhah b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, and al-Muhallab b. 'Uqbah: When al-Walid b. 'Uqbah came from Khālid to Abū Bakr bringing what Khālid had sent with him of the fifths [of the spoils reserved for the state], Abū Bakr sent him on to 'Iyāḍ as support. Al-Walid came to 'Iyāḍ when the latter was besieging the enemy and they were besieging him, having seized the road from him. Al-Walid advised him, "Circumspection in some cases is better than numerous troops. Send a message to Khālid asking him for reinforcements." 'Iyāḍ did so. His messenger came to Khālid just after the Battle of al-'Ayn asking for help. Khālid rushed a letter to 'Iyāḍ from him, [saying,] "From Khālid to 'Iyāḍ. I am coming to you. Hold [them] off a little, for there will come to you milch camels bearing lions wearing worn-out clothes, regiments following upon them regiments."

Dūmat al-jandal

[The same transmitters]: When Khālid was done with 'Ayn al-Tamr, he left in charge of it 'Uwaym b. al-Kāhil al-Aslami and then marched forth in the same formation with which he had entered al-'Ayn. When the people of Dūmah heard that Khālid was marching against them, they sent [messages] to their allies among the Bahrā', the Kalb, the Ghassān, the Tanūkh, and the Dā-
The Caliphate of Abū Bakr al-Šiddiq

jà`im. Even before Wad-PAh3 had come to them with the Kalb, the Bahra`, and his supporter Ibn Wabarah b. Rūmānis, and Ibn al-Ḥidrijān had come to them with the Dajā`im, and Ibn al-Ayham with groups of the Ghassān and the Tanūkh, they caused grief to `Iyāḍ and suffered from him as well.

When word of Khalid's approach reached them, their two leaders, Ukaydir b. `Abd al-Malik and al-Jūdi b. Rabi`ah, disagreed [about what to do]. Ukaydir said, 'I am the most knowledgeable of people about Khalid. No one is better omened than he, nor sharper in war. No people, regardless of whether they are few or many, ever see Khalid's face but that they flee from him. Therefore obey me and make peace with the enemy.' But they refused him, so that he said, 'I will never conspire with you to make war on Khalid. It is your affair.' Then he went on his way. That [word] reached Khalid, who sent out `Aṣim b. `Amr to stop Ukaydir. `Aṣim captured Ukaydir, who said, 'I have not met other than the amir Khalid.' When he was brought to Khalid, the latter had him beheaded and took the property that had been with him.

Yemen, the Tanūkh lived between al-Ḥirah and al-Anbār on the Euphrates, with other branches in Qinnasrin and around Aleppo. See EL', Supplement, s.v. Tanūkh; Ibn al-Kalbi, Ḯamharat, I, 297; II, 80–84, 544–45.

322. Phylarchs of the Arab marches for the Romans before the Ghassinids, also possibly associated with northern Syria, as they were of the Salih, a branch of the Qudā`ah. See EL', s.v. Salih; Ibn al-Kalbi, Ḯamharat, I, 326; II, 86, 240, 296. See also note 433, below.

323. Unidentified.

324. Al-Kalbi. Wabarah was the half brother of the last Lakhmid king of al-Ḥirah, al-Nu`mān b. al-Mundhir, through their mother. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Ḯamharat, I, 290; II, 581; Zubayrī, Nasab, 267. Possibly this Ibn Wabarah is simply another adornment to the narrative.

325. Neither of the two al-Ḥidrijāns found in Ibn al-Kalbi, Ḯamharat, II, 323, nor the one in Ibn Durayd, Isḥiṭiqaq, 327, seems remotely connected with this personage.


327. Al-Sukūnī al-Kindī. He was the Christian prince of Dūmat al-Jandal who was forced to pay tribute by the Prophet's expedition of 9/651 to Tabūk. At the Prophet's death in 11/632 he stopped and either migrated or was forced to migrate toward al-Ḥirah, near which he built a new Dūmah, according to Ibn al-Kalbi, Ḯamharat, I, 241; II, 566–67. This suggests that the Dūmah in question here may have been nearer to al-Ḥirah than Dūmat al-Jandal, which would better fit Khalid's itinerary in the text. See also Ṭabarî, I, 1702–3, 2374; Ibn Hishām, Sirāḥ, II, 526.

328. Unidentified.
Khālid then went along until he besieged the people of Dūmah, who were commanded by al-Jūdī b. Rabī‘ah, Wadi‘ah al-Kalbi, Ibn Rūmānis al-Kalbi, Ibn al-Ayham, and Ibn al-Ḥidrijān. Khālid put Dūmah between his own troops and the troops of ʻIyād. The Christian Arabs who had reinforced the people of Dūmah surrounded the fortress of Dūmah, for the fortress could not hold them. When Khālid was secure, al-Jūdī came out, bringing Wadi‘ah. They marched against Khālid, while Ibn al-Ḥidrijān and Ibn al-Ayham went forth against ʻIyād. They fought, and God defeated al-Jūdī and Wadi‘ah at the hands of Khālid, while ʻIyād defeated those facing him, and the Muslims pursued them. As for Khālid, he seized al-Jūdī most strongly, while al-Agra‘ b. Hābis took Wadi‘ah. The rest of the people recoiled into the fortress, which could not hold them [all]. When the fortress was full, those inside shut the fortress against their comrades, who remained around it, cut off. ʻĂṣīm b. ʻAmr said, “O Banū ʻAmr, the Kalb are your confederates. Be charitable to them and offer protection to them, for you cannot do anything else like it for them.” They did [as he said], and the reason they were saved on that day was ʻĂṣīm’s advice to the Banū ʻAmr concerning them.

Khālid came against those who had retreated toward the fortress and slew them until he blocked the gate of the fortress with them. Also, Khālid had al-Jūdī beheaded. Then he had the [other] captives beheaded, except for the captives from the Kalb, for ʻĂṣīm, al-Agra‘, and the Banū ʻAmr said, “We have given them a guarantee of safe-conduct.” Therefore, Khālid released them to them, but he said, “What is the matter between me and you? Do you keep the custom of the Jāhilīyyah and neglect the commandment of Islam?” ʻĂṣīm answered him, “Do not begrudge them well-being, and do not let the devil possess them [yuhawwizhum].” Then Khālid ap-

329. A great tribal grouping of northeastern Arabia, the Tamīm represented the archetypical Arab nomads more than nearly any other group. They consisted of three main branches—the Sa‘d, the Ḥanţalāh, and the ʻAmr—clans not belonging to these groups joined later. They were strongly represented in al- Başrah, al-Kūfah, and Khurāsān. See EP, s.v. Tamīm b. Murr; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 59; II, 7–10, 544.

330. Text: āsirūhum; read: āsūhum, as in Ms. IH and Cairo ed.

331. The pre-Islamic period, especially in Arabia, often translated as “the Age of Ignorance,” “ignorance” meaning ignorance of Islam; thus the term is used today to refer to what is un-Islamic. See EP, s.v. Djāhiliyya.

332. Another possible translation, based on the text of IK, is “do not give them over to the devil’s possession.”
proached the gate and did not leave it until he had torn it out. The Muslims rushed in upon the enemy, killing the troops and making captives of the children, whom they kept with those who were left over. Khâlid purchased the daughter of al-Jûdi, who[se beauty] was extolled. Khâlid remained at Dûmah but sent al-Aqra' back to al-Anbâr. When Khâlid was returning to al-Hirah and had gotten near enough to reach it by morning, al-Qâ‘qā’ made the people of al-Hirah welcome him; thus, they went out to meet him in celebration. Certain of them would say to others, "Pass on by us, for this is liberation from evil."

Al-Sârî — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭâlhâh, and al-Muḥallâb: While Khâlid was staying at Dûmah, the Persians [only] made suppositions about him, but the Arabs of al-Jâzîrah,333 being angry on account of `Aqqâh, wrote to them. As a result, Zarmir334 went forth from Baghdâdh335 with Rûzbih,336 and the two of them headed for al-Anbâr and set a meeting at Ḥuṣayd and al-Khanâfîs.337 Al-Zibrîqân, who was in command at al-Anbâr, wrote to al-Qâ‘qâ’ b. `Amr, who was at that time Khâlid's deputy in charge of al-Hirah. Al-Qâ‘qâ’ sent out A'bad b. Fadaki al-Sâdî,338 giving him charge of al-Ḥuṣayd, and also sent out `Urwh b. al-Ja’d al-Brîqi,339 giving him charge of al-Khanâfîs. He said to the two of them, "If you see any forward troops, advance boldly [against them]." They went forth and blocked the two Persians from [entering] the countryside, shut-
ting them up. Rūzbih and Zarmihr [did not engage] the Muslims while waiting for those of the Rabī’ah who had corresponded with them to gather, for they had been corresponding with each other and had agreed on a time to meet.

When Khālid returned from Dūmah to al-Hirah, on the eve of his departure, and that [news] reached him, when he had laid plans to attack the people of al-Madā’in, he disliked disobeying Abū Bakr and adding anything to his instructions. Therefore, he hastened to send al-Qa‘qā’ b. ‘Amr and Abū Laylā b. Fadakī against Rūzbih and Zarmihr. These two preceded him to ‘Ayn al-Tamr. A letter came to Khālid from Imru’ al-Qays al-Kalbī, saying that al-Hudhayl b. ‘Imrān had gathered troops at al-Muṣayyakh and Rabī’ah b. Bujayr was encamped at al-Thinī and at al-Bishr with troops. Both were angry on account of ‘Aqqah and were heading for Zarmihr and Rūzbih. Khālid went forth with al-Qa‘qa’ b. Hābis in command of his vanguard, leaving ‘Iyāḍ b. Ghanm as his deputy in charge of al-Hirah. He followed the route of al-Qa‘qā’ and Abū Laylā to al-Khanāfīs until he reached them at al-‘Ayn. Then he sent al-Qa‘qā’ to Ḥuṣayd, putting him in command of the troops, and he sent Abū Laylā to al-Khanāfīs. Khālid said [to the two of them], “Push them so that they may be gathered along with those who called on them for help in seeking revenge. And, if not, then attack them.” But the two [Persian commanders] refused except to remain in their positions.

340. Imru’ al-Qays b. al-‘Abdallāḥ of the Banū ‘Abdallāḥ; according to Sayf, he was the Prophet’s agent in charge of taxes for the Kalb. Tumādir bt. al-‘Abdallāḥ al-Kalbiyyah, also of the Banū ‘Abdallāḥ and the mother of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf’s son Abū Salamah, may have been his sister, but no Imru’ al-Qays appears among the sons of al-‘Abdallāḥ in Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 282. Therefore we may be faced with another of the siblings of distinguished persons with whom Sayf is wont to embellish his reports. See Tabari, I, 187; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, I, 63; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Istī‘āb, I, 107; Zubayr, Nasab, 267.

341. Al-‘Aṣbagh of the Banū ‘Abdallāḥ; according to Sayf, he was the Prophet’s agent in charge of taxes for the Banū ‘Abdallāḥ. Therefore we may be faced with another of the siblings of distinguished persons with whom Sayf is wont to embellish his reports. See Tabari, I, 187; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, I, 63; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Istī‘āb, I, 107; Zubayr, Nasab, 267.

343. The earlier form of the name of the present Jabal Bishri in the Syrian desert west of Dayr al-Zawr. See EP, s.v. al-Bishr; Musil, Middle Euphrates, 312.
When al-Qa‘qā‘ saw that Zarmihr and Rūzbih made no move, he set
off toward Ḥuṣayd. Rūzbih was in charge of those Arabs and Pers-
ians whom al-Qa‘qā‘ passed by. When Rūzbih saw that al-Qa‘qā‘
intended [to attack] him, he sought reinforcements from Zarmihr,
who came to his aid in person, leaving al-Mahbūdhan in charge of
his troops. The two sides met at Ḥuṣayd and fought. God slew the
Persians in great numbers. Al-Qa‘qā‘ killed Zarmihr, and Rūzbih
was also killed. Ḥismah b. Abdallah, one of the Banū al-Ḥārith b.
Ṭarīf of the Banū Ḏabbah, killed him. Ḥismah was one of al-barar-
rah. Every clan (fakhdh) that migrated in toto is called al-bararah,
whereas every group that migrated out of a tribe (baṭn) is called al-
khīyarah. Thus the Muslims consisted of khīyarah and bararah.
On the Day of Huṣayd the Muslims captured many spoils. The rem-
nants of Ḥuṣayd retreated to al-Khanāfīs and gathered there.

Al-Khanāfīs

[The same transmitters]: Abū Layla b. Fadaki set out with those al-
ready with him and those who had joined him for al-Khanāfīs. The
defeated remnants of Ḥuṣayd had retreated to al-Mahbūdhan. When
al-Mahbūdhan perceived [that], he and those with him fled, retreat-
ing to al-Muṣayyakh, where al-Hudhayl b. ‘Imrān was. Abū Laylā
met no treachery at al-Khanāfīs. They sent the news to Khālid to-
gether.

Al-Muṣayyakh of the Banū al-Barshā

[The same transmitters]: When the news reached Khālid about the
defeat of the forces at al-Ḥuṣayd and the flight of those at al-Khanā-

---

344. Unidentified and mentioned only by Sayf in this place.
345. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf. As the Dabbah were a part of the Tamīm
tribal division to which Sayf also belonged, the reports of Ḥismah’s rather exaggerated
and otherwise unattested exploits should not appear surprising. See Ibn Ḥājar, Isā-
bah, II, 482; Donner, Conquests, 195, 198, 373, 383, 436, 438.
346. The term al-bararah literally means “the righteous,” and al-khiyarah means
“the best.”
347. According to Ibn al-Kalbi, Ġamharat, I, 141; II, 224, and Ibn Ḥazm, Jam-
harah, 314, the Banū al-Barshā are Shaybān, Dhuḥl, and Qays, the sons of Tha‘labah,
three subtribes of the Bakr b. Wā’il. However, their genealogy suggests that this group
might have been associated with the Taghlib originally, which would better fit the
The Events of the Year 12

fis, he wrote to his own forces, appointing for al-Qa‘qā‘, Abū Laylā, A‘bad,348 and ‘Urwah a night and an hour on which they were to meet at al-Muṣayyakh, which is between Hawrān349 and al-Qalt.350 Khālid departed from al-‘Ayn, heading for al-Muṣayyakh on camels, avoiding horses. He stopped at al-Janāb,351 then al-Barādān,352 then al-Hiny,353 from which he then departed. When it was that [appointed] hour on the night of the rendezvous they all came together at al-Mugayyakh. Then from three directions they attacked al-Hudhayl, those with him and those who had fled to him, when [all of] them were asleep and slew them, though al-Hudhayl escaped with a few men. The ground was filled with the slain. The Muslims could liken them only to prostrated sheep.

Ḥurqūṣ b. al-Nu‘mān354 had given the non-Muslims sincere advice and excellent counsel, but they had not benefited from his warning. Ḥurqūṣ b. al-Nu‘mān said before the attack:

Did the two of them not give me to drink before the horses of Abū Bakr?

and so on. Ḥurqūṣ was married to a woman of the Banū Hilāl355 called Umm Taghlib. She was killed on that night along with ‘Ubdah b. Bishr, Imru‘ al-Qays b. Bishr, and Qays b. Bishr, who are the Banū al-Thawriyyah356 of the Banū Hilāl.

---

geographical location here on the upper Euphrates. Curiously, the following report reveals the inhabitants of al-Muṣayyakh not to have been of the Rabi‘ah at all, let alone of the Bakr or the Taghlib.

348. Abū Laylā and A‘bad are not the same person. Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, I, 110, understands them as brothers.


350. Possibly the wadi of Abū Jaltah, about 45 km. southwest of Hit. See Musil, Middle Euphrates, 310-11.

351. Possibly the spring of al-‘Aṣibiyah, 27 km. north-northwest of ‘Ayn al-Tamr. See Musil, Middle Euphrates, 311.

352. A large waterhole still having the same name, 10 km. beyond al-‘Aṣibiyah. See Musil, Middle Euphrates, 311.

353. A site 60 km. northwest of al-Barādān, also still bearing the same name. See Musil, Middle Euphrates, 311.

354. Either al-Bahrānī or al-Namāri. See Donner, Conquests, 312 n. 163, 333 n. 113.

355. A nomadic Qaysi tribe from western Najd, the Hilāl emigrated out of their homeland less than the other Qaysi tribes in this period. See EP, s.v Hilāl (tribe); Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 92; II, 15, 282.

356. This family and its members do not seem to be identifiable or to appear elsewhere.
On the Day of al-Muṣayyakh, Jarir b. ‘Abdallāh killed, among the Namir, ‘Abd al-'Uzza b. Abī Ruḥm b. Qirwāsh, one of the Aws Manāḥ of the Namir, who, along with Labīd b. Jarir, had a written document from Abū Bakr attesting their profession of Islam. ‘Abd al-'Uzza’s statement reached Abū Bakr, who had named him ‘Abdallāh on the night of the attack. Abū Bakr said, “Glory be to You, O God, the Lord of Muḥammad!” He paid the blood money for ‘Abd al-'Uzza, just as he paid it for Labīd, both of them having been slain in the battle. He also said, “But that is not required of me if they joined the fight against the Muslim army (ahl al-ḥarb).” He also appointed guardians to look after their children. ‘Umar held their slaying against Khālid, in addition to his killing of Mālik, that is, Ibn Nuwayrah. But Abū Bakr said, “The like of this is what those who dwell next to an army will find in their lands.” ‘Abd al-'Uzza had said:

I say when the morning brings an attack,

“Glory be to You, O God, the Lord of Muḥammad.

Glory be to my Lord, there is no god but He,

the Lord of the lands and the Lord of newcomers.”

Al-Sarī — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — ‘Atiyyah — ‘Adi b. Ḥātim: We attacked the people of al-Muṣayyakh. A man appeared there called by his name Ḥurqūṣ b. al-Nu‘mān of the Namir. Around him were his sons and his wife. In their midst was a vat of wine, with which they were busy. The family said to Ḥurqūṣ, “Who will drink at this hour and in the latter part of the night?” He replied, “Drink a parting draft, for I do not think that you will drink wine after it. Here is...

357. For the Aws Manāḥ, see Ibn al-Kalbi, Ḥamharat, I, 167. The element Qirwāsh could be a confusion with the Qawqān that appears in Ibn al-Kalbi’s tree, for the consonantal outlines of the two words in Arabic are similar.

358. Almost certainly the same as the Labīd b. ‘Utbah al-Namari mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbi, Ḥamharat, I, 167; II, 375, for the latter was also of the Aws Manāḥ and was slain by Khālid. The appearance of the element Jarīr in his name presumably is a confusion with the name of Jarīr b. ‘Abdallāh al-Bajali, who also appears in this report.

359. He was a chief of the Tamīmī Yarbu’ who was killed by Dirār b. Mālik al-‘Azwār during the Riddah wars of 11/632. ‘Umar held his killing against Khālid b. al-Walīd, and it became a famous episode. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Ḥamharat, I, 69, II, 393; Ibn Khayyāt, Ta‘rīkh, 75, 83–84; Baladhuri, Ansāb, I, 530; Ṭabarī, I, 1750, 1880, 1909, 1912, 1921–24, 1926–27, 1963; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, III, 357.

360. Possibly, the lands in the line may refer to Iraq with its original inhabitants, whereas the newcomers (lit., “those who come to water”) may refer to the Arab Muslim migrants to it.
Khālid at al-‘Ayn, while his troops are at Huṣayd. He has heard about our mustering and will not leave us alone.’ Then he said:

Will you not drink before the disaster,

a little after the people have been puffed up with abundant dregs
And before our deaths, which by fate will strike

at a time that will neither increase nor decrease.

Certain of the horsemen hastened toward him while he was in the middle of that and struck his head, [knocking] him into his vat. We took his daughters captive and slew his sons.

Al-Thanī\(^{361}\) and al-Zumayl\(^{362}\)

Rabī‘ah b. Bujayr al-Taghlibi had descended on al-Thanī and al-Bishr out of anger for ‘Aqqah and set an appointed time to meet Rūzbih, Zarmihr, and al-Hudhayl. After Khālid had struck the forces at al-Muṣayyakh with what he struck them with, he went to al-Qa‘qā‘ and Abū Laylā, commanding them to set out ahead of him. On the night on which they parted, he appointed for them a time when they would come together, attacking the enemy from three directions, as he had done to the forces at al-Muṣayyakh. Then Khālid went forth from al-Muṣayyakh, stopping at Hawrān, then al-Ranq,\(^{363}\) then al-Ḥamāh,\(^{364}\) which today belongs to the Banū Junādah b. Zuhayr\(^{365}\) of the Kalb, then al-Zumayl, which is al-Bishr including al-Thanī, both of which today are east of al-Ruṣāfah.\(^{366}\)

Khālid started at al-Thanī, which he and his companions, coming together from three directions, attacked by night along with those who had gathered to [defend] it and had come to it, as well as those young men\(^{367}\) who had joined in a motley group [there] for that [purpose]. The Muslims unsheathed their swords against them, and no

\(^{361}\) Same as al-Thiny, note 342, above.

\(^{362}\) Identified by Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 312, with the rise of al-Zumaylī in the flatland north of Jabal Bishri.

\(^{363}\) Emended by Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 312–13, to al-Rathqah, a waterhole about 140 km. northwest of 'Aqlat Hawrān.

\(^{364}\) Unidentified place.


\(^{366}\) Ancient Sergiopolis, the famous city 40 km. south of the Euphrates in Syria. See *El* I, s.v. al-Ruṣāfah; Musil, *Palmyrena*, 260–72.

\(^{367}\) Text: *al-sha‘n*; read: *al-shubbān*, as IH and Cairo ed.
66 The Caliphate of Abu Bakr al-Šiddiq

one of that army escaped to deliver the news. Khalid took the children captive, sent God's fifth to Abu Bakr with al-Nu'mān b. 'Awf b. al-Nu'mān al-Shaybānī,368 and divided the spoils and the captives [among his troops]. 'Ali b. Abī Ṭalib bought the daughter369 of Rabī'ah b. Bujayr al-Taghibi, taking her [for himself], and she bore him 'Umar370 and Ruqayyah.371

Al-Hudhayl, when he had escaped, took refuge at al-Zumayl with 'Attāb b. So-and-So,372 who was at al-Bishr with a large force. Khalid attacked them at night with an attack like the last one, from three directions. They had already heard the news about Rabī'ah. They were slain in great numbers, unlike the numbers killed before. The Muslims got from them what they wanted. Khalid had taken an oath that he would most certainly seek out the Taghib in their own homeland. Khalid divided their spoils among the men and sent the fifths to Abu Bakr with al-Sabbāh b. So-and-So al-Muzani.373 In the fifths were the daughter of Mu'dhin al-Namari,374 Laylā bt. Khālid,375 and Rayhānāt bt. al-Hudhayl b. Hubayrah.376

Then Khalid turned from al-Bishr toward al-Rudāb,377 where Hīlāl b. 'Aqqah378 was. His troops had deserted him when they heard of

---

368. Meant to be the son of the 'Awf b. al-Nu'mān mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbi, Čamharat, I, 147; II, 21, this al-Nu'mān seems to be mentioned only by Sayf.
369. Umm Ḥabīb al-Sabba'. Ibn al-Kalbi calls her the daughter of Ḥabīb b. Bujayr and, with Ibn Sa'd, reports she was captured at 'Ayn al-Tamr. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Čamharat, I, 164; II, 535; Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, III, 20; V, 117; al-Zubayrī, Nasab, 42.
371. 'Umar's twin sister, she married her paternal first cousin Muslim b. 'Aqīl, to whom she bore at least three sons. See Zubayrī, Nasab, 45.
372. Unidentified.
373. Unidentified.
374. Unidentified.
375. Unidentified.
376. Al-Taghibiyah; she is supposed to have been the daughter of a famous Taghibi leader who flourished c. 610 C.E. She is not mentioned elsewhere, however. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Čamharat, I, 163; II, 286; Ibn Durayd, Ishtiqāq, 336.
377. Probably a place at or near al-Ruṣāfah is meant. See Yaqūt, Mu'jam, III, 50; Musil, Middle Euphrates, 313.
378. Al-Namari, the son of 'Aqqah b. Qays, who had already been killed at 'Ayn al-Tamr. See above, pp. 53–55. In Ibn lāshq's report, p. 124, below, however, his name is given as Hīlāl b. 'Aqqah b. Bishr. Probably Qays, not Bishr, is correct, as Bishr is probably owing to a corruption introduced by the name of Jabal al-Bishr that occurs in his story here. See Tabari, I, 191 r, etc.; Ibn al-Kalbi, Čamharat, I, 167.
Khālid’s approach, and Hilāl drew back from it, so that Khālid did not meet any treachery there.

Al-Firād

Then, after al-Rudāb and his surprise attack on the Taghlib, Khālid headed for al-Firād. Al-Firād is [on] the border of Syria, Iraq, and al-Jazīrah. He completed the fast of Ramaḍān on that journey,379 in which the attacks and battles had been continuous, one after another380—the rajaz381 poets often speak of them—connected with whatever battles had gone before.

Al-Sarī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah, as well as ‘Amr b. Muḥammad—a man from the Banū Sa‘d—Zafar b. Dahi,382 and al-Muhallab b. ‘Uqbah: When the Muslims came together at al-Firād, the Romans became hot and angry and sought help from the nearby outposts of the Persians, who had also become hot and angry and sought reinforcements from the Taghlib, Iyād, and Namir.383 These supplied them with reinforcements, then came to blows with Khalīd, so that when the Euphrates was between them they said, “Either cross over to us, or we will cross over to you.” Khalīd answered them, “Rather, cross over to us.” They said, “Then back away so that we may cross.” Khalīd replied, “We will not do [that], but cross over downriver from us.” That was in the middle of Dhū al-Qa‘dah of the year 12 (21 January 634).

The Romans and the Persians said to one another: “Keep your sovereignty in your own hands. This is a man who is fighting on the basis of religion. He has intelligence and knowledge. By God, he will most definitely be victorious, whereas we will most certainly fail.” But they did not profit from that [advice] and crossed the river below Khālid. When their lines were complete, the Romans said, “Wear distinctive emblems so that we may know from which of us came

---

379. That puts him on his way to al-Firād on 1 Shawwāl 12 [9 December 633].
380. Or “like pearls on a string.”
381. One of the Arabic poetic meters, the only one allowing for couplets instead of continuous rhyme. See EP, Supplement, s.v. Radjaz.
382. Vocalization of Dahi conjectural. His mention in Ibn Hajar, Isābah, II, 243, is culled entirely from Sayf.
383. J. W. Fück, in EP, s.v. Iyād, considers the claim that Khālid defeated all these groups together dubious.
what was good or bad today," and they did [this]. Thereupon, they fought a long, hard battle. Then God defeated the enemy. Khalid said to the Muslims, "Press your pursuit of them. Do not grant them any respite." The cavalry commander would corner a group of them with the spears of his men; having collected them, they would kill them. On the day of al-Firād, one hundred thousand were slain in the battle and the pursuit.

After the battle Khālid stayed at al-Firād for ten [days], then announced the return to al-Ḥīrah on 25 Dhū al-Qa‘dah [31 January 634]. He commanded ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr to lead them on their journey and ordered Shajarah b. al-Aʿazz to take charge of the rear. Khālid himself gave out that he was in the rear.

Khālid’s Pilgrimage

Abū Jaʿfar: Khālid set out as a pilgrim from al-Firād on 25 Dhū al-Qa‘dah [31 January 634] but kept his pilgrimage a secret. He had with him a number of his companions. He wandered through the land randomly until he arrived at Mecca by dead reckoning. That came to him easily, in a way that it would not come to either guide or wolf. He traveled on one of the roads of the people of al-Jazirah; no stranger way nor one more appropriate than it, despite its difficulty, has been seen. Therefore his absence from the troops was short, so that the last of them had not arrived in al-Ḥīrah before he came to them in the company of the commander of the rear whom he had appointed, and the two of them arrived together. Khālid and his companions had shaven their heads. His pilgrimage was unknown except to those in the rear whom he had told about that. Abū Bakr did not learn of that until later, when he reproached him for it. His punishment was that he was sent to Syria.

Khālid’s journey from al-Firād [crossed] the width of the land randomly by his own reckoning. The road from al-Firād passed through

---

385. His mention in Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II, 165, derives only from Sayf, which shows that he was unknown except in Sayf’s report. It is possible that his name was either confused with or suggested by that of the poet Abū Shajarah b. Abū Uzza al-Sulami, who returned to Islam in 111/632 and might have joined Khālid’s forces. On Abū Shajarah, see Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, III, 5, IV, 101.
386. See Musil, Middle Euphrates, 314.
387. Text: ribāl; read: riʿbāl, with Cairo ed.
388. Text: asadd; read: asadd. See Tabari, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DCXII.
The Events of the Year 1176

Mā' al-‘Anbari,389 then Mithqab,390 then ended at Dhāt al-‘Irq.391

The road then headed east from there, bringing him from ‘Arafāt392 to al-Firād. That road is named al-Sudd.393 A letter from Abū Bakr came to him when he had just returned to al-Ḥirah from his pilgrimage. It ordered him to Syria, bringing him both nearer and farther.

Abū Ja‘fār — his authorities: The letter of Abū Bakr came to Khālid at al-Ḥirah when he had just returned from his pilgrimage. It said,

Go until you reach the Muslim armies at al-Yarmūk,394 for they are distressed and causing distress. Do not by any means return to the like of what you have done, for your worry will not, with God’s help, worry the masses of the troops, and your method of removing the people’s distress will never remove it. May your intention395 and your favored position gladden you, Abū Sulaymān! Therefore, complete [your work], so that God may make [it] complete for you. Do not by any means let self-admiration enter you, so that you lose and fail. See that you do not rely upon any work [of yours], for God controls the bestowal of favor, and He is the Owner of reward.


389. Unidentified.
390. In the territory of the tribe of Asad, it is to be located near al-Buzākhah, which was an area about 50 km. southwest of Hā‘il, according to Musil, Northern Neğd, 222–23. Yaqūt, Mu‘jam, V, 54, is not very helpful.
391. Properly Dhāt ‘Irq, it is a station two stages [about 90 km.] northeast of Mecca just below the Hijāz escarpment on the pilgrimage route from al-Kūfah. It is also the miqāt for the pilgrims coming from Iraq, meaning that they must don the pilgrim’s garb there, if not before. See Iṣṭakhrī, Masālik, 27; Ibn Khuradadhbih, Masālik, 125, 132, 147, 186, 190; Ibn Rustah, A‘lāq, 179–81; Ibn al-Faqīh, Buldān, 26–27; Ibn Hawqal, Sūrat al-Ard, 34; Muqaddasī, Taqāsīm, 78, 106, 109.
392. The famous plain some 22 km. east of Mecca where the pilgrims assemble annually on 10 Dhu al-Hijjah. See EP, s.v. ‘Arafa.
393. Possibly this name refers to the mountain al-Sudd in the territory of the Ghaṭafān. See Yaqūt, Mu’jam, III, 197.
394. This is the river, still bearing the same name, that separates the present-day states of Syria and Jordan. It was the site of the decisive battle that gave the Muslims control of Syria. See EP, s.v. al-Yarmūk; Ṭabarī, I, 2347–49; Ibn Khayyāt, Ta‘rikh, 118–19; Kūfī, Futūḥ, I, 218–71.
395. Or “prosperity” [Ar. na‘mah], following Ms. IH.
396. He is mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbī, Ṣamḥārat, I, 107; II, 277, as al-Haytham al-Muqatta‘a b. Hubayrah; therefore the name given here is probably a confusion.
of the battles of the conquest among the people of al-Kufah would
make threats at Mu`awiyah upon [hearing] certain things that
reached them. They would say: "What does Mu`awiyah want? We
are the men of Dhät al-Saläsill!" They would name what was be-
tween it and al-Firäød without mentioning what was after, out of con-
tempt for what was after in comparison to what occurred before.

`Umar b. Shabbah — `Ali b. Muḥammad, according to the last-
mentioned isnād: Khālid b. al-Walid came to al-Anbār. They made
peace with him on condition of [their] evacuating, but then they gave
him something he was content with, so that he confirmed them [in
their possessions]. He also raided the market of Baghdād398 from
the district (rustāq) of al-`Āl.399 He sent al-Muthanna to attack a
market in which there was a gathering of the Quḍā`ah400 and the
Bakr, and he took what was in the market. Then he401 went to Ayn
al-Tamr and took it by force, killing and taking captives. He sent the
captives to Abū Bakr. They were the first Persian captives to come
to Medina. He then went to Dumat al-Jandal, where he killed Ukay-
dir and took captive the daughter of al-Jūdi. After this, he returned
and stayed at al-Hirah. All this was in the year 12.

In this year `Umar married `Atikah bt. Zayd.402

In it Abū Marthad al-Ghanawi403 died.

397. This is the caliph Mu`awiyah b. Abī Sufyān, who reigned 40–60/661–80. See
EI, s.v. Mu`awia.

398. This would appear to be the predecessor of Baghdād, the `Abbāsid capital on
the west side of the Tigris.

399. That is, from the west. Ustān al-`Āl consisted of a large district containing the
territory on the ʻIsā Canal between al-Anbār and Baghdad. It appears to have been
much larger that a rustāq, being rather an ustān. See Ibn Khurūdbihbīh, Masālik, 7,
235; Ibn al-Faqqīh, Buldān, 199; Muqaddasī, Taqāsīm, 133; Yāqūt, Mu`jam, IV, 70–
71; Le Strange, Lands, 80; Morony, Iraq, 145. On the usage of ustān and rustāq, see
Morony, Iraq, 129, 534, 536.

400. A great Arab tribal grouping, the Quḍā`ah basically represented the original
tribes of northwestern Arabia and Syria. See EP, s.v. Quḍā`; Ibn al-Kalbī, Gam-
harat, I, 274; II, 73–76, 470; Ibn `Abd al-Barr, Inbāh, 59–64; Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharah,
8, 440.

401. That is, Khālid.

402. A close relative of `Umar from the same Qurashi clan, the `Adi, she was suc-
cessively the wife of `Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr, `Umar’s brother Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb,
`Umar himself, and finally al-Zubayr b. al-`Awwām. `Iyāū b. `Umar was her son. She
died after 36/656. See EP, s.v. `Atika; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, IV, 356–57; Zubayrī, Nasab,
277, 349, 365–66.

403. Kannāz b. al-Ḥuṣayn, he fought for Islam at Badr, was present at the conquest of
Mecca, and died at Medina at the age of sixty-six. He was said to have been a con-
federate of Ḥamzah, the Prophet’s uncle, and thus was counted among the Quraysh.
The Events of the Year 12

In it Abū al-‘Āṣī b. al-Rabī’\(^{404}\) died in Dhū al-Ḥijjah (6 February–6 March 634). He made al-Zubayr\(^{405}\) the executor of his will. ‘Ali married his daughter.\(^{406}\)

In it ‘Umar bought his mawlā Aslam.\(^{407}\)

There is a disagreement about who led the pilgrimage in this year. Some say Abū Bakr led it.

**Those Who Say Abū Bakr Led the Pilgrimage**

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Ishāq — al-‘Ala’ b. Ya’qūb, the mawlā of the Ḥuraqah\(^{408}\) — a man from the Banū Sahm\(^{409}\) — Ibn Mājidah al-Sahmī: Abū Bakr made the pilgrimage

---

\(^{404}\) A noble Qurashi, the husband of the Prophet’s eldest daughter Zaynab, he became a Muslim in 6/627. See Ibn Hajar, Ḥajār, IV, 121–23.

\(^{405}\) The well-known Companion, cousin of the Prophet’s wife Khadijah, husband of Abū Bakr’s daughter Asmā’, father of the anti-Umayyad Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, he is best known for his role in the Battle of the Camel in 36/656, in which he was slain fighting ‘Ali. See EI, s.v. al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām.

\(^{406}\) This daughter, Umāmah, born before 8/630, died before 61/680, had for her mother Zaynab, the eldest daughter of the Prophet Muhammad, and thus had the Prophet’s blood in her veins. Later ‘Ali married her, and she bore him Muhammad al-Awsat, who died young. When ‘Ali had died, her distant Hāshimi cousin al-Mughirah b. Nawfal b. al-Harith b. ‘Abd al-Muttalib married her to prevent Mu`awiyah from doing so. She bore a son, Yabýy, to al-Mughirah. She also remained al-Mughirah’s wife for more than twenty years and went into exile with him at al-Ṣafra’, where both died. The existence of her children leaves the possibility that descendants having the Prophet’s blood from other than the line of Fātimah may exist, though none is attested in the nasab books. See Baladhuri, Ansāb, I, 400; Ya’qubi, Tārikh, II, 253; Ibn Ḥajar, Ḥajār, IV, 236–37; Ibn Hazm, Jamharat, 16. Interestingly, Zubayrī, Nasab, 22, specifically denies that Umāmah had any children, and on p. 88 he claims that Nawfal b. al-Harith b. ‘Abd al-Muttalib has no descendants in the male line.

\(^{407}\) An important transmitter of tradition, with access to the house of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, he seems to have died c. 64/684 in Syria. He is said to have been of Ethiopian origin, specifically from the Cushitic Beja people, but also, with less probability, to have been among the captives from ‘Ayn al-Tamr. See Ibn Sa’d, Ṭabaqāt, V, 10–11; Ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, 99; Ibn Ḥajar, Ṣahīh, I, 266.


\(^{409}\) One of the clans of the Quraysh of Mecca. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Jamharat, I, 4, II, 498; Watt, Muhammad at Mecca, 5–7, 94.

The Caliphate of Abū Bakr al-Śiddiq

in his caliphate in the year 12, when I had viciously fought a boy from my family. The boy bit my ear, cutting off a piece of it, or I bit his ear and cut off a piece of it. Our matter was referred to Abū Bakr, who said, "Take the two of them to 'Umar so that he can look [into it]. If one causing the injury has reached adulthood, then let 'Umar punish him." When we were brought to 'Umar he said: "By my life, this one has certainly reached adulthood. Call a cupper for me!"

When he mentioned the cupper 'Umar said, "Did I not hear the Prophet say, 'I gave my maternal aunt a boy. I hope that God will give her a blessing in him. I have forbidden her to make him into a cupper, a butcher, or a goldsmith.'" Then he punished the other boy.411

Al-Wāqidi—'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar—Abū Wajzah Yazid b. 'Ubayd—his father—Abū Bakr made the pilgrimage in the year 12. He appointed 'Uthmān b. 'Affān as his deputy in charge of Medina. Some authorities report that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb led the pilgrimage in the year 12.

Those Who Say 'Umar Led the Pilgrimage

Ibn Humayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq: Some people say that Abū Bakr did not make the pilgrimage in his caliphate and that in the year 12 he sent either 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb or 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf415 to take charge of the [pilgrimage] season.

411. This entire report also appears in Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad, I, 17, where the text differs only slightly. Interestingly, Ibn Ḥanbal's report does not specify the year. His version is also distinguished by a different chain of transmitters from Ibn Ishāq on down.

412. A descendant of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. His family was in the service of the early 'Abbāsids, when two of his first cousins [or brothers] held high posts in the administration of Medina. See Zubayrī, Nasab, 360.

413. An Arab mawla of the Sa'd b. Bakr b. Hawāzin, he was a Medinan poet and traditionist, who died in 130/748. See Iṣbahānī, Aghānī, XI, 79–85; Ibn Hajar, Taḥdib, XI, 349.

414. Improbably said to have been a contemporary of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. See Iṣbahānī, Aghānī, XI, 79–80.

415. Al-Zuhri, one of the great Companions of the Prophet and a part of the Qurashi aristocracy. He is credited especially with a major role in the election of the caliph 'Uthmān. He left an enormous progeny of some twenty sons and at least eight daughters who are named in the sources. Many of these were later transmitters of tradition who always were sure to emphasize his role, as did also his other relatives at Medina, like Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri and al-Miswar b. Makhramah. He died in 32/653 at the age of seventy-two. See EJ, s.v. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf; Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, III, 324–37; Zubayrī, Nasab, 265–73; Ibn Hazm, Jamḥarah, 131–35; Ibn Hajar, Iṣābah, II, 416–17.
The Events of the Year

(MARCH 7, 634—FEBRUARY 24, 635)

This year Abū Bakr sent the armies to Syria after his return from Mecca to Medina.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishaq: When Abū Bakr returned from the pilgrimage of the year 12, he prepared the armies [to go] to Syria. He sent out ‘Amr b. al-ʿAṣî 416 in the direction of Palestine. 417 ‘Amr took the road of al-Muʿriqah 418 to Aylah. 419 Abū Bakr

416. Al-Saḥmi. He earned fame for his military exploits, particularly the conquest of Egypt, which he then governed twice. He embraced Islam in 8/629. He supported Muʿāwiya in the civil war and is supposed to have played an important role in the arbitration that followed Ṣifīn. He died in office in 43/663. His mother was from the ʿAnāzah. See EP, s.v. ‘Amr b. al-ʿAṣ; Zubayrī, Nasāb, 409–11; Ibn Ḥājar, ʿIsābāh, III, 2–3.

417. Ar. Filāṣṭīn. Although this is a well-known geographical term, it should be noted that the boundaries of late Roman Palestine were not the same as those of the modern territory established under the British Mandate. Roman Palestine consisted of three provinces, Palaestina Prima, Secunda, and Salutaris, embracing some territory east of the Jordan and also extending into what is now southern Lebanon. Early Muslim Filāṣṭīn, however, basically consisted of only the Roman Palaestina Prima, extending from the Mount Carmel ridge in the north to Gaza and the desert in the south. Any specific report in this volume could refer to either the wider Roman or the narrower early Muslim definition. See Le Strange, Palestine, 26–35; EP, s.v. Filāṣṭīn; also see map in this volume.

418. Lit. “the sweat causing.” It is the road from Mecca to Syria via the humid Red Sea coast. See Caetani, Annali, II, 1121 n. 3; Donner, Conquests, 115.

419. A town at the northern end of the Gulf of ʿAqabah, located just to the northwest of the present Jordanian city of al-ʿAqabah. See EP, s.v. Ayla; Le Strange, Palestine, 549.
also sent out Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān,420 Abū `Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ,421 and Shuraḥbīl b. Hasanah, who was one of the Ghawth, commanding them to follow the Tabūk422 road to al-Balqā',423 [approaching] from the higher part of Syria.

`Umar b. Shabbah — `Ali b. Muḥammad, according to the isnād that I have previously mentioned — his authorities who have been mentioned before: Then Abū Bakr sent the troops to Syria at the beginning of the year 13. The first standard that he assigned was the standard of Khalīd b. Saīd b. al-`Aṣī. Then he removed him before he had gone, appointing Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān [instead]. He was the first of the commanders who set out for Syria. They went forth with seven thousand [troops].

Abū Ja`far — Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Ishāq — `Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr:424 The reason for Abū Bakr's removal of Khalīd b. Saīd was that Khalīd b. Saīd, on coming from Yemen after the death of the Messenger of God, held back for two months from rendering the oath of allegiance to him. Khalīd would say, "The Messenger of God gave me a command and did not remove me after that until God took him." Khalīd had met `Ali b. Abī Ṭalib and `Uthmān b. `Affān and

---


422. An important city in the northernmost Hijāz of Saudi Arabia, it has kept its original name. See EP, s.v. Taḥbūk.

423. Basically al-Balqā' is the plateau east of the Jordan River, corresponding roughly to the modern state of Jordan. In early Islamic times it was both a region and an administrative district. Its capital was `Ammān. It included at the minimum the land from the Wādi al-Zarqā' in the north to the Wādi al-Mūjib in the south. Thus it appears to have corresponded partially to the defunct Ghassānīd phylarchy. See EP, s.v. al-Balqā'; Ibn Khurdadhbih, Masālik, 77; Ya`qūbī, Buldān, 326; Muqaddasi, Taqāsīm, 187; Yāqūt, Mu`jam, I, 489; Le Strange, Palestine, 32–35, 41.

424. `Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. `Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī, he was a Medinan traditionist from a family of early traditionists and jurists and therefore well placed to transmit the Medinan tradition. He died in 130/748 or 135/753. See Ibn Ḥajar, Taḥdhib, V, 164–65.
said, "'O Banū 'Abd Manāf, you have willingly renounced your [right to] command; others have taken it up." As for Abū Bakr, he did not hold it against him, but, as for 'Umar, he harbored a secret grudge against him on account of it. Then Abū Bakr sent the troops forth to Syria. The first man he put in command of a division (rub') of them was Khālid b. Sa'id. But 'Umar took to saying, "Are you going to put him in command even though he has done what he has done and has said what he has said?" He kept on [about it] with Abū Bakr until the latter dismissed him and appointed Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān to command.

Al-Sari — Shu'ayb — Sayf — Mubashshir b. Fudayl — Jubayr b. Šakhr, the Prophet's guard — his father: Khālid b. Sa'id b. al-'Aṣi was in Yemen at the time of the Prophet, being [still] there when the Prophet died. He came [to Medina] a month after his death wearing a silken robe. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib encountered him. 'Umar shouted at those with him: "Rip up his robe! Can he wear silk and be left alone, in peace, in the midst of our men?" At this they ripped up his robe. Khālid said: "'O Abū Hasan! 'O Banū 'Abd Manāf! Have you been defeated regarding it?" 'Ali answered, "Is it a power struggle that you prefer or a caliphate?" Khālid responded, "No one will struggle over this matter who is more deserving of it than you, 'O Banū 'Abd Manāf."'Umar said to Khālid: "May God break your teeth! By God, [if] a liar will not cease talking about what I have said, then he will harm only himself." After this 'Umar reported to Abū Bakr what Khālid had said. When Abū Bakr assigned the commands for the fight against the apostates, he included Khālid among those whom he appointed. 'Umar [sought to] prevent him from doing that, saying: "He is bound to fail. He is too impulsive (da'if al-tarwi'ah). He has indeed told such a lie that whoever propagates it or talks about it will not leave the earth." Therefore

425. The Banū 'Abd Manāf were the branch of the Quraysh from which the Prophet's family, the 'Alids, the Umayyads, and the 'Abbāsids were all derived. Here Khālid b. Sa'id, who also was one of them, is taunting them for allowing Abū Bakr to become ruler, for the latter was not of the 'Abd Manāf, who had hitherto possessed the command. See EP, s.v Quraysh; Watt, Muhammad at Mecca, 5-7, 13, 17.
426. Apparently yet another transmitter mentioned only by Sayf.
427. Unidentifiable, but evidently not a Companion. Perhaps his title is meant to indicate he was the guardian of the Prophet's tomb. His only other mention is in Tabari, I, 2575, where he transmits from 'Āsim b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who lived c. 6/627 to 70-73/689-692. See Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb, V, 53.
428. 'Al. lā yufäriq al-ardh mudlin bihā aw khā'idun fihā. This obscure phrase
do not seek his aid." But Abū Bakr did not go along with him, rather putting Khalid in command of support troops at Taymā'.

He followed 'Umar in part of his affair and resisted him in part.

Al-Sari - Shuʿayb - Sayf - Abū Ishāq al-Shaybānī - Abū Sajjāyyah al-Taymī [of the] Taym b. Shaybān, Talḥah - al-Mughirah, and Muḥammad - Abū ‘Uthmān: Abū Bakr commanded Khalid to stay at Taymā'. He went forth in a detachment until he stopped at Taymā'. Abū Bakr had ordered him not to leave it, to summon those around him to join him, to accept only those who had not apostatized, and to fight only those who fought against him until he received a different command. Thus he remained, and large numbers [of troops] joined him. The Romans, on hearing of the hugeness of that army, levied forces in Syria from the adjoining Arabs to send against the Muslims. Khalīd b. Saʿīd wrote to Abū Bakr about that and about the gathering of those whom the Romans had mobilized and those who had joined them from the Bahrā', the Kalb, the Saḥil, the Tanūkh, the Lakhm, the Judhazn, and the Ghassān, from the near side of Zīzân at Thuluth. Abū Bakr wrote back to him: "Advance, and do not flinch. Seek God's help."

would seem to imply that Khalīd's supporters should not be allowed to set out in further military campaigns.

Text: yaḥtamil; read: yaḥtamil, with Cairo ed. and Tabari, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, Dcxi.

An important oasis in the northern Hijāz between Khaybar and Tabūk, it has retained the same name to the present. See El, s.v. Taymā'.

Sulaymān b. Abī Sulaymān Fayruz, the mawla of the Shaybān. He was a Kufan traditionist, who died between 129/747 and 142/759, probably nearer to the former, in which case Saʿīf can barely have transmitted from him. He enjoyed a high reputation. See Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt, VI, 345; Ibn Khayyāt, Taʾrikh, 641; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, IV, 197–98.

Unidentified.

An Arab tribe concentrated in the region of Hawrān in Syria, the Salīb seem to be little mentioned after this time and perhaps were absorbed by other groups. See El, s.v. Salīb, Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 279; II, 86, 507. See also note 322, above.

The ruling tribe of al-Hirah in Iraq, the Syrian branch of the Lakhm seems to have migrated as early as the fourth century C.E. to the area of Hawrān, al-Jawlān, and Palestine, where it was absorbed by the Judhām. See El, s.v. Lakhm; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 176; II, 53–56, 375–76; Donner, Conquests, 105–6.

A major Arab tribe of Palestine, Transjordan, and northwestern Arabia at the time of the conquest and later. See El, s.v. Djudhām; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 176; II, 53–56, 264; Donner, Conquests, 105–6.

A village in central Jordan east of the Dead Sea, less than 30 km. south of 'Ammān on the pilgrimage route; it is now al-Jīzah. See Yāqūt, Muʾjam, III, 163–64; Le Strange, Palestine, 393, 554–55.

Unidentified.
The Events of the Year 13

Thus Khālid set off toward them. When he had drawn near them they split up, abandoning their camp, whereupon Khālid made camp there. Nearly all those who had gathered against him entered Islam. Khālid wrote to Abū Bakr about that, and Abū Bakr wrote back to him, "Advance, but do not make any attacks, so that you will not be assaulted from the rear." Therefore he set off with those who had gone forth with him from Taymā' and those who had joined him from the edge of the sand until they stopped in the area between Abīl, Zizā', and al-Qasṭal. One of the Roman patricians called Bāhan came against him, but Khālid defeated him, slaying his troops. He wrote about that to Abū Bakr and asked him for reinforcements.

The first of the recruits of Yemen and what is between Mecca and Yemen had come to Abū Bakr, among them Dhu al-Kala`. Also 'Ikrimah came back to him, having campaigned with those who

---

438. This presumably refers to the great Nufūd Desert of northwestern Arabia.
439. That is, Abīl al-Zayt, which is mentioned by Yāqūt, Mu'jam, I, 50; Le Strange, Palestine, 382. Its site is near the present village of Ḥartā in northernmost Jordan just south of the Yarmūk River.
440. A town of al-Balqā', 25 km. south of 'Ammān and hence directly adjacent to Zizā'. Though the existing fort there dates from Umayyad times, the town most likely already existed before, especially as the name seems to reproduce the Latin castellum. Numerous Qāstāls exist in greater Syria. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, IV, 347; Le Strange, Palestine, 483; Creswell and Allan, Early Muslim Architecture, 173–77.
441. This Roman general, who is called Baanes by Theophanes, was probably of Armenian origin (Bāhan = Vahan). He may have joined Herakleios when the latter passed through Armenia in his fight against the Sāsānians, for he is first recorded defeating the Persians in northern Iraq in late Rajab 6 (early December 627). Later, at the Yarmūk, he was defeated and killed, though Ibn al-Bīṭrīq, Ta'rikh, II, 15, says that he escaped and fled Herakleios's wrath by becoming a monk at Mount Sinai. Dissensions caused by him may have contributed to the defeat, though it would seem unlikely that he would have been declared emperor as asserted by Theophanes. See Theophanes, Chronicle, 23, 37–38; Stratos, Byzantium, II, 58–72, 206–9. He is identified by Ibn Khayyāt, Ta'rikh, 118, who erroneously calls him Ḥāhān, as a Persian who became a Christian, which lends some support to an Armenian origin for him. On Theophanes's dating being off by a year, see Theophanes, Chronicle, xvii–xviii.
443. 'Ikrimah b. 'Abī Jahl 'Amr al-Makhzūmī. He was the son of the Prophet's most irreconcilable opponent and himself remained an opponent of Islam until after the conquest of Mecca in 8/630. After he embraced Islam, however, he threw into it much of the energy that had characterized his earlier opposition, was entrusted by Abū Bakr
The Caliphate of Abu Bakr al-Šiddiq

had been with him from Tihāmah, Umān, al-Bahrayn, and al-Sarw. Abu Bakr wrote on their behalf to those in charge of taxes (al-šadaqāt) that they replace those who asked to be replaced. All of the troops asked to be replaced, so the army was named the Replacement Army (jaysh al-bidal). Then they went to Khalid b. Saʿid.

At this point Abu Bakr became anxious on account of Syria, whose matter caused him concern. Abu Bakr had sent `Amr b. al-`Aṣī back to a post to which the Messenger of God had appointed him — that of [overseeing] the taxation of the Sa’d Hudhaym, and those associated with them of the Judhām and the Hadas — before his going to Umān. Then he departed for Umān with a promise that his office would be restored to him when he returned. Abu Bakr fulfilled that promise. When he became anxious about Syria, Abu Bakr wrote to `Amr, saying, “I have restored you to the office to which the Messenger of God appointed you once and
named you once more, when you were sent to 'Uman. [I have done this] in fulfillment of the promises of God's Messenger, so that you have taken it up once and then again. I would like, Abū 'Abdallāh, to devote you entirely to that which is better for you in your [present] life and your return to God, unless that which you have now is preferable to you.' 'Amr wrote back to him, "I am one of the arrows of Islam, and you, after God, are the one who shoots them and collects them. Look for the strongest, most fearsome, and best of them and aim at something with it, if [news] comes to you from some direction." He also wrote to al-Walid b. 'Uqbah with the like of that, and he replied expressing preference for going forth to fight (jihād).

Al-Sarī - Shu‘ayb - Sayf - Sahl b. Yūsuf - al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad. Abū Bakr wrote to 'Amr and to al-Walid b. 'Uqbah, who was in charge of half of the tax district of the Quḍā'ah. Abū Bakr had seen them off when he sent them to collect taxes. He gave each a single piece of advice:

Fear God in secret and in open, for "Whoever keeps his duty to God, God makes for him a way out and bestows provision on him from whence he does not expect"; "And whoever keeps his duty to God, God forgives his sins and makes his reward great." For keeping one's duty to God is the best admonishment God's worshipers can give to one another. You are on one of God's paths. On that path may you not be diverted from, abandon, or be careless regarding those things that hold support for your religion and protection for your affairs. Therefore neither flag nor slacken.

He also wrote to the two of them: "Appoint deputies in charge of your offices. Call to arms those in the areas around you." Thus 'Amr put 'Amr b. So-and-So al-'Udhri in charge of the upper part ('ūlāyā)

451. Al-Salami of the Salimah b. Sa'd of the Ansār; he may have been the grand-nephew of the pro-'Uthmān Ansārī poet Ka'b b. Mālik, a connection that would fit Sayf's pro-'Uthmān tendencies. His identity and existence are in some doubt, however. Ṭabarī, I, 2574; Ibn Hajar, Isābah, II, 90; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Istīfāb, II, 98–99.

452. The grandson of the caliph Abū Bakr and hence an authority on the latter, al-Qāsim was one of the famous traditionists and scholars of Medina. His father was Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (10–38/631–58), the partisan of 'Ali who participated in the revolution against the caliph 'Uthmān, but al-Qāsim can hardly have known him. He lived 36–106/656–715. See Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, V, 187–94; Zubayrī, Nasab, 279; Ibn Hajar, Tabāhīb, VIII, 333–35.

454. Qur'ān, 65: 5.
455. Unidentified.
of Quḍāʿah,\textsuperscript{456} while al-Walid appointed Imruʿ al-Qays to take charge of the district of Quḍāʿah adjoining Dūmāh. They also summoned the people to arms, so that many men came to join them. Then they awaited the command of Abū Bakr.

Abū Bakr preached a sermon to the people. He praised God and lauded His Messenger and said:

\begin{quote}
Every affair has factors that bring it together. Whoever reaches \textit{[an understanding of] them, they suffice him. Whoever works for God, God protects him. You must \textit{[work}] earnestly and deliberately, for deliberation is more likely to accomplish goals. Is it not the case that anyone who has no faith has no religion, that whoever has no account of good deeds gets no goodness reward, and that whoever has no intention has no \textit{[reward for his] work}\textsuperscript{457}. Indeed, the reward in God’s book for \textit{jihād} in God’s path is something for which a Muslim should love to be singled out. It is a commerce that God has pointed out, by which God has saved \textit{[people]} from humiliation, and through which \textit{He} has bestowed nobility in this world and the next.
\end{quote}

Abū Bakr then supplied ‘Amr with some of those who had mustered to those who had gathered about him and put him in command of Palestine, ordering him \textit{[to take]} a certain road that he specified. He also wrote to al-Walid, ordering him to al-Urdunn\textsuperscript{458} and supplying him with some of those available. He also summoned Yazid b. Abī Suṯyān, putting him in command of a large army that included most of those who had mustered to Abū Bakr. Among his troops were Suhayl b. ‘Amr\textsuperscript{459} and the like of him from the people of Mecca.

\textsuperscript{456} This probably is the area of the northern Hijāz near the Red Sea, where ‘Amr had close relations with the Quḍāʿah tribe of Bali, which was the tribe of his grandmother and one of his wives. See Zubayrī, \textit{Nasab}, 408, 411; Watt, \textit{Muḥammad at Medina}, 111, seems to err in asserting that ‘Amr’s mother was also from the Bali.

\textsuperscript{457} On the reward for works being according to intention, see the famous \textit{ḥadīth} in Buhārī, \textit{Ṣahih}, I, 2.

\textsuperscript{458} A division \textit{(jund)} of Syria with its capital at Tiberias, al-Urdunn was probably derived from the Roman province of Palæstina Secunda but did not exactly correspond to it. See \textit{El}, s.v. al-Urdunn \textit{[second part]}; Ḩṣṭakhrī, \textit{Masdlik}, 58–59; Yaʿqūbī, \textit{Buldān}, 327–28; Ibn Khuradḏbih, \textit{Masalīk}, 78; Muqaddāsī, \textit{Taqṣīsīm}, 161–64; Yaʿqūṭ, \textit{Muʿjam}, I, 147–49; Le Strange, \textit{Palestine}, 30–32.

Abū Bakr saw them off on foot. He also put Abu `Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ in charge of [some of] those who had gathered and put him in command of Hims.60 Abu Bakr went out with him; his two commanders [also] walked, the troops being with the two of them and behind them. Abū Bakr admonished each of the two.

Al-Sāri — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Sahīl — al-Qāsim, Mubashshir — Sūlīm,61 and Yazid b. Asid al-Ghassānī — Khālid and Ubaḍah.62 When al-Walīd came to Khālid b. Sa‘īd to support him, when the troops of the Muslims whom Abū Bakr had supplied him with came — they were named the Replacement Army — and when Khālid had heard about the commanders and their coming to him, he attacked the Romans, seeking credit for himself but exposing his rear. The commanders hastened to fight the Romans. Bāhān feigned flight from him, recoiling with his army on Damascus. Khālid attacked with his army, which included Dhū al-Kalā‘, ‘Ikrimah, and al-Walīd, until he stopped at Marj al-Šuffār63 between al-Wāqūṣah64

460. The Emesa of Roman times, it is still one of the largest cities of Syria. In early Islamic times the name also applied to its province (jund). See EP, s.v. Hims; Iṣṭakhri, Masālik, 61; Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 324—25; Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, II, 302—4; Le Strange, Palestine, 25, 35—36, 39.

461. This is a reference to Salīm b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭūlūn, who died in 106/725. In the preceding parallel istnād Sayf — Sahīl — al-Qāsim, Sayf quotes an unidentifiable and probably fictional transmitter to link himself with the famous grandson of Abū Bakr, here he probably is doing the same to link himself with the famous grandson of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. On Salīm b. ‘Abdallāh, see Ibn Sa‘d, Ṭabaqāt, V, 195—201; Zubayrī, Nasab, 357; Ibn Hašar, Tahdhib, III, 436—38.

462. These two transmitters, who are always cited together by Sayf in this volume, appear to be Khālid b. Ma‘dān al-Kalā‘i al-Himsī [d. 104/721—26] and Ubaḍah b. Nusayy al-Kindī al-Urdunī [d. 118/736], as suggested in Ṭabarī, Indices, 164, 309. These identifications appear plausible in view of their biographies, which reveal them to have been important Syrian traditionists. See Ibn Sa‘d, Ṭabaqāt, VII, 455—56; Ibn ‘Asākir, Tahdhib, V, 89—91; VII, 217—18; Dhahabi, Siyar, IV, 536—41; V, 323—24; Ibn Hašar, Tahdhib, III, 118—20; V, 113—14. Donner, Conquests, 134, 317 n. 211, appears unaware or unconvinced of their identities, however, and indeed they are never fully identified in Sayf’s reports; nor do the rijāl books ever say that they transmitted to Abū ‘Uthmān, Sayf’s rāwī here. Sayf may have wanted to imply that his reports were derived from these outstanding traditionists without having actually to say so. In other instances he has attributed reports to famous, reliable traditionists through unknown persons of his own invention.

463. A plain extending south of Damascus, near Tall Shaqhab. See EP, s.v. Mardj al-Šuffār; Le Strange, Palestine, 104. It was the site of a famous battle mentioned here and on pp. 107, 109, below. For the battle, see also Ibn Khayyāt, Ta‘rikh, 104. Kūfī, Futūḥ, I, 150, has turned the apparent Muslim defeat in this battle into a victory, led by Khālid b. al-Walīd no less, in which not a single Muslim was either killed or wounded!

and Damascus. But the outlying forces of Bāhān surrounded him, blocking the roads against him without his knowing of it. Also Bāhān marched against him. He found Khālid’s son Sa’īd b. Khālid leading his men and seeking bounty [yastamtir]. The Romans killed them. When the news reached Khālid he left, fleeing with a troop on bare animals [jaridah], as those of his companions who could escaped on the backs of the horses and the camels, having been driven from their camp. The rout of Khālid b. Sa’īd did not end until he had reached Dhū al-Marwah. Meanwhile, ‘Ikrimah stayed with the troops to offer rear-guard protection. He repelled Bāhān and his soldiers from them, from pursuing him. He also stayed near Syria.

Meanwhile, Shurahbil b. Hasanah had come [to Abū Bakr] as an emissary from Khālid b. al-Walīd. Abū Bakr summoned the men to [join] him, then placed him in charge of al-Walīd’s district and set out with him to give him counsel. When Shurahbil came to Khālid [b. Sa’īd] he marched away with Khālid’s troops, except for a few. [At the same time other] troops mustered to Abū Bakr, who put Mu‘āwiyah in command of them and ordered him to join Yazīd. Mu‘āwiyah then set out, [going] until he caught up with Yazīd. When Mu‘āwiyah marched past Khālid, he took away the rest of Khālid’s men.

Al-Sarī — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Hīshām b. ‘Urwa — his father: ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb did not cease speaking to Abū Bakr about Khālid b. al-Walīd and about Khālid b. Sa’īd. Abū Bakr refused to listen to ‘Umar regarding Khālid b. al-Walīd saying, “I will not put away a sword that Allah has drawn against the unbelievers.” But he

465. His mother was Ḥamīnah [or, improbably, Umayyah] bt. Khalaf b. As‘ad al-Khuza‘iyyah. Sa’īd was born in Ethiopia when many of the Muslims went there to escape persecution by the Quraysh about 615 C.E., which would make him very young at the time of Marj al-Ṣuffar. See Ibn ‘Asakir, Taḥdīḥ, VI, 126; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, II, 45.
466. Lit., “asking for rain.”
467. A place in Wādi al-Qūrā in the Ḥijāz. See Balādhuri, Futūḥ, 14, 128–29, 779; Donner, Conquests, 114.
468. Hīshām b. ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām al-Asadi al-Qurashi, the nephew of ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and the grandnephew of the Prophet’s wife ‘Ā’ishah. He was well placed to transmit traditions in Medina and was one of the most important traditionists of his generation. Like many of the early traditionists from noble Qurashi families, he was the son of a slave mother. He visited al-Kufah three times and finally became one of the companions of al-Mansūr in Baghdād, where he died. He lived c. 61/680 to 145/46/762–63. See Ibn Sa’d, Ṭabaqāt, VII, 320, 763; Zubayrī, Nasab, 448; Ibn Ḥajar, Taḥdīḥ, XI, 48–51.
listened to 'Umar with regard to Khālid b. Sa'īd after the latter had done his deed.

'Amr took the coastal road, and Abū 'Ubaydah followed the same route. Yazid took the Tabuk road, and Shurāḥbil went by the same path. Abū Bakr named the chief cities of Syria for them [as objectives]. He knew that the Romans would divert their attention; therefore he desired to have the descending one ascend and the ascending one descend, so that they would not forsake one another. It turned out as he had supposed, and they achieved what he had wanted.

Al-Sari — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — 'Amr — al-Sha‘bī: When Khālid b. Sa'īd came to Dhū al-Marwah and the news [of that] came to Abū Bakr, he wrote to Khālid, “Remain where you are, for, by my life, you are one who plunges forward then shrinks back in fear, ever seeking to save [yourself] from deep difficulties that you do not wade into [intending] what is right, nor do you persevere for it.” When afterward, Abū Bakr gave permission to him to enter Medina, Khālid said, “Pardon me.” Abū Bakr replied, “Is it to be stupid prattle, even though you are a man of cowardice in warfare?” When Khālid had gone from his presence, Abū Bakr said, “Umar and 'Ali were more knowledgeable about Khālid. If only I had listened to them about him, I would have feared him and avoided him.”

Al-Sari — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Mubashshir and Sahl; and Abū 'Uthmān—Khālid, 'Ubādah, and Abū Hārithah: The commanders led the whole of the army toward Syria. 'Ikrimah served as a covering force for the army. The Romans heard about that, so they wrote to Herakleios. Herakleios went forth until he stopped at Himṣ, where he prepared troops to [face] the Muslims and mobilized his

469. This would appear to mean that he had them fan out to fill in the gaps along the front so that the different divisions could support one another more easily in the event of a Roman attack.

470. Or “been ashamed to use.”

471. Muḥriz b. Jariyah (or Ḥarithah) b. Rabī‘ah b. ‘Abd al-'Uzza b. ‘Abd Shams al-Abshami al-Qurashi, he was said to have governed Mecca for 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and to have been killed in the Battle of the Camel in 36/656. Sayf’s frequent citations from him are probably owing to the fact that his descendants had settled in al-Kūfah and were prominent there. See Zubayri, Nasab, 159; Ibn Khayyāt, Taʾrīkh, 153; Ibn Ḥazm, Jamārah, 78, Ibn Hajar, Isābah, III, 368. The same person also is mentioned as one of the witnesses against Ḥujr b. 'Adi in 51/671 in Tabari, II, 132. For the identification of Abū Ḥarīthah as Muḥriz, see Tabari, I, 2573, which appears decisive, cf. Tabari, Introducctio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emandanda, cxxiv.

forces against them. He intended that the different Muslim forces would be too busy to cooperate, owing to the number of his troops and the excellence of his men. He sent his full brother Theodore\textsuperscript{473} against 'Amr. When Theodore set out toward the Muslims with ninety thousand [men], Herakleios sent out a rear guard, [which went along] until the commander of the rear guard camped at Thaniyat Jilliq\textsuperscript{474} in the highest part of Palestine. He also sent Jurjah\textsuperscript{475} b. Tawdhrū\textsuperscript{476} toward Yazid b. Abī Sufyān, so that he encamped facing him. In addition, he sent out al-Durāqīs,\textsuperscript{477} who confronted Shur-āḥīl b. Ḥasanah. He sent al-Fiqār\textsuperscript{478} b. Naṣṭūs in command of sixty thousand against Abū 'Ubaydah.

The Muslims dreaded them, as all the Muslim divisions together amounted to only twenty-one thousand, beside 'Ikrimah, who had six thousand. They all expressed their fears to 'Amr by letter and messenger, saying, "What should we do?" He wrote letters back to them, sending them by messenger, saying: "The best plan is to join together. That is because the likes of us, if we combine, will not be beaten owing to [our] fewness. On the other hand, if we split up, there will not remain a man among us with enough troops to defeat any of those who are before us and are ready for us, for each of our divisions." Therefore, they set a time [to be] at al-Yarmūk in order to combine forces there.

Abū Bakr had also received letters like those they had sent to 'Amr. His reply came back to them with the like of 'Amr's view saying:


\textsuperscript{474} Most likely to be the present village of Jillin in southern Hawrān in Syria. See EP, s.v. Djillik. It could be considered part of Palestine as it lay on the border of the former Roman province of Palaestina Secunda, which was to become the Muslim jund of al-Urdunn.

\textsuperscript{475} Text: Jarajah; read: Jurjah, as in Mss. B and IH; surely it is a form of George.

\textsuperscript{476} Vocalization based on Theodore. Thus the whole name is probably George, son of Theodore. He is also mentioned by Ibn Ishāq in Tabari, I, 2347.

\textsuperscript{477} Unidentified.

\textsuperscript{478} As explained in the notes to the Leiden text, this is probably the title bikarios, Latin vicarius. A bikarios was attached to the patrikios as an assistant in the early fifth century C.E., and therefore was of lower rank. Jones, Later Roman Empire, 609.
Combine, so that you may be one army. Meet the armies of the polytheists\textsuperscript{479} with the army of the Muslims, for you are God’s helpers. God comes to the aid of those who support Him and deserts those who show ingratitude to\textsuperscript{480} Him. The likes of you will not be destroyed on account of [your] small numbers. Rather, ten thousand or more than ten thousand will be destroyed if they are attacked from the rear. Therefore take precautions about the rear. Join together at al-Yarmûk under your separate banners.\textsuperscript{481} Let every man among you unite\textsuperscript{482} with his companions.

[News of] that reached Herakleios, who wrote to his patrikioi:\textsuperscript{483} “Combine against them. Camp the Romans in a place rich and generous, with a wide space for pursuit, [but] with [only] a narrow way of escape. Theodore is in overall command, Jurjah is in charge of the vanguard, Bâhân and al-Durâqîṣ are in charge of the two wings, and al-Fiqâr is in charge of mobilization (harb). Be of good cheer, for Bâhân is an effective reinforcement for you.” They did [as the emperor had commanded] and camped at al-Wâqûṣah, which is on the bank of al-Yarmûk. The wadi became a trench for them, as it was a deep ravine between two mountains and could not be crossed. Bâhân and his companions wanted only for the Romans to recover their senses and behave in a nonaggressive manner toward\textsuperscript{484} the Muslims, so that their courage might return to them.

\textsuperscript{479} Although the Romans were Christians and therefore People of the Book (ahl al-dhimmah) and thus properly speaking not polytheists, they often are referred to as such in these passages of Sayf. It is difficult to tell whether or not this reflects the development of Muslim-Christian polemic in Sayf’s time, but it is not unlikely, given the increasingly ideological content of the struggles of the early ‘Abbâsid period. For the development of some of this polemic, see Sahas, \textit{John of Damascus}, passim; Ibn Hishâm, \textit{Sirah}, I, 232–33.

\textsuperscript{480} Or “disbelieve in.”

\textsuperscript{481} Lit., “in mutual support.” See Ibn Manţûr, \textit{Lisân}, s.v. s-n-d.

\textsuperscript{482} Text: \textit{li-yuṣallî}, read: \textit{li-yasîl}, with Mss. IH\textsuperscript{1}, Kos., and IA. The other reading, which is preferred by the Leiden and Cairo eds., based on Ms. IH\textsuperscript{2}, would mean “lead his companions in worship,” which does not appear to fit the context.

\textsuperscript{483} Ar. \textit{batâriqâh}, Latin \textit{patriciâ}. It was an honorary title, revived by Constantine for his closest associates, but it gained greater meaning when it was added to the nomenclature of the supreme military commander, a \textit{magister utriusque militiae}, in 415 C.E. In Justinian’s time (527–65 C.E.) there were five such \textit{magistri}, but it is not clear whether they yet held the title of patrikios. See Jones, \textit{Later Roman Empire}, 106, 176, 178, 192, 609.

\textsuperscript{484} Or perhaps “find out the qualities of.”
The Muslims moved from the camp where they had joined forces and camped against the Romans, right in front of them, on their route. The Romans had no route except against the Muslims. 'Amr said, "O people, rejoice! By God, the Romans are surrounded! It rarely has happened that anything good comes to he who is surrounded." Thus the Muslims remained before them, on their road and their [only] way out, during Safar 13 (6 April – 4 May 634) and the two months of Rabi' (5 May – 2 July). The Muslims were able neither to do anything against the Romans nor to reach them, the ravine — which is al-Waqṣah — being behind them and the trench before them. The Romans could not go forth at all but that the Muslims prevailed against them, until the month of Rabi' al-Awwal (5 May – 3 June) had gone by.

Meanwhile, the Muslims had requested reinforcements from Abū Bakr, informing him of the situation in Safar. He then wrote to Khalid [b. al-Walid] to join them and commanded him to leave al-Muthannā in charge of Iraq. Khalid came to them in Rabi‘.

Al-Sarī — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, 'Amr, and al-Muḥallab: When the Muslims had camped at al-Yarmūk and requested reinforcements from Abū Bakr, he said, "Khalid is for it," and thereupon sent a message to him while he was in Iraq, asking him and urging him to get going. Thus it was that Khalid came through. Khalid came to the Muslims, while Bāḥān came to the Romans, having sent ahead before him the deacons, monks, and priests to incite desire [for victory] in the Romans and to urge them to fight. The arrival of Khalid coincided with the arrival of Bāḥān. Bāḥān led his forces out like a powerful [leader]. Khalid took charge of fighting him, while the [other] commanders fought those in front of them. Bāḥān was defeated, and the [other] Romans followed one another successively into defeat, plunging into their trench [in flight]. The Romans saw a good omen in Bāḥān, and the Muslims rejoiced in Khalid. The Muslims fought in a ferocious rage, and the polytheists fought with vehement anger. The latter numbered one hundred forty thousand, of whom eighty thousand were bound, forty thousand of these chained and forty thousand tied with turbans. They were

485. This reference seems out of place, but it means that, before the battle, the Romans were cheered by the arrival of Bāḥān, as is clear from p. 160, below.
486. This was to prevent their fleeing in the face of danger or defeat.
The Events of the Year 13

eighty thousand cavalry and eighty thousand infantry. The Muslims who had been present [at first] numbered twenty-seven thousand, until Khalid came with nine thousand, whereupon they became thirty-six thousand.

Abū Bakr became ill in Jumādā al-Ūlā (3 July–1 August). He died in the middle of Jumādā al-Ākhirah (16 August 634), before the victory by ten days. 

Al-Yarmūk

Abū Ja‘far: Abū Bakr had assigned to each one of the commanders in Syria a district (kūrah) to conquer. Thus he assigned Himṣ to Abū ‘Ubaydah b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Jarrāh, Damascus to Yazīd b. Abi Sufyān, al-Urdunn to Shuraḥbil b. Hasanah, and Palestine to ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣi and ‘Alqamah b. Mujazziz. When the latter two had accomplished their mission in Palestine ‘Alqamah stayed on, and ‘Amr went to Egypt. When the commanders were about to enter Syria a large enemy force attacked each commander among them. Thus they agreed in their opinion to join together in one place and meet the combined force of the polytheists with the combined force of the Muslims. When Khalid saw the Muslims fighting under separate banners he said to them, “Are you interested, O chiefs, in something by which God will strengthen his religion, and through which neither loss nor harm will come to you either with it or from it?”

Al-Sari—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Abū ‘Uthmān Yazid b. Asīd al-Ghasānī—Khālid and ‘Ubādah: There came to it with the commanders and the four divisions (jumūd) twenty-seven thousand [men], in addition to three thousand from the defeated remnants of Khalid b.

487. These numbers do not add up to the alleged total of one hundred forty thousand. Probably there is a scribal error. In any case, the numbers are fanciful.

488. This version thus dates the Battle of al-Yarmūk to 5 Jumādā al-Ākhirah 13 (6 August 634).

489. Al-Mudliji al-Kinānī. He was put in charge of several expeditions by the Prophet and the early caliphs, beginning in 9/630, until he was killed in a seaborne attack on Ethiopia in 20/641. His father’s name is also given as Muhārriz. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 44; II, 154; Ibn Hishām, Sīrah, II, 639–40; Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, II, 163; Ibn Hājar, Isbābah, II, 503–6.

490. ‘Amr is not mentioned in the text here, but the addition is demanded by the context.

491. That is, al-Yarmūk.
Sa'īd whom Abū Bakr appointed Mu'āwiya and Shurabīl to command. There were also ten thousand in the reinforcements of the people of Iraq with Khalīd b. al-Walid. This was beside six thousand who remained with 'Ikrimah as a rear guard after Khalīd b. Sa'īd. Thus they [all] amounted to forty-six thousand.

The Muslims did all their fighting under separate banners, each division and its commander [operating independently], with no one in overall command, until Khalīd came to them from Iraq. The troops of Abū 'Ubaydah at al-Yarmūk were next to the troops of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣī, and the troops of Shurabīl were next to the troops of Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān. Thus Abū 'Ubaydah might conduct public worship with 'Amr and Shurabīl with Yazīd, whereas 'Amr and Yazīd would not conduct public worship with Abū 'Ubaydah and Shurabīl [all together]. Khalīd b. al-Walid arrived when they were in that situation. He encamped separately and held public worship for the people of Iraq. Khalīd found the Muslims hard pressed by the Roman reinforcements under Bāhan, whereas he found the Romans cheered by their reinforcements.

But, when they met, God defeated them, to the extent that he forced them and their reinforcements to seek refuge in the trench, for which al-Wāqūsāh was one of the borders. They stayed in their trench for almost a whole month, while the priests, deacons, and monks urged them on and bewailed to them [the fate of] Christianity, so that, upon reflecting, they went forth into the battle, after which there was no battle like it, in Jumādā al-Ākhirah (2–30 August). When the Muslims perceived their sally and desired themselves to go forth under their separate commanders, Khalīd b. al-Walid went out among them. He praised God and lauded Him and then said:

This is a day from among the days of God. There should be in it neither pride nor wrongdoing. Make your striving sincere, seeking God by your work, for this day also has what lies beyond it. Do not fight any people in a formation and arrangement under separate banners and dispersing your—
The Events of the Year 13

selves [along a line], for that is neither legitimate nor ought it to be. Those behind you, if they knew what you know, would keep you from [doing] this. In those areas about which you have not received [explicit] instructions, act according to what you believe would be the opinion of your ruler and what he would prefer.

They responded: "Give [it to us]! What is the [right] opinion?"

He answered:

Abū Bakr sent us [as separate commands] only because he thought that things would be easy for us, but, if he knew what has happened and is happening, he would have brought you together. Your situation is severer for the Muslims than that which has descended upon them and more helpful to the polytheists than their reinforcements. I have learned that this world has divided you from one another. God, God! Each man among you has received sole assignment of one of the cities for himself. It will not reduce his province for him if he admits the superior authority of one of the divisional commanders, nor will it increase his province if they submit to him. The appointment of one of you as overall commander will not diminish you [in stature] with God or with the caliph of God's Messenger. Let us get to it, for these [enemies] have readied themselves [for us]. This is a day of consequences. If we drive them back to their trench today, we will not cease driving them back. If, on the other hand, they defeat us, we will not succeed afterward. Come on, then, let us take the overall command by turns. Let one of us be in command today, another tomorrow, and another after tomorrow, so that each of you commands [at some time]. Leave me to take charge of you today.

Thus they put Khālid [temporarily] in command, considering it like the sallies of their troops, but the matter went on longer than what they had thought. The Romans went out in a formation the like of which those seeing [it] had never seen before. Khālid also went forth in a battle order that the Arabs had not used before: He set forth with between thirty-six and forty closely packed cavalry
squadrons [kardūs]. He said: "Your enemy is numerous and terrible. There is no battle order more numerous to eyesight than squadrons."

Thus he deployed his center into squadrons and put Abū Ubaydah there. He also put his right into squadrons, with ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣî in charge of it and Shuraibî b. Ḥāṣanāb in it. He arranged his left into squadrons as well, with Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān in command. In command of one of the Iraqi squadrons was al-Qa‘qā’ b. ‘Amr. Madhīr b. ‘Adī also commanded a squadron, ‘Īyāḍ b. Ghām a squadron, Ḥāṣim b. ‘Ubaydah a squadron, Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalāh a squadron, and Khālid a squadron.

Commanding the defeated remnants of Khālid b. Sa‘īd, Dihyāh b. Khalīfah held charge of a squadron, Imrū‘ al-Qays a squadron, Yaẓīd b. Yuḥannās a squadron, Abū ‘Ubaydah a squadron, ‘Ikrimah a squadron, and Suhayl a squadron. Furthermore, ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Khālid, who on that day was eighteen years old, commanded a

493. These would appear to be battalion-sized units, based on the numbers given, perhaps akin to the tribal regiments, but Sayf’s information is not trustworthy. Their appearance here is almost certainly an anachronism, as Marwān b. Muḥammad is explicitly credited with initiating the use of kardūs in the second (eighth) century. See Ṭabarî, II, 1941, 1944; Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 373.


495. Al-‘Amrī al-Tamīmī. He is mentioned only by Sayf. See Donner, Conquests, 365. He is meant to represent the father of Sayf’s alleged authority Ḥanẓalāh b. Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalāh, mentioned on p. 600. ‘Askari, Khamsīin wa mi‘ād saḥābi, 237–41, identifies him as one of Sayf’s fabrications for the glorification of the Tamīm tribal grouping. Sayf’s Usayyid clan was a part of the ‘Amr Tamīm.


497. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kūfī. It is curious that a Kūfī should be mentioned among the defeated remnants of Khālid b. Sa‘īd. Perhaps this is a further embellishment by Sayf. See Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, III, 664; Donner, Conquests, 366.

498. The son of Khālid b. al-Walīd and a Khath‘āmi woman, he later served Muḥāwiyyah as governor of Ḥimṣ, bore his standard at Ẓifin, and died of poison at Ḥimṣ in 46/666. His role at al-Yarmūk is found only in Sayf’s report, which is doubtful, as he otherwise first appears as a commander in the reign of ʿUthmān. See EP, s.v. ‘Abd
The Events of the Year 13

squadron, Ḥabib b. Maslamah\(^{490}\) a squadron, Ṣafwān b. Umayyah\(^{500}\) a squadron, Saʿīd b. Khālid\(^{501}\) a squadron, Abū al-ʿAwar b. Ṣufyān\(^{502}\) a squadron, and Ibn Dhī al-Khimār\(^{503}\) a squadron.


499. Al-Fihri. He is chiefly famous for having led many of the original Muslim conquests in northern Syria, al-Jazirah, and Armenia. Later he led one of Muʿāwiyah's wings at Siffin. Said to have been born in Mecca c. 620 C.E., he died in Armenia or Damascus in 42/662. If his birth date is accurate, he can hardly have fought at al-Yarmūk or commanded conquests soon after. Perhaps his birth date was invented to explain how he could have been a Qurashi but not a Companion. See EP, s.v. Ḥabib b. Maslama; Ibn al-Kalbi, Ḥamharat, I, 34; II, 289; Ibn Saʿd, Taʾbaqāt, VII, 409–10; Zubayrī, Nasab, 447; Ibn Khayyāt, Taʾrikh, 149, 157–58, 169, 222, 237; Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 132 [improbably subordinated to Khālid b. al-Walīd], 161, 174, 176–77, 189, 207–8, 219, 221, 225, 228, 234–39, 241; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, I, 309; Tahdhib, II, 190–91; Theophanes, Chronicle, 44; Donner, Conquests, 150, 153, 247, 363.

500. Al-Jumāḥī. He was the son of one of the Prophet's invertebrate opponents who had been slain at Badr. His wife was a daughter of Abū Ṣufyān. Ṣafwān became a Muslim in 8/657, visited Medina to make hijrah, then returned to Mecca, where he died in 36–42/656–662. As it is denied that he participated in any campaigns, his presence at al-Yarmūk, which is found only in Sayf, probably is yet another of the latter's attempts to improve on the reputations of Companions unpopular with the Shiʿah. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Ḥamharat, I, 24; II, 535; Zubayrī, Nasab, 388; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II, 187–88.

501. This same Saʿīd, the son of Khālid b. Saʿīd, had already been slain by the Romans according to another report of Sayf; see p. 82, above; cf. note 465, above.

502. 'Amr b. Ṣufyān al-Sulami, a confederate of Abū Ṣufyān who seems to have become a Muslim even after Hunayn, which makes his status as Companion doubtful (Bukhārī makes no mention of it). He figured as a commander in several campaigns, especially naval ones, including that against Cyprus in 26/647 and the very significant victory over the emperor Constans II off Lycia in 34/655. A supporter of Muʿāwiyah, he fought for the latter at Siffin, was with 'Amr b. al-ʿAṣ in Egypt, and settled in the jund of al-Urdunn. See EP, s.v. Abūʾl-ʿAwar al-Sulāmī; Ibn Khayyāt, Taʾrikh, 219, 222; Kūfī, Futūḥ, I, 123; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II, 540–41; Theophanes, Chronicle, 45; Donner, Conquests, 136–38, 363.

503. Only found in Sayf, this name would appear to refer to a son of 'Abhālah al-Aṣwād Dhū al-Khimār b. Kaʿb al-ʿAnṣūrī, the false prophet of Yemen who appeared in the Riddah period. However, another, perhaps more likely candidate for the father of this man is Subay (or Sab) Dhū al-Khimār b. ʿAbd al-Ḥārīth b. Mālik (al-Thaqafī al-Hilālī), who was killed fighting against the Muslims at Hunayn in 8/653. See EP, s.v. al-Aṣwād b. Kaʿb al-ʿAnṣūrī; Tabarī, I, 1635, 1644; Ibn al-Kalbi, Ḥamharat, I, 272; II, 199; Waqīqī, Maghāzī, 885, 907, 911; Ibn Hishām, Sirah, II, 437; Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 62.


On the left Yazīd b. Abī Suḥyān held command of a squadron, al-Zubayr a squadron, Hawshab Dhu Zulaym512 a squadron, Qays b. ‘Amr b. Zayd b. ‘Awf b. Madhbūl b. Māzin b. Sa‘ṣa‘ah b. Hawāzīn,505. Apparently the famous Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī is intended. An Iraqi who governed al-Baqrah and al-Kūfah, he died at al-Kūfah or Mecca between 41/661 and 53/673. As he is not otherwise attested in Syria, he is most unlikely actually to have taken part there, so that his presence in this list is probably another of Sayf’s pro-Iraqi embellishments. In Tabarī, I, 2523, Sayf even says that ‘Umar made him governor of the Syrian coast, which is certainly false. See Eft., s.v al-Ash‘arī, Abū Mesā; Ibn Ha.jar, Isdbah, II, 359–60; Donner, Conquests, 176, 212, 215–16, 366, 417, 420–21, 433, 436, 438.

506. Al-Sulami. He dubiously claimed to have been one of the very earliest Companions. He joined the Prophet toward the end of the latter’s mission, perhaps c. 7/659 or more probably 9/661. He settled in Ḥimṣ. Sayf later claims a post for him in Syria. See Tabarī, I, 1166, 1168, 2523, 2526; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 125; II, 167; Ibn Sa‘d, Ṭabaqāt, VII, 403; Ibn Ḥajar, Isdbah, III, 5–6; Donner, Conquests, 366.

507. Al-Kindi. He also settled in Ḥimṣ, where he, or at least his son, became one of the most important men in the city. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 236; II, 513; Ibn Ḥajar, Isdbah, II, 115; Donner, Conquests, 132, 139, 150, 363; Crone, Slaves, 101.

508. Al-Sakūnī al-Kindi. He settled in Egypt and supported ‘Uthmān, then Mu‘āwiya, in the first civil war. From Egypt he campaigned against the Sudan and North Africa. He died in 52/672. His alleged participation at al-Qādisiyyah is probably an embellishment by Sayf, meant to show harmony and cooperation between the Companions of Syria and Iraq, as well as to refute Shi‘i criticism of prominent pro-Umayyad Syrians. See Tabarī, I, 2220–22; Ibn Khayyāt, Ta’rikh, 178, 218, 214, 247–49; Kindi, Wuṭlāḥ wa qudāḥ, 12, 15, 17–19, 21, 27–30; Ibn Ḥajar, Isdbah, III, 431; Donner, Conquests, 107, 367, 396.

509. Al-Dawṣī, the confederate of the Banū Umayyah, said to have been martyred at Ajnāḍayn, in which case he could not have fought at al-Yarmūk. His daughter married ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 215; II, 266; Balādhurī, Futūh, 135; Ibn Ḥajar, Isdbah, I, 249; Donner, Conquests, 359, 363.

510. This could be anyone.

511. Mentioned only by Sayf, as indicated by Ibn Ḥajar, Isdbah, III, 330; Donner, Conquests, 367. The Zafar here are a branch of the Awd of the Anṣār. See Watt, Muhammad at Medina, 152, 154, 161–62.

the confederation of the Banū al-Najjār,513 a squadron, ʻIṣmah b. ʻAbd- 
allāh, the confederation of the Banū al-Najjār from the Banū Asad,514 a 
squadron, Dirār b. al-Azwar a squadron, Masrūq b. So-and-So515 a 
squadron, ʻUtba b. Rabi‘ah b. Bahr, the confederate of the Banū ʻIṣ-
mah,516 a squadron, Jāriyah b. ʻAbdallāh al-Asija‘ī, the confederation 
of the Banū Salimah,517 a squadron, and Qabāth518 a squadron. Abū 
I-dardā519 was the judge, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb520 was the preacher.

513. One of the earliest Companions from the Anṣār, he is said to have attended the 
swearing of allegiance at al-ʻAqabah by Mecca before the hijrah, then to have fought 
at Badr, and is last mentioned at al-Khandaq in 5/627. All other sources give him a 
straight Najjār genealogy. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 185; II, 457; Wāqidi, 
Mağhāzī, 26, 164, 447; Ibn Hishām, Sirah, I, 458, 613, 705; Ibn Sa‘d, Ṭabaqāt, III, 517; 
Baladhuri, Ansāb, I, 244; Maqdisi, Istībṣār, 83; Ibn Hajar, ʻIṣābah, III, 251; Donner, 
Conquests, 367.

514. Unidentified and mentioned only by Sayf. See Donner, Conquests, 367.

515. Masrūq b. ʻHarimah al-ʻAkki. He seems to have been mentioned only by Sayf 
in the conquests, but other sources mention his siding with Mu‘āwiyah in the first 
civil war. Presumably, then, Sayf’s description of Masrūq’s early military activities is 
Ibn Muzāḥim, Siffin, 507; Ibn Hajar, ʻIṣābah, III, 408; Donner, Conquests, 367.

516. Al-Bahrānī (or al-Sulami), the confederate of the Lawdhīn of the Aws. He 
fought at Badr and disappears from the sources after Ubūd. Only Sayf has him at al-
Yarmūk and gives his allegiance as belonging to a Banū ʻIṣmah, the identity of whom 
cannot be discerned; probably the name results from a copyist’s error in which there 
was confusion with the just-mentioned ʻIṣmah b. ʻAbdallāh. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gam-
harat, I, 177, 318; II, 578; Wāqidi, Mağhāzī, 168; Ibn Hishām, Sirah, I, 695; Ibn Sa‘d, 
Ṭabaqāt, III, 554; Ibn Hajar, ʻIṣābah, II, 453; III, 103; Donner, Conquests, 367.

517. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf, as shown by Ibn Hajar, ʻIṣābah, I, 218; 
Donner, Conquests, 367. The Salimah were a tribe of the Anṣār. See Watt, Muham-
mad at Medina, 152, 154, 169.

518. Qabāth b. Ashyam (Qays) al-Laytyhī al-Kinānī. After fighting at Badr against 
the Muslims he embraced Islam about 8/630, settled in Himṣ, and shed blood in de-
fense of the caliph ʻUthmān’s house in Medina in 35/656. See Ṭabarī, I, 967, 3016; 
Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 36; II, 454; Ibn Sa‘d, Ṭabaqāt, VII, 411; Ibn Khayyāt, 
Ta‘rikh, 9; Ibn Hajar, ʻIṣābah, III, 221–22; Donner, Conquests, 362 (under Qiyātha).

519. Ṣūaymīr (or ‘Amir) b. Zayd al-Khazrajī, a famous Companion who settled in 
Damascus, where he transmitted many traditions before his death in 31–32/651– 
52. No military exploits of his are recorded except by Sayf. See EP, s.v. Abūl-Dardā’; 
Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 188, II 165; Ibn Sa‘d, Ṭabaqāt, VII, 391–93; Donner, Con-
quests, 131, 136, 367.

520. An outstanding opponent of Islam until the fall of Mecca, he is often portrayed 
in an advisory capacity thereafter until his death in 32/653 at a great age. He was the 
father of the caliph Mu‘āwiyah. His ties with Syria before Islam are widely reported. 
See EP, s.v. Abū Sufyān; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 8; II, 536; Donner, Conquests, 
96, 362.
The Caliphate of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq

(Qāṣṣ), \(^{521}\) Qabāth b. Ashyam was in charge of reconnaissance, and ‘Abdullah b. Mas‘ūd\(^{522}\) was the paymaster (‘alā al-aqbād).

Al-Sari — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Muḥammad and Tālḥah, and, similarly, Abū ‘Uthmān: The Qur’ān reciter (qāri‘) was al-Miqdāḍ.\(^{523}\) It was from the practice followed by the Prophet of God after Badr\(^{524}\) that Sūrat al-Jihād be read before a battle, and it is al-Anfāl.\(^{525}\) The people did not cease doing this after that.

Al-Sari — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Abū ‘Uthmān Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghas-sānī — Khālid and ‘Ubādah: One thousand of the Prophet’s Companions participated at al-Yarmūk, among them about one hundred who had been at Badr. Abū Sufyān would go about, stopping at the squadrons to say: “God, God! You are the defenders of the Arabs and the supporters of Islam. They are the defenders of the Romans and the supporters of polytheism. O God, this is a day from among your days. O God, send down your help to your worshipers.”

A man said to Khālid, “The Romans are so numerous and the Muslims so few.” Khālid answered: “How few are the Romans, and how many the Muslims! Armies become numerous only with victory and few only with defeat, not by the number of men. By God, I would love it if the roan horse were cured of the pain in its hooves, and if the enemy were twice as many.” His horse’s hooves had become abraded during his journey.

---

\(^{521}\) See EP, s.v. Kāṣṣ.

\(^{522}\) Al-Hudhali, the confederate of the Qurashi Zuhrah. He was one of the humbler early Muslims and later appeared, after his migration to al-Kūfah, aligned with ‘Ali and opposed to ‘Uthmān. The latter is said to have brought him back to Medina, abused him, and put him under a kind of house arrest until his death in 32/653. Ibn Mas‘ūd’s fame has reverberated down through the ages owing to his crucial role in the transmission of tradition to the next generation in al-Kūfah, the crucible of the earliest Islamic writing and systematization of Islamic legal thinking. No military roles are attested for him in the conquests except in Sayf’s reports. See EP, s.v. Ibn Mas‘ūd; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 58, II, 114; Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, III, 150–61, VI, 13–14; Baladhuri, Ansāb, V, 36–37; Donner, Conquests, 243, 367.

\(^{523}\) Al-Miqdāḍ b. ‘Amr al-Kindi or al-Ḥadrāmī, the confederate of the Zuhrah, he also was one of the famous early Muslims of humble origin who had great popularity later. He died near Medina at seventy in 33/654. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 328; II, 408; Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, III, 161–63; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Istī‘āb, III, 483–84; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābāh, III, 454–55.

\(^{524}\) The famous first victory of the Muslims over the Quraysh in 2/624. See EP, s.v. Badr.

\(^{525}\) The usual name of the eighth sūrah of the Qur’ān. Note that originally this also may have included the ninth sūrah, al-Tawbah, as well, for the latter is not separated from the former by a basmalah. See Zamakhshari, Kashshāf, II, 171; Ibn Kathir, Tafsir, II, 331.
Khalid then commanded 'Ikrimah and al-Qa'qā', who were in charge of the two wings of the center, to start the battle. Al-Qa'qā' recited some verses of rajaz, saying:

If only I could meet you in the chase,  
Before the harsh violence of the numerous, oncoming army,  
While you are among your reddish bay horses assembled for the chase.

'Ikrimah said:

The light-spirited among the girls has learned  
that I by noble deed offer protection.

The battle began, the troops fought, and the cavalry pursued one another. They were in the midst of that when the post arrived from Medina. The horsemen took the post rider, asking him what news there was, but he told them only that things were normal. He also told them about reinforcements. But he had come only to report the death of Abū Bakr and the appointment of Abū 'Ubaydah to command. They brought him to Khalid, and the rider informed him of the news about Abū Bakr, giving it to him in secret. He also told him what he had told the troops. Khālid said, "You have done well; therefore stay." He took the letter, putting it in his quiver. He feared that, if he displayed that, its effect would spread among the troops. Mahmiyah b. Zunaym, who was the messenger, stayed with Khālid.

Jurjah went forth until he was between the two lines. He called out for Khālid to come out to him. Leaving Abū 'Ubaydah in his place, Khālid went out to Jurjah and stood right beside him between the two lines, so that the necks of their mounts touched. One of them had given a guarantee of safe-conduct to the other. Jurjah said: "O Khālid, tell me the truth and do not lie to me, for the free-born does not lie, and do not try to deceive me, for the noble-natured does not try to deceive one who is acting kindly by God. Did God send down a sword from heaven on your Prophet, giving it to him, so that you do not draw it against a people but that you defeat them?" Khālid answered, "No." Jurjah asked, "Then why are you named 'the Sword of God'?" Khālid replied:

526. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf. See Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, III, 487.
God sent us His Prophet, who summoned us, but we all avoided him and removed ourselves far away from him. Then some of us believed him and followed him, whereas others distanced themselves from him and called him a liar. I was among those who called him a liar, distanced ourselves from him, and fought him. Then God gripped our hearts and our forelocks, guiding us by him, so that we followed him. The Prophet said [to me], “You are a sword among the swords of God, which God has drawn against the polytheists,” and prayed for victory for me. Thus I was named “the Sword of God” according to that, for I am the harshest of the Muslims against the polytheists.

The Roman said, “You have told me the truth.”

Then Jurjah continued with him, “O Khalid, tell me what you are calling me to.” Khalid answered, “To witnessing that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is His servant and His messenger, and to the acknowledgment of that which he brought from God.” The Roman continued, “And he who does not accept [your religion]?” Khalid replied, “Then [they must pay] the jizyah payment, and we will protect them.” The Roman went on, “And if he does not pay it?” Khalid said, “We give him warning of war; then we fight him.”

Jurjah asked, “What is the rank of he who joins you and responds positively to you regarding this matter today?” Khalid answered, “Our rank is one regarding that which God has imposed on us, both the noble among us and the humble, both the first of us and the last.” Then Jurjah asked yet again, “Does he who joins you today, O Khalid, obtain the same amount of payment and supplies as you do?” Khalid said, “Yes, and better.” The Roman went on, “And how can he be your equal, when you have preceded him [in joining Islam]?” Khalid replied:

We came into this affair and gave the oath of allegiance to our Prophet when he was [still] living among us, when the revelations (akhbār) of heaven would come to him and he would tell us about the books\textsuperscript{527} and show us the verses (āyāt).\textsuperscript{528} It was imperative for anyone who saw what we saw and heard what we heard to embrace Islam and swear alle-

\begin{footnotes}
527. That is, the heavenly books or divine revelations.
528. This can also mean “signs.”
\end{footnotes}
The Events of the Year 13

But you have not seen the wonders and proofs that we saw, nor have you heard what we heard. Therefore whoever among you enters into this affair sincerely and with [true intention] is better than we.

 Jurjah said, “By God, you have indeed told me the truth and not tried to deceive me or to persuade me with a friendly tone.” Khālid said: “By God, I have indeed told you the truth. I do not bear any hostility toward you or toward anyone among you. God is indeed the master of what you have asked about.” Jurjah said, “You have spoken the truth to me.” He turned his shield over and inclined toward Khālid, saying, “Teach me Islam.” Therefore Khālid brought him to his tent and poured over him a skin of water. Then Jurjah made two prostrations (rak‘atayn) of worship.

The Romans attacked when Jurjah had gone over to Khālid, for they thought Jurjah was making a charge. They drove the Muslims from their positions, except for those covering them, ‘Ikrimah and al-Hārith b. Hishām.529 Khālid rode, and Jurjah was with him, while the Romans were in the midst of the Muslims. The troops called to each other and regrouped, and the Romans retreated to their positions. Khālid then marched with them until the two sides were striking each other with swords. Khālid and Jurjah kept smiting the enemy from before sunrise until the sun had inclined toward setting. Then Jurjah was struck down, without having performed any worship in which he prostrated himself, except for the two prostrations by which he had embraced Islam. The troops performed the first worship530 (al-‘ūlā) and the midafternoon worship by sign.531

The Romans weakened. Khālid rushed upon the enemy with the center until he was between their cavalry and their infantry. The battle site had a wide space for pursuit [but only] a narrow way of es-

529. Al-Makhzūmī, the brother of Abū Jahl and first cousin of Khālid b. al-Walīd. He embraced Islam at the conquest of Mecca in 8/630 and took part in the conquest of Syria, where he died in the plague of 18/639, or else at al-Yarmūk. See Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, VII, 404; Zubayrī, Nasab, 301–2; Ibn Khayyāt, ‘Ulūrkh, 60, 119, 130; Kūfī, Futūḥ, I, 120–21; Ibn Ḥajār, Tahdhib, I, 293–94.

530. Evidently the noon worship (zuhr).

531. This means that, with the battle going on, the men did not assemble for the formal worship in the usual way but performed their assigned worship in some unspecified symbolic way. Usually ṣalāt al-khawf, the “fear prayer,” involves shortening the worship ritual, delaying it, or doing it in turns; but the term also may mean performing it by sign, especially from an animal’s back. See Bukhārī, Sahih, II, 17–19; Muslim, Sahih, I, 277–78, 334–6; Mālik, Muwatta’, 130–31.
cape. When their horsemen found a way to go they went, leaving behind their infantry in their battle order. Their horses went along, speeding away with their riders into the desert. The [Muslim] troops delayed their worship so that they worshiped after the victory. When the Muslims saw the Roman cavalry heading to escape, they opened [their ranks] for them [to pass] and did not impede them. Thus they went on and scattered throughout the country.

Khalid and the Muslims rather advanced on the infantry, breaking them as if a wall had been pulled down on them. Then they were attacked in their trench. Khalid rushed against them in it, so that they headed for al-Waqṣah until the bound [men] and the others of them fell into it. Those who were bound who feared for themselves pulled into it those who persisted in fighting. Thus one would pull in ten who could not bear his [weight]. As often as two fell in, the rest were weaker. One hundred twenty thousand plunged into al-Waqṣah, eighty thousand bound and forty thousand unfettered, beside those who were killed in the battle among the cavalry and infantry. The share [in the spoils] of a cavalryman on that day was one thousand five hundred [dirhams]. Al-Fīqār and some of the Roman nobles wrapped themselves up in their mantles (barānis) and then sat down, saying, "We do not like seeing such a day of evil, because we have not been able to see a day of joy, and because we have not succeeded in protecting Christianity." They were struck down while wrapped in their mantles.

Al-Sarī — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Abū ‘Uthmān — Khālid and ‘Ubādah: Khalid awoke the morning after that night in the tent of Theodore. When he entered the trench he took up quarters in it, while his cavalry surrounded it. The troops fought until the morning.

Al-Sarī — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Abū ‘Uthmān al-Ghassānī — his father: On that day, ‘Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl said, "[Would] I fight the Messenger of God in every place, yet flee from you today?!" Then he called out, "Who will take an oath [to fight] to the death?!" Al-Hārith b. Hishām and Dīrār b. al-Azwar gave him their oaths of allegiance [on that condition], along with four hundred of the Muslim notables and horsemen. They fought in front of Khālid’s tent until they all
were disabled with wounds. Many were killed, though some recovered, includingDirār b. al-Azwar. 'Ikrimah was brought wounded to Khālid after the men had arisen. Khālid put 'Ikrimah's head on his thigh. [He was also brought] 'Amr b. 'Ikrimah,335 and he put his head on his leg. He began to wipe their faces and let water dribble into their throats while saying, "Ibn al-Ḥantamah336 claimed that we would not die as martyrs."

Al-Sari—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Abū 'Umayṣ337—al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān338—Abū Umāmah,339 who participated at al-Yarmūk along with 'Ubādah b. al-Ṣāmit:340 The women fought on that day during

535. Alleged son of 'Ikrimah b. Abī Jahl, to whom Zubayrī, Nasab, 311, credits no offspring, rather specifically denying that 'Ikrimah had any children. Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharah, 145, has 'Umar for 'Amr b. 'Ikrimah but may have derived his report from Sayf.


537. 'Utbah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utbah b. 'Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd al-Hudhali, the great-grandson of Ibn Mas‘ūd and a Kūfī traditionist in early 'Abbāsid times. He enjoyed a good reputation. See Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, VI, 366; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, VII, 97.


539. Al-Ṣudayy b. 'Ajlān al-Bāhilī, he settled in Syria and fought at Siffin, probably for Mu‘āwiyyah, despite a report to the contrary, for he died at Ḥims. A visitor to the caliph al-Walīd I, he was known as the last of the Companions alive in Syria. His birth date was either c. 617 C.E., or 25/646, according to two variant versions, the latter of which would exclude his having been either a Companion or probably even having fought at Siffin. Although not featured in the Sirah, he is reported by Abū Mikhna to have been sent out to fight a Roman force in al-'Arabah during the conquest of Syria. He died in 86/705. Caskel thinks two Abū Umāmahs, a Companion and a traditionist, have been conflated. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, II, 539; Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, VII, 411–12; Ibn Khayyāt, Tarikh, 382; Balādhuri, Futūḥ, 130, 177, 318; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhib, VI, 419–24; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II, 182; Tahdhib, IV, 420–21; Donner, Conquests, 115–16.

540. Al-Khazraji, one of the few important Anṣār in the conquest period. He was one of the naqībs appointed by the Prophet for Medina, fought in all the Prophet's famous battles, then migrated to Syria, where he died in Palestine at al-Ramlah or Jerusalem in 34/655 at the age of seventy-two. He governed Ḥims under 'Umar and participated in the conquest of Egypt and the Cyprus campaign of 28/649. He reportedly expressed opposition to Mu‘āwiyyah during the latter's governorship. This would not be surprising in view of Mu‘āwiyyah's hostility to the Anṣār. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 189; II, 539; Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, VII, 387; Ibn Khayyāt, Tarikh, 137, 166, 180; Balādhuri, Futūḥ, 156–58, 161, 166–67, 181–82; Ibn 'Asākir, Tahdhib, VII, 209–17; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II, 268–69; Donner, Conquests, 153–54, 364.
one round of fighting. Juwayriyyah bt. Abī Sufyān\textsuperscript{541} was wounded\textsuperscript{542} during one round and was with her husband\textsuperscript{543} after heavy fighting. On that day Abī Sufyān’s eye was hit. Abū Ḥathmah\textsuperscript{544} removed the arrow from his eye.

Al-Sari—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—al-Mustanir b. Yazid\textsuperscript{545}—Arțāh b. Ju- haysh.\textsuperscript{546} Al-Ashtar\textsuperscript{547} took part at al-Yarmūk and did not participate at al-Qādisiyah. A man of the Romans went forth on that day and said, “Who will fight [me] in single combat?” Al-Ashtar went forth against him. They exchanged a couple of blows, whereupon he said to the Roman, “Take that, for I am the Iyādi lad!” The Roman responded: “May God increase the likes of you among my people! Why, by God, if you were not of my people, I would have supported\textsuperscript{548} the Romans, but now I will not help them!”

Al-Sari—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Abū ‘Uthmān and Khālid.\textsuperscript{549} Among those who were struck down among the three thousand killed at the Battle of al-Yarmūk were ‘Ikrimah, ‘Amr b. ‘Ikrimah, Salamah b.

---


\textsuperscript{542} Text: \textit{kharaqet}; read: \textit{jurilaqt}, with Tabari, \textit{Introductio, Glossarium, Adenda et Emendanda}, DXXI.

\textsuperscript{543} See note 541, above.


\textsuperscript{545} Al-Nakha‘ī. He is mentioned only by Sayf and hence is regarded by ‘Askari, \textit{Khamsūn wa mī‘ah šahābi}, 115–16, 133, 142, 193, as a fabrication by Sayf, and this is not unlikely.

\textsuperscript{546} Unidentified but probably intended as a Nakha‘ī to serve as the link between the Nakha‘ī al-Ashtar in the report and al-Mustanir.


\textsuperscript{548} Text: \textit{la-zurt}; read: \textit{la-dzart}, an emendation suggested in note to the Leiden ed. and followed by the Cairo ed.

\textsuperscript{549} Perhaps this bracketing of one of Abū ‘Uthmān’s main sources with him in the same level of the \textit{isnād}, coupled with the omission of Khālid’s constant companion in the \textit{isnād}, ‘Ubādah, means that the text is corrupt here.
Hishām,550 Amr b. Sa`id,551 and Abān b. Sa`id.552 Khalīd b. Sa`id was disabled, and it is unknown where he died afterward. [Other casualties included] Fudayl b. ‘Amr b. Humamah al-Dawṣī, al-Ṭufayl b. ‘Amr,553 Dirār b. al-Azwar, who was wounded but survived, Ṭūlayb b. ‘Umayr b. Wahb of the Banū ‘Abd b. Quṣayy,554 Ḥabbār b. Suffān,555 and Hishām b. al-‘Aṣī.556

---

550. Al-Makhzūmī, he seems to have been a Muslim by 7/629. He usually is said to have been martyred at Ajnādayn or Marj al-Ṣuffar, only Sayf puts him and the others in this list at al-Yarmūk. Thus it would appear that Sayf has adapted this martyrs’ list for his purposes, naming them as victims of al-Yarmūk, which is the first of his Syrian battles, just as the other sources put them at Ajnādayn, the first of those sources’ Syrian battles. On Salamah, see Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 23; II, 304; Ibn Hishām, Sīra, II, 322, 383; Zubayrī, Nasab, 302–3; Baladhurī, Futūḥ, 135; Kūfī, Futūḥ, I, 147; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, II, 68–69; Donner, Conquests, 357, 368.

551. Al-Umawi al-Qurashi. Despite the statement that he was one of the early Muslims, he seems only to have taken part in those battles occurring from the fall of Mecca in 8/630 onward. He is said to have governed Wādī al-Qūrah for the Prophet and to have been slain at Ajnādayn, Marj al-Ṣuffar, or Fīhl, according to sources other than Sayf. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 9; II, 183; Zubayrī, Nasab, 174–75; Ibn Khayyāṭ, Tā’rikh, 72, 104, 118; Baladhurī, Futūḥ, 40, 135; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, II, 539; Donner, Conquests, 357, 360, 363.

552. Al-Umawi al-Qurashi. He embraced Islam in 7/629. Being literate, he was one of the Prophet’s secretaries and is said to have governed al-Bahrām for him. He is also said to have been slain at Ajnādayn or Marj al-Ṣuffar or else to have died in 27/648 or 29/650. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 9; II, 101; Zubayrī, Nasab, 174–75; Ibn Khayyāṭ, Tā’rikh, 73, 104, 118; Baladhurī, Futūḥ, 99, 127, 135, 580, 582; Kūfī, Futūḥ, I, 147; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, I, 13–14; Donner, Conquests, 357, 360, 368.

553. Actually ‘Amr b. Tufayl b. ‘Amr b. Dawṣī, he also is stated to have been martyred at Ajnādayn. Ibn al-Kalbī also confused ‘Amr with his father, who already had perished fighting against Musaylimah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 214; II, 183, 558; Ibn Khayyāṭ, Tā’rikh, 91; Baladhurī, Futūḥ, 135; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, II, 225–26, 544; Donner, Conquests, 358–59, 364, 368, 373.

554. Son of the Prophet’s paternal aunt Arwā, an early Muslim and a veteran of Badr. He was killed at Ajnādayn according to all the sources other than Sayf. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 18; II, 559; Ibn Sa`d, Tabaqāt, III, 123–24; Baladhurī, Futūḥ, 135; Kūfī, Futūḥ, I, 147; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, II, 233–34; Donner, Conquests, 357, 368.

555. Al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashi. He is said to have been an early Muslim. He is reported in the other sources to have died at Ajnādayn or even Muʿtah. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 22; II, 276; Zubayrī, Nasab, 338; Baladhurī, Futūḥ, 135; Kūfī, Futūḥ, I, 147; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Istīʿāb, III, 609; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, III, 559; Donner, Conquests, 358, 368.

556. Al-Saḥmī al-Qurashi, brother of ‘Amr b. al-‘Aṣī and one of the earliest Muslims. He is said by other sources to have died at Ajnādayn. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 25; II, 284; Zubayrī, Nasab, 409; Ibn Khayyāṭ, Tā’rikh, 104; Baladhurī, Futūḥ, 116, 135; Kūfī, Futūḥ, I, 126–27, 132; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, III, 604; Donner, Conquests, 357, 368.
1oz The Caliphate of Abu Bakr al-Šiddiq

Al-Sari—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr b. Maymūn—his father. A man from among the Romans of the Arabs met Khālid when he arrived in Syria as aid for the troops at al-Yarmūk. He said: “O Khālid, the Romans are in a numerous assemblage, two hundred thousand or more. If you think you should fall back on your rear guard, then do so.” Khālid answered: “Are you going to frighten me with the Romans? By God, I would love it if the roan horse were cured of the pain in its hooves and if the enemy were twice as many.” Then God defeated them through him.

Al-Sari—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Mustanir b. Yazīd—Arṭāḥ b. Juḥaysh: Khālid said on that day: “Praise be to God, Who decreed death for Abu Bakr, although he was dearer to me than ʿUmar. And praise be to God, Who gave the authority to ʿUmar and then obliged me to love him, even though he was more distasteful to me than Abu Bakr.”

Al-Sari—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and ʿAmr b. Maymūn: Herakleios had made a pilgrimage before the rout of Khālid b. Saʿīd. The pilgrimage was to Jerusalem. While he was there word reached him that the troops were nearby him. Therefore he assembled the Romans and said: “I believe it is best if you do not fight those people but rather make peace with them. By God, that you give them half of what Syria produces and take half, [provided that] the mountains of Rome [jibāl al-rūm] remain with you, is better for you than that they overpower you in Syria and share with

557. Al-Jazārī. He died 145/48762–65 in al-Kūfah or al-Raqqah. He had a good reputation as a traditionist. He is said to have had charge of the army roll of al-Jazīrah while his father was governor there for ʿUmar II. See Ibn Saʿīd, Ṭabaqāt, VII, 478; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, VIII, 108–9. See note 558, below.

558. Maymūn b. Mihrān al-Jazārī, mawdūʿ of the Naṣr. Born c. 40/661, he grew up in al-Kūfah but c. 81/700 moved to al-Raqqah, whence his nisbaḥ, al-Jazārī, referring to al-Jazīrah. Originally called a supporter of ʿAli like most Kūfān, his affinities were with the Qaysi tribes of al-Jazīrah, which tended to be anti-ʿAlid, so that he changed his position in favor of ʿUthmān. He served as treasurer to the Jazīran governor Muḥammad b. Marwān, then was put in charge of taxation and justice in al-Jazīrah by the caliph ʿUmar II. He was one of the most knowledgeable religious scholars in the time of the caliph Hishām, and his career most interestingly combines political and religious roles. He died in 117/735. See Ibn Saʿīd, Ṭabaqāt, VII, 477–79; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, X, 390–92.

559. “Romans of the Arabs” refers to the Syrian Arab tribes supporting Rome.

560. This sentence is repeated on p. 94, above.

561. This can refer to hardly any other than the Taurus Mountains above Cilicia in Anatolia, which formed the border between the Muslims and the East Roman Empire for centuries. In Herakleios’s mouth it is a retrospective anachronism.
you the mountains of Rome.' At this, his brother snorted, his brother-in-law (khatanuh) also snorted, and those around him split from him. When he saw them disobeying him and talking back to him, he sent forth his brother, nominated the commanders, and directed a division toward every [enemy] division. When the Muslims had combined Herakleios ordered the Romans to make one broad, well-fortified collective camp. Thus the Romans encamped at al-Waqūṣah, while the emperor went off to stay at Ḥimṣ. When he heard that Khalid had appeared at Suwāʾ and carried off its inhabitants and their possessions and that he had gone on to Buṣrā, conquering it and permitting a virgin [to be ravished or seized], he said to those sitting with him: "Did I not tell you, 'Do not fight them'? You have no staying power with these people. Their religion is a new religion that renews their persistence, so that no one will stand up to them but he will be tested." They responded, "Fight for your religion, and do not make the people out to be cowards, but rather decide what you are responsible for." Herakleios said, "What do I seek except to increase your religion?"

When the Muslim troops encamped at al-Yarmūk the Muslims sent [a message] to the Romans, saying: "We would like to speak to your commander and meet him. Therefore allow us to come to speak to him." The Romans informed him, and he gave the Muslim delegation permission. Abū ʿUbaydah, Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān as the messenger, al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, Dirār b. al-Azwar, and Abū Jandal b. Suhayl came to him. The emperor’s brother had on that day thirty tents (rawāq) and thirty pavilions (surādiq), all of them of silk. When they reached them, they refused to enter [the tents] to see him, saying, "We do not consider silk to be lawful; therefore come forth to us." He came out to carpets that had been spread out. That reached Herakleios, who said: "Did I not tell you that this was the

---

562. It is identified by Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 79 n. 20, 336 n. 81, 556, 558, as Sabʿ Biyār, a waterhole in the Syrian desert 150 km. east-northeast of Damascus and 101 km. south-southwest of Palmyra, located in the Wādī Suwāʾ, which has apparently kept the same name.

563. Still a large town in southern Syria bearing the same name, it was the ancient Bostra, seat of the Ghassānid phylarchs allied with the Romans. As such it was an important target. See *EP*, s.v. Bosrā.

beginning of the humiliation? As for Syria, it is no good [sha‘m].

Woe to the Romans from the ill-omened child born in Syria!” Peace was not attained between them and the Muslims. Therefore Abū Ubaydah and his companions went back, making their own arrangements with each other, so that it became a fight to victory.

Al-Sari—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muṭarrakah
ty Al-Qāsim—Abū Umāmah; and Abū ‘Uthmān—Yazīd b. Sinān—men of the Syrians and their authorities: On the day that Khālid took over the command God defeated the Romans by nightfall. The Muslims directed themselves toward the steep abyss, taking what was in the [Romans’] camp. God slew their outstanding men, their chiefs, and their horsemen.

God killed Herakleios’s brother, and Theodore was taken. The rout reached Herakleios while he was before Ḥimṣ. He departed, putting it between him and them. He appointed a commander for it, leaving him behind in it, just as he had already appointed a commander for Damascus.

When the Muslims defeated the Romans they sent out horsemen to track them down. When Abū Ubaydah assumed command after the rout [of the Romans] he announced departure, so that the Muslims left, marching until they had established their encampments at Marj al-Ṣūfār.

565. This is a dialectical variant of shām, the plural of shāmah, a beauty mark, which here is related to the connected word shīmah, meaning a quality. This sentence and the next make a play on the root sh-‘-m. See Ibn Manzūr, Līsān, s.vv. sh-‘-m, sh-y-m.

566. Ibn Yazīd al-Asadī al-Kinānī, a Kūfī transmitter who also was considered one of the Syrians, possibly owing to his having been one of the Syrian Qaysi immigrants to al-Kūfah under the Umayyads. He had a poor reputation. See Ibn Hājīr, Ṭahdhib, X, 171–72.

567. Or “knights.”

568. According to Theophanes, Chronicle, 38, the Theodore present at al-Yarmūk was not Herakleios’s brother but another Theodore, the Sakellarios [Keeper of the Purse]. This is confirmed by Ibn Khayyāt, Ta‘rīkh, 118, who calls him the Sakellarious, a eunuch of Herakleios. See note 882, below.

569. Either the defeated Roman remnants or the Muslims.

570. That Abū Ubaydah would have assumed command so soon after a victory while the victorious Khālid was still present seems unlikely. Far more probably Abū Ubaydah was in command from the very beginning, but Sayf or the tradition behind him, at pains to show the superiority of the Iraqis over the Syrians, has concealed his true role in order to exaggerate the role of Khālid. In historical traditions other than those of Sayf, Abū Ubaydah, not Khālid, was the commander at al-Yarmūk. See Ibn Khayyāt, Ta‘rīkh, 118; Donner, Conquests, 361–62.
Abū Umāmah: Having two horsemen with me, I was sent out to reconnoiter from Marj al-Suffar until I entered al-Ǧūtah. I pried around in it between its houses and its trees. One of my two companions said, “You have reached to where you were commanded. Therefore go back, and do not cause us to perish.” I responded, “Stay in your place until morning comes to you or until I come to you.” Then I went along until I wended my way to the city gate. There was not a soul to be seen on the earth. I removed my mare’s bridle, hung her nosebag on her, and leaned on my spear. Then I put my head down and did not perceive anything until I heard the key being moved in the gate to open it. I arose and performed the morning worship; then I mounted my horse and attacked it. Then I turned away, going back. They came out to search for me but then left me alone out of fear that I would have an ambush ready. I found my way to my nearer companion, whom I had commanded to stay. When they saw him they said, “This is an ambush. He has reached his ambush.” Thus they went away. My companion and I traveled until we found our way to our other companion. Then we went on until we came to the Muslims.

Abū ʿUbaydah had resolved not to depart until ʿUmar’s advice and command came to him. When it came to him the Muslims departed, [traveling] until they encamped before Damascus. Abū ʿUbaydah left Bashir b. Kaʿb b. Ubayy al-Ḥimyari behind at al-Yarmūk with a cavalry force.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd—Abū Saʿīd—
Qabāth: I was in the delegation about the victory of al-Yarmūk. We had gained wealth and much spoil. The guide brought us to the waterhole of a man whom I had followed in the Jāhiliyyah, when I came of age and became aware of myself, to learn from him. When I was shown who he was I came to him and told him [my purpose]. He said, "You have done right." He turned out to be one of the daring brigands of the Arabs. Every day he would eat the rump of a slaughtered camel with its condiment and an amount equal to that of meat other than the rump. Nothing would be left over from it, except enough to nourish me. He would raid the tribe (ḥayy) and leave me nearby, saying, "If a rajaz poet comes by reciting rajaz saying such-and-such, I am that [man]." He became crippled while he was with me. I stayed in that condition until he gave me a portion of wealth, which I brought to my family. It was the first property I obtained. Then I became the leader of my people and reached the level of the Arabs' [leading] men.

When we were brought by that waterhole I recognized it and asked about his house, but they did not know it, though they said he was alive. [His] sons whom he had begotten after me were brought to me. After I told them my story, they said, "Come to us tomorrow morning, for he is as close as possible to what you would like in the morning." I came to them in the morning and was ushered in to him. He was brought forth from his bedchamber and seated for me. I did not cease jogging his memory until he remembered. He listened attentively and began to delight in the conversation, asking me to feed him more of it, so that our sitting drew long and we became burdensome to their boys. Therefore they frightened him with certain things he was frightened of, so that he would enter his bedchamber. That suited his mind. He said, "It used to be that I could not be frightened." I said, "Of course." I gave him [something] and left no one from his family without bestowing on him what was fitting. Then I departed.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū Saʿīd al-Maqbūrī: Marwān b. al-Ḥakam579 said to Qabāth, "Are you older or [was] God's Messen-

578. That is, "he is sharper in the morning."
579. The founder of the Marwānid branch of the Umayyads, he reigned briefly as caliph 65–66/684–85. Because of later opposition to Marwānid rule, he often is made the scapegoat of vitriolic attacks in the historical tradition, especially he is blamed for having stirred up the first civil war, in which he is made to have played an evil role in his position as secretary to his first cousin, the caliph 'Uthmān. See EP, s.v. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.
ger?" Qabāth answered, "God's Messenger is greater, but I am older." Marwān said, "What is your earliest memory?" Qabāth replied, "The dung of the elephant when it was a year old." Marwān continued, "What is the strangest thing that you have seen?" Qabāth answered: "A man from the Quḍā'ah. When I came of age and became aware of myself I sought a man whom I could be with and learn from. I was directed to him." Then he told this story.

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Muḥammad b. Ishāq — Ṣāliḥ b. Kay-šān: When the troops set out Abū Bakr went forth with Yazid b. Abī Sufyān to give him advice. Abū Bakr walked while Yazid rode. When he had completed his admonition, he said: "Farewell. I leave you in God's keeping." Then he turned back, while Yazid went on, taking the Tabūk road. Then Shurahbil b. Ḥasanah followed him, then Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ in charge of a division as a reinforcement for the two of them, all following that road. 'Amr b. al-'Aṣī went forth until he encamped at Ghamr al-ʿArabāt. The Romans meanwhile camped at Thaniyyat Jilliq in uppermost Palestine with seventy thousand [men] under Theodore, Herakleios's full brother. 'Amr b. al-ʿAṣī wrote to Abū Bakr to inform him about the matter of the Romans and to ask him for reinforcements. Also Khalīd b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿAṣī set forth. He was seeking bounty on a rainy day at Marj al-Ṣuf-far in the land of Syria when the louts of the Romans gathered against him, killing him. 'Amr b. al-ʿAṣī had already written to Abū Bakr to inform him about the matter of the Romans and seek reinforcements.

Abū Jaʿfar — Abū Zayd — 'Ali b. Muhammad, according to the isnād that I have mentioned before: Just days after Yazid b. Abī Sufyān had gone forth heading for Syria, Abū Bakr sent out Shurahbil b. Ḥa-
sanah. (He is Shuraḥbil b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Muṭā b. 'Amr from the Kindah. It is also said [he was] from the Azd. He set out with seven thousand; then Abū 'Ubaydah set out with seven thousand. Yazīd stopped in al-Balqā', Shuraḥbil stopped in al-Urdunn, or, it is said, Buṣrā, and Abū 'Ubaydah camped at al-Jābiyah. Then Abū Bakr reinforced them with 'Amr b. al-`Aṣī, who encamped at Ghamr al-`Arabāt. At that time the people desired to wage jihād. They would come to Medina, and Abū Bakr would direct them to Syria. Among them were those who would go with Abū 'Ubaydah, and among them were those who would go with Yazīd. Every group went with whom it liked.

[The same authorities]: The first peace agreement that happened in Syria was the peace agreement of Maʿāb, which is a tribal meeting place, not a city. Abū 'Ubaydah passed by them on his way to Syria. It is a village of al-Balqā'. They fought him but then sought peace, and he made a peace agreement with them. The Romans massed together in al-`Arabah in the land of Palestine. Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān sent against them Abū Umāmah al-Bāhili, who routed that massed army.

[The same authorities]: The first warfare that occurred in Syria after the expedition of Usāmah was in al-`Arabah; then they went to al-Dāthisnah — it is also said al-Dāthin. Abū Umāmah al-Bāhili defeated the enemy, killing a patrikios among them. Then occurred
Marj al-Ṣuffar, in which Khālid b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī was martyred. Adrunjār came against them with four thousand [troops] while they were off guard, so that Khālid and a number of the Muslims were martyred.

Abū Jaʿfar: It has also been said that the one killed in this battle was a son of Khalid b. Saʿīd and that Khalid retreated when his son was killed, so that Abu Bakr sent Khalid b. al-Walid as overall commander over the commanders who were in Syria; these he joined to his forces. Khālid departed from al-Hirah in Rabe al-Akhir of the year 13 (4 June–2 July 634) with eight hundred [men]. It is also said five hundred. He left behind in charge of his province al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah. The enemy met him at Ṣandawḍā', but he conquered them and left Ibn Ḥarām al-Anṣārī behind there. He also met an assemblage at al-Muṣayyakh and al-Ḥuṣayd led by Rabīʿah b. Bujayr al-Taghlibi, defeated them, and took captives and spoils. He went on, going into the desert from Quragir to Suwā. He raided the people of Suwā, taking their possessions and slaying Hurquṣ b. al-Nuʿmān al-Bahrānī. Then he came to Arak, whose people made a
peace agreement with him. He also came to Tadmur,595 whose people had fortified themselves but then made a peace agreement with him. Then he came to al-Qaryatayn,596 where he fought the inhabitants, conquered them, and took spoils. He also came to Huwwarin,597 fought the inhabitants, defeated them, killed, and took captives. He came to Quṣam,598 where the Banū Mashja`ah599 of the Quḍā’ah made a peace agreement with him. He came to Marj Rāḥiṭ600 and raided the Ghassān on the day of their Easter (24 April 634),601 slaying and taking captives. He sent Busr b. Abī Artah602 and Habib b. Maslamah against al-Ghūṭah. They came to a church, where they took the men and the women captive and drove the children to Khālid.

595. The ancient Palmyra (biblical Tadmor), it still bears the same Arabic name of Tadmur and lies 140 km. east of Hims. It used to belong to the Kalb. See El, s.v. Palmyra; Le Strange, Palestine, 540–42. Küfi, Futūḥ, I, 140–41, details Khālid’s attack.

596. A town in the Syrian desert about halfway between Tadmur and Damascus; it still has the same name. See Le Strange, Palestine, 79, 481.

597. It is a settlement in the Jabal Sanir and in any case near al-Qaryatayn, with which it is confused in one report. See Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, II, 315–16; Le Strange, Palestine, 456, 481; Musil, Arabia Deserta, 564.

598. Identified by Musil, Arabia Deserta, 563, with the Roman station of Casama, which he further identifies with Khān al-Manqūrah, some 31 km. south-southeast of al-Qaryatayn and 95 km. east-northeast from Damascus.

599. A minor branch of the Quḍā’ah. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Šamhrat, I, 279 (under MasḠa’ b. at-Taim), II, 403.

600. A plain about 25 km. east-northeast of Damascus near ‘Adhra’. It is considered part of al-Ghūṭah. See El, s.v. Mardj Rāḥiṭ, Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, III, 21–22; V, 101; Le Strange, Palestine, 69, 503–4; Musil, Arabia Deserta, 558, 560.

601. The Islamic date for this Easter is 19 Šafar 13, which does not accord with the other dates given in the text. On this, see Musil, Arabia Deserta, 563.

The Events of the Year 13

[Abū Ja`far]:603 The letter of Abū Bakr came to Khālid at al-Ḥirah when he had just returned from his pilgrimage. It said,

Journey until you reach the Muslim armies at al-Yarmūk, for they are distressed and causing distress. Do not by any means return to the like of what you have done, for your worry will not, with God's help, worry the masses of the troops, and your method of removing the people's distress will never remove it. May your intentions and your favored position gladden you, Abū Sulaymān! Therefore complete [your work], so that God may make [it] complete for you. Do not by any means let self-admiration enter you, so that you lose and fail. See that you do not rely upon any work [of yours], for God controls the bestowal of favor, and He is the Owner of reward.

Al-Sāri - Shu`ayb - Sayf - ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Aṭā‘ al-Bakkā‘ī - al-Muqatītī b. al-Haytham 604 al-Bakkā‘ī - his father: The veterans of the battles of the conquest among the people of al-Kūfah would make threats at Mu`awiyah upon [hearing] certain things that reached them. They would say: "What does Mu`awiyah want? We are the men of Dhāt al-Salāsīl!" They would name what happened between it and [the battle at] al-Firād without mentioning what followed, out of contempt for what came after in comparison to what occurred before.


603. This paragraph and the one following it are an almost exact repetition of text found on pp. 69-70, above.
605. None of the fifteen Ishaq b. Ibrāhīms mentioned in Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, I, 213–23, seems to fit this isnād chronologically; therefore the Ishaq here must be considered an unknown person mentioned only by Sayf.
he did not make an assault. [Rather], he summoned [more] people, becoming mighty, so that the Romans feared him and recoiled from him. He did not persevere in [following] Abū Bakr’s command but entered the land in small detachments, although the Romans pretended to fall back before him, until they drew him to al-Ṣuffar. Then they turned on him after he had come to feel safe. They found his son Saʿīd b. Khālid seeking bounty and slew him, him and those with him. When the news came to Khālid he set out in flight until he came to the open country (barr)606 and stopped at some place. The Romans gathered at al-Yarmūk and encamped there. They said, “By God, we will indeed keep Abū Bakr too busy with himself to come into our land with his horses.” Khālid b. Saʿīd wrote to Abū Bakr about what had happened. At this, Abū Bakr wrote to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣi, who was in the land of the Quḍāʾah, [commanding him] to go to al-Yarmūk, and he did. He also sent Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ and Yazid b. Abi Sufyān, ordering each of them to raid and said, “Do not penetrate to the extent that any of your enemy are behind you.” Shurahbil b. ʿHasanah came to Abū Bakr from one of the victories of Khālid. Abū Bakr dispatched him toward Syria with a division. He also nominated each man of the commanders of the divisions to a district in Syria.

They came together to al-Yarmūk. When the Romans saw their coming together, they regretted what had been manifested by them607 and forgot with what they had been threatening Abū Bakr. They were concerned, their concern being themselves. They608 distressed them, and they609 were distressed by them. Then they encamped at al-Wāqūṣah. Abū Bakr said, “By God, I will certainly make the Romans forget the whisperings of the devil about Khālid b. al-Walid.” Thus, he wrote to him this letter—which is above this report—and commanded him to appoint al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah as his deputy over Iraq with half of the troops. “And if God conquers Syria for the Muslims, return to your province in Iraq.” Khālid sent the fifths [of the spoils to Medina], except what had been given out

606. It would seem that “desert” is implied by the word barr in such reports.
607. That is, their braggadocio.
608. Perhaps meaning the Muslims.
609. Perhaps meaning the Romans. The text is obscure and possibly corrupt. See notes to Leiden text.
to the troops, with Ḫumayr b. Saʿd al-Anṣārī, and [informed the caliph] about his setting out for Syria. Khalid summoned the guides and departed from al-Ḥirah going to Dūmah. Then he struck into the open country to Quragir.

Then he said, "How is there a way for me by which I will emerge behind the Roman forces, for if I face them directly, they will block me from relieving the Muslims?" All of the guides said, "We know only a route that does not bear armies, which the lone rider takes. Do not by any means expose the Muslims." Khalid nonetheless resolved on it, but no one responded to him in that except for Raft b. `Amirah, who did so in extreme fear. Therefore Khalid stood up in their midst to say, "Do not by any means let your ways be diverse, nor your certainty weakened! Know that aid comes according to the level of the intention, and reward according to the level of the account. The Muslim ought not to care about something he falls into, considering God's aid to him." They said, "You are a man for whom God has brought together the good; it is your affair." Thus they complied with his wishes, resolving on, being satisfied with, and desiring the like of what Khalid desired.

He commanded them to take enough water to drink (li-al-shafah) for five [nights' journey]. He also gave orders to the commander of each cavalry troop

610. Of the `Amr b. 'Awf b. Mālik b. al-Aws, he was one of the very few Anṣār to play a major role in the conquests, campaigning against the Romans in al-Jazirah, Cilicia, and Cyprus. He also governed Ḥims for ʿUmar and al-Jazirah for ʿUthmān. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Ġamharat, I, 178; II, 569; Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt, VII, 402; Ibn Khayyāt, Tāʾrikh, 158; Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 161, 182, 185, 194, 209–12, 216, 219; Maqdisi, Isṭībṣār, 281–82; Ibn ʿAbār, Isābah, III, 32.

611. Here begins the detailed story cited by al-Ṭabarī of Khalid's famous march across the desert. Considerable effort has gone into trying to show which route he took. See Caetani, Annali, II, 1192–1236; Musil, Arabia Deserta, 553–73; Donner, Conquests, 120–27. See also pp. 109–10, above.

612. Ibn Abī Raft b. ʿAmirah, he is said to originally have been a Christian. He embraced Islam in 8/629. Later he was a tribal leader of the Sinbis branch of the ʿAyyi in al-Ḳufah. He died 23/644. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Ġamharat, I, 256; II, 439; Ibn Hishām, Sīrah, II, 624–25; Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 131; Kūfī, Futūḥ, I, 136–38; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Isṭīʿāb, I, 497–98; Ibn ʿAbār, Isābah, I, 497–98; Watt, Muhammad at Medina, 89.

613. Ar. hisbah. A variant reading has hasanah, meaning "good deed," so that reward would be "according to the level of the good deed." In meaning this parallels the famous canonical hadith in Bukhārī, 1, 2.


615. Musil, Arabia Deserta, 556, 569–70, explains that this means six stages, not five, because they would be camping in the desert five nights.
as to the amount of water to give to the horses. Each leader made thirsty enough of the older female camels to suffice him, then gave them to drink once and yet again. Then they made the camels prick up their ears [from thirst],616 covered [their mouths] with bags (ka-
ma'ūhā),617 and left their backs free [of loads].618 Then they rode from Qurāqir, going into the desert to Suwā, which is on the other side of it in Syria. When they had traveled for a day, they pressed the water out of the stomachs of ten of those camels for every group of horses, mixing what was in their stomachs with whatever milk there was. Then they gave the horses to drink and themselves took a swallow for a drink. They did that for four days.

Al-Sari — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — ‘Ubaydallāh b. Muḥaffiz b. Tha‘labah619—his informant from the Bakr b. Wā’il: Muhriz b. Ḥarīsh al-
Muḥāribi620 told Khālid, “Put the morning star on your right eye-
brow, then head for it; you will get to Suwā.” He was the best guide among them.

Abū Ja‘far al-Ṭabari — Muḥammad and Tālḥah, agreeing with them: When he reached Suwā and feared that the heat of the sun would overcome them, Khālid called out to Rāfi‘, “What [news] do you have?” He answered, “Good. You have attained a copious source, for you are upon water.” He urged them on, though he was perplexed [and] bleary eyed. He continued, “O people, look for two eminences that look like a pair of female breasts, then come to them.” They said, “Two eminences.” He went up on them both and said, “Strike to the right and to the left for a box-thorn like the seat of a man.”621 They found its root and said, “A root, but we do not see any tree.” He said, “Dig wherever you will.” They stirred up the dust [to find] small quantities of water and swampy ground with sweet

616. See Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 570. On p. 554, however, he suggests that their ears were caused to tremble from thirst.
618. See Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 570, who also suggests that this implies that the camels' urethras were bound up so they could not urinate.
619. This man seems to be quoted only by Sayf. However, his alleged father is the well-attested Kūfan who carried al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī's head to Damascus. See note 1001, below.
620. From Ibn Ḥajar, *Isābah*, III, 486, it appears that this is his only historical mention. The notice, which contains the same report as here, comes from Abū Ismā‘īl Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Azdi's *Futūḥ al-Sha‘m*, and this probably derives ultimately from Sayf.
621. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, 571, suggests that this means "a low, round shrub."
water under the sand. Rāfiʿ said, “O Commander, by God, I have not come to this waterhole for thirty years. I only came to it once before, when I was a boy, with my father.” Thus they prepared themselves and then attacked, the enemy not believing that any army could cross [the desert] to them.

Al-Sāri—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad—Ishaq b. Ibrāhim—Zafar b. Dahi: Khālid led us to attack from Suwā to Muṣayyakh Bahrāʾ in al-Quṣwānā,622 one of the waterholes. We took al-Muṣayyakh and the Namir by morning when they were unawares, and when a company were drinking in the face of the morning, while their cupbearer was singing to them, saying,

Should you two not rouse me in the morning before the army of Abū Bakr?

Then his head was cut off and his blood was mixed with his wine.

Al-Sāri—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAmr b. Muḥammad, by his isnād that has already been mentioned: When the Ghassān heard of Khālid's going out against Suwā and its destruction, and his raid on Muṣayyakh Bahrāʾ and its destruction, they assembled at Marj Rāḥīt. [Word of] that reached Khālid, who had already left the Roman frontier fortresses and their armies on the border of Iraq behind him, so that he now lay between them623 and the Yarmūk. He directed himself toward them,624 going forth from Suwā after he had returned to it with the captives of the Bahrāʾ. He stopped at al-Rummānātayn,625 which were two markers of the road, then he stopped at al-Kathāb,626 until he came to Damascus, then Marj al-Ṣuffar. On it, he met the Ghassān under al-Ḥārith b. al-Ayham.627 He overthrew

---

622. Voweling uncertain. Possibly the same as the Quṣwān mentioned in Yāqūṭ, Muḥam, IV, 366, as it is attributed to the Bakrī Taym or the Saʿd Tamīm. This place is identified by Musil, Middle Euphrates, 311, as the modern region of al-Qāsī due west of Hit in the desert on the south side of the Ḥawrān valley. Kūfī, Futūḥ, I, 138, gives al-Kawāṭīl as the name at this place in Khālid’s itinerary.

623. That is, the Roman forces in Iraq.

624. That is, the Ghassān at Marj Rāḥīt.

625. According to Musil, Arabia Deserta, 572, this name denotes two low, natural domes east of Damascus that now are unidentifiable.

626. Emended by Musil, Arabia Deserta, 572, to kathīb, it denotes a low, sandy mound east of Damascus, now unidentifiable.

627. This appears to be the only mention of such a person. It could either be a mistake for Jabalah b. al-Ayham, as is likely, or else an otherwise unknown brother of Jabalah along the lines of the brothers Sayf provides for other famous men. On Jabalah, see note 326.
their camp and their families and stayed on the plain for some days. He sent Abū Bakr the fifths [of the spoils] with Bilāl b. al-
Hārith al-Muzani.628 Then he went out from the plain until he came to the canal of Buṣrā, which was the first city in Syria that was conquered by Khālid and those with him of the troops of Iraq. After that, he set forth from it and came to the Muslims at al-Wāqūsah. He was in command of nine thousand when he fought the enemy there.

Al-Sarī — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and al-Muhallab: When Khālid returned from his pilgrimage, the letter of Abū Bakr came to him, [commanding him] to go forth with half of the troops and to leave al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah in charge of the remaining half and saying, “Do not by any means take brave [men] unless you also leave behind brave [men] for him too. When God grants you victory, bring them back to Iraq, and yourself with them, for then you will be governing your province.” Khālid had the Companions of God’s Messenger brought to his presence and appropriated them for himself, not al-Muthannā. He rather left to al-Muthannā numbers of men from among those he was satisfied with (ahl al-
qanāʾah) who were not Companions. Then he looked at those who remained, pulling out those who had come to the Prophet in delegations or otherwise, and left to al-Muthannā their numbers from the people with whom he was satisfied. Then he divided the army into two halves.

Al-Muthannā said, “By God, I will not keep to other than the execution of Abū Bakr’s command in its totality regarding having in [my] company half of the Companions, or a part of the half. By God, I do not hope for victory except by them. Wherefore then do you denude me of them?” When Khālid saw that, after having held back from him, he provided al-Muthannā with replacements from among the Companions until he was satisfied. Among those whom he gave him as replacements from among them were Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-‘Ijli,

628. An important tribal leader, he was a Muslim by 6/628, was assigned land by the Prophet near Medina, commanded the Muzaynah regiment at the conquest of Mecca in 8/630, took part at al-Qādisiyyah, and later moved to al- Başrah, before dying in 60/680 at eighty years of age. See Ṭabārī, I, 2574–75; Ibn al-Kalbī, Gam-
The Events of the Year 13

Bashir b. al-Khaşāsiyyah and al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān⁶²⁹ the two Dhuḥlis, Maʿbad b. Umm Maʿbad al-Aslami,⁶³⁰ ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Awfā al-Aslami,⁶³¹ al-Ḥārith b. Bilāl al-Muzanī, and ʿĀsim b. ʿAmr al-Ṭamimi, so that, when al-Muthannā was satisfied and had taken what he needed, Khālid withdrew and went off toward his destination. Al-Muthannā accompanied him as far as Qurāqir, then returned to al-Ḥirah in al-Muharram [13] [7 March – 5 April 634].

Al-Muthannā remained in his [seat of] authority, putting his brother in the outpost he had been in on al-Sib. In place of Iʿirār b. al-Khallāb, [he put] ʿUtaybah b. al-Nahhās, in place of Qirār b. al-Azwar [he put] Masʿūd,⁶³² his other brother, and he filled the places of all those commanders who had departed with men like them from the people of sufficiency (ahl a1-ghand). He also appointed Madhūr b. ʿAdi to one of those positions.

Meanwhile, the Persians found order, one year after Khālid had come to al-Ḥirah, a little after Khālid’s departure — that was in the year 13 — under Shahrabārāz b. Ardashār b. Shahriyar,⁶³³ one of the relatives of Kīsrā, then of Sābūr.⁶³⁴ He sent against al-Muthannā a

---

⁶²⁹. He probably became a Muslim in 9/631. Subsequently, he participated in the wars of conquest. However, all transmissions showing him in the conquests are through Sayf, including his part in the imaginary conquest of Khurāsān that Sayf attributed to the year 17/638. In 36/656 he was the commander of the Kūfān Dhuḥl at the Battle of the Camel, where he fell. See Tabārī, I, 2231, 2474, 2477, 2682, 3202–3; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gāmharat, I, 154; II, 307; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, I, 277.


⁶³¹. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlqamah al-Khuṣāʿi, he embraced Islam by 6/628 and later migrated to al-Kūfāh, where he was the last Companion of the Prophet alive. He is said to have died as late as 80–87/699–706. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gāmharat, I, 201; II, 106; Ibn Saʿd, Tabaqāt, VI, 21; Ibn Khayyat, Taʾrīkh, 382; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Istīʿābah, II, 264–65; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II, 279–80.

⁶³². Unattested except in the transmissions of Sayf in this volume.

⁶³³. The nomenclature of this alleged Persian shows Sayf’s method in conflating names of famous persons to produce new persons with which to adorn his stories. Shahrabāz is the general of Khusrāw II who was not part of the royal house. There is no precedent for his unusual name. See Tabārī, I, 1061–64; Christensen, L’Iran, 492. Ardashār is borrowed from the short-lived Ardashīr III b. Shirīyāh, who was overthrown and killed by Shahrabāz. See Tabārī, I, 1061–62, and above p. 11 and note 74. Shahriyār was the father of Yazdīgīrd III who himself never held the throne. See below, p. 222 and note 1054. No such collocation of royal Persian names exists outside of Sayf’s transmissions.

⁶³⁴. This appears to refer to the earlier Persian King Shīpūr II [309–79 C.E.].
huge army commanded by Hurmuz Jādhūyah\(^{635}\) containing ten thousand men and an elephant. The forward posts wrote to al-Muthannā about his approach. Al-Muthannā left al-Ḥirah \[heading\] toward him, joining the forward garrisons to himself. He put in charge of his two wings al-Mu‘annā and Mas‘ūd, the two sons of Ḥārithah. He waited for Hurmuz at Bābil.\(^{636}\) Hurmuz Jādhūyah approached, his two flanks being commanded by al-Karukbdh\(^{637}\) and al-Kharukbdh.\(^{638}\) He wrote to al-Muthannā, “From Shahrbarāz to al-Muthannā. I have sent against you an army consisting of the rabble of the Persians who are nothing but keepers of chickens and swine. I am not going to fight you except with them.” Al-Muthannā answered him:

> From al-Muthannā to Shahrbarāz. You are one of two men: either an oppressor, which would be worse for you and better for us, or else a liar, and the greatest of liars in punishment and shame both with God and with people are kings. But what sensible opinion shows me is that you have been forced to use only the rabble; therefore, praise be to God who has thrown back your intrigue on the keepers of chickens and swine.

The Persians were taken aback by his letter. They said, “Shahrbarāz is only weakened by the ill omen of his place of birth and the baseness of his upbringing,” for he used to live in Maysān,\(^{639}\) and certain countries are a disgrace to those who inhabit them. They told him, “You have encouraged our enemy against us by what you wrote to them. When you write to anyone, consult \[first\].”

---

\(^{635}\) See Hurmuz and Bahman Jādhūyah above, pp. 9–13, 16–19, 22–23, 37, 43–44, 51. This new collocation would appear to be either an accidental or intentional juxtaposition of the aforementioned names.

\(^{636}\) The site of ancient Babylon, it lies east of the Euphrates just north of the present al-Hillah. See EP, s.v. Bābil; Le Strange, Lands, 71–72.

\(^{637}\) Text: al-Kawkabād; read: al-Karukbdh, as Tabari, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emandanda, DCXIII.

\(^{638}\) Text: al-Khūkbad; read: al-Kharukbdh, as Tabari, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emandanda, DCXIII. Owing to the similarity of their forms, it is possible that these two names or titles are a doublet of the same original. The persons bearing them appear to be unknown except in Sayf’s reports, as is the case with most of the Persians he names.

\(^{639}\) The large district on the lower Tigris between Kaskar and al-Baṣrah. See the detailed article in EP, s.v. Maisān; Le Strange, Lands, 43, 80, map II; Morony, Iraq, 127, 159–63; Donner, Conquests, 159–60.
The Events of the Year 13

They met at Babil and fought each other a fierce battle on the nearer bank of al-Ṣarah on the first road. Then al-Muthannā and some of the Muslims came against the elephant by turns, for it had scattered the ranks and the squadrons, and they gained its slaughter, killing it. They then defeated the Persians. The Muslims pursued them, killing them until they had brought them beyond their frontier outposts. They remained in these, but the pursuers continued to follow the defeated remnants until they reached al-Madāʾin.

ʿAbdah b. al-Tabib al-Saʿdi spoke [poetry] regarding that. ʿAbdah had migrated (ḥajar) owing to the migration of a wife of his, so that he participated in the Battle of Babil. When she had caused him to despair, he returned to the desert and declaimed:

Is the rope of Khawlah after the parting still joined,

or are you, living far away from her, [only] preoccupied?

Lovers have days that they remember,

and the course of a journey, before the departure, had its imagined appearance.

Khuwaylah has settled among a group with whom I am acquainted before al-Madāʾin; among them are the rooster and the elephant.

They strike the heads of the Persians in open daylight;

among them are horsemen who are neither weaponless nor sway in the saddle.

And so on. Al-Farazdaq, when he was enumerating the noble

---

640. This is the Great Ṣarah Canal, which branched off from the Euphrates just above Babil and carried water due east as far as the Tigris. See Le Strange, Lands, 72–73, map II.

641. ʿAbdah b. Yazid al-Ṭabib al-ʿAbshami, the poet. See Ṭabarī, I, 2292; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 78; II, 134; Ibn Durayd, Ishtiqaq, 262; Ḥbahāni, Aghānī, XVIII, 163–64.

642. That is, he migrated from the Arabian peninsula to the conquered lands, here to Iraq.

643. Lines 1, 3, and 4 of this poem are also found in Ḥbahāni, Aghānī, XVIII, 163. Yaqūt, Muʾjam, V, 75 [al-Madāʾin], has all four lines plus one more. Both vary from Ṭabarī’s text.

644. The diminutive for Khawlah.

645. Or, “I visited.”

646. The famous Baṣrī poet, he died in 110/728 or 112/730. See EP, s.v. al-Farazdaq.
houses of the Bakr b. Wā'il and mentioned al-Muthannā and his killing of the elephant, [said]: 647

The house of al-Muthannā, who slew the elephant by force, is at Bābil, for the sovereignty of Bābil belongs to a horseman.

Shahrbarāz died at the time of the defeat of Hurmuz Jādhuyah. The Persians quarreled amongst themselves. The lands of the Sawād between the Tigris and Burs 648 remained in the hands of al-Muthannā and the Muslims. Then the Persians agreed after Shahrbarāz on Dukht-i Zabān, 649 the daughter of Kisrā, but no order of hers was carried out, she was deposed, and Sābūr b. Shahrbarāz 650 was made king.

When Sābūr b. Shahrbarāz became king, al-Farrukhzād b. al-Bindawān took charge of his affairs. He asked Sābūr to marry him to Āzarmidukht, 651 the daughter of Kisrā, and so he did, but she became angry at that and said, "O cousin, would you marry me to my slave?" He replied, "Be ashamed of such talk, and do not repeat it to me again, for he is your husband!" Therefore, she sent a message to Siyāwukhsh al-Rāżī, 652 who was one of the treacherous killers among the Persians, and complained to him about what she feared. He said to her, "If you dislike this, do not go back to him about it. Rather, send a message to Sābūr, telling him to have al-Farrukhzād come to you. I will protect you from him." She did so, and Sābūr did so. Siyāwukhsh readied himself. When it was the night of the wedding, al-Farrukhzād approached and went inside, where Siyāwukhsh unleashed himself on him, slaying him and those with him. Then he rushed out with her to Sābūr. She came into his presence, and they went in to him and killed him. Āzarmidukht bt. Kisrā became queen, and the Persians were occupied with that.

---

647. A version of the complete poem is found in Farazdaq, Diwān, II, 666–70.
648. Now called al-Brīs, it was the ancient Borsippa and presently shows extensive ruins. It is located 21 km. southwest of Bābil between the two branches of the Euphrates. See Musil, Middle Euphrates, 38 n. 30, 39, 245–46, 276, 278, and accompanying map of northern Arabia (h 20); Morony, Iraq, 148, 174.
649. Mentioned only in this place by Sayf.
650. Mentioned only by Sayf. See note 633.
651. She reigned a year and a half, or probably less, in about 630–32 C.E. See Tabari, I, 1064–65; Christensen, L'Iran, 493; Frye, History, 337; CHI, III, 171.
652. Siyāwukhsh b. Mihrān b. Bahram Shūbin, he is allegedly the grandson of the usurper Bahram VI (590–91 C.E.). He probably is yet another imaginary scion of a pre-Islamic house said to have been conquered by the Muslims in the early campaigns. Sayf improbably claims that he was the king of al-Rayy in 22/643. See Tabari, I, 2447, 2653–54. His alleged father Mihrān is mentioned above, pp. 53–54. See note 289.
News about Abū Bakr was slow in reaching the Muslims. Al-Muthannā made Bashir b. al-Khaṣṣāṣiyah his deputy in charge of the Muslims and put Saʿīd b. Murrah al-ʿIli in his place in the forward outposts. Al-Muthannā set out to go to Abū Bakr [first] in order to tell him the news about the Muslims and the polytheists, [second] to ask his permission to seek the help of those whose had clearly shown their repentence and their regret from among the people of apostasy (ahl al-riddah) who had asked his permission to join campaigns, and [third] to inform him that he had not left behind anyone more able than they to fight the Persians, to wage war on them, and to help the immigrants (muhājirīn). He arrived at Medina when Abū Bakr had fallen ill.

After Khalid had set out for Syria, Abū Bakr fell ill with the illness from which he was to die within months. Al-Muthannā arrived when he had become better. Abū Bakr entrusted [the succession] to ʿUmar. When al-Muthannā told him the news, he said, "I must consult ʿUmar." When ʿUmar came, he said to him,

Listen, O ʿUmar, to what I say to you, then act according to it. I hope to die on this day of mine. [That was a Monday.] If I die, do not by any means let the evening enter before you have summoned the men [to go] with al-Muthannā. If I delay until the night, do not by any means let the morning come before you summon the men [to go] with al-Muthannā. Do not let any catastrophe at all, even if it is great, keep you from the matter of your religion and your Lord's counsel. You saw what I did on the day the Messenger of God died, and the people were never stricken with the like of it. By God, if I were to weaken in the affair of God and the affair of His Messenger, He would abandon me and punish me, so that Medina would be consumed by fire. If God grants victory to the commanders in Syria, return the troops of Khalid to Iraq, for they are its people, the governors of its affairs alone, and the people of violence and courage against the enemy.

---

653. Here this term seems clearly to mean the Muslims fighting in Iraq, rather than its better-known usage, referring to the Qurashīs who had migrated from Mecca to Medina.

654. This would appear to be an allusion to the Battle of al-Harrah, called Ḥarrat al-Nār, "the Harrah of the Fire," which was so disastrous to the Medinans. It took place in 63/683 and witnessed the slaughter of many of the descendants of noble Qurashi and Ansāri lineages. See EP, s.v. al-Ḥarrah; Ibn Khayyāt, Ṭurīkh, 289–314.
Abū Bakr died at night. ‘Umar then buried him at night and said prayers over him in the mosque. He also summoned the men to [join] al-Muthannā after Abū Bakr had been interred. ‘Umar said, “Abū Bakr knew that it would annoy me to put Khālid in charge of warfare in Iraq when he ordered me to send back his troops but left aside mention of Khālid himself.”

Abū Ja‘far: The matter of Abū Bakr reached Āzarmīdūkht when one half of al-Sawād was under his control. Then he died, and the Persians were diverted by internal affairs from removing the Muslims from al-Sawād in the time between the rule of Abū Bakr to the accession of ‘Umar and the return of al-Muthannā with Abū ‘Ubayd655 to Iraq. At that time, most of the troops of the people of Iraq were at al-Hīrah and the outposts on al-Sīb, whence raids brought them to the bank of the Tigris. The Tigris was a barrier between the Arabs and the Persians. This is the story of Iraq during the reign of Abū Bakr, from its beginning to its end.

Continuation of the Report of Ibn Ishaq

Abū Bakr wrote to Khālid when the latter was at al-Hīrah, commanding him to reinforce the forces in Syria with the strong among those he had with him, and to lead them forth, leaving behind to be in charge of the weak a man from among them. When the letter of Abū Bakr came to Khālid with that [message], Khālid said, “This is the work of al-U‘aysir, the son of Umm Shamlah656 — meaning ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb—who has envied me that the conquest of Iraq should be at my hand.” Khālid set out with the strong among his men and sent the weak and the women back to Medina, the city of the Messenger. He put in charge of them ‘Umayr b. Sa‘d al-Anṣārī. Khālid left behind al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah al-Shaybānī in command of those of the Rabī‘ah and other groups who had embraced Islam.

Then he went along until he stopped at ‘Ayn al-Tamr and raided its people, making gains from them. He also took up positions before a fortress there in which Kisrā had stationed troops, until he got

---

656. That is, “the little left-handed one, the son of temporal joys.”
them to come out and cut off their heads. He took many captives from 'Ayn al-Tamr and from among the sons of those garrison troops and sent them to Abū Bakr. Among those captives were Abū 'Amrah, the mawla of the Shaybān,657 who was the father of 'Abd al-A'īlā b. Abī 'Amrah,658 Abū 'Ubayd, the mawla of al-Mu'allā of the Anṣār, from the Banū Zurayq;659 Abū 'Abdallāh, the mawla of the Zuhrah;660 Khayr, the mawla of Abū Dāwūd al-Anṣārī, who was also one of the Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār;661 Yasār, who was the grandfather of Muhammad b. Ishaq, the mawla of Qays b. Makhrmah b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf;662 Aflah,663 the mawla of Abū Ayyūb al-

658. Al-Shaybānī, he was born c. 30/651 in Medina, where he was part of the Umayyad circle, being a companion of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān. Subsequently, he fled to Damascus with the Umayyads, in 64/684. He accompanied 'Abd al-'Azīz to Egypt during the latter's governorship but returned to Damascus after his patron's death. He later became an important adviser to the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, representing him in an embassy to the Roman emperor Leo III in 100/719, after which no more is heard of him. He married a sister of Musa b. Nuṣayr, the conqueror of North Africa and Spain. He also was a poet. See 'Atwān, Sirāh, 75 -77. See also notes 303-4 above.
659. A Medinan, he was also killed at the Battle of al-Ḥarrah in 63/683. His name is given by Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, V, 87, as Abū 'Abdallāh 'Ubayd, the mawla of 'Ubayd b. al-Mu'allā. However, as 'Ubayd b. al-Mu'allā is said to have fallen at Uhud in 3/625, it is impossible for a mawla taken captive in 13/634 to have belonged to him. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, II, 561; Ibn Hishām, Sirah, I, 126; Ibn Durayd, Ish'īṭiqād, 459-60; Maqdisī, Iṣṭibār, 182, Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, II, 447. Probably the name of the mawla, 'Ubayd, has been confused with that of the son of al-Mu'allā who was actually his master. Al-Mu'allā b. Lawdhān himself is only a name and thus probably was never a Muslim, except in Wiqati, Maghdāzi, 306, where he probably is mistakenly named among the slain at Uhud. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 192; II, 410; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, III, 447-48.
660. Text: Zahrah; read: the Zuhrah, referring to the Qurashi clan of the Zuhrah. This Abū 'Abdallāh is unidentified.
661. Abū Dāwūd 'Umayr b. 'Amīr was a participant at the battle of Badr and Uhud. See Wāqīdī, Maghāzi, 24, 80, 95, 142, 149, 164; Ibn Hishām, Sirah, I, 633, 705; Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, III, 518; Maqdisī, Iṣṭibār, 88; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, IV, 58. Khayr is unidentified.
662. Qays b. Makhrmah was a noble Qurashi who would appear to have already been a Muslim by 7/629, when he was given a share of the spoils of Khaybar. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 15; II, 461; Wāqīdī, Maghāzi, 694-95; Ibn Hishām, Sirah, II, 351; Zubayrī, Nasab, 92; Ibn Khayyāt, Ta'Rīkh, 9, 102; Baladhurī, Futūḥ, 302; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, III, 259-60.
663. This Aflah was one of the famous early traditionists of Medina, where he died, possibly in 63/683 at the Battle of al-Ḥarrah. However, some sources state that it was his son Kathiir who fell there, which would appear more probable. His master Abū Ayyūb is said to have freed him and bestowed on him a fortune of forty thousand dirhams. See Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, V, 86-87, 298-99; Ibn Khayyāt, Ta'Rīkh, 313; Ibn Ḥajar, Taḥdhib, I, 368-69.
Anšārī, who was also one of the Banū Mālik b. al-Najjār, and Ḥumrān b. Abān, the mawlā of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān. Khālid b. al-Walid also slew Hīlāl b. ‘Aqqah b. Bishr al-Namārī and hanged him on a tree at ‘Ayn al-Tamr.

Then Khālid proposed to go into the desert from Qurāqīr, which was a waterhole belonging to the Kalb, to Suwā, which was a waterhole belonging to the Bahrā‘. Between them was five days’ journey. Khālid was unfamiliar with the route, wherefore he sought a guide. He was introduced to Rāfī‘ b. ‘Amīrah al-Ṭā‘ī. Khālid said to him, “Set off with the men.” Rāfī‘ answered him, “You will not find that [route] bearable with the horses and the baggage. By God, even the lone rider fears for himself from it. No one travels along it without exposing himself to danger. It is five long nights, during which no water is to be obtained, while it is also easy to lose the way.” Khālid said to him, “Woe to you! By God, I have no alternative to that. A strict order from the commander has come to me about that. Therefore, command as you see fit.” He responded, “Take much water. Whoever of you can make the ears of his camel prick up from [want of] water, let him do it, for they are murderous wastes, except for what God prevents. Find me twenty huge, fat old camels for slaughter.” Khālid brought them to him. Rāfī‘ busied himself with them, making them thirsty until he had exhausted them from thirst. Then he brought them to water so that they would drink, until, when they were full, he directed himself to them, cutting off their lips and then tying them up with bags, so that they could not ruminate. Then he left their backs free [of loads]. Then he said to Khālid, “Go.”

Khālid set out in his company, making haste with his horses and baggage. Every time he stopped at a campsite, he pressed the water out of the stomachs of four of those old camels. He took what was in their paunches and gave it to the horses to drink. Then the men drank from what water they had carried with them. When Khālid grew fearful for his companions on the last day in the desert, he said to Rāfī‘ b. ‘Amīrah, who was bleary-eyed, “Woe to you, O Rāfī‘!

664. Khālid b. Zayd, one of the most famous of the Anšār, he was a supporter of ‘Ali, for whom he fought against the Khārijites in 38/658 and whom he served as governor of Medina. He is best known, however, for his death in a campaign against the Romans in 49 – 52/669 – 72 or, in one less probable report, 55/675. See EP, s.v. Abū Ayyūb; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharāt, I, 186; II, 343; Ibn Muzāhīm, Siffin, 93, 366, 368–69; Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, III, 484–85; Ibn Khayyāt, Tārikh, 77, 223, 232, 248; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Isti‘āb, I, 403–5; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, I, 405–6.
What [news] do you have?" Rāfī answered, "You have reached a copious source, God willing." When they came near the two eminences, he said to the men, "Look. Do you see a bush of boxwood like the seat of a man?" They replied, "We do not see it." He said, "We belong to God and to him we return!" Then you have perished, by God! And I have perished too, you bastards! Look!" When they searched again, they found it; it had been cut down, but a part of it remained. When the Muslims saw it, they shouted, "God is Greater!" Rāfī b. 'Amirah also shouted, "God is Greater!" Then they dug at its root. They dug and uncovered a spring, from which they drank until they had quenched their thirst. After that, campsites [with water] were continuous. Rāfī said, "By God, I never came to this waterhole but one time: I came to it with my father when I was a boy." A Muslim poet said:

Rāfī's eyes are God's; how was he guided?
He went into the desert from Qurāqir to Suwā
Not giving the camels drink for five days; when the army traversed it, it wept.
No human being was seen to traverse it before you.

When Khalid reached Suwā, he attacked its inhabitants, who were of the Bahra‘, before morning. Some people among them were drinking wine, which they had in a vat. They were gathered around it, while their singer was singing:

Will you two not give me another drink before the army of Abū Bakr?
Perhaps our deaths are near, though we do not know.
Will you two not give me another drink in the glass, again giving me reddish-colored, pure, flowing wine?
Will you two not give me another drink of the best dark wine, of the good-quality wine that diverts from the cares of the soul?

666. These lines are also cited without attribution in Balādhuri, Futūḥ, 131, and Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, III, 271; IV, 318.
667. Five of these lines, with one slight variation, are found in Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, I, 427; the first of them is cited in Balādhuri, Futūḥ, 132. Both sources attribute them to Hurqūs.
668. Following Tabari, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DCXIII.
I suspect that the Muslims’ horses and Khalid
will come upon you before morning from al-Bishr.669
Will you not go before they fight [you],
and before the pubescent girls go forth from the tent?

They claim that that singer of theirs was slain in the attack, and that
his blood flowed into that vat.

Thereafter, Khalid continued in the direction in which he was
going until he attacked the Ghassān at Marj Rāhiṭ. Then he went on
until he stopped at the canal of Buṣrā, which was being besieged by
Abū ‘Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ, Shurahbil b. Ḥasanah, and Yazid b. Abī
Sufyān. They all came together against it and besieged it until Buṣrā
made a peace agreement on terms of the jizyah. Thus God con-
quered for the Muslims. It was the first of the cities of Syria to be
conquered in the caliphate of Abū Bakr. Then they went all together
to Palestine to support ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣī. ‘Amr was encamped at al-
‘Arabāt in al-Ghawr670 of Palestine. The Romans heard about them
and withdrew from Jilliq to Ajnādayn.671 Theodore, the full brother
of Heracleios, commanded them. Ajnādayn is a town between al-
Ramlah672 and Bayt Jibrin673 in the land of Palestine. ‘Amr b. al-
‘Āṣī set out when he heard about Abū ‘Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ, Shurahbil b.
Ḥasanah, and Yazid b. Abī Sufyān, so that he met them and they
gathered at Ajnādayn in order to mass against the Romans.

669. This line would support Caetani’s contention that Khalid came via the region
of Jabal Bishri to the northeast rather than by the route suggested by Musil.

670. Al-Ghawr is the deep rift valley extending from the headwaters of the Jordan
River through the Dead Sea to the head of the Gulf of ‘Aqabah. See EP, s.v. al-Ghawr;

671. The site of the first battle between the Muslims and Romans in the conquest of
Palestine, its exact location is uncertain but somewhere on the plain of southwestern
Palestine, perhaps about 25 km. west-southwest of Jerusalem, south of the present
village of Bayt Jimal. See EP, s.v. Ajnādayn; Le Strange, Palestine, 389; Donner, Con-
quests, 129, 115 n. 189. Tabari, I, 2398–2402, and Ibn Khayyāt, Ta’rikh, 103–4, give
other versions of this battle. Küfī, Futūḥ, I, 143–48, has an exaggerated and distorted
version putting Khalīd b. al-Walid in command even here.

672. A large town founded c. 86/705 by Sulaymān b. ’Abd al-Malik and still extant,
it was the administrative center of early Muslim Palestine. See EP, s.v. al-Ramlā; Le
Strange, Palestine, 15, 28, 39, 41, 303–8; Yāqūt, Mu’jam, III, 69–70.

673. Also Bayt Jibril, ancient Betogabra-Baetogabris-Eleutheropolis, it lies 35 km.
west-southwest of Jerusalem. It was populated by the Judham. See EP, s.v. Bayt Dji-
brin; Le Strange, Palestine, 15, 28–29, 39, 41, 64, 380, 412–13; Yāqūt, Mu’jam, I,
519.
Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishaq—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr—ʿUrwah b. al-Zubayr: The Romans were commanded by one of their men called al-Qubiqular,675 whom Heracleios had made his deputy over the commanders in Syria when he had returned to Constantinople. It was to him that Theodore went with those Roman forces that were with him. But the scholars of Syria claim that the Romans were commanded by none other than Theodore. God knows best.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Ishaq—Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr—ʿUrwah: When the two armies drew near to each other, al-Qubiqular sent forth an Arab man. (I have been told that that man was one of the Qudaʿah from the Tazid b. Haydān676 called Ibn Hazārif677) He said, “Go in among those people. Stay among them a day and a night, then bring me information about them.” Thus, an Arab man went in among them unquestioned. He stayed among them a day and a night, then came back to al-Qubiqular, who asked, “What did you find out?” He answered, “By night, [they are] monks, by day, horsemen. If a son steals their property, they cut off his hand; if he commits adultery, they stone him to establish the right among them.” Al-Qubiqular said, “If you have told me the truth, the interior of the earth is better than meeting these on its surface. I wish that my fortune from God will be that he will separate me from them, neither helping me against them, nor helping them against me.” Then the troops marched against each other and fought. When al-Qubiqular had seen what he saw of fighting the Muslims, he said to the Romans, “Wrap my head in a robe.” They

674. Al-Asadi al-Qurashi, he was a Medinan scion of the famous Zubayri house and a traditionist of good reputation. He died 110–20/728–38. See Ibn Saʿd, Tabaqāt, V, 184; Zubayri, Nasab, 250; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, IX, 93.
675. Text: al-Qubuqlar; read: al-Qubiqular, as suggested by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio, 323. The Greek koubikoularios, Latin cubicularius, is a title rather than a name; it designated a chamberlain, who usually was nonmilitary and a eunuch. See Jones, Later Roman Empire, 566–70. But in the troubles of the seventh century, eunuchs could command troops as well, as attested in Theophanes, Chronicle, 43, for the year 27–28/648–49. This koubikoularios would seem to be identified with the Sergios of Theophanes, Chronicle, 37, and perhaps also with the eunuch on p. 36.
676. Closely related to the Mahrah in the genealogical tree, but apparently from the Syrian Arabs. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 328; II, 543.
677. Unidentified and apparently not mentioned elsewhere.
asked him, "Why?" He said, "[It is] the day for the miserable that I do not want to see. I have not seen in this world a day worse than this." The Muslims cut off his head while he was wrapped up. Ajnādayn occurred on 28 Jumādā al-Ūlā of the year 13 (30 July 634). A group of the Muslims were slain on that day, including Salamah b. Hishām b. al-Mughirah, Habbār b. al-Aswad b. 'Abd al-Asad,678 Na'īm b. 'Abdallāh al-Nahhām,679 Hishām b. al-'Aṣī b. Wā'il, and a group of others from the Quraysh. (We were not given the names of any of the Anṣār who were killed in it.)

In this year, Abū Bakr died on 21 or 22 Jumādā al-Ākhirah (22–23 August 634).

**Continuation of the Report of Abū Zayd**

'Ali b. Muḥammad, according to his isnād, which has been mentioned before: Khālid came to Damascus, and the governor of Buṣrā amassed [his forces] against him. Khālid set out against him, he and 'Abū 'Ubaydah. Adrunjār met them, and Khālid triumphed over them, defeating them so that they entered their fortress and sought a peace agreement. He made peace with them on condition that [they pay] a dinār for each person every year, and a jarīb681 of wheat. Then the enemy came back against the Muslims. The Muslims' troops came all together to Ajnādayn. The two sides met on Saturday, 28 Jumādā al-Ūlā 13 (30 July 634).682 The Muslims were victo-

---

678. This is an apparent mistake for Habbār b. Suṭyān b. 'Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmi al-Qurashi, whose martyrdom at Ajnādayn is corroborated by a number of sources, though Mu'tah also is mentioned. The better-known Habbār b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib was a different individual. See note 555.

679. Al-'Adawi al-Qurashi, he is said to have been one of the earliest Muslims. Other versions put his death at Mu'tah or al-Yarmūk. Though an early Muslim, he did not leave Mecca for Medina until 6/628. He was said to have been employed collecting the tax of a part of the Khuzā'ah at the end of 8 or the beginning of 9/630. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 26; II, 448 (under Nu'aym); Wāqidi, Maghāzi, 973–74; Ibn Hishām, Siirah, I, 258–59, 343–44; Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt, I, 293; IV, 72, 138–39; V, 170–71; Zubayrī, Nasaḥ, 380; Ibn Hajar, Isābāh, III, 567–68.

680. The Medinan Arabs, who entirely embraced Islam in the Prophet's lifetime and formed the backbone of his forces. See EP, s.v. Anṣār; Watt, Muhammad at Medina, 151–91.

681. A measure of area, 1592 square meters. See Morony, Iraq, 100, 103, 531. But it is also, as here, a dry measure equal to four aqfīzah. See Fayruzābādī, Muḥīt, s.v. j-r-b. A qaṣīf varies from 496 to 640 liters.

682. The day of the week matches with the date.
rious, and God defeated the polytheists. Herakleios’s deputy was killed, and men from among the Muslims were martyred. Then Herakleios came back against the Muslims. They met at al-Wāqūṣah. The Muslims fought them, and the enemy fought the Muslims. [News of] Abū Bakr’s death, and also Abū ‘Ubaydah’s appointment, came to them while they were arrayed in battle formation. This battle occurred in Rajab [31 August – 29 September 634].

[Abū Bakr’s Illness and Death]

Abū Zayd—‘Ali b. Muḥammad, according to his isnād, which has been mentioned before: Abū Bakr died at the age of sixty-three years on Monday, 21 Jumādā al-Akhirah [22 August 634]. The cause of his death was that the Jews fed him poison in a grain of rice; it is also said in porridge (jadhidah). Al-Ḥārīth b. Kaladah—Al-Thaqafi took some with him, then held back. He said to Abū Bakr, “You have eaten food which has been poisoned, the poison of a year.” Abū Bakr died after a year, having been sick for fifteen days. He was told, “If only you would send for the doctor.” He responded, “He has already seen me.” They said, “What did he say to you?” Abū Bakr answered, “That I should do what I want.”

Abū Ja`far: ‘Attāb b. Asīd—Al-Thaqafi. He is renowned as a famous doctor who had studied medicine at Jundisābūr and also was a Companion of the Prophet and especially of Abū Bakr. He may have embraced Islam at the fall of al-Ṭair in 8/630. Ibn Abī Ḥātim denied that he ever became a Muslim. See EP, Supplement, s.v. al-Ḥārīth b. Kaladah, Ibn al-Kalbī, Ġamharat, I, 118, II, 308; Wāqidi, Maghāzī, 931–32, 1116; Ibn Sa`d, Ṭabaqāt, III, 147, 198, 247; Ibn Hishām, Sirāh, II, 485; Balādhuri, Ansāb, I, 489–90; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, I, 288–89.

683. The day of the week matches with the date.

684. Al-Thaqafi. He is renowned as a famous doctor who had studied medicine at Jundisābūr and also was a Companion of the Prophet and especially of Abū Bakr. He may have embraced Islam at the fall of al-Ṭair in 8/630. Ibn Abī Ḥātim denied that he ever became a Muslim. See EP, Supplement, s.v. al-Ḥārīth b. Kaladah, Ibn al-Kalbī, Ġamharat, I, 118, II, 308; Wāqidi, Maghāzī, 931–32, 1116; Ibn Sa`d, Ṭabaqāt, III, 147, 198, 247; Ibn Hishām, Sirāh, II, 485; Balādhuri, Ansāb, I, 489–90; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, I, 288–89.

685. Al-Umawī al-Qurashi, he was born after 600 C.E. He was appointed governor of Mecca by the Prophet in 8/630, even though he had only just become a Muslim. He held the post until his death. A variant version puts his death c. 23/644 rather than 13/634, as here. The English word tabby derives ultimately from his name. See EP, s.v. ‘Attāb; Ibn al-Kalbī, Ġamharat, I, 8, II, 204; Wāqidi, Maghāzī, 6, 889, 959; Ibn Hishām, Sirāh, II, 413, 440, 500, 605; Ibn Sa`d, Ṭabaqāt, II, 145; III, 187; V, 446; VIII, 262; Zubayrī, Nasab, 187, 312, 418; Ibn Khayyāt, Tārīkh, 56, 58, 63, 72, 99, 107; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II, 451–52.
Other authorities on the cause of Abū Bakr's illness, which he died of, include al-Ḥārith b. Usāmah. He was a transmitter of Ibn Sa'd's traditions who died in 282/895. See *EP*, s.v. Ibn Sa'd.

Abū 'Abdallāh al-Bāṣrī, he was a famous transmitter of the traditions of al-Wāqiqī. His great work *al-TABAQAT AL-KABIR* is still extant and often cited in these pages. He lived c. 168-230/784-845. See *EP*, s.v. Ibn Sa'd.

Actually a mawla of the Layth, he was an important Medinan transmitter whose authority was impugned by many scholars but nevertheless deemed trustworthy by Muslim in his *Sallih*. He died at an age over seventy in 153/770. Al-Dhahabi and Ibn Hajar allege that he is different from Usamah b. Zayd b. Aslam, the grandson of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's mawla Aslam, but it appears from their biographies that the two are either the same person or were two persons whose stories have become confused. Ibn Sa'd, *TABAQAT*, V, 413; Ibn Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 662; Dhahabi, *MIZDIN*, I, 174-75; Ibn Hajar, *TAHDHIB*, I, 207-10.


Muhammad b. Muslim b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhri, the nephew of the great al-Zuhri and a Medinan traditionist of mixed reputation. This nephew was murdered in 152/769 or 157/774. He is the only Muhammad b. 'Abdallāh attested as transmitting both from al-Zuhri and to al-Wāqiqī. See Zubayri, *NASAB*, 274; Ibn Hajar, *TAHDHIB*, IX, 278-80.

Muhammad b. Muslim b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhri al-Qurashi, c. 50-124/670-742, he was one of the most famous early Islamic scholars. He migrated from Medina to Damascus in 81/700, where he was on intimate terms with the Umayyads, especially the caliph Hishām, whose children he tutored. See *EP*, s.v. al-Zuhri; Ibn al-Kalbi, *Gamharat*, I, 201; II, 424; Ibn Sa'd, *TABAQAT*, II, 388-89; Zubayri, *NASAB*, 274; Ibn Hajar, *TAHDHIB*, IX, 445-51.

That is, 'Ā'ishah bt. Abī Bakr, daughter of the first caliph and wife of the Prophet. She was born in 614 C.E. (or earlier) and died in 58/678. See *EP*, s.v. 'Ā'isha bint Abī Bakr; Ibn Sa'd, *TABAQAT*, II, 374-78; also, note 766.

Text: 'an; read: b., as Tabari, I, 2730, and *INTRODUCTIO*, *GLOSSARIUM*, *ADDENDA ET EMENDANDA*, DCXIII.
mān b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq[^697] — ʿUmar b. al-Ḥusayn, the māwla of the family of Maẓʿūn[^698] — Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr.[^699] Abū Bakr first began to get sick when he bathed on Monday, 7 Jumādā al-Ākhirah (8 August 634),[^700] which was a cold day. Thus, he contracted a fever for fifteen days, during which he did not go forth for congregational worship. He commanded ʿUmar b. al-Khattīb to lead the worship. The people would come in to visit him, though he grew worse each day. He was staying in his house, which God's Messenger had given him, which faces the house of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān today. ʿUthmān had compelled them to be constantly with Abū Bakr in his illness. Abū Bakr died on the eve of 'Īsāsday, 21 Jumādā al-Ākhirah of the year 13 of the hijrah (22 August 634). His caliphate lasted two years, three months, and ten days.

Abū Maʿṣāhar: His caliphate was two years and four months less four days. He died at the age of sixty-three years. That is agreed on by all the reports. He lived the lifespan of the Prophet. Abū Bakr was born three years after the elephant.


[^697]: A great-great grandson of the caliph Abū Bakr. Zubayrī, Nasab, 278–79, describes his genealogy only down to his father ʿImrān, omitting this ʿUmar himself, who does not seem to be attested elsewhere.

[^698]: Text: Maẓʿūn; read: Maẓʿūn. This ʿUmar was Abū Qudāmah al-Makki, the māwla of ʿAʾishah bt. Qudāmah b. Maẓʿūn of the famous Meccan family of the Jumāh clan of the Quraysh. He is said to have served as the judge of Medina and was renowned for his piety and trustworthiness as a traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, VII, 433–34. Wakiʾ, Qudāḥ, I, 268, reports that he was judge of Mecca under al-Manṣūr or al-Mahdī.

[^699]: A Medinan transmitter of tradition who is held to be reliable, he was a son of the famous ʿAʾishah bt. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh and was named for his maternal grandfather. His sister married the caliph al-Walīd I. See Zubayrī, Nasab, 278–79; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, V, 17–18.

[^700]: The day of the week matches with the date.

[^702]: Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Qurṭ al-Ḍabbī, 107–10/725–28 to 188/804, he was a traditionist with a fair reputation. He was born in a village near İsfahān, grew up in al-Kūfah, and then migrated to al-Rayy, where he became judge. See Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, II, 75–77.


[^704]: Al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashi, 15–19/636–40 to 93–94/712–13, he was a Medi-
The Caliphate of Abū Bakr al-Šiddiq

Messenger of God. He died at the age of the Prophet.

Abū Kurayb — Abū Na'īm — Yūnus b. Abī Isḥāq — Abū al-Safar — ‘Āmir — Jarir: I was with Muṣāwiyah when he said, “The Prophet died when he was sixty-three years old, Abū Bakr died when he was sixty-three years old, and ‘Umar was killed when he was sixty-three years old.”

Abū al-Āhwaṣ — Abū Isḥāq — ‘Āmir b. Sa’d — Jarir: His grandfather said, “God’s Messenger was taken when he was sixty-three years old, ‘Umar was killed when he was sixty-three years old, and Abū Bakr died when he was sixty-three years old.”

‘Alī b. Muḥammad, in the report from which I have drawn: Abū Bakr’s rule lasted two years, three months, and twenty days, and it is also said ten days.
The Events of the Year 13

Who Washed 'Abū Bakr, His Shroud, Who Prayed over Him, the Time of His Funeral Prayer, and the Time at Which He Died


713. Text: al-Rāḥḥāl; read: al-Riḥāl. This Mālik was a Medinan transmitter who is identified only in the article on his father in Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhib*, IX, 295. See note 714, below.


715. Abū Ṭumaylah, the mawlid of the Anṣār, he was a traditionist from Marw who was considered trustworthy. See Ibn Saʻd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 375; Ibn Hajār, *Tahdhib*, XI, 293—94.

716. It is hard to say which Muhammad b. ʻAbdallāh this might be. Tabari, *Indices*, 517, proposes al-Anṣārī, but even that does not narrow the field sufficiently. See Ibn Hajār, *Tahdhib*, IX, 247—88.


719. Al-Khathʻamiyyah, she is possibly the most important woman of early Islam after Khadijah and ʻĀ’ishah. She was successively the wife of a Hilālī, then ʻAli’s brother Jaʻfar b. Abī Ṭalīb, and then the two caliphs Abū Bakr and ʻAli. One of the earliest Muslims, she migrated with her husband Jaʻfar to Ethiopia, where they remained for about twelve years representing the Prophet’s interests. Her sons Muḥammad b. Jaʻfar [See Tabari, I, 3012, 3094, 3139] and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, brought up in ʻAli’s household, participated in the killing of the caliph ʻUthmān. She was also the center of a genealogical marriage nexus, being related through her sisters to the Prophet’s uncles Ḥamzah and al-ʻAbbās, as well as to the early conqueror Khalīd b. al-Walīd. She lived until at least 38/658. See *EP*, *Supplement*, s.v. Asmā’, Ibn al-Kalbi, *Gamharat*, I, 226; II, 198; Ibn Saʻd, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, 280—86; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 44, 80—82, 277; Ibn ʻAbd al-Bazr, *Istī́dāb*, IV, 234—36; Ibn Hajār, *Isāḥah*, IV, 231; Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 322, 380—81.
al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr\textsuperscript{720} will help you by pouring the water."

Al-Ḥārith—Muḥammad b. Sa`d—Mu`ādh b. Mu`ādh\textsuperscript{721} and Muḥammad b. `Abdallāh al-Anṣārī\textsuperscript{722}—al-Asḥāth\textsuperscript{723}—`Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ṣabīrah\textsuperscript{724}—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq willed that his wife Asma' wash him, and that if she could not, that his son Muḥammad\textsuperscript{725} help her.

Ibn Sa`d—Muḥammad b. `Umar: This report is weak, for Muḥammad was only three years old on the day Abū Bakr died.


Ibn Sa`d—Muḥammad b. `Umar: This report is weak, for Muḥammad was only three years old on the day Abū Bakr died.


Ibn Wākid b. `Uyaynah—`Amr b. Dinar—Ibn Abī Muḥammad b. Sa`d—Muḥammad b. `Abdallāh b. Anas b. Malik, 118/736 to 121/827 - 30, he was an important Baṣrān traditionist with a good reputation. He served as judge of al-Baṣra 191 - 92/807 - 8, then moved to Baghdad, where he was judge at `Askar al-Mahdi, then took charge of the māzdīm court, then was judge of al-Baṣrah again 198 - 99/814 - 15. See Ibn Sa`d, Tabaqāt, VII, 293; Ibn Khayyāt, Tu`rīkh, 514, 708, 738, 749, 754; Wākid, Qudāh, II, 137 - 42, 147 - 54; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, X, 194 - 95.

Ibn Wākid b. `Uyaynah—`Amr b. Dinar—Ibn Abī Muḥammad b. Sa`d—Muḥammad b. `Abdallāh b. Anas b. Malik, 118/736 to 121/827 - 30, he was an important Baṣrān traditionist with a good reputation. He served as judge of al-Baṣra 191 - 92/807 - 8, then moved to Baghdad, where he was judge at `Askar al-Mahdi, then took charge of the māzdīm court, then was judge of al-Baṣrah again 198 - 99/814 - 15. See Ibn Sa`d, Tabaqāt, VII, 294 - 95; Ibn Khayyāt, Tu`rīkh, 516, 738 - 39, 749, 758, 778; Wākid, Qudāh, II, 154 - 55, 157 - 61; Maqdisi, Istibdr, 33; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, IX, 274 - 76.


Ibn Wākid b. `Uyaynah—`Amr b. Dinar—Ibn Abī Muḥammad b. Sa`d—Muḥammad b. `Abdallāh b. Anas b. Malik, 118/736 to 121/827 - 30, he was an important Baṣrān traditionist with a good reputation. He served as judge of al-Baṣra 191 - 92/807 - 8, then moved to Baghdad, where he was judge at `Askar al-Mahdi, then took charge of the māzdīm court, then was judge of al-Baṣrah again 198 - 99/814 - 15. See Ibn Sa`d, Tabaqāt, VII, 294 - 95; Ibn Khayyāt, Tu`rīkh, 514, 708, 738, 749, 754; Wākid, Qudāh, II, 154 - 55, 157 - 61; Maqdisi, Istibdr, 33; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, IX, 274 - 76.

Unidentified and mentioned only in this one place in al-Ṭabarī.

Al-Asḥāth b. `Abd al-Malik al-Ḥumrānī, the mawlid of Ḥumrān b. Abān, he was a Baṣrān traditionist with a good reputation. He died in 142/759 or 146/763. He seems to have opposed the Qadariyyah. See Ibn Sa`d, Tabaqāt, VII, 276; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, I, 357 - 59.

Unidentified and mentioned only in this one place in al-Ṭabarī.

Infamous as one of the killers of the Caliph `Uthmān, he lived 10 - 38/631 - 58. He was a strong partisan of his stepfather `Ali, whom he served as governor of Egypt until he was executed by Mu`āwiyah's forces. See EI, s.v. Muḥammad (b. Abī Bakr), Ibn al-Kalbi, Ġamharat, I, 21; II, 423; Zubayri, Nasab, 277; Ibn Khayyāt, Tu`rīkh, 189 - 90, 203, 213, 218, 232; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, III, 472 - 73.

Sufyān b. Wākid b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Rawāsī al-Kilābī, he was a Kūfān traditionist with a poor reputation who died in 247/861. See Ibn Sa`d, Tabaqāt, VI, 394 [noticing only his father], Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, IV, 123 - 25.

Sufyān b. `Uyaynah b. Abī ʿImrān, the mawlid of the Hilāl, he was a Kūfān traditionist of excellent reputation who moved to Mecca in 163/780, remaining there for the rest of his life. He lived 107 - 98/725 - 814. His father was a tax agent for Khālid al-Qasri. See Ibn Sa`d, Tabaqāt, V, 497 - 98; Ibn Khayyāt, Tu`rīkh, 493, 758; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, IV, 117 - 22.

The mawlid of Bādhān of the Abnā’, who were apparently associated with the Jumah of the Quraysh, he was a Meccan traditionist of excellent reputation who died in 125 - 26/743 - 44. See Ibn Sa`d, Tabaqāt, V, 479 - 80; Ibn Khayyāt, Tu`rīkh, 556; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, VIII, 28 - 30.
laykah — 'A'ishah: Abu Bakr asked her, "In how many [layers] was the Prophet shrouded?" She said, "In three robes." He said, "Wash these two robes of mine—they were worn out—and buy me another robe." I said, "O father, we are wealthy." He said, "O daughter, the living have more right to the new than the dying. Only these two are for the liquid pitch and pus."729

Al-'Abbās b. al-Walid730 — his father731 — al-Awzāʾ732 — 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim:733 Abū Bakr died in the evening, after the sun had set, on the eve of Tuesday,734 and he was buried at night on the eve of Tuesday.

Abū Kurayb—'Aththām735—Hishām—his father: Abū Bakr died on the eve of Tuesday and was buried at night.

Abū Zayd — 'Ali b. Muḥammad, according to his isnād, which has been mentioned before: Abū Bakr was carried on the litter on which God’s Messenger had been carried. Umar prayed over him in the Mosque of God’s Messenger. 'Umar, 'Uthmān, Ṭalḥah,736 and

729. Ar. muhlah wa ṣadid. This refers to torments of hell in Qur‘ān 14: 16; 18: 29; 44: 45; 70: 8.
732. Abū 'Amr 'Abd al-Raḥmin b. 'Amr, 88-157/707-74, though other death dates varying from 151/768 to 158/775 are given. He is the founder of the great Syrian school of Islamic jurisprudence associated with his name. Possibly descended from captives from Sind, or otherwise an authentic Arab from the Hamdān, he seems to have been born in Damascus. He is said to have been appointed judge of Damascus by the caliph Yazid b. al-Walid in 126/744. He settled in Bayrūt toward the end of his life. See EP, s.v. al-Awzāʾ; Ibn Sa'd, 'Tabaqāt, VII, 488; Ibn Khayyāt, Taʾrikh, 666; Waki', Qudāḥ, III, 207; Ibn Hajār, Tahdhib, VI, 238-42.
733. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, the son of the famous Madani faqih. His mother was Qurayyah bt. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, his father’s first cousin. Respected for his piety and well known as a traditionist, he may have caused the removal of Khālid b. 'Abd al-Malik from the governorship of Medina when he complained to the caliph Hishām about him in 118/736. He died either in 126/744 or 131/749. By misreading the text of Waki', Caskel has wrongly made him judge of Medina in 150-55/767-72, a position actually held by his son. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 21; II, 120; Zubayrī, Nasab, 279-80; Ibn Khayyāt, Taʾrikh, 557; Ibn Hajār, Tahdhib, VI, 254-55.
734. That is, "on Monday night."
736. Ţalḥah al-Khayr b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Taymi al-Qurashi, d. 36/656, he was one of the early Companions known chiefly for his later political roles in the shūrā council
‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū Bakr entered his tomb. ‘Abdallāh737 also wanted to enter his tomb, but ‘Umar said to him, “Your duty has already been fulfilled.”

Abū Ja‘far: Abū Bakr made a last request according to [the following]:

Abū Ja‘far: Abū Bakr made a last request according to [the following]:

Al-Hārith — Ibn Sa‘d — Muḥammad b. ‘Umar — Abū Bakr b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Sabrah738 — ‘Umar b. ‘Abdallāh, that is, Ibn ‘Urwah739 — ‘Urwah and al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: Abū Bakr commanded ‘Ā‘ishah that he be buried next to the Prophet. When he died, [a grave] was dug for him, and his head was placed by the shoulders of God’s Messenger. The grave was joined with the grave of the Prophet. Thus, he was buried there.


739. Al-‘Asadi al-Qurashi, he was a Medinan traditionist with a rather poor reputation, perhaps because of his participation in politics. He was judge of Medina 133/751 or 136/753–54 to 141/758. He was a tax collector for the northern Arabian tribal districts of Ṭayyī‘ and Asad, whose money he turned over to the anti-‘Abbāsid rebel Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakīyyah. For this he was imprisoned by al-Manṣūr, but later freed owing to his role in stopping a slave rebellion in Medina. Still later, he settled in Baghdād, where he served as judge for al-Mahdī. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 27; II, 122; Zubayrī, Nasab, 428–30; Ibn Khayyātī, Ṭarīkht, 634, 681, 686; Waki‘, Qudāḥ, I, 200–2, 224; III, 253–54; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, XII, 27–28.

740. Tabari, Indices, 373, 409, suggests that this is ‘Umar b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Umar b. Mūsā b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ma‘mar al-Taymi al-Qurashi, a blue-blooded Medinan traditionist who was judge of al-บาشār 169/785–87, but who died later in Medina. On him, see Zubayrī, Nasab, 290–91; Ibn Khayyātī, Ṭarīkht, 698; Waki‘, Qudāḥ, II, 133–37; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, VII, 482–83. However, al-Wāqīdī is not said to have transmitted from him but is specifically said to have transmitted from ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān b. Ḥānī’, the mawla of ‘Uthmān, a rather obscure Medinan who was quoted by the Kūfāns. This ‘Amr is also mentioned in the next khabar here. On him, see Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, VIII, 79.

741. Al-‘Asadi al-Qurashi, he was a pious member of the Zubayrī family who died in 121/739. See Zubayrī, Nasab, 243; Ibn Khayyātī, Ṭarīkht, 524, 532; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, V, 74.
the shoulders of God's Messenger and ‘Umar's head at Abū Bakr's loins.

‘Ali b. Muslim al-Ṭūṣī\(^{742}\) — Ibn Abi Fudayk\(^{743}\) — ‘Amr b. ‘Ukhrān b. Hānī\(^{744}\) — al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: I went into ‘A’ishah's presence and said, "O mother, reveal to me the tomb of the Prophet and his two companions." She then revealed to me three tombs, neither raised high nor cleaving to the ground, laid out in the basinlike depression inside of the red court. I saw that the tomb of the Prophet was put in front, Abū Bakr's tomb was at his head, and ‘Umar was at the leg of the Prophet.


Yūnus\(^{746}\) — Ibn Wahb\(^{748}\) — Yūnus b. Yazīd\(^{749}\) — Ibn Shihāb — Sa‘d b. al-Musayyab: When Abū Bakr died, ‘A’ishah carried out the mourning for him. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb approached until he stood at the door. He forbade the women to weep for Abū Bakr, but they refused to stop. ‘Umar said to Hishām b. al-Walīd, "Go inside and bring me the

---

\(^{742}\) He was a Khurāsānī who settled in Baghdād. He lived 160—253/777—867. See Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, VII, 382—83.

\(^{743}\) Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Abī Fudayk Dīnār, the mawla of the Dil, he was a Medinan traditionist with a fair reputation. He died in 199—200/815—16. See Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, V, 437; Ibn Khayyāt, Tīrīkh, 762; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, IX, 61.

\(^{744}\) See note 740, above.

\(^{745}\) The mawla of al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥanṭab, he was a Medinan traditionist with a mixed reputation. He died in 144/761. See Dhahabi, Mizān, III, 281—82; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, VIII, 82—84.

\(^{746}\) Actually, al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥanṭab al-Makhzūmī, a blue-blooded Qurashi, he was a Medinan traditionist with a mixed reputation. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Ğamharat, I, 22; II, 439; Zubayrī, Nasab, 339; Dhahabi, Mizān, IV, 129; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, X, 178—79.

\(^{747}\) Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-A‘lā b. Mūsā al-Ṣadafī 170—264/787—877. He was an Egyptian traditionist with a good reputation who was especially famed for his knowledge of the readings of the Qurān. He was wrongfully imprisoned by the ‘Abbāsid governor of Egypt 228—35/843—50. Kindī, Wulāh wa qudāh, 454—66, 470—71, 475, 506; Dhahabi, Mizān, IV, 481; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, XI, 440—41.

\(^{748}\) ‘Abdallāh b. Wahb b. Muslim, the mawla of the Qurayṣh, 125—97/743—813. He was the greatest Egyptian traditionist of his generation, having a mostly favorable reputation. See Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, VII, 518; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, VI, 71—74.

\(^{749}\) Al-Ayīl, the mawla of Mu‘āwiyyah b. Abī Sufyān. He was one of the main transmitters of al-Zuhri’s traditions; however, his reputation as a traditionist is mixed. He died in upper Egypt in 159/776. Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqāt, VII, 520; Dhahabi, Mizān, IV, 484; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, XI, 450—52.
daughter of Abū Quhāfah, the sister of Abū Bakr.750 When she heard that from ʿUmar, ʿĀʾishah said to Hishām, “I forbid my house to you.” But ʿUmar said to Hishām, “Go on in, for I have given you permission.” Thus, Hishām entered and brought out Umm Farwah, the sister of Abū Bakr, to ʿUmar, who raised his whip over her and gave her a number of blows. The weeping women scattered when they heard that.

Abū Zayd—ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, according to his isnād: When he was suffering the illness from which he died, he quoted:

Every owner of camels is succeeded by an heir,
and every owner of spoil is despoiled.
Every owner of absence comes back,
but the one absent because of death does not come back.

His last words were, “My Lord, take me as a Muslim and join me with the righteous.”

Abū Bakr’s Appearance

Al-Ḥārith—Ibn Saʿd—Muḥammad b. ʿUmar—Shuʿayb b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥādī b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddiq752—his father—ʿĀʾishah: When she was in her howdah and saw a man from among the Arabs passing by, she said, “I have not seen a man more like Abū Bakr than this one.” We said to her, “Describe Abū Bakr.” She said, “A slight, white man, thin-bearded and bowed. His waist wrapper would not hold but would fall down around his loins. He had a lean face, sunken eyes, a bulging forehead, and trembling knuckles.”

ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, in his version whose isnād I have mentioned before: He was white mixed with yellowness, of good build, slight, bowed, thin, tall like a male palm tree (ʿatiq), hook-nosed, lean-faced, sunken-eyed, thin-shanked, and strong-thighed. He used to


751. Text: an; read: b., as Tabari, I, 2730, and Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DCXIII.

752. He was a minor Medinan transmitter of mixed reputation. See Dhahabi, Mizān, II, 277; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, V, 17; also, note 699, above.
dye himself with henna and black dye (*katam*). When he died, Abū Quḥāfah was living at Mecca. On hearing the news of his death, he said, “A weighty misfortune!”

*Abū Bakr’s Genealogy, His Name, and What He Was Known by*

Abū Zayd — ‘Ali b. Muḥammad, according to his *īsnād*, which has already been mentioned: They agree that the personal name (*īsm*) of Abū Bakr was ‘Abdallāh, and that he was called ‘Atiq only owing to his handsomeness. ([But some say that he was called that because the Prophet told him, “You are liberated (‘atiq) from the [hell]fire.”])


---


754. Al-Taymi al-Qurashi, the first cousin of the preceding and also a grandson of Ṭalḥah, he enjoyed a fair reputation as a traditionist. Although he is called a Kufan, as he may have settled in al-Kufah, he was certainly of Medinan origin. See Ibn Saʿd, *Tabaqāt*, V, 166; VI, 339; Dhahabi, *Mīzān*, IV, 134; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, X, 202.

755. Iṣḥāq b. Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Taymi al-Qurashi, he was a Medinan who was considered a reliable transmitter. By 51/671, he seems already to have moved to al-Kūfah, where he signed the document condemning Hūjr b. ʿAdī. He also was appointed by the caliph Muʿāwiyah in 56/676 to supervise the collection of taxes in Khurāsān but died at al-Rayy on the way. See Tabarī, II, 132, 178; Ibn Saʿd, *Tabaqāt*, V, 166; Ibn Khayyāt, *Taʾrikh*, 268 (where he is misnamed Iṣḥāq b. Yaḥyā b. Ṭalḥah); Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhib*, I, 238.

756. The *kunyah* is a special nickname used by Arabs to this day meaning “the father of so-and-so” or “the mother of so-and-so.” [Ar. ʿAbū for men and Umm for women]. See *EP*, s.v. *Kunya*.

757. He is said to have survived as a pagan until the conquest of Mecca in 8/630, whereupon he became a Muslim. He is said to have died in 14/635 at the age of ninety-seven. See Ibn al-Kalbi, *Ganharat*, I, 21; II, 578; Ibn Hishām, *Sirah*, II, 405–6; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 275; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣābaḥ*, II, 460–61.
Şakhr b. 'Āmir b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murrah.\textsuperscript{758}

Al-Waqidi: His personal name is 'Abdallāh b. Abī Quḥāfah, whose personal name is 'Uthmān b. 'Āmir. His mother is Umm al-Khayr, whose personal name is Salmā bt. Şakhr b. 'Āmir b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murrah.

Hishām, according to what has been transmitted to me from him:

The personal name of Abū Bakr is cAtiq b. 'Uthman b. 'Āmir.

Yūnus — Ibn Wahb — Ibn Lahī'ah\textsuperscript{759} — 'Umārah b. Ghaziyyah.\textsuperscript{760}

I asked 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim about the personal name of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq. He answered, "[It is] 'Atiq. They were three brothers, the sons of Abū Quḥāfah, 'Atiq, Mu'taqq, and 'Utayq."\textsuperscript{761}

The Names of Abū Bakr's Wives

'Ali b. Muḥammad — his informant and those of his authorities whom I have mentioned: In the Jāḥiliyyah, Abū Bakr married Qutaylah.\textsuperscript{762} (Al-Waqidi and al-Kalbi agree with him in that. All three say: ) She is Qutaylah bt. 'Abd al-'Uzza b. 'Abd b. As'ad b. Jābir b. Malik b. Ḥisl b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. She bore him 'Abdallāh\textsuperscript{763} and Asma'.\textsuperscript{764}

\textsuperscript{758} Of the same Qurashi clan as Abū Quḥāfah, she is reputed to have embraced Islam early and to have died before her husband. See Zubayrī, \textit{Nasab}, 294; Ibn Hajar, \textit{Isābah}, IV, 447.


\textsuperscript{760} Al-Najjārī al-Ansārī, d. 140/757, he was a Medinan traditionist with a fair reputation. Ibn Khayyāt, \textit{Ṭurīkh}, 641; Dhahābi, \textit{Mizdān}, III, 178; Ibn Hajar, \textit{Tahdhib}, VII, 422—23.

\textsuperscript{761} This collocation of three sons with similar names would appear to be a fictional genealogical motif. Abū Bakr's alleged brothers are not otherwise attested to and have no other role in the tradition. They are not mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbi, \textit{Camarhatat}, I, 21, nor Zubayrī, \textit{Nasab}, 275.

\textsuperscript{762} See Ibn Sa'd, \textit{Ṭabaqāt}, III, 169; VIII, 249; Zubayrī, \textit{Nasab}, 276, where her genealogy differs somewhat from that given here. As she is scarcely mentioned in the sources and omitted by Ibn Hajar, it would appear that she never embraced Islam and thus perhaps died before 610 C.E.

\textsuperscript{763} He was famous for bringing supplies to the Prophet and Abū Bakr when they were hiding in the cave on the eve of the \textit{hijrah} to Medina. He was injured at the siege of al-Ṭā’if and died later, in 11/632—33. See Wāqidi, \textit{Maghāzī}, 930—31, 938; Ibn Hishām, \textit{Sirāt}, I, 485—86; II, 486; Zubayrī, \textit{Nasab}, 275, 277; Ibn Hajar, \textit{Isābah}, II, 283—84. Ibn al-Kalbi, \textit{Camarhatat}, I, 21, II, 108, assigns him a completely different mother than Qutaylah al-ʿAmiriyah.

\textsuperscript{764} Nicknamed Dhāt al-Nītāqayn, she was one of the most important early Mus-
He also married in the Jahiliyyah Umm Rūmān bt. ‘Āmir b. ‘Amirah b. Dhuhi b. Duhmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. Kinānah.765 Certain authorities say that she is Umm Rūman bt. ‘Amir b. ‘Uwaymir b. ‘Abd Shams b. ‘Attab b. Udhaynah b. Subay b. Duhmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. Kinānah. She bore him ‘Abd al-Rāḥmān and ‘A’ishah. All of these four of his children were born in al-Jahiliyyah from his two wives whom we have named.766


He also married under Islam Habībah bt. Khārijah b. Zayd b. Abī Zuhayr of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj.768 Her pregnancy had just appeared when Abū Bakr died, and after his death she bore him a daughter, who was named Umm Kulthūm.769

765. Abu Bakr was her second husband. She embraced Islam early, then migrated to Medina, dying there in 6/628. Another genealogy also is offered for her. See Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqat, VIII, 149-55; Zubayrī, Nasab, 236; 275-76; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Istīdāb, IV, 232-34; Ibn Hajar, Isābah, IV, 229-30.

766. This statement appears to contradict the alleged age of ‘A’ishah’s nine years at the time of the consummation of her marriage to the Prophet in Shawwal 1 /April-May 613, for which see al-Baladhuri, Ansāb, I, 409-11; Ibn Hajar, Isābah, IV, 359-60. Even if she was born at the end of the Jahiliyyah period, in 609 C.E., she would have been at least thirteen solar years old by the year 1 /622-23.

767. Ja‘far al-Ṭayyār, the brother of the caliph ‘Ali, c. 590 C.E. - 8/629. He was one of the most important early Muslims, leading them in Ethiopia, where he headed the Muslim mission c. 615 C.E. -7/628, until he returned at the time of the Khaybar campaign. Shortly afterward, he was slain at Mu‘tah. See EP, s.v. Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭalīb; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 75; II, 254; Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqat, IV, 34-41; Zubayrī, Nasab, 39, 80-81; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Istīdāb, I, 210-13; Ibn Hajar, Isābah, I, 237-38.


769. She was born after her father’s death in 13/634. She married Ṭalḥah b. ‘Ubaydallāh, to whom she bore two sons and a daughter, the famous ‘A’ishah bt. Ṭalḥah. Umm Kulthūm then married ‘Abd al-Rāḥmān b. ‘Abdallāh al-Makhzūmī, to whom she bore four children. See Ibn Sa‘d, Tabaqat, VIII, 462; Zubayrī, Nasab, 278, 283, 318; Ibn Hajar, Isābah, IV, 493.
The Names of His Judges, Secretaries, and Tax Officials


‘Ali b. Muhammad — those whom I have named — certain authorities: Abū Bakr made ‘Umar his judge during his caliphate. He stayed in office for a year, but no one brought any dispute to him.

[Certain authorities]: Zayd b. Thabit served as his secretary. ‘Uthmān b. cAffan provided him with information and reported to him who had come. They say that ‘Attab b. Asid was his governor of Mecca. ‘Uthmān b. Abi al-‘Aṣi was in charge of al-Ta‘if, al-Mu-

770. Probably this is Muhammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak al-Qurashi, died 254-60/868-74, a Baghdādi traditionist who was the judge of Hulwān. See Sam’āni, Ansdb, XII, 132, 134; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, IX, 272-74. But there is also another, slightly earlier, Mukharrimi, Muhammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Ammār b. Sawādāh al-Ghāmīdī, 162-242/779-856, a Baghdādi traditionist who moved to al-Mawgīl, who is a possible candidate. On him, see Waki’, Quddh, III, 185; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, IX, 265-66. In view of al-Ṭabarī’s own birthdate of 224/839, the former is more likely for him to have quoted directly.

771. Unidentified and mentioned only in this place in al-Ṭabarī.


773. Al-Najjārī al-Khazzājī, he was among the most outstanding of the Anṣār and also served as the Prophet’s secretary. He is most famous for his claimed role in redacting the ‘Uthmānic text of the Qur’ān. Later, he was one of the few Anṣār to support the caliph ‘Uthmān. He died between 42/662 and 56/676, possibly in 45/665. See El, s.v. Zaid b. Thabit al-Najjārī; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 186; II, 603; Ibn Sa‘d, Ṭabaqāt, II, 358-62, Maqdisi, Istibsār, 71-73; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Istī‘āb, I, 531-54; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, I, 561-62.

774. Al-Ṭhaqāfī, he was the first of his tribe to rise to prominence in Islam. He held the governorship of al-Ṭā‘if, his native city, 9-15/630-36, then was governor of al-Bahrāyin and ‘Umar 15-29/636-50, whence he campaigned in Iran. After this, he resided in al-Baṣrah until he died in 51/671 or 55/675. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 119; II, 579; Ibn Sa‘d, Ṭabaqāt, V, 508-9; VII, 40; Ibn Khayyāt, Ta’rikh, 72, 107, 123, 134-35, 145-46, 151, 154, 156, 163-64, 167, 171; Balādhurī, Ansāb, I, 529; Futūḥ, 70, 99-100, 387, 432; Yaṣūbī, Ta’rikh, II, 82, 136, 151, 156, 190; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II, 460; Watt, Muhammad at Medina, 104.

775. One of the largest cities in Saudi Arabia, about 90 km. by road east of Mecca on the top of the Hijaz escarpment. In early Islamic times, it was also an important town, the capital of the Thaqīf. See El, s.v. Ṭā‘if.
The Events of the Year 13

hājir b. Abī Umayyah\textsuperscript{776} was in charge of Ṣan‘ā\textsuperscript{,777} Ziyād b. Labīd\textsuperscript{778} was in charge of Ḥadramawt,\textsuperscript{779} Ya‘lā b. Umayyah\textsuperscript{780} was in charge of Khawlan,\textsuperscript{781} Abū Mūsā al-ʿAshʿarī was in charge of Ḥadīd\textsuperscript{782} and Rima\textsuperscript{,783} Mu‘ādh b. Jabal\textsuperscript{784} was in charge of al-Janad,\textsuperscript{785} and al-

\textsuperscript{776} Al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashi, he was the first cousin of Khālid b. al-Walid and half-brother of Umm Salamah, the Prophet' s wife. The Prophet appointed him to be in charge of the Kindah and al-Ṣadif, but later he was transferred to Ṣan‘ā'. See \textit{EI'}, s.v. Ṣan‘ā'; Ibn al-Kalbī, \textit{Gamharat}, I, 23; II, 420; Ibn Hishām, \textit{Sirah}, II, 600; Zubayrī, \textit{Nasab}, 316; Ibn Khayyāt, \textit{Tāʾirīkh}, 72, 98, 107; Baladhuri, \textit{Ansāb}, I, 456, 529; \textit{Futūḥ}, 82–83, 121–23, 125, 127; Ibn Ḥajar, \textit{Iṣābah}, III, 465–66.

\textsuperscript{777} The capital of Yemen, then as now. See \textit{EI'}, s.v. Ṣan‘ā'.


\textsuperscript{779} This extremely ancient term, which is even found in the Old Testament (Gen. 10:26), continues to this day to denote the region of eastern Yemen. See \textit{EI'}, \textit{Supplement}, s.v. Ḥadramawt.

\textsuperscript{780} Al-ʿAdwī al-Ṭamīmī, he was a confederate of the Nawfal b. Ṭabīb Manāf of the Quraysh and embraced Islam at the conquest of Mecca in 8/630. He was first sent by Abū Bakr to collect the taxes of the district of Khawldn which had revolted. (Some sources wrongly give Ḥulwin.) He governed Ṣan‘ā' for a long time, 14–35/635–56. At the Battle of the Camel, he sided with 'Ā'ishah, but he is said to have been killed at Ṣiffin in 38/658 fighting for 'Ali. However, this reversal might be apocryphal, as it is omitted by many early sources. See \textit{EI'}, s.v. Ṣan‘ā'; Ibn al-Kalbī, \textit{Gamharat}, I, 67; II, 590; Wāqīdī, \textit{Maghāzī}, 1012; Ibn Khayyāt, \textit{Tāʾirīkh}, 107, 196; Baladhuri, \textit{Futūḥ}, 119, 123; Ya‘qūbī, \textit{Tāʾirīkh}, II, 136, 181, 186, 205, 210; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, \textit{Istīḥāb}, III, 661–64; Ibn Ḥajar, \textit{Iṣābah}, III, 668–69.

\textsuperscript{781} The name of a Yemeni tribe which also denotes two districts, one southeast of Ṣan‘ā', the other northwest of Sa‘dah. The former, called Khawlan al-ʿAliyah, appears to be the one meant here. It seems to have contained the city of Dhimān. See \textit{EI'}, s.v. Ṣan‘ā'; Ibn al-Kalbī, \textit{Gamharat}, II, 56–57, 345–46; Ibn Khurdadhbih, \textit{Masālik}, 137–38, 142, 148, 192, 248; Yaqūt, \textit{Mujam}, II, 407; V, 69 (Mikhlāf Dhi Jurrāh wa Khawlan).

\textsuperscript{782} This is the still-extant town bearing the same name in the coastal plain of Yemen between Ta‘izz and al-Hudaydah. See \textit{EI'}, s.v. Zabīd; Abū al-Fidā', \textit{Taqwim}, 88–89.

\textsuperscript{783} This is a wadi north of Zabīd. See \textit{EI'}, s.v. Zabīd.


\textsuperscript{785} A district and town of Yemen which lay some 48 farsakhs (under 300 km.)
The Caliphate of Abū Bakr al-Šiddīq

'Alā' b. al-Ḥadramī786 was in charge of al-Bahrāyn. He sent Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh to Najrān.787 He also sent 'Abdallāh b. Thawr, one of the Banū Ghawth,788 to the district of Jurash.789 He sent 'Iyāḍ b. Ghanm al-Fihrī to Dumat al-Jandal. In Syria were Abū 'Ubaydah, Shurahbīl b. Ḥasanah, Yazīd b. Abī Sułyān, and 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣī, each of whom was in command of a division, with Khālid b. al-Walīd in overall command of them.

Abū Jaʿfar: He was generous, lenient, and knowledgeable about the genealogies of the Arabs. Khufīf b. Nādabh790 (Nadbah is his mother, his father being 'Umayr b. al-Ḥarīth) said in his eulogy of Abū Bakr:

south of Ṣanʿā', just north of Taʿizz, between Dhimār and Zabīd. It was inhabited by groups of the Kindah and Maʿafir. See Ibn Khurdābdhibhī, Masālik, 140, 143–44; Muqaddāsī, Taqāsīm, 53, 70, 87, 90, 105, 113; Yaqūt, Muʾjam, II, 169–70; Abū al-Fida', Taqwīm, 90–91.

786. The confederate of the Umayyads, he embraced Islam early and was appointed by the Prophet c. 8/629 to al-Bahrāyn. 'Umar then made him governor of al-Baṣrah, but he died on his way there in 14/635, or, less probably, in 21/642. See Ibn Hisnām, Sirāh, II, 576, 600, 607; Ibn Saʿd, Tabaqāt, IV, 399–63; Ibn Khayyāt, Taʿrikh, 97–98, 107, 110–11, 113, 154; Baladhurī, Futūḥ, 95–104, 108; Yaqūbī, Taʿrikh, II, 84, 136, 147, 151, 156–57; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Istīdb, III, 146–48; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II, 497–98.

787. A district in the south of Saudi Arabia in the mountains of ʿĀsir on the border with Yemen. In early Islamic times, it contained inhabitants from the Madhhīj, Hamdān, and Azd. See EI, s.v. Nadjrān.

788. Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II, 286, shows that this ʿAbdallāh was mentioned only by Sayf, which means that this important report on the governorships of Yemen may be derived from Sayf rather than from al-Madāʿīnī's authorities. ʿAbdallāh's equally unknown brother ʿUkkishāh is said to have been the Prophet's governor for the Sakiīn and Sakiikīn in Yemen, but according to Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II, 494, this also is only from Sayf. For Sayf's reports on them, see Ṭabarī, I, 1852–53, 1997–2000.

789. Near Najrān, between Bishah and Saʿdah in 'Āsir. See Ibn Khurdābdhibhī, Masālik, 133, 135, 188, 248; Yaqūt, Muʾjam, II, 136–27; Abū al-Fida', Taqwīm, 83, 94–95. However, it might make more sense to identify it with the present Baljurashi in Bilād Ǧāmīd, halfway between al-Ṭaʿīf and the Yemeni border. This is because otherwise there is no governorate between al-Ṭaʿīf and Najrān, and because Jurash is mentioned as belonging to Mecca rather than to Ṣanʿā', which would seem to place it north of Najrān.

790. Al-Sulami, his mother was an Abyssinian slave, and he was one of the four famous black Arabs (aghribat al-ʿArab). An opponent of al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulami, he also fought the Chaṭṭāfānī tribes of Fazārah and Murrah before Islam. He is said to have been the standard-bearer of the Sulaym at the conquest of Mecca in 8/630 and to have participated in the Battle of Ḥunayn. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Ḥamharat, I, 122; II, 348; Mubarrad, Kāmil, I, 247; III, 226–27; ʿIsabānī, Aghānī, XVI, 139–46; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Istīdb, I, 434–37; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, I, 432–53.

791. The last two lines are cited in a variant version in Mubarrad, Kāmil, I, 247, along with two other completely different lines. Seven lines are cited in Suyūṭī, Khułafa', 86, also including the last two here.
Munificent, the possessor of favor and the possessor of the reprehended,\footnote{792} sharer of benefit, whose courtyard is spacious, To [his] praise, [there exists] in his house clearly visible a fine basin whose incoming source does not betray it.\footnote{793} By God, there will not overtake his days either a barefoot possessor of a waist-wrapper or the possessor of a cloak.\footnote{794}

Whoever tries to overtake his days will be striving alone\footnote{795} on a great plain.

Al-Ḥārith — Ibn Sa’d — ‘Amr b. al-Haytham Abū Qaṭān\footnote{796} — al-Rabi’\footnote{797} — Ḥayyān al-Ṣā‘igh\footnote{798} The inscription of Abū Bakr’s signet ring was, “How excellent a possessor of power God is!”

[Certain authorities]: Abū Quḥāfah did not live after Abū Bakr but for six months and some days. He died in al-Muharram 14 (25 February – 26 March 635) at Mecca at the age of ninety-seven years.

[His Appointment of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as His Successor]

During the illness of which he died, Abū Bakr arranged for ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to succeed him in the caliphate. It is reported that, when he wished to make the arrangement for him to succeed, he called in ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf.

---

792. This refers perhaps to his power to inflict punishment.
793. The basin refers to his store of beneficence. The incoming source (izd) not betraying the basin means that his beneficence is endless and does not dry up. For this difficult verse, see Fayruzābādī, Muḥi, s.v. ’z-y.
794. That is, either the poor or the rich.
795. Text: al-shadd; read: al-shadhhdh, as Ṭabarī, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DCXIII.
796. Al-Zābiḍī, c. 121–98/739–814, he was a Baṣṭan traditionist of good reputation who transmitted from Abū Ḥanīfah. He was also considered a Qadari. See Ibn Ḥajār, Tahdhib, VIII, 114–15.
797. Probably al-Rabi’ b. Šubayh, the mawāli of the Tamīm, a Baṣrān traditionist who died in Sind in 160/777. He had a mixed reputation. As he transmitted from al-Ḥasan al- Баṣrī, this could owe to Qadari tendencies. See Ibn Sa’d, Ṭabaqāt, VII, 277; Dhahābī, Mizān, II, 42–42; Ibn Ḥajār, Tahdhib, III, 247–48.
798. Abū Jaḥāla Ḥayyān b. ‘Abdallāh al-Dārǐmī, he was a Baṣrān traditionist who was considered unreliable, probably because of his Qadari tendencies. He probably was a student of al-Ḥasan al-巴士rī. See Dhahābī, Mizān, I, 622–23; Ibn Ḥajār, Lisān, II, 369.
When death descended on Abu Bakr, he summoned 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf and said, "Inform me about 'Umar." 'Abd al-Rahmān said, "O successor (khalifah) of God's Messenger, he is, by God, a better man than your opinion of him. But there is a roughness in him." Abu Bakr said, "That is because he sees me as weak. If I entrust him with the affair, he will leave behind much of his present behavior. O Abū Muḥammad, I have done it in haste. It appears to me, if I get angry at the man for something, he shows me his concurrence about it, but if I ease up toward him, he shows me vehemence over it. Do not mention, O Abū Muḥammad, anything of what I have said to you." 'Abd al-Rahmān said, "Of course."

Then Abū Bakr summoned 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and said, "O Abū 'Abdallāh, inform me about 'Umar." 'Uthmān responded, "You are better informed about him." Abu Bakr said, "Let me decide that, O Abū 'Abdallāh." 'Uthmān said, "O God, my knowledge about him is that what he does in private is better than what he shows openly, and that there is no one like him among us." Abu Bakr said, "May God have mercy on you, O Abū 'Abdallāh. Do not mention anything that I have mentioned to you." 'Uthmān said, "I will do [as you said]." Abū Bakr said to him, "If I abandoned him, I would not neglect you. I do not know whether he would give it up. The choice is his whether [or] not to take charge of anything of your affairs. I wish I had been free of [being in charge of] your affairs and that I had been among those who have passed on of your predecessors, O Abū 'Abdallāh. Do not by any means mention anything of what I have said to you about the matter of 'Umar nor about what I have summoned you for."

Ibn Humayd — Yahyā b. Wāḍiḥ — Yūnus b. 'Amr — Abū al-Safar: Abū Bakr looked out over the people from his enclosure while
Asmā’ bt. ‘Umays was steadying him with tattooed hands. He said, “Will you be satisfied with him whom I have left as [my] successor over you? For, by God, I do not shun the effort [to reach] the best opinion, nor have I appointed a relative. I have designated ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as my successor; therefore, hear him and obey.” They responded, “We hear and obey.”

‘Uthmān b. Yahyā — ‘Uthmān al-Qarqasānī — Sufyān b. ‘Uyaynah—Ismā’il—Qays: I saw ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb while he was sitting with the people, a piece of writing in his hand, and saying, “O people, hear and obey the speech of the successor of God’s Messenger when he said, ‘I have not ceased to admonish you.’” He had with him a mawlā of Abū Bakr named Shadīd who had a piece of writing on which was the appointment of ‘Umar as successor.

Abū Ja’far—al-Waqīdī—Ibrāhīm b. Abī al-‘Naḍr—Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith. Abū Bakr summoned ‘Uthmān to him in private and said to him, “Write, ‘In the name of God, the all-Compassionate, the Merciful. This is what Abū Bakr b. Abī Quḥāfah has enjoined on the Muslims. Now then....’” At this point, he fainted, losing consciousness. ‘Uthmān wrote, “Now then, I have appointed ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as my successor over you. I have not neglected the best among you.” Then Abū Bakr awoke and said, “Read [it] to me.” When he read [it] to him, Abū Bakr said, “God is Greater,” and then went on, “I see that you were afraid that the people would quarrel if I died suddenly in my coma.” ‘Uthmān said, “Yes.” Abū Bakr said, “May God reward you kindly for the sake of Islam and its people!” Abū Bakr confirmed [the text] from this place.

Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-‘Alā — Yaḥyā b. ‘Abdallāh b. Bukayr — al-

801. Unidentified, not otherwise mentioned, and possibly confused with the identical next name.

802. He is Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān b. Yahyā b. ʿIsā al-Ṣayyād, d. 258/872. Although he died fifty-eight solar years after Ibn ʿUyaynah, he is reported to have transmitted from him. See Samʿānī, Ansāb, X, 384.

803. Unidentified and not mentioned elsewhere.


806. The mawlā of the Makhzūm of the Quraysh, 154–231/771–845. He was an Egyptian traditionist with a mostly good reputation. He was best known as a major
Layth b. Sa‘d⁸⁰⁷—‘Ulwan⁸⁰⁸—Sālih b. Kaysān—‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awi⁸⁰⁹—his father: He went in to Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq during his sickness of which he died and found him worried. ‘Abd al-Rahmān said to him, “You have arisen, praise be to God, cured.” Abū Bakr said, “Do you think so?” He answered, “Yes.” At this, Abū Bakr said:

I have entrusted your affairs to him who I feel is the best of you. Each of you is inflamed with anger by that, for each wants the succession to be his instead. You have seen that the world has opened up. When it opens up, it continues to come on until you adopt curtains of silk and pillows of silk brocade, and are pained to lie on Adhari wool as any one of you [now] is pained to sleep on thorns. By God, that any one of you be brought forth to have his head chopped off, for [something] other than the penalty for a mortal sin, would be better for him than plunging into the depths of this life. You will be the first to lead people astray tomorrow, so that you will turn them from the way to the right and left. O guide of the way, it is either the light of dawn or evil!⁸¹¹

I said to him,


⁸⁰⁷. Al-Fahmi, he lived 94–175/713–91. He was one of the great traditionists of Egypt, enjoying an outstanding reputation. His family originally were Iranians from Isfahān. His father was a mawla of the Quraysh who enrolled in the Fahmi regiment of the army in Egypt. Al-Layth himself was born at the village of Qarqashandah, about 25 km. from al-Fustāt. He visited Iraq in 161/778. In 223/784 his prestige was so great that when he complained to the caliph about the judge in Egypt, the latter was removed from office. See EP, s.v. al-Layth b. Sa‘d; Ibn Sa‘d, Ṭabaqāt, VII, 517; Ibn Khayyāt, Tūrīkh, 715; Waki’, Qudāh, III, 223, 236; Kindi, Wulāh wa Qudāh, 89–90, 128, 132, 134, 365–66, 371–73, 384; Dhahabi, Mizān, IV, 423; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, VIII, 459–65.

⁸⁰⁸. ‘Ulwan b. Dawūd, the mawla of Jarir b. ‘Abbālāh al-Bajali, d. 180/796, he was a traditionist whose transmissions were rejected by later scholars. The variant name ‘Ulwan b. Sālih, which is given for him, owes to a confusion with that of Sālih b. Kaysān, who follows him in this isnād. See Dhahabi, Mizān, III, 108–10 [where the report mentioned here is criticized]; Ibn Hajar, Līsān, IV, 188–90.

⁸⁰⁹. Al-Zuhri al-Qurashi, he was a minor Medinan traditionist of the great Zuhri family. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gāmharat, I, 20; II, 571; Zubayrī, Nasab, 271; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, VII, 473.

⁸¹⁰. That is, of Adharbayjān. See note in Cairo ed.

⁸¹¹. Text: al-baḥr; read: al-buṣr. See note in Cairo ed., which has corrected it to al-buṣr; but see Fayruzābādī, Muḥīt, s.v. b-j-r for correct vocalization.
Calm down, may God have mercy on you, for this will only cause you a relapse in your condition. Regarding your matter, the people are divided between only two men, either a man who has viewed things as you have and is thus with you, or else a man has opposed you and thus is your adviser and companion as you like. We have not known you to desire other than the good. You have not ceased to be a righteous man and one who sets matters aright. You do not grieve for anything from this world.

Abū Bakr said,

Indeed, I do not grieve for anything from this world, except for three things which I did that I wish I had left aside, three that I left aside which I wish I had done, and three about which I wish I had asked God’s Messenger. As for the three that I wish I had left aside, I wish that I had not thrown open the house of Fāṭimah to reveal something, even though they had locked it with hostile intent. I wish that I had not burned al-Fujā’ah al-Sulami and that I had quickly killed him or forbearingly let him go. I wish, on the day of Saqifat Bani Sā’idah, that I had thrown the matter upon the neck of one of the two men (meaning ‘Umar and Abu ‘Ubaydah) so that one of them would have become the Commander [of the Faithful] and I would have been his minister (wazīr). As for those I left aside, I wish that on the day I was brought al-Ash’ath b. Qays as a prisoner I had cut off

812. The daughter of the Prophet, c. 604 C.E. – 11/632. On her, see EI, s.v. Fāṭima. The story in question here seems to refer to the attempt to compel ‘Ali and Fāṭimah to swear allegiance to Abū Bakr as caliph. What they are hiding here is not clear, however. See Tābārī, I, 1812, 1825–26; Balādhūrī, Ansāb, I, 585–87.


814. The meeting hall of the Banū Sā’idah in Medina, where Abū Bakr was acknowledged as caliph upon the death of the Prophet. On it, see Tābārī, I, 1817–25, 1837–45; Ibn Hishām, Sirah, II, 656–60; Ibn Sa’d, Tabaqāt, III, 615–17; Bukhārī, Sahih, V, 8; Balādhūrī, Ansāb, I, 579–84, 589; Ya’qūbī, Ta’rikh, II, 136–38. This enormously important event led to the establishment of the caliphate, with all the political and other consequences that entailed. Abū Bakr here is expressing scruples about the responsibility of government that he has borne.

815. Al-Kindī, he was an important prince in Ḥadramawt who embraced Islam in the Prophet’s lifetime. After the latter’s death, however, he rebelled and had to be sub-
his head, for I imagine that he does not see any evil but that he helps it along. I also wish, when I sent Khalid b. al-Walid to fight the people of apostasy, that I had stayed at Dhū al-Qaṣṣah, so that if the Muslims had triumphed, they would have triumphed, but if they had been defeated, I would have been engaged or [provided] reinforcement. Furthermore, I wish, when I sent Khalid b. al-Walid to Syria, that I had sent 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to Iraq; thereby, I would have stretched forth both of my hands in God's path. [He stretched forth both his hands.] I also wish that I had asked God's Messenger with whom the government rests, so that no one would contend about it. I wish I had asked him whether the Anṣār have a share in the government. I wish I had asked him about the inheritance of the brother's daughter and the paternal aunt, for I have some doubts in my mind about the two of them.

817

Yūnus — Yahyā: Then 'Ulwān came to us after the death of al-Layth. I asked him about this report. He transmitted it to me just as al-Layth had transmitted [it], letter by letter. He informed me that he himself had transmitted it to al-Layth b. Sa'd. I asked him about his father's name. He informed me he was 'Ulwān b. Dāwūd.

Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Murādī — 'Abdallah b. Sāliḥ al-

ducéd by force. After he was forgiven, he fought in Syria, then went to Iraq, where he became prominent in al-Kūfah. His tepid support for 'Alī in the first civil war often was cited as the cause of the latter's defeat. He died in 40-41/661-62, but left behind a great progeny that continued to have influence in al-Kūfah. EP, s.v. al-Ash'āth; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gāmharat, I, 236; II, 381 [under Ma'dikarib b. Qais]; Ibn Muzāḥim, Sījīn, passim; Ibn Sa'd, Taqāqāt, VI, 22-23; Ibn Khayyāt, Ta'rikh, 228; Ibn Hajaj, Isābah, I, 51-52; Crone, Slaves, 110.

816. A place about 38 km. from Medina on the way to al-Rabadhah. From there Abū Bakr had dispatched his armies in all directions to fight against the Riddah. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, IV, 366.

817. The rights of the brother's daughter or the paternal aunt to inherit are not dealt with in the relevant Qur'ānic verses, Qur'ān 4: 11-12, 176. This problem considerably exercised the minds of early Muslim legal specialists and is treated in various books of fiqh. A very detailed treatment can be found in Ibn Qudāmah, Mughnī, VI, 317-26, 329-35.

818. Possibly this is Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Yusuf al-Tirmidhī, who is specifically reported to have transmitted from 'Abdallāh b. Sāliḥ al-Miṣrī. This is despite the fact that this Tirmidhī has al-Sulami rather than al-Murādī for his tribal nisbah, according to the ri'āl books. He is considered reliable and died in 280/893, so that he could have transmitted to al-Ṭabarī. See Dhahabi, Mizān, III, 484; Ibn Hajaj, Tahdhib, V, 256; IX, 62-63.
The Events of the Year 13  


Abū ja'far: Before he became occupied with the affairs of the Muslims, Abū Bakr was a merchant. His dwelling was at al-Sunh,822 then he moved to Medina.

Al-Hārith — Ibn Sa'd — Muḥammad b. 'Umar — Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sabrah — Marwān [b. 'Uthmān] b.823 Abī Sa'id b. al-Mu'āllā824 — Sa'id b. al-Musayyab, Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhim825 — his father — 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ṣabīḥah al-Taymi826— his father,827 Ubaydallāh828 b. 'Umar829—Nāfi'830— Ibn 'Umar; Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh — al-Zuhri — 'Urwah — 'A'īshah; Abū Qudāmah 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad — Abū Wajzah — his father, and another as well, who had transmitted to me some of it (the reports of certain of them are mixed with the reports of others): 'A'īshah said:

819. The mawlā of the Juhaynah, d. 222/737—38, he was the secretary of al-Layth b. Sa'd and was an Egyptian traditionist with a mixed reputation. Though he is said to have been born in 173/789; that is impossible, as it precedes his patron's death by only two years. See Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, VII, 518; Ibn Khayyat, Tārikh, 787; Dhahabi, Mizān, II, 440—45; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, V, 256—61.


821. Al-Zuhri al-Qurashi, yet another of the great Medinan family of traditionists. He died in 95/714 or, less probably, 105/723, at the age of seventy-three. See Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, V, 53—55; Zubayrī, Nasab, 266; Ibn Khayyat, Tārikh, 489; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, III, 45—46.

822. A district in Medina less than 2 km. south from the Prophet's house and city center. At that time, it contained the dwellings of the Hārith of the Khazraj. See Yāqút, Mu'jam, III, 265; Watt, Muhammad at Medina, 152 [map], 167.

823. Text: 'an; read: b., as Ţabarī, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DCXIII.

824. Al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī, he was a minor Medinan transmitter with a mixed reputation. See Dhahabi, Mizān, IV, 92; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, X, 95.

825. Al-Taymi al-Qurashi, died 151/768, he was a Medinan traditionist with a poor reputation. See Dhahabi, Mizān, IV, 218—19; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, X, 368—69.

826. Unidentified and appears only here in al-Ţabarī.

827. Unidentified.

828. Text: 'Abdallāh, read: 'Ubaydallāh, as Ţabarī, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DCXIII.

829. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. Ḥafs b. 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-ʿAdawi al-Qurashi, he was one of the seven great jurists of Medina. He died in 147/764. See Zubayrī, Nasab, 362; Ibn Khayyat, Tārikh, 651; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, VII, 38—40.

830. The mawlā of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, he is the most famous transmitter of Ibn 'Umar's traditions and was considered the exemplar of the highest reliability by al-Bukhārī. He died in 117—20/735—38. See Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, X, 412—15.
My father's dwelling was at al-Sunk with his wife Ḥabībah bt. Khā-rijah b. Zayd b. Abi Zuhayr of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. He had built himself a room from palm leaves. He did not add to that up to the time he moved to his dwelling in Medina. He continued to reside there at al-Sunk for six months after he had received the oath of allegiance. He would go by foot to Medina. Occasionally, he would ride on a horse he had, wearing a waist wrapper and a worn-out cloak. He would come to Medina to lead the people in public worship. When he finished the evening worship (‘isha’), he would return to his family at al-Sunk. When he was present, he would lead the people in their worship; when he was not present, ‘Umar would lead them in it.

He would spend Friday morning at al-Sunk dyeing his head and his beard, then he would go forth according to the time of the Friday worship, in which he would lead the people. He was a man of commerce. He would go forth early every day to the market, where he would sell and buy. He had a flock of sheep that would go home to him. Sometimes, he would go forth with it himself; sometimes, it would be taken care of, so that it was pastured for him. He also would milk the sheep for the community. When he was rendered the oath of allegiance as caliph, a girl from the community said to him, “Now the ewes of our house will not be milked for us.” Abū Bakr heard her and said, “On the contrary. By my life I will most definitely milk them for you. I certainly hope that what I have entered into will not turn me away from my previous habit.” When he would milk for them, he sometimes would say to a girl from the community, “O girl, would you like me to tend [your sheep] for you, or to leave them to pasture by themselves?” Sometimes she would say, “Tend [them]”; other times she would say, “Leave [them].” Whichever of those she said, he would do.

He remained like that at al-Sunk for six months, then he came down to Medina to reside in it and look after his responsibilities. He said, “No, by God, trading will not set right the affairs of the people. Only my devoting myself exclusively to them and looking after their business will set them aright. My dependents must have what will make them prosper.” Thus, he abandoned trade and expended of the Muslims' money enough to make him prosper and make his dependents prosper day by day.
The Events of the Year 13

He would also make the greater and the lesser pilgrimages. That which they had allocated for him every year was six thousand dirhams. When death came to him, he said, "Give back what we have of the Muslims' money, for I will not acquire anything of this property. My land which is in such-and-such a place is given to the Muslims as compensation for what I have acquired of their property." He transferred that to 'Umar, along with milch camels, a slave who was a blade whetter, and velvet worth five dirhams. 'Umar said, "He has caused troubles for those after him."

Abū Zayd—'Ali b. Muḥammad—those whom I have mentioned his transmitting from them: Abū Bakr said, "Figure out how much I have spent from the treasury since I was put in charge and settle it for me." They found it amounted to eighty thousand dirhams during his rule.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq—al-Zuhri—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad—Asmā' bt. Umays:Ṭahlah b. 'Ubaydallāh went in to [see] Abū Bakr and said, "Have you made 'Umar your successor [as ruler] over the people, even though you have seen the way the people are treated by him [even] when you are with him? How then will he be if he is alone with them, after you have met your Lord and He asks you about those you were responsible for?" Abū Bakr, who was lying down, said, "Sit me up," and they sat him up. He then answered Ṭahlah, "Is it with God that you frighten me (or is it with God that you scare me)? When I meet God my Lord, and He questions me, I will say, 'I have left the best of your people as a successor in charge of your people.'"


---

831. Al-Tamīmī, he is an unidentified transmitter cited in Ṭabarī, I, 1205, 1237, 1454, 2182, and here. He also appears in Ibn Hishām, Sirāḥ, I, 99, 424. In all cases, he transmits to Ibn Ishāq, sometimes from 'Urwhah, and thus is probably a Medinan.
The Caliphate of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb
Abū Jaʿfar: We have already mentioned the time of Abū Bakr’s appointment of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [as his successor] in the caliphate, as well as the time of Abū Bakr’s death, and [said] that ʿUmar led the prayer over him, and that he was buried on the night of his death before the people arose. When ʿUmar arose on the morning after that night, the first thing he did and said was [as follows]:


When ʿUmar was made caliph, he climbed the pulpit to say, ‘I am going to say words to which you must say ‘Amen.’’

832. The mawla of Wāṣil b. Ḥayyān al-ʿĀbdab al-Asadi, 95–100/714–19 to 102–94/808–10, he was a Kūfān traditionist with a good reputation. See Ibn Saʾd, Ṭabaqāt, VI, 386; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, XII, 34–37.


835. Unidentified.
The first speech that `Umar uttered when he was made caliph was as follows:

Abū al-Ṣā'īb— Ibn Fuḍayl— Ḥuṣayn al-Murri: ʿUmar said, "The likeness of the Arabs is only to a camel led by the nose following its leader; therefore, let its leader look where he leads. As for me, by the Lord of the Ka'bah, I will indeed bring them along on the road."

ʿUmar— ʿAli— Ḥusayn al-Murri: The first letter written by ʿUmar when he took charge was to ʿAbū Ubaydah, putting him in charge of Khālid b. al-Walīd. Therefore, take on their work, which is a responsibility for you. Do not advance the Muslims to destruction hoping for spoil.
nor make them camp in a place before you [first] scout it out for them and learn from where it might be attacked. Do not send out a raiding party except in a company of men. Do not by any means expose the Muslims to destruction. God has tested you through me and has tested me through you. Therefore, shut off your sight from this world and divert your heart from it. Do not at all let it destroy you as it destroyed those before you, whose deaths you have seen.

[The Expedition of Fihl842 and the Conquest of Damascus]

‘Umar—‘Ali b. Muḥammad—those whom I have mentioned their transmitting from them where I began the section on Abū Bakr: Shaddād b. Aws b. Thābit al-Anṣārī,843 Maḥmiyah b. Jaz’,844 and Yarfa845 brought [the news of] Abū Bakr’s death to Syria. They hid the news from the people until the Muslims had won, when they were at al-Yaqqūṣah846 fighting their Roman enemies. That was in Rajab (31 August–29 September 634). They informed Abū ‘Ubaydah about the death of Abū Bakr, his appointment to take charge of the war in Syria, and ‘Umar’s subordinating the [other] commanders to him and removing Khalid b. al-Walid.

842. Now Ṭabaqat Fihl in Jordan, it lies east of the Jordan River, about 12 km. southeast of Baysân. Fihl was the ancient Pella of the Dekapolis and had remained one of the more important towns in the area. Extensive ruins exist and are being excavated. See EP, s.v. Fihl. For the battle, see Ibn Khayyāt, Ta’rikh, 104; Kūfī, Futūḥ, I, 189–95.

843. Al-Najjārī al-Khazrajī. The nephew of the Prophet’s poet Ḥassān b. Thābit, he was a Companion of the Prophet, then went forth to participate in the conquest of Syria. In 41/662 or 58–59/678–79, he died at the age of seventy-five (or ninety-five) and was buried in Jerusalem, where his family remained prominent and where his tomb later became an object of veneration. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Ġamharat, I, 186; II, 522; Ibn Sa’d, Ṭabaqāt, VII, 401; Ibn Khayyāt, Ta’rikh, 274; Balāḏurī, Futūḥ, 182; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Istīḥāb, II, 135; Maqdisī, Istīḥāb, 54; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II, 139–40; Mūjīr al-Dīn, al-Uns al-jalīl, II, 63.

844. Al-Zabīdī, the confederate of the Jumāh of the Quraysh, he was an early Muslim, migrated to Ethiopia, fought at Badr, and is doubtfully said to have participated in the conquest of Egypt. He often was responsible for dividing the booty. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Ġamharat, I, 270; II, 383; Wāqīdī, Maghdūz, 410, 524, 697, 780; Ibn Ḥishām, Sīrāḥ, I, 318; II, 361; Ibn Sa’m, Ṭabaqāt, II, 64, 75, 133; IV, 59, 198–99, 261; VIII, 277; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Istīḥāb, III, 495; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, III, 388.

845. The mawlid of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and his chamberlain. See Ya‘qūbī, Ta’rikh, II, 158; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, III, 672–73.

Ibn Ḫumayd—Salamah—Ibn Isḥāq: When the Muslims had finished with Ajnādayn, they went on toward Fihl in the land of al-Urdunn, where the Roman rejectionists (rāfidah)847 had gathered. The Muslims were under their commanders, Khālid b. al-Walid being in charge of the army’s vanguard. When the Romans had descended on Baysān,848 they broke the dams of its streams so that they would overflow. Because it was a ground having a seasonal marsh, it became mud. After that, they encamped at Fihl, Baysān being between Palestine and al-Urdunn. When the Muslims swept over it, not knowing what the Romans had done, their horses became mired in the mud, so that they met with difficulty in it, but then God delivered them. Baysān was named “the place of thick mud” (dhāt al-radaghah) owing to what the Muslims encountered in it. Then they rushed upon the Romans, who were at Fihl. They fought, and the Romans were defeated. The Muslims entered Fihl, while the Roman rejectionists fled to Damascus. [The Battle of] Fihl was in Dhu al-Qa`dah of the year 13 (27 December 634 – 25 January 635), six months into the caliphate of ‘Umar.

‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf led the people in that pilgrimage. Then the Muslims went on to Damascus, Khālid b. al-Walid being in charge of the vanguard of the troops. The Romans had gathered at Damascus under a man called Bāḥān. ‘Umar had removed Khālid b. al-Walid and appointed Abū ‘Ubaydah to command all the troops. The Muslims and the Romans met in the environs of Damascus and fought a severe battle. Then God defeated the Romans, so that the Muslims made gains at their expense. The Romans went inside Damascus and shut its gates. The Muslims settled down before it, besieging it, until Damascus was conquered and its inhabitants paid the jīzyah. Meanwhile, the letter had come to Abū ‘Ubaydah appointing him and removing Khālid. Abū ‘Ubaydah was too embarrassed to read the letter to Khālid until Damascus had been taken and the peace agreement made by Khālid, the document being written in his name. When Damascus made peace on terms, Bāḥān, the Roman commander who had fought the Muslims, withdrew to Her-
The Events of the Year 13 (cont’d)

akleios. The fall of Damascus was in the year 14 in Rajab (21 August – 19 September 635). Abū ‘Ubaydah publicly revealed his appointment as commander and Khālid’s dismissall when the Muslims had met, they and the Romans, at a town called ‘Ayn Fiḥl between Palestine and al-Urdunn and fought a hard battle at it. Then the Romans withdrew to Damascus.

As for Sayf, according to al-Sarī — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Abū ‘Uthmān — Khālid and ‘Ubadah: He mentions in his report that the post came to the Muslims from Medina with [the news of] the death of Abū Bakr and the appointment of Abū ‘Ubaydah as commander while they were at al-Yarmūk, the fighting having started between them and the Romans. He told a different story of al-Yarmūk and Damascus from what Ibn Ishaq told. I am going to mention some of what he has related about that.

Al-Sarī — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Muḥammad — Abū ‘Uthmān — Abū Saʿīd: When ‘Umar took office, he was pleased to let Khalid b. Saʿīd and al-Walid b. ‘Uqbah enter Medina, although Abū Bakr had forbidden them [to do so] owing to the flight they had made. ‘Umar also sent them back to Syria, saying, “Let [word of your] sufficiency reach me about you; I am putting you to the test. Join whichever of our commanders you like.” They joined the troops, with whom they were tried and showed their adequacy.

The Report about Damascus According to Sayf

Al-Sarī — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Abū ‘Uthmān — Khālid and ‘Ubadah: When God had defeated the army of al-Yarmūk and the forces of al-Wāqūsah had fallen to pieces, when the dividing of the spoils had been completed, the fifths sent off, and the delegations dispatched, Abū ‘Ubaydah appointed Bashīr b. Ka‘b b. Ubayy al-Ḥimyari as his deputy in charge of al-Yarmūk, so that he would not be taken unawares by a countermaneuver, nor would the Romans cut him off from reinforcements. Abū ‘Ubaydah went along until he came to al-Ṣuffar, wishing to pursue the defeated remnants and not knowing whether they were massing together or splitting up. The information came to him that they had recoiled to Fiḥl. The news also came

849. Text: ‘anā'; read: ḡanā', as Cairo ed. and Ṭabari, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DcXIII.
850. Or, “supplies.”
to him that reinforcements had come to the forces at Damascus from Himṣ. Because he did not know whether to start with Damascus or with Fihl in the country of al-Urdunn, he wrote to ʿUmar about that and waited for the answer, staying at al-Ṣuffar. When [news of] the victory of al-Yarmūk came to ʿUmar, he confirmed the commanders in the offices to which Abū Bakr had appointed them, except for what happened with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣi and Khalid b. al-Walid. He put Khalid under Abū ʿUbaydah's command and ordered ʿAmr to aid the people by bringing the warfare to Palestine and taking charge of the campaign in it.

As for Ibn Išāq, he states regarding the subject of Khalid and ʿUmar's dismissall of him [the following].

Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd — Salamah — Ibn Išāq: ʿUmar dismissed Khalid only owing to words that Khalid had spoken — according to what they claim. ʿUmar did not cease being wroth with him and disliking his behavior during the whole time of Abū Bakr, owing to his battle with Ibn Nuwayrah and what he had done in fighting against him. When ʿUmar succeeded to the caliphate, the first words he spoke were [those of] Khalid's dismissall. He said, "He will never govern any province for me." ʿUmar wrote to Abū ʿUbaydah, "If Khalid admits that he is a liar, then he remains commander over what he has charge of. But if he does not admit that he is a liar, then you are commander of what he had charge of. Then pull his turban off his head and confiscate half of his property."

When Abū ʿUbaydah mentioned that to Khalid, he said, "Grant me a delay so that I may consult with my sister regarding my affair." Abū ʿUbaydah did so. Khalid went in to his sister Fātimah bt. al-Hārith,851 who was the wife of al-Hārith b. Hishām, and mentioned that to her. She commented, "By God, ʿUmar does not like you at all. He only wants you to admit that you are a liar in order to remove you." At this, he kissed her head, saying, "You have spoken the truth, by God." Thus, Khalid continued as he had before, refusing to call himself a liar. Bilāl, the mawlā of Abū Bakr,852 went to Abū ʿUbay-

851. She had embraced Islam in 8/630. See Ibn Saʿd, Taḥaqāt, VIII, 252, 322; Ibn Hajar, Isābah, IV, 385.
852. Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, the famous Ethiopian freedman of Abū Bakr, he is best known as the first muʿādhdhin in Islam. He was one of the early Muslims of the Meccan period. Later, he migrated to Syria, where he died at Darāyya in 18/639 or 19-20/641-42. See EP, s.v. Bilāl b. Rabāḥ; Wāqidi, Ṭagḥūz, passim; Ibn Hishām, Sirāh, I, 317-18, 506-7, 509, 588-89, 633, 682; II, 207, 336, 340, 415, 634, Ibn Saʿd, Taḥaqāt, VII, 385-86; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Istīʿāb, I, 141-44; Ibn Hajar, Isābah, I, 163.
dah to ask, "What have you been commanded regarding Khalid?"
Abū Ubaydah replied, "I have been commanded to pull of his tur-
ban and to divide his property with him." He then split his property
with him until there remained only his two sandals [to be divided].
Abū Ubaydah said, "This one is useless without the other one."
Khālid said, "Certainly. I am not one to disobey the Commander of
the Faithful; therefore, do what seems appropriate to you." Thus, he
took one sandal and gave him the other sandal. Then Khālid came to
Umar at Medina after his dismissal.

Amrī—Ṣulaymān b. Yasar: Whenever Umar passed
by Khālid, he would say, "O Khālid, bring forth the property of God
from under your buttocks!" Khālid would say, "By God, I have no
property." When Umar persisted, Khālid said to him, "O Com-
mander of the Faithful, what is the value of what I have gained under
your authority? Forty thousand dirhams." Umar said, "I hereby
take that from you for forty thousand dirhams." Khālid said, "It is
yours." Umar said, "I accept it." Khālid did not have property other
than military equipment and slaves. An account of that was made,
and its value reached eighty thousand dirhams. Umar took half of
that, giving him forty thousand dirhams. He took the money. Umar
was told, "O Commander of the Faithful, if only you would return
Khālid's property to him." Umar said, "I am only a trader for the
Muslims. By God, I will never return it to him." Umar felt that he
had avenged himself on Khālid when he did that to him.

The continuation of the report of Sayf—Abū Uthmān—Khālid
and Ūbādah: When Umar received the letter from Abū Ubaydah
[asking] about how he should begin, he wrote to him:

Now then, begin with Damascus and march against it,
for it is the fortress of Syria and the capital of their kingdom.
Divert the forces at Fihl with cavalry that will be before
them at their throats, and [likewise divert] the forces of Pal-

854. Al-ʿĀmirī al-Qurashi. It also is said, less probably, that he was a mawlā of the
ʿĀmir. He was said to be a reputable transmitter. He died in Medina in 125/743 at the
age of eighty-three. He is said to have been a Qadari. See Zubayri, Nasab, 425; Ibn
Khayyāt, Tā'īkh, 546; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, IX, 373–75.
855. The mawlā of Maymunah al-Hilaliyyah, the Prophet's wife, he was one of the
Sa'd, Tabaqat, V, 174–75; Ibn Khayyāt, Ta'rīkh, 479, 499; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib, IV,
228–30.
The Caliphate of `Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb

estine and Hims. If God conquers Fihl before Damascus, then that is what we would like. If its conquest is delayed until God conquers Damascus, then put enough forces in Damascus to secure it and then leave it, going, you and the rest of the commanders, until you attack Fihl. If God grants you victory, then go away, you and Khalid, to Hims. Leave behind Shuraḥbil and `Amr, charging them with al-Urdunn and Palestine. The commander of each district and army is to be in charge of the troops until they exit from his province.

Abū `Ubaydah sent off to Fihl ten commanders: Abū al-Aʿwar al-Sulami, Abd `Amr b. Yazīd b. ʿAmir al-Jurashi,856 ʿAmir b. Ḥathmah,857 ʿAmr b. Kulayb of the Yaḥṣūb,858 Umārah b. al-Ṣaʿiq b. Kaʿb,859 ʿUyayn b. Ulbah860 b. Ṣāmīl,861 ʿAmr b. Ḥabīb b. Ṣamīl,862 Libdah b. Ṣamīl b. Khathʿamah,863 Bishr b. Ḫaythamah,864 and Umārah b. Makhshi,865 the troops' leader. With each man were five [subordinate] commanders. The leaders were made up of the Companions, so that they would not find anyone who would take that [post] away from them. They went from al-Ṣūfār until they encamped near Fihl. When the Romans saw that the troops were making for them, they unleashed the waters around Fihl, so that the ground became muddy and then thick with mud. The Muslims were perplexed by that. Eighty thousand horsemen were shut up in it by the Muslims. The

856. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, Ḣābah, II, 430.
857. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, Ḣābah, II, 249 (under b. Khaythamah).
858. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, Ḣābah, III, 12.
859. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place.
860. Or, Uliyah.
861. Muʿāwiya appointed him governor of Qinnasrin, according to Ibn Muzahim, Siffin, 128. However, it is doubtful whether Qinnasrin was separated from Hims until late in Yazid I's reign. See Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 156; Ibn Ḥajar, Ḣābah, II, 197.
862. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place.
863. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, Ḣābah, III, 325.
865. Text: Makhshashu; read: Makhshi, as on p. 91, above.
The Events of the Year 13 (cont'd) 165

first besieged forces in Syria were the troops of Fihl, then the troops of Damascus.

Abū 'Ubaydah sent out Dhū al-Kalā' until he was positioned between Damascus and Ḥimṣ as a covering force. He also sent out 'Alqamah b. Hakim and Masrūq, who were positioned between Damascus and Palestine. [Their] overall commander was Yazīd, who set out. Abū 'Ubaydah also departed from al-Marj. He sent Khālid b. al-Walid forward. In command of his two wings were 'Amr and Abū 'Ubaydah [himself]. 'Iyād commanded the cavalry, and Shurāḥbil was in charge of the infantry. They advanced on Damascus, whose defenders were commanded by Nasṭās b. Naṣṭūrūs. They besieged the forces of Damascus, camping in its environs. Abū 'Ubaydah was in charge of one side, 'Amr another, and Yazīd yet another.

Herakleios at that time was at Ḥimṣ, the city of Ḥimṣ being between him and them. The Muslims besieged the forces of Damascus for about seventy days, putting them under a hard siege, with marches, exchanges of fire, and ballistas, while the defenders held the city hoping for aid. Herakleios was near them, and they had asked him for reinforcements, although Dhū al-Kalā' was between the Muslims and Ḥimṣ, one night's journey from Damascus, as if he was heading for Ḥimṣ. The cavalry of Herakleios came to aid the forces of Damascus, but the cavalry that was with Dhū al-Kalā' caused them grief and distracted them from the [main] Muslim force, so that they drew back and encamped before him. Meanwhile, the forces in Damascus were still in the same condition. When the forces of Damascus were certain that the reinforcements would not reach them, they became cowardly, weak, and disheartened. On the other hand, the Muslims became more desirous of [conquering] them. Before that, the Muslims had viewed their campaigns as raids: if cold set in, the men went back.

The Pleiades settled [in the west] while the enemy were persisting [in resistance]. At that point, their hope was cut off, and they re-[2152]


867. Text: Nustūs; read: Naṣṭūrūs, as Cairo ed., but with first vowel changed from u to a. This man is mentioned only by Sayf.

868. Ar. saqat al-najm. For this meaning, see Fayruzābādi, Muḥīṭ, s.v. n-j-m. This yields a date of about Jumādā 1 14/June–July 634 for the siege being at least started
The Caliphate of `Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb

greeted having entered Damascus. A child was born to the pattrikios who was in charge of the troops in Damascus. He held a celebration for it, so that the people ate and drank, neglecting their posts. None of the Muslims noticed that, except for what came from Khalid, for he did not sleep nor allow [his men] to sleep. Nothing of the affairs of the enemy was concealed from him; his spies were intelligent, and he was interested in what was around him. He had equipped himself with ropes in the form of ladders and lassoes.

When it was the evening of that day, he rushed forth with troops he had of those whom he had brought against the enemy. He led them at the start of his day, he and al-Qa‘qā b. `Amr, Madḥūr b. `Adī, and those of his companions who were like him. They said, "When you hear our cry of 'God is Greater' on the wall, climb up to us and rush the gate." When he came to the gate that was near him, he and his advancing companions, they threw the ropes at the battlements. On their backs were waterskins on which they crossed their trench. When two lassoes of theirs were secured, al-Qa‘qā and Madḥūr climbed them. Then they did not leave any rope but that they secured it and the lassoes to the battlements. The place from which they stormed in was the most impregnable place around Damascus, as most of it was water, and it was the hardest to enter. They came all together for that, so that none of those who had joined Khālid remained but that he had climbed [the wall] or drawn near the gate, until, when they had sat upon the wall, he sent down almost all his companions and also went down himself, leaving behind a force to defend that spot for those ascending. He then ordered them to shout "God is Greater."

When those on top of the wall shouted, the Muslims rushed at the gate, while many men turned to the ropes, leaping onto them. Khālid reached the first of those before him and slew them. After that, he went down to the gate and killed the gatekeepers. The forces of the city were aroused and the rest of the people terrified. They took to their posts, not knowing what was the matter. The forces on

and in progress. Such a date would appear to contradict Donner’s conclusion about the “reconstruction” of Abū ʿUthmān transmitted by Sayf giving Shawwāl/November–December as the date of Damascus’s fall after a siege of about seventy days, for that would be impossibly late. See Donner, Conquests, 137, 317 n. 224. Rather, the settling of the Pleiades in the west would seem to support the more usual dating of Rajab/August–September as the date of Damascus’s fall, as given by Ibn Ishāq below, p. 169, and al-Wāqidi in Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 146.
each side were occupied with those before them. Khālid b. al-Walid and those with him cut the locks on the gates with swords to open [them] for the Muslims. The entering Muslims advanced on the enemy until not a[n enemy] fighter remained of those at Khālid’s gate that had not been killed. When Khālid had pressed the attack against those before him and obtained by force what he wanted from them, those who escaped retreated to the forces at the gates before the other Muslim commanders.

The Muslims had called on them to divide the city into halves, but they refused and banished [the offer]. Therefore the Muslims were simply astonished when the enemy openly professed to them [a desire] for peace. The Muslims responded favorably to them and accepted [it] from them. The enemy opened the gates for them, saying, “Enter, and protect us from the troops at that gate.” Thus the forces before each gate entered under a peace agreement for what adjoined them, and Khālid entered into what adjoined him by force. Khālid and the [other] commanders met in the middle of the city; this one slaying indiscriminately and plundering, and this [other] in peace and seeking to quiet. They considered Khālid’s section as if it was under a peace agreement, so that is was treated as territory taken peacefully. 869

The peace agreement with Damascus was conditioned on the division of the money and the real estate, and [the payment of] a dinār for each person. The Muslims divided the booty, Khālid’s troops being treated on an equal footing with the troops of the rest of the commanders. Each household and those who remained in the peace agreement had to pay a jarīb [of grain] for every jarīb of land. What had belonged to the kings and those who went away with them was held in trust as the common property of the conquerors (fay’). 870

---

869. Territory taken peacefully enjoyed far more rights than that taken by force. The implication here is that the Iraqis were cheated out of their rightful spoils in Syria. On the difference between territory taken peacefully and that taken by force, see Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 29; Hall, Termination of Hostilities, 3-4 and passim.

870. This means that the government did not allow the conquering troops to divide the land as booty among themselves and then scatter throughout the countryside as proprietors, which would have destroyed their cohesion and military effectiveness. Instead, the government held the land in trust and paid the troops only fixed stipends as their share of the income. This enabled the government to maintain control over the land and the troops, the latter being kept in the military cities (amṣār) where they could be mobilized quickly. See EP, s.v. Fay’; Wellhausen, Arab Kingdom, 29–31, 43–44; Shaban, History, I, 46–50.
They gave a share to Dhū al-Kalā‘ and those with him, to Abū al-A‘war and those with him, and to Bashīr and those with him.

They also sent the good news to ‘Umar. ‘Umar’s reply came to Abū ‘Ubaydah, [saying,] “Send the Iraqi troops to Iraq, and command them to hurry to Sa‘d b. Mālik.” Thus, he put Hāshim b. ‘Utbah in command of the Iraqi troops, al-Qa‘qā‘ b. ‘Amr in charge of the vanguard, and ‘Amr b. Mālik al-Zuhrī871 and Rib‘ī b. ‘Āmir872 in charge of the two wings. After Damascus, they made the journey to Sa‘d. Hāshim set out for Iraq with the Iraqi forces. The commanders set off toward Fihl. Hāshim’s troops were ten thousand, except for those who had been lost, so that they made up their total from others who had not been of them [originally], among them Qays and al-Ashtar. ‘Alqamah and Masrūq set out for Jerusalem,873 encamping on the way to it. At Damascus, a number of the leaders of the Yemenis remained with Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, including ‘Amr b. Shimr b. Ghaziyyah,874 Sahm b. al-Musāfir b. Hazmah,875 and Mushāfi‘ b. ‘Abdallāh b. Shāfi‘.876 After Damascus had been captured, Yazīd sent Dihyah b. Khalīfah al-Kalbī with cavalry to Tadmur and Abū al-Zahrā‘ al-Qushayri877


873. Here called Iliyā‘ = Aelia Capitolina, the Latin name given to it by the Emperor Hadrian.

874. According to Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, III, 115, he does not seem to have an existence outside of Sayf’s traditions, unless he is to be identified with the ‘Amr b. Shimr present at Sīfīn in Ibn Muzāḥim, Sīfīn, passim. On the other hand, he could be a mistake for ‘Amr b. Ghaziyyah al-Khazrajī, although this latter is not described elsewhere as being in Syria. See Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, III, 10.

875. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II, 117.

876. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place.

877. A like-named person elsewhere is a direct informant of Sayf for events connected with Hims, as befits his tribal nisbah. Because Sayf died after 170/786, this informant would either have to be a different person than the one mentioned in this text here, or else, more probably, Sayf has retrojected the name of his informant back to the early conquests. He also is mentioned as a poet celebrating the conquests, but with no indication as to his date. No Abū al-Zahrā‘ al-Qushayri is known outside the transmissions of Sayf. See Ṭabarī, I, 2391, 2395–96, 2573; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, IV, 77, 81.
The Events of the Year 13 (cont'd)

The inhabitants made peace agreements with both of them according to the peace agreement of Damascus. The two of them took charge of conquering the lands to which they were sent.

Muḥammad b. ʿIshaq: The capture of Damascus occurred in the year 14 in Rajab [21 August - 19 September 635]. Also, the Battle of Fihl happened before [the capture of] Damascus, for only the rejectionists of Fihl went to Damascus, to which the Muslims pursued them. (He claims that) the Battle of Fihl occurred in the year 13, in Dhū al-Qaʿdah [27 December 634 - 25 January 635] of it.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn ʿIshaq: Thus.

As for al-Wāqidi, he claims that the capture of Damascus occurred in the year 14, as Ibn ʿIshaq stated. He also claims that the Muslims' siege of it lasted six months. He further claims that the Battle of the Yarmūk happened in the year 15. He claims that Herakleios pulled back in this year after the Battle of the Yarmūk, in Shaʿbān [8 September - 6 October 636], from Antioch to Constantinople, and that there was no battle after al-Yarmūk.

Abū Jaʿfar: I have previously noted what has been related from Sayf from those he transmitted from, that the Battle of al-Yarmūk fell in the year 13, that the post came to the Muslims at al-Yarmūk with [the news of] Abū Bakr's death on the very day on which, late in it, the Romans were defeated, and that ʿUmar commanded them, after they were finished with al-Yarmūk, to go to Damascus. He claims that Fihl was after Damascus and that there were battles after that between the Muslims and the Romans besides that [one], before Herakleios went away to Constantinople. I will relate them, God willing, in their [appropriate] places.

In this year, I mean the year 13, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb dispatched Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafi to Iraq, where he perished, according to al-Wāqidi.

But according to Ibn ʿIshaq: The Day of the Bridge, the Bridge of Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafi, occurred in the year 14.

---

878. Ancient Batanaea, it is a large district in the extreme south of modern Syria. Its capital was Adhrīʿāt, now Darʿah. Al-Bathaniyyah lay mostly to the north of Adhrīʿāt. See EP, s.v al-Bathaniyya.

879. This today is taken to be the whole southern area of modern Syria from Damascus to the Jordanian border, but ancients the term was more restricted in usage, indicating mainly the region east and northeast of Adhrīʿāt. See EP, s.v ʿAwrān.
Abū Jaʿfar: At this point, we will relate the matter of Fihl, though the report that relates it contains the differences of opinion that I have mentioned regarding the conquests of the army of Syria. In fact, among the disagreeable aspects [of this study] is the occurrence of such a difference as the one I have noted about the date of this battle, [a difference that arose] because of the nearness [in time] of some of those [battles] to others. As for what Ibn Ishaq has related about that and told its story, it has already been mentioned. But as for [Sayf, see as follows].

Al-Sari—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū ʿUthmān Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī and Abū Ḥārithah al-ʿAbshami: After the capture of Damascus, the army left Yazīd b. Abī Suṣyān behind with cavalry in Damascus while they went on toward Fihl under the command of Shurāḥbīl b. Ḥasanah. He sent forth Khālid in command of his vanguard, Abū ʿUbaydah880 and ʿAmr in charge of his two wings, ʿIrār b. al-ʿAzwar in charge of the cavalry, and ʿIyāḍ in command of the infantry. They did not like going against Herakleios while eighty thousand [of the enemy] were behind them. They knew that those before Fihl were the shield of the Romans, who were looking to them, and that Syria would [surrender] peacefully after they [were defeated]. When they reached Abū al-ʿAwar, they sent him forward to Tiberias,881 so that he besieged its forces, which then went to Fihl in al-Urdunn. When Abū al-ʿAwar had descended on the forces of Fihl, they withdrew to Baysān.

After this, Shurāḥbīl encamped at Fihl, while the Romans were at Baysān. Between them and the Muslims lay those waters and mires. They wrote to ʿUmar with the news while telling themselves to stay, for they did not want to depart from Fihl until the reply to their letter came back to them from ʿUmar. Nor could they advance against their enemy [from] where they were because of the mires that lay between them. The Arabs named that campaign Fihl, Dhat al-Rada-

880. In this version, because they are in the district of al-Urdunn, which is Shurābīl’s province, Abū ʿUbaydah is demoted to a mere subordinate while Shurābīl commands, perhaps reflecting local tradition.
881. Ar. Ṭabarīyyah, it was founded and named in honor of the Roman emperor Tiberius. Since that time it has enjoyed a continuous existence. At the time of the conquest, it appears to have been the capital of the Roman province of Palaestina Secunda, on which the Islamic jund of al-Urdunn was based. See EI', s.v. Ṭabarīya.
ghah, and Baysān. The Muslims found in the countryside better than that which the polytheists enjoyed. Their supplies were continuous and their pasturage luxuriant, which made them negligent of the enemy. Saqallār b. Mikhrāq882 commanded the enemy. Hoping that the Muslims would be caught unawares, they came against them, but the Muslims had not felt secure from [the possibility of] their attacking, which put them in a state of alert. Shurāhbiil neither went to sleep for the night nor awoke in the morning except that he was in battle formation.

When the Romans made for the Muslims, they came on them unexpectedly and were not equal to them. At Fihl, the Romans fought the like of the hardest battle they had ever fought at night and at day until the [second] night. When the night brought darkness upon them, as they had lost their way, they were defeated while they were lost. Their chief, Saqallār b. Mikhrāq, was struck down. The one who was next to him [in command] among them was Naṣūrus.883 The Muslims won the best and most beneficial triumph. They then rode after the Romans, believing that the enemy had a direction and a hard, even ground [through which to escape]. But they found the Romans to be lost, not knowing what direction to take. Their defeat and their being lost delivered them to the mud, which they rode into. When the first of the Muslims caught up with them, they had become mired; thus, the Muslims bore down on them. No imploring hand restrained them as they ran them through with spears. This was the [real] defeat at Fihl: their deaths were in the heavy mud. Eighty thousand were struck down; none escaped except the [occasional] fugitive. God was acting for the Muslims even though they disliked it: they disliked the flooding, but it turned out to be a help to them against their enemy and an overwhelming burden884 [on them] from God, so that they might increase in insight and earnest purpose. They divided among themselves the spoils that God had given to them. Abū ‘Ubaydah went off with Khālid from Fihl to

882. He is the same as the eunuch Theodore the Sakellarios whom Theophanes, Chronicle, 37–38, makes the Roman commander at al-Yarmūk. See note 568, above. Only Sayf gives him a role at Fihl.
883. Mentioned only in this place, the name possibly is an abridgement of Naṣṭās b. Naṣūrus, found on p. 165, above.
884. Text: anāḥ; read: inḍāḥ, as suggested in the notes to the Leiden ed.
They also took Samir\footnote[885]{Text: Sumayr; read: Samir, as the modern name. Although Sumayr is also conceivable, the simple form should be used where it is elsewhere attested.} b. Ka‘b\footnote[886]{Apparently mentioned only by Sayf and only in this one place. See Ibn Hajar, \textit{Iṣābah}, II, 81.} away with them and departed with Dhū al-Kalā‘ and those with him, leaving behind Shuṣrahbil and his forces.

**Baysān**

When Shuṣrahbil was finished with Fihl, he marched with his forces, including ‘Amr, against the forces at Baysān, descending on them while Abū al-A‘war and the commanders with him were besieging Tiberias. The news had reached the various regions of al-Urdunn about the [fate] Damascus had met and what Saqallār and the Romans had met at Fihl and in the heavy mud, as well as the march of Shuṣrahbil against them, along with ‘Amr, al-Hārith b. Hishām, and Suhayl b. ‘Amr, heading for Baysān. The Romans fortified themselves in every place. Shuṣrahbil led the troops against the forces at Baysān. They besieged them for some days, then the Romans came out against them. The Muslims fought them, killing those who had come out against them, and then made a peace agreement with the rest of the forces there. That was accepted according to the Damascus peace agreement.

**Tiberias**

When the news reached the people of Tiberias, they made a peace agreement with Abū al-A‘war on the condition that he take them to Shuṣrahbil. He did so, so that the Muslims made peace with them and the people of Baysān according to the Damascus peace agreement. By this they would share their dwellings in the cities and those surrounding areas belonging to them with the Muslims, leaving half to the latter whereas they would collect in the other half. A dinār had to be paid for every person annually. For every \textit{jarīb} of land a \textit{jarīb} of wheat or barley had to be paid, whichever of those had been planted. There were [other] items in that [agreement], which they stipulated as conditions for peace. While the leaders and their horse settled in, as the peace terms for al-Urdunn were carried out, the re-
inforcements scattered in the cities of al-Urdunn and its villages. A letter about the conquest was dispatched to `Umar.

_Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah and Abū `Ubayd b. Masūd_

Al-Sārī—Shuʿayb—Sayf b. `Umar—Muḥammad b. `Abdallāh b. Sawād, Ṭalḥah b. al-ʿĀlām, and Ziyād b. Sarjis, according to their insād: The first thing `Umar did was to summon the men with al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah al-Shaybānī to fight the Persians before the dawn worship on the night on which Abū Bakr died. Then, when he arose, the people rendered the oath of allegiance, whereupon he repeated his call to the men to fight Persia. The people came in succession to give the oath of allegiance. They finished in three days; every day, he would summon them, but no one would heed the call to go against Persia. The Persian front was among the most disliked and difficult of the warfronts for them, because of the strength of the Persians’ sovereignty, their military force, their might, and their subjection of the nations.

When it was the fourth day, `Umar repeated his summons to the men to [go to] Iraq. The first to respond to the summons were Abū `Ubayd b. Masūd and Saʿd b. `Ubayd al-Ansifi, the confederate of the Banū Fazarah. When various fronts were offered to him, but he refused [any] but Iraq, saying, “God, be He Exalted and Mighty, has counted [my] flight there against me, but it may be that He will bring me back to the attack in it.” After this, the people came one after another [to volunteer].

Al-Sārī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Sahl b. Yusuf—al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad: Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah spoke, saying, “O people, this front is not at all too great for you, for we have gone through the middle of the countryside of Persia and wrested the best two parts of the Sawād from them, dividing it equally with them and attaining [our goal] at their expense. Those who went before us took risks

---

887. Al-Awsi, he was famous for collecting the Qurʾān. He fought at Badr and was slain at al-Qādisiyyah. His relationship with the Fazarah is not mentioned in any other source, nor is his participation in the conquest of Syria. However, his son `Umayr later governed part of Syria for the caliph `Umar. See Ibn al-Kalbi, _Gamharat_, I, 178; II, 497; Wāqidi, _Maghāzī_, 159; Ibn Hishām, _Sirah_, I, 688; Ibn Saʿd, _Tabaqāt_, III, 458; Ibn Khayyāt, _Taʾrīkh_, 121; Balādhuri, _Futūḥ_, 321; Maqdisi, _Istibṣār_, 280–81; Ibn Ḥajar, _Iṣābah_, II, 31; Donner, _Conquests_, 376, 401, 410.
against them, and it will have, God willing, what comes after it.\textsuperscript{888}

`Umar also stood up among the people to say,

The Hijaz is not a home for you except for foraging; its inhabitants do not survive in it except by that. Where are the impulsive migrants for the sake of God's promise? Travel in the land that God has promised you in the Book to make you heirs to, for He has said, "That He may make it [Islam] triumph over all religion."\textsuperscript{889} God is the One who grants victory to His religion, strengthens His helper, and commits to His people of the inheritances of the nations. Where are the righteous worshippers of God?

The first to answer the call was Abū Ubayd b. Maṣʿūd. Then the second was Saʿd b. Ubayd or Saliṭ b. Qays.\textsuperscript{890} When that expedition had gathered, it was suggested to `Umar, "Put a man from among the early Muslims of the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār in command of them." `Umar answered,

No, by God, I will not do so. God has exalted you only owing to your priority [in Islam] and your hastening against the enemy. But if you become fainthearted and dislike encountering [the enemy in battle], then those who preceded you in repelling [the enemy in battle] and answered the summons are more deserving of the leadership. By God, I will not give command of you to anyone but the first of you to answer the summons.

Thereupon, he called Abū Ubayd, Saliṭ, and Saʿd, saying [to the latter two], "As for the two of you, had you preceded him, I would have put you in charge and you would thereby have obtained what is yours by seniority." He made Abū Ubayd the commander of the army. He said to Abū Ubayd, "Listen to the Companions of the Prophet, making them partners in the matter. Do not launch an of-

\textsuperscript{888} That is, "This setback will, God willing, be followed by a victory." This may refer to the Muslim defeat at the Battle of the Bridge, or some other setback.

\textsuperscript{889} Qurʾān 9: 33; 48: 28; 611: 9.

\textsuperscript{890} Al-Najjārī al-Khazraji, he fought at Badr and the Prophet's later battles. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 183; II, 508; Wāqīḍī, Maghāzī, 24, 141, 163, 514, 700, 896; Ibn Hishām, Sīrah, I, 495, 704; II, 244; Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt, III, 512; Ibn Khayyāt, Taʾrīkh, 107; Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 105, 307–8, 310; Maqādisī, Istībṣār, 43–44; Ibn Ḥajar, ʿIsābāh, II, 72; Donner, Conquests, 376–77 (wrongly calls him Salāt).
fensive campaign hastily until you have ascertained the facts and [see] it is war, for only a coolheaded man who knows opportunity and restraint will do well in war.”

A man from the Ānṣār: ‘Umar said to Abū ‘Ubayd, “Nothing has kept me from making Salīṭ the commander except for his hastening to war, for whoever hastens to war is lost, unless with clear reason. By God, if not for his haste, I would have made him the commander, but only the coolheaded does well for war.”

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shu‘ayb b. ʿIbrāhīm — Sayf b. ʿUmar — al-Mu-jālid — al-Shaʿbī: Al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah came to Abū Bakr in the year 13. He sent him off with troops whom he summoned three times without anyone heeding his call until Abū ‘Ubayd answered it, then Saʿd b. ‘Ubayd. When he answered the call, Abū ‘Ubayd said, “I am for it.” Saʿd then said, “I am for it,” because of a deed he had done. Salīṭ also spoke. It was suggested to ʿUmar, “Make their commander a man from among the Companions.” ʿUmar replied, “The Companions excel [others] only in their hastening against the enemy and their fulfilling the responsibilities of those who are slow.”

If a group did as they have done and found it too burdensome [to campaign], then those who heed the summons [to war], whether lightly or heavily armed, are more deserving of the command than they. By God, I am going to send out only the first to heed the call to be in charge of them.” Thus, he put Abū ‘Ubayd in command and gave him instructions for his army.

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shuʿayb b. ʾIbrāhīm — Sayf b. ʿUmar — Sahl — al-Qāsim; and al-Mubashshir — Sālim: The first expedition sent out by ʿUmar was the expedition of Abū ‘Ubayd. Then he sent out Yaʿlā b. Umayyah to Yemen, commanding him to evacuate the people of Najrān, according to the instructions of the Prophet in his [last] illness regarding that, and according to the instructions of Abū Bakr regarding that in his [last] illness. He said:

Come to them, do not tempt them away from their religion, then remove those among them who keep to their religion. But confirm the Muslims [in their residence]. Survey the land of each of them whom you remove, then offer them a choice of countries [to which to emigrate], informing them

891. Text: abā, read: anā, as Ṭabarī, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, CDLV, DCXIV.
that we are removing them according to the injunction of God and His Messenger, "Two religions ought not to be left in the Arabian peninsula." Therefore let them depart, whoever among them keeps to his religion. Then give them land equivalent to their land, in recognition of their right against ourselves and in fulfillment of [our] guarantee of security to them, according to what God has commanded regarding that, in exchange between them and their Yemeni and other neighbors for that which has gone to their neighbors in the countryside.

\textit{Al-Namāriq}\textsuperscript{893}

Al-Sāri b. Yahyā—Shu`ayb—Sayf—Sahl and Mubashshir, according to their Isnād, and Mūjalīd—al-Sha`bī: Abū `Ubayd went forth, having with him Sa'd b. `Ubayd, Saliṣ b. Qays, one of the Banū `Adī b. al-Najjar, and Mūthannā b. Ḥārithah, one of the Banū Shaybān, then one of the Banū Hind.

\begin{itemize}
\item [2163] Al-Sārī—Shu`ayb—Sayf—Mūjalīd and `Ammr—al-Sha`bī and Abū Rawq: As often as the people would quarrel among themselves at al-Madāʾin, Būrān bt. Kīsra\textsuperscript{894} would act as an honest arbiter among them until they composed their differences. When al-Farrukhzād b. al- BINDAWĀN was slain and Rustam\textsuperscript{895} came forward to kill Āzarmidukht, she acted as an arbiter until she brought forth Yazdigird.\textsuperscript{896} Abū `Ubayd arrived when Būrān was the arbiter and Rustam was in charge of warfare. Būrān had presented the Prophet
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{892} A very similar, though not identical, text of this \textit{hadith} is reported in Mālik, \textit{Muwatta'}, 556. Variants of the same idea are found in Bukhārī, \textit{Ṣaḥīḥ}, IV, i20–i21; IX, 26, and Muslim, \textit{Ṣaḥīḥ}, II, 15, 87. See also Wensinck, \textit{Handbook}, 118 [under Jews].

\textsuperscript{893} A place near al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, \textit{Muγ̇am}, V, 504.

\textsuperscript{894} Or Būrāndukht. She was queen of Persia after the overthrow of the usurper Shahrbarāz, c. 629–30 C.E. As she actually preceded her sister Azarmidukht, her mention here is out of place. See Tabārī, I, 1039, 1061, 1063–64; Christensen, \textit{L'Iran}, 492; Frye, \textit{History}, 337, 361.

\textsuperscript{895} He was an army commander who became the real ruler on deposing Azarmidukht in 632 C.E. He presided over the Sasanian disintegration and was killed at al-Qādisiyyah in 637. See Christensen, \textit{L'Iran}, 493–94, 496.

\textsuperscript{896} This is Yazdigird III, the last Sasanian monarch of Iran. He was quite young at his accession to the throne. He reigned 632–51 C.E., when he was killed outside of Marw after losing the last corner of his empire. See Christensen, \textit{L'Iran}, 493–503; Frye, \textit{History}, 337–38, 361.
with a gift that he accepted. She was an opponent of Shīrā for a year, then she followed him, and they came together on the condition that he would be the chief but would make her arbiter.

Al-Sari b. Yahyā—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Zi- 
yād, according to their isnād: When Siyawukhsh killed Farrukh- 
zādh b. al-Bindawan and Azarmidukht became queen, the Persians 
disputed among themselves and were diverted from the Muslims, 
during the whole absence of al-Muthannā, until he came back from 
Medina. Būrān sent the news to Rustam and urged him to set out. He was in charge of the Khurasan frontier and advanced until he 
stopped at al-Madā’in. He defeated every army of Azarmidukht that 
he met. Then they fought at al-Madā’in, where Siyawukhsh was de- 
feated and besieged, and Azarmidukht was besieged as well. Then 
Rustam captured it, killing Siyawukhsh, putting out the eye of 
Azarmidukht, and establishing Būrān.

She invited him to manage the affairs of the Persians, whose 
weakness and decline she complained about to him, on condition 
that she would entrust him with the rule for ten years, then sover- 
eignty would belong to the family of Kiswa, if they found any of their 
male offspring, and if not, then to their women. Rustam said, “As for 
me, I hear and obey, seeking neither recompense nor reward. If you 
honor me by doing something for me, you are the masters of what 
you do. I am naught but your arrow and the willing [instrument] of 
your hands.” Būrān replied, “Come to me in the morning.” When he 
came to her in the morning, she summoned the governors (mardzi- 
bah) of Persia and wrote for him, “You are in charge of the armed 
forces of Persia. There is no one above you save God, be He Mighty 
and Majestic, according to our pleasure and in submission to your 
judgment. Your judgment is applicable to them as long as it leads to 
the protection of their land and their being united rather than di- 
vided.” At this, she crowned him and commanded the Persians to 
hear and obey him. Persia submitted to him after the coming of Abū 
Ubayd.

The first thing that ‘Umar did the night of the death of Abū Bakr 
was to announce [extraordinary] congregational worship, then sum- 
mon the men [for service], but they dispersed without anyone re- 
sponding. Then he summoned them on the fourth day, and Abū 
Ubayd was the first of the men to respond favorably on the fourth 
day. After that, the men followed in succession. ‘Umar selected a
thousand men from the inhabitants of Medina and its environs and made Abū `Ubayd their commander. It was suggested to `Umar that he put one of the Companions of the Prophet in charge of them, but he said, "No, by God, O Companions of the Prophet, I will not summon you [for service], so that you may rely on others who heed the call to do it, while I put you in command of them. You are preferred only owing to your hastening to [serve in] a like case, but if you rely on others, then they surpass you. Rather, I am going to make the first of you who heeds the call your commander." He then hurried al-Muthanna on his way, saying, "Go on ahead until your troops arrive."

The first thing `Umar did in his caliphate along with his receiving the oath of allegiance was to dispatch Abū `Ubayd, then to dispatch the people of Najran, then to call on the people who had apostatized [to serve]. These last came in haste from every direction. `Umar threw them into Syria and Iraq. He also wrote to the forces at al-Yarmūk, "Abū `Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ is in charge of you." He wrote to Abū `Ubaydah, "You are in command of the men. If God grants you victory, send away the forces of Iraq to Iraq, along with whoever would like [to go] among your reinforcements, for they [latterly] joined you." The first victory [news of] which came to him was al-Yarmūk, twenty days after the death of Abū Bakr. Among the reinforcements to al-Yarmūk in the time of `Umar was Qays b. Hubayrah,897 who returned with the forces of Iraq, although he was not of them, having only gone forth to campaign when `Umar allowed former apostates to campaign.

Meanwhile, Persia's attention was diverted from the Muslims by the death of Shahrbarāz. Shāh-i Zanān898 held the sovereign power until they agreed on Sabūr b. Shahrbarāz b. Ardashir b. Shahriyār. But then Azarmidukht rebelled against him, killing him and al-Farrukhzadh, and became queen, while Rustam b. al-Farrukhzadh was

897. Al-Murādī, he is also known as Qays b. al-Makshūh and said really to have been a Bajali who was a confederate of the Murād. He was a very important tribal leader who participated in the Riddah but later gained the distinction of fighting both in Syria and in Iraq. Probably the Qays b. al-Makshūh al-Bajali who was killed fighting for `Ali at Siffin was the same man, whose nisbah has become confused. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 223, 271; II, 459, 461; Ibn Muzāhīm, Siffin, 258–59; Ibn Hishām, Sirah, II, 583; Ibn Khayyāt, Ta'rikh, 99, 120; Balādhurī, Futūh, 126–27, 160, 314–15, 317, 320; Ibn Durayd, Ishtiqāq, 414; Ibn `Abd al-Barr, Istīlāb, III, 244–47; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, III, 260, 274–75; Donner, Conquests, 119, 207, 211, 262–63, 339 nn. 193–94, 363, 394–95, 409, 433.

898. This title, which appears to mean "ruler of women," must refer to Queen Būrāndukuht.
in Khurāsān in charge of its frontier. The news came to him from Būrān.

Al-Muthannā arrived in al-Ḥirah with ten [men]. Abū ʿUbayd caught up with him after a month. Al-Muthannā stayed in al-Ḥirah for fifteen nights. Rustam wrote to the dihqāns of al-Sawād that they rebel against the Muslims. He insinuated into every district (rustāq) a man to stir up its inhabitants. Thus he sent Jābān to al-Bihqubādh al-Asfal, and he sent Narsi899 to Kaskar. He also appointed a day for them and sent troops to strike at al-Muthannā. When [news of] that reached him, al-Muthannā drew back his forward posts to himself and put himself on his guard. Acting with haste, Jābān, who was staying at al-Namāriq, rebelled. As the districts rebelled one after another, Narsi, who was staying at Zandaward,900 also revolted. The inhabitants of the districts from the uppermost Euphrates to its lowest part rebelled. Al-Muthannā went forth with a force until he stopped at Khaffān, so that he might not be approached from the rear by something he would dislike. He remained there until Abū ʿUbayd came to him.

Abū ʿUbayd was then in command of the troops. He stayed at Khaffān for some days so that his men could recuperate. Meanwhile, many men had joined Jābān. Abū ʿUbayd went forth after the men had massed with their backing. He set them in battle formation, putting al-Muthannā in charge of the cavalry, Wālīq b. Jaydārah901 in charge of his right flank, and ʿAmr b. al-Haytham b. al-Šalt b. Ḥabīb al-Sulami902 in charge of his left flank. Jābān's two wings were com-

899. He is supposed to be the son of Khusraw II's maternal aunt, which would make him a relation of the discredited Bistām family that led the revolt of 591–601 C.E., but this connection of his with the royal family is found only in Sayf's report here. On him and his alleged family connections, see Morony, Iraq, 185–86. Although his existence is guaranteed by Balādhuri, Futūḥ, 318, 560, and Yaʿqūbī, Taʾrīkh, II, 176, both of which report his son Bistām b. Narsi, he is still alive only in Sayf's version. Probably Narsi and his alleged royal connection are a fictional reconstruction of Sayf.

900. A district and town of south central Iraq. According to Yaʿqūb, Muʿjam, III, 154, and Donner, Conquests, 158–59, it lay near Kaskar, and the city of Wāsīṭ was built from it, but Morony, Iraq, 157–58, places it between Kaskar and Hurmuzjiird in the district of Bihqubādh.

901. Apparently mentioned only by Sayf. The name is very strange, as neither of its components seems to be found elsewhere either. See Donner, Conquests, 378.

902. He is mentioned only by Sayf and in this one place. This ʿAmr is apparently meant to be the brother of Qays b. al-Haytham b. Qays b. al-Šalt b. Ḥabīb al-Sulami, an early governor of Khurāsān from a preeminent family of al-Baṣrāh. As this Qays died after 64/684, it is unlikely that he could have had a brother in the early conquests. Therefore, ʿAmr here may be another of Sayf's embellishments. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 123; II, 459; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, III, 22.
manded by Jushnas Māh and Mardānshāh. The Muslims descended on Jābān at al-Namāriq. The two sides fought a hard battle. God defeated the Persians. Jābān was captured by Māṭār b. Fīḍḥah al-Taymi, and Mardānshāh was captured by Akṭal b. Shammākh al-ʿUklī. As for Akṭal, he beheaded Mardānshāh, but as for Māṭār b. Fīḍḥah, Jābān tricked him so that he escaped from him, by [paying] something so that he let him go. But the Muslims took him and brought him to Abū ʿUbayd, telling him Jābān was the king (mālik) and advising him to kill him. He replied, "I am afraid to kill him when a Muslim man has guaranteed his safety. The Muslims in their mutual affection and support are like a body: what applies to a part of them applies to them all." They said, "But he is the king." He replied, "Even if he is, I will not act treacherously." Therefore, they let him go.

Al-Sāri b. Yalīya — Shuʿayb — Sayf — al-Šalt b. Bahram — Abū ʿImrān al-Juʿfi: Persia gave Rustam command of her armed forces for ten years. It also gave him the sovereign power. He was an astrologer who understood the stars. When someone asked him,
"What has called you to this task when you see what you see?" he replied, "Greed and the love of honor." He corresponded with the inhabitants of al-Sawād and insinuated among them leaders, who led them in rebellion against the Muslims, after he had promised them that the commander in charge of them would be the first one who rebelled. Thus, when Jābān rebelled in Furāt Bādaqlā, the people revolted after him. The Muslims fell back upon al-Muthannā at al-Ḥiraḥ, whence he headed for Khaffān. He remained at Khaffān until Abū `Ubayd, who was the commander of al-Muthannā and the others, came to him, while Jābān encamped at al-Namāriq. Abū `Ubayd set out toward him from Khaffān. The armies met at al-Namāriq, and God defeated the Persians, the Muslims getting from them what they wanted.

Maṭār b. Fīḍahah, who was attributed to his mother [in his filiation], and Ubayy,\(^912\) on seeing a man who was wearing ornaments, attacked him and took him captive. They found him to be an old man. Ubayy considered him to be worth little, but Maṭār desired his ransom. Thus they agreed that the spoils of his equipment should belong to Ubayy, but the capture of his person belonged to Maṭār. When Maṭār had possession of him free and clear, he said [to Maṭār], "You, O Arabs, are a people of good faith. Will you not guarantee my safety, and I will give you two beardless, nimble boys for your deed, as well as such-and-such." Maṭār answered, "Yes." The Persian went on, "Bring me into the presence of your king so that he may witness to that." He did so, bringing him before Abu `Ubayd, and it was done for him in that way, Abū `Ubayd confirming [it]. Then Ubayy stood up among men from the Rabī`ah. As for Ubayy, he said, "I captured him! He is without a guarantee of safe-conduct." As for the others, they recognized him and said, "This is the king, Jābān. It is he who has met us with this army." Abū `Ubayd responded, "What do you think I should do, O men of Rabī`ah? Should your compatriot guarantee his safety and then I kill him? I take refuge with God from that."

Abū `Ubayd divided the spoils, among which was much perfume. After handing out the booty, he sent the fifths off with the man who had divided the portions.

\(^912\) Unidentified.
Al-Saqāṭiyah in Kaskar

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm — Sayf b. ʿUmar — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād—Abū ʿUbayd. When they were defeated, they took the way to Kaskar to take refuge with Narsi—Narsi was the son of Kisrā’s maternal aunt, and Kaskar was an estate of his. Al-Nirsīyān was also his. He would protect it: neither did humanity eat [of] it, nor did anyone plant it besides them or the king of Persia, except for those whom they honored with something from it. That among their acts was remembered among the people, for this property of theirs was a protected reserve (ḥimā). Rustam and Būrān said to him, “Go off to your estate to protect it from your enemy and our enemy. Be a man.” — Thus when the Persians were defeated on the Day of al-Namāriq and the defeated remnants were headed toward Narsi, who was in his camp, Abū ʿUbayd called for breaking camp, saying to the light horse[men], “Pursue them so that you make them enter Narsi’s camp or else annihilate them in the land from al-Namāriq to Bāriq to Durtā.” Ṭāṣim b. ʿAmr said regarding that:

By my life, and my life is not easy for me [to offer],
the folk of al-Namāriq were indeed greeted in the morning with humiliation
At the hands of men who migrated in their Lord’s direction,
searching for them between Durtā and Bāriq.
We slew them in what is between Marj Musallih\textsuperscript{918} and al-Hawāfī\textsuperscript{919} on the road of al-Badhārīq\textsuperscript{920}. Abū 'Ubayd went along after leaving al-Namāriq until he descended on Narsī in Kaskar. At that time, Narsī was in the lowest part of Kaskar. Al-Muthannā was in the battle formation with which he fought Jābān. Narsī’s two flanks were commanded by the two sons of his maternal uncle, who were the two sons of the uncle of Kisrā, Bindūyah\textsuperscript{921} and Tirūyah,\textsuperscript{922} the two sons of Bīstām.\textsuperscript{923} The people of Bārūsма, Nahr Jawbar\textsuperscript{924} and al-Zawābī\textsuperscript{925} were with Narsī, having joined his army. When the news of Jābān’s defeat came to Būrān and Rustam, they sent a messenger to al-‘Jālinūs.\textsuperscript{926} [News of] that reached Narsī and the people of Kaskar, Bārūsма, Nahr Jawbar, and al-Zāb,\textsuperscript{927} who hoped that he would get to them before the battle.

But Abū ‘Ubayd rushed them, so that they met below Kaskar at a place called al-Saqāṭiyyah, where they fought a fierce battle in barren

\textsuperscript{918} Its location is unknown and it appears not to be mentioned except here. See Yaqūt, \textit{Mu'jam}, V, 129, where these lines are also cited.
\textsuperscript{919} Another place whose location is unknown and appears cited only in these lines. See Yaqūt, \textit{Mu'jam}, V, 419.
\textsuperscript{920} No reference to this place appears to exist elsewhere.
\textsuperscript{921} Text: Bindawayh; read: Bindūyah, to approximate the reconstructed Middle Persian pronunciation.
\textsuperscript{922} Text: Tirawayh; read: Tirūyah.
\textsuperscript{923} Bīstām’s sister was Khusraw II’s mother, so that these persons, Narsī, Bindūyah, and Tirūyah, are alleged by the passage to be connected with the Sāsānian house. But as this Bīstām fought against Khusraw II for ten years (c. 591 – 601 C.E.) in a devastating civil war for the Persian crown, it is not likely that any of Bīstām’s relatives would enjoy later prominence, least of all his own sons, especially as there is no mention of this family after c. 601 C.E. except in the reports of Sayf b. `Umar. Probably this is another instance of Sayf adorning his reports with claimed descendants of defunct pre-Islamic noble houses. See Tabari, I, 993 – 94, 996; Sebeos, \textit{History}, 60–61, 63, 65–66; Theophylact, \textit{History}, 153 n. 77, etc.; Christensen, \textit{L’Iran}, 439–41.
\textsuperscript{924} A subdistrict of Veh-Artakhshār along the Nahr Malik and Kūthā canals between al-Madā’in and Bihqūbādh. Nahr Jawbar probably lay below the Kūthā canal. See Le Strange, \textit{Lands}, 80, map II; Donner, \textit{Conquests}, 163; Morony, \textit{Iraq}, 127, 144.
\textsuperscript{925} The Zāb canal system parallel to the Tigris below Baghdad and also below Nahr Jawbar. See Le Strange, \textit{Lands}, 37–38, 73, 80, map II; Morony, \textit{Iraq}, 127, 146.
\textsuperscript{926} A general with a Greek name, probably indicating a Christian, but not necessarily a Greek, background, who was killed at al-Qādisiyyah. See Ibn Khayyār, \textit{Ta’rikh}, 109, 119, 121; Morony, \textit{Iraq}, 187.
\textsuperscript{927} The same as al-Zawābī.
deserts. Then God defeated Persia. Narsî fled, losing his camp and land. Abû ʿUbayd devastated what was around their camp in Kaskar and gathered up the spoils. He saw a great amount of foodstuffs; therefore, he sent a messenger among those Arabs who were near him so that they might carry away what they wished. Thus the storerooms of Narsî were taken. They were not happier with anything that was stored up than they were with what was at al-Nirsiyân, for Narsî had kept it [for his own use], and their kings had helped him in it as well. Thus they divided it up and began to feed the peasants from it. They sent the fifth to ʿUmar, writing to him, "God has fed us with food that the Kisrâs kept as their private stock. We wanted you to see it, in order that you may remember God's blessing and his favor."

Abû ʿUbayd remained fixed, but he sent al-Muthannâ away to Bârûsmâ, while sending Wâliq to al-Zawâbî and ʿAṣîm to Nahr Jawbar. They defeated those who had massed and ravaged [the land], taking captives as well. Among that which al-Muthannâ ravaged and took captives [from] was the people of Zandaward and Basrîsâ. Abû Zaʿbal was among the captives of Zandaward. That army fled to al-Jalinus. Among those whom ʿAṣîm took captive were the inhabitants of Bitiq in Nahr Jawbar. Among those whom Wâliq took captive was Abû al-Ṣalt. Farrûkh and Farwandadh went forth to al-Muthannâ, seeking [to pay] the jizyâh and a guarantee of protection for their land, and he brought them to Abû ʿUbayd. One of them was [from] Bârûsmâ and the other Nahr Jawbar. They paid him four [dirhams] for each person, Farrûkh for Barusma, Farwandadh for Nahr Jawbar, and likewise al-Zawâbî and Kaskar. We guaranteed [the safety of] their men to them on condition that they hurried [pay-
They did so and thus were at peace [with the Muslims]. Farrūkh and Farwandādh brought Abū ʿUbayd a vessel containing the varieties of the foods of Persia, including [sundry] dishes, sweets made from dates, cream, and starch, and other things. They said, "This is hospitality with which we are honoring you and a meal for you." He asked, "Have you also offered hospitality to the troops and given them a meal like it?" They replied, "It would not be easy, but we will do it." They were waiting only for them to face the arrival of al-Jālinūs and what he would do. Therefore Abū ʿUbayd said, "We do not need that which the troops cannot do," and returned it. Abū ʿUbayd then went forth until he stopped at Bārūsmā, where [the news of] the march of al-Jālinūs reached him.

Al-Sarī—Shuʿayb—Sayf—al-Nadr b. al-Sarī al-Ḍabbī: 934 Al-Andarzaghar b. al-Kharukbadh brought him the like of what Farrūkh and Farwandādh had brought. He asked, "Have you also offered hospitality to the troops and given them a meal like it?" They replied, "No." He said, "We do not need it. Abū ʿUbayd would be the worst man if he accompanied people from their homeland to spill their blood for him, or not to spill [it], then gave himself preference in something he [alone] would obtain. No, by God, he should only eat from what God has given as booty to the Muslims the like of what their average person eats."

Abū Jaʿfar—Ibn Ḥumayd—Salahah—Ibn Ishaq: The like of this report that Sayf has transmitted from his authorities regarding ʿUmar's dispatch of al-Muthannā and Abū ʿUbayd b. Masʿūd to Iraq to wage war on those of the unbelievers who were in it and [regarding] their wars and those who fought against them. However, he said [the following differently.

Ibn Ishaq: When Jālinūs and his troops were defeated and Abū ʿUbayd entered Bārūsmā, he camped, he and his men, at one of its villages that was able to hold them. Food was prepared for Abū ʿUbayd and brought to him. When he saw it, he said, "I am not one to eat this [alone] without the Muslims." They said to him, "Eat, for there is none of your men but that he will be brought the like of this or better where he is staying." Thus he ate. When they came back to

934. Another of the sources frequently quoted by Sayf who is otherwise wholly unknown.
935. Text: al-Khūkabadh, read: al-Kharukbadh, as Tabarī, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DCXIV.
him, he asked them about their food, and they told him about the food that had come to them.936

Al-Sari b. Yahyā—Shu‘ayb b. Ibrāhim—Sayf b. ‘Umar—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād, according to their isnād: Jābān and Narsī had sought reinforcements from Būrān, who then supplied the two of them with al-Jālīnūs leading the army of Jābān. He was commanded to begin with Narsī, then to fight Abū ‘Ubayd afterward. But Abū ‘Ubayd hastened against him, leading his army off before al-Jālīnūs had drawn near. When he was near, Abū ‘Ubayd confronted him. Al-Jālīnūs stopped at Bāqsuyāthā937 in Bārūsma. Abū ‘Ubayd rushed upon him with the Muslims, his forces in battle formation. They met at Bāqsuyāthā. The Muslims defeated them, al-Jālīnūs fled, and Abū ‘Ubayd remained [where he was], having won that land.

Al-Sari b. Yahyā—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, Muja‘ilid, Ziyād, and al-Nadr, according to their isnād: Those who had been expecting [al-Jālīnūs] and were terrified and afraid for themselves, all together brought him [word of) what the army had been able to do.

As for al-Nadr and Muja‘ilid: Abū ‘Ubayd said, “Did I not tell you that I would not eat except what those with me could from those whom you have conquered?” They said, “No one is left who has not been brought enough of this in their saddles to satiate him or better.” When the people had gone home, he asked them about the hospitality of the inhabitants of the land, and they told him. They had been remiss only at first [because they were] expecting [al-Jālīnūs] and were afraid that the Persians would punish [them].

As for Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: When he had learned, he accepted [it] from them and ate. He also sent a message to a group who would eat with him as his guests to invite them to the food, for the Muslims had obtained food that the Persians served to guests. Those invited did not realize that the inhabitants had brought Abū

936. Although this report seems to differ little from the report of Sayf on this point, in fact Sayf’s version probably shows a tendentious secondary development, for Sayf has Abū ‘Ubayd haughtily refusing the Persians’ hospitality, which was described as only a deceitful trick to buy time in any case. This reconstruction owes to Sayf’s pro-Arab and anti-Shu‘ubi tendencies, which caused him always to portray the Persians in the worst possible light.

937. The same as Quss al-Nātif. See note 219, above.
‘Ubayd anything, but rather supposed that they were being invited to Abū ‘Ubayd’s kind of rough living to which they used to be invited. However, they disliked leaving aside what had been brought to them of that [Persian spoils] and said to the messenger, “Tell the commander that we do not desire anything besides what the dihqâns have brought to us.” But he sent a message to them, “It is much food from the foods of the Persians, in order for you to see how it compares with what you have been brought. It includes thin cakes (qarw),938 herbs, young pigeons, roast meat, and mustard.” ʿĀsim b. ‘Amr said regarding that and the guests he had with him:

If you have thin cakes, herbs, and young pigeons,
Ibn Farrûkh has roast meat and mustard.
And pastry thin like sheets rolled up
on bits of meat in which are herbs and young pigeon.

He also said:

We visited the people of Kirsâ at al-Baqâyis939 in the morning
with a morning draught not from the wine of al-Sawâd.
We visited them in the morning with every iron-clad youth
and lightly equipped swift runner among the charging horses.

Then Abū ‘Ubayd departed, sending al-Muthannâ ahead and marching in battle formation until he arrived in al-Ḥirah.

Al-Nâḍr, Mujâlîd, Muḥammad, and his companions: ʿUmar came to Abū ‘Ubayd to say,

You will come to the land of cunning, deceit, treachery, and insolence. You will come to a people who have ventured upon evil, which they have learned, whereas they have pretended to forget good, of which they are ignorant. Therefore, see how you will be. Keep your tongue and by no means give away your secret, for the possessor of the secret, as long as he keeps it, is fortified: he will not be approached from a direction he does not like, whereas if he causes it to be lost, then he is lost.

938. See Tabari, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, CCLXVII – CCLXVIII, CDXXIII.
939. That is, Bâquysyâthâ, altered by poetic license to fit the meter.
The Battle of al-Qarqus, Which Is Also Called al-Quss, Quss al-Nāṭif, the Bridge, and al-Marwahah

Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī—al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥa, and Ziyād, according to their isnād: When al-Jālinūs returned to Rustam, along with those of his troops who had escaped, Rustam asked, “Which of the Persians is the strongest in fighting the Arabs in your opinion?” They answered, “Bahman Jādhūyah.” Therefore he dispatched him along with elephants. He also sent back al-Jālinūs with him and said to him, “Send al-Jālinūs ahead. If he returns to the like of his defeat, then cut off his head.” Bahman Jādhūyah advanced, having with him the Great Standard (dirafsh kābiyān), the standard of Kisra, which was made of tiger skins to a length of eighty cubits by a width of twelve cubits. Abū ʿUbayd advanced to stop at al-Marwahah, where the tower and the bend in the river are. Bahman Jādhūyah sent a message to him, “Either you cross over to us, and we will allow you to cross, or else you let us cross over to you.” The men said, “Do not cross, 0 Abū ʿUbayd! We will prevent you from crossing.” They also told him, “Say to them that they should cross over.” Among the harshest of the people against that was Salīt. But Abū ʿUbayd was unyielding and left aside the [wise] opinion, saying, “They will not risk death more than we. Rather, we will cross over to them.” Thus, they crossed over to the enemy, who were in a narrow site with regard to both pursuit and flight.

They fought for a day, Abū ʿUbayd having with him between six and ten [thousand men], until, when it was the day’s end and a man from among the Thaqīf considered the victory to be slow [in coming], he drew the men [closer] together. The two sides struck each other with swords. Abū ʿUbayd struck the elephant, while the elephant hit Abū ʿUbayd. The swords had worked quickly among the

---

940. This place, which is on the west bank of the Euphrates opposite Quss al-Nāṭif, is referred to only in Sayf’s reports. See Yaqūt, Muʿjam, V, 111–12. For the Battle of the Bridge, see Ibn Khayyāt, Taʾrīkh, 109–10. Kūfī, Futūḥ, I, 168–71, has absurdly turned this battle into a Muslim victory.

941. Also mentioned independently in Ibn Khayyāt, Taʾrīkh, 109.

942. The words for width and length in the text have been reversed to correspond to English idiom.

943. A famous Arab tribe whose homeland was centered at al-Ṭāʾif, they were second in rank to none but their early allies, the Quraish, whom they continued to serve in Umayyad times. See EI, s.v. Thaqīf; Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 92; II, 16–17, 533.
Persians, of whom six thousand were struck down in the melee. Only defeat remained and was expected by them. But when Abū Ubayd was hit and the elephant stood upon him, the Muslims fled and then continued in flight. The Persians rode down on them. A man from the Thaqīf, getting to the bridge first, cut it. The troops then reached it, while the swords were taking them from behind, and fell into the Euphrates. They struck down four thousand of the Muslims on that day between those drowned and killed. Al-Muthannā protected the troops, as did Āṣīm, al-Kalaj al-Dabbi,944 and Madhūr, until they repaired the bridge and brought the men across. Then they crossed in their traces. They stayed at al-Marwahah, while al-Muthannā lay wounded, and also al-Kalaj, Madhūr, and Āṣīm, who were the protectors of the troops along with al-Muthannā. Many of the men fled, taking their own way, and so disgraced themselves and felt ashamed of what had happened to them. [News of] it reached 'Umar from certain of those who had sought refuge in Medina. He said, "Worshippers of God! O God, every Muslim is absolved of his oath to me. I am the party of every Muslim. May God have mercy on Abū Ubayd; if he had crossed and then taken refuge on the riverside or had he retreated to us, not trying to defy death, we would have been his party [of supporters]."

Meanwhile, as the Persians were trying to cross, the news came to them that the people of al-Madā'in had revolted against Rustam, breaking that which was between them and him. They became two parties, al-Fahlūj945 against Rustam and the Persians against al-Fayruzan.946

Forty nights intervened between the Battle of al-Yarmūk and the Bridge. The one who brought the news of al-Yarmūk was Jarir b. cAbdallah al-Himyari. The one who brought the news of the Bridge was

---

944. The ancestor of Hubayrah b. al-Ash'ath, he is mentioned by Ibn Khayyāt, Ta'rikh, 110, as well as Ṭabarī, I, 2343, 2433, 2446. This could be the Hubayrah b. al-Ash'ath al-Dabbi mentioned in Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 89; II, 285, but no ancestor named al-Kalaj is found in his genealogy. There is an al-Kalāh b. al-Ḥārith, found in the Dhuhl, however, in Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 154; II, 368. Hubayrah's ancestry also goes back to a Dhuhl clan of the Dabbi. It thus appears possible that a part of the Dhuhl may have joined the Dabbi at some early date.

945. Defined in Ṭabarī, I, 2608, as the people from between al-Bāb (Darband?) and Hulwān in the region of al-Jibāl in western Iran.

946. He is mentioned plentifully in Sayf's reports but very little elsewhere and not at all in al-Baladhuri. See Ṭabarī, Indices, 453; Ibn Khayyāt, Ta'rikh, 121; Morony, Iraq, 192–93.
‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd\textsuperscript{947} al-Anšārī,\textsuperscript{948} who was not the one who saw the vision.\textsuperscript{949} When he reached ‘Umar, ‘Umar was on the pulpit. ‘Umar called out for the news, “O ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd!” He responded, “The sure news has come to you,” then he ascended the pulpit to ‘Umar and gave it to him secretly. Al-Yarmūk was in the days of Jumādā al-Ākhirah (2–30 August 634), and the Bridge was in Sha‘bān (30 September–28 October 634).

Al-Sari b. Yahyah — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — al-Mujālid and Sa‘īd b. al-Marzubān:\textsuperscript{950} Rustam charged Bahman Jadhuyah, who was Dhu al-Ḥājib,\textsuperscript{951} with fighting Abū ‘Ubayd. He sent back with him al-Jalīnūs, who had with him the elephants, among them a white elephant on which was a palm tree [emblem]. He advanced leading the large army. Abū ‘Ubayd had confronted him until he reached Bābil. When he reached it, Abū ‘Ubayd retreated until he put the Euphrates between the two of them and camped at al-Marwāḥah. Then, Abū ‘Ubayd had cause for regret when the enemy descended on him to say, “Either you cross over to us, or else we cross over.” At this he swore that he would definitely cross the Euphrates to them and that he would indeed rectify what he had done. Salīḥ b. Qays and other important men adjured him, “The Arabs have not met the like of these Persian troops since they have been in existence, for they have concentrated against us and confronted us in numbers and equipment with which no one among them has met us [before]. You have brought us to a site from which we can retreat, take refuge, and

\textsuperscript{947} Text: Zayd; read: Yazīd, as most references.

\textsuperscript{948} ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥūṣayn [or Ḥisn] al-Ḵaṭṭāb al-Awṣī, he was a Companion of the Prophet who subsequently migrated to al-Kūffah. He is said to have supported ‘Alī but nevertheless was later made governor of al-Kūffah by Ibn al-Zubayr in 64–66/684–86, after which he died. He is also said to have briefly governed Mecca for him. He was born c. 613 C.E. See Ṭabarī, II, 467, 509–10, 512–13, 535, 537, 542–44, 548–49, 570, 592, 600–2, Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharaṭ, I, 182, II, 121, Ibn Sa‘d, Taḥqīqāt, VI, 18, Ibn Khayyāṭ, Ṭa’rīkh, 110, 325; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Istī‘āb, II, 391; Maqdisī, Istibṣār, 269; Ibn Hajar, Isābāh, II, 382–83; Donner, Conquests, 377.


\textsuperscript{950} Abū Sa‘d al-A‘war, the mawālīd of Ḥudhayyah b. al-Ŷamān al-‘Abṣi, he was a famous Kūfī traditionist with a poor reputation who died 141–49/758–67. See Ibn Sa‘d, Ṭabaqāt, VI, 354; Dhahabi, Mīzān, II, 157–58; Ibn Hajar, Taḥdīḥ, IV, 79–80.

\textsuperscript{951} Lit., “the possessor of the eyebrow.” The title is elsewhere assigned to Mar-dānshāh, who was probably not the same person. See Ibn Khayyāṭ, Ṭa’rīkh, 119–20; Balādhuri, Futūḥ, 308, 314.
[later] come back from flight to counterattack." Abu ‘Ubayd replied, "I will not do so. You have become cowardly, by God." The messenger for what was between Dhū al-Ḥājib and Abū ‘Ubayd was Mar-dānshāh al-Khaṣī. He told them that the Persians were reproaching them [for their weakness]. At this, Abū ‘Ubayd became more cantankerous. He rebutted his advisers and called Saliț a coward. Saliț said, "By God, I am bolder than you in spirit. We have given you our view, and you will come to know."

Al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—al-Naḍr b. al-Sarī—al-Agharr al-Ijlī. While Abū ‘Ubayd was encamped on the bank of the Euphrates at al-Marwāhah, Dhū al-Ḥājib advanced until he stood on the bank of the Euphrates at Quss al-Nāṭif and said, "Either you cross over to us, or else we will cross over to you." Abū ‘Ubayd replied, "Rather we will cross over to you." Ibn Ṣalūbā secured the bridge for the two sides together. Before that, Dawmāh, the wife of Abū ‘Ubayd, had seen a vision when she was at al-Marwāhah. [In it,] a man came down from heaven with a vessel containing a drink that Abū ‘Ubayd and Jabr, along with men from his family, drank. She told Abū ‘Ubayd about it, and he said, "This is martyrdom!" Abū ‘Ubayd expressed his will to the people, saying, "If I am killed, Jabr is in command of the troops. If he is slain, so-and-so is in command of you." [He went on] until he had made commanders out of those who had drunk from the vessel according to the order that he spoke. Finally, he said, "If Abū al-Qāsim is killed, then al-Muthannā is in charge of you." Then he led the troops forward, so that both he and they crossed over to the enemy.

The ground could scarcely hold the people on it as the troops joined battle. When the horsemen beheld the elephants upon which was the palm tree [emblem], the horses wearing coats of mail, and the horsemen wearing distinctive emblems [šu‘ur], they saw something unknown, the like of which they had not seen. Thus, when the Muslims charged against them, their horses would not advance, whereas when the enemy charged the Muslims with the elephants...
and bells hung around the horses' necks, they split the Muslims' squadrons; the horses would not stand up to them but rather shied away. The Persians also shot them through with arrows. Pain bit the Muslims, and they became unable to reach the enemy. Abū 'Ubayd dismounted, as did the troops, then they marched to them and struck them with swords. Whenever the elephants charged a company, they would push them back, so that Abū 'Ubayd called out, "Encompass the elephants, rip open their stomachs, and dump off those riding them." He leaped upon the white elephant, attached himself to its underside, and ripped it open, whereupon those on it fell. The troops did likewise. They did not leave an elephant but they pulled off its saddle and slew its company. The elephant lunged at Abū 'Ubayd, who struck its trunk (mish'ār) slightly with his sword, but the elephant held him back with its foot, while Abū 'Ubayd tried to get at it. Then it struck him with its foot so that he fell down. After that, the elephant hit him and stood on him.

When the troops saw Abū 'Ubayd under the elephant, the hearts of some of them became faint. The one who had been designated commander after him took up the standard and fought the elephant until it moved aside from Abū 'Ubayd, whom he dragged to the Muslims, who carefully protected his corpse. The commander tried to get at the elephant, but it held him off with its foot as it had done with Abū 'Ubayd. The elephant then hit him and stood on him. Seven [men] from the Thaqif followed one another in succession, each one taking up the standard and fighting until he died. Then al-Muthannā took up the standard. The troops fled.

When 'Abdallāh b. Marthad al-Thaqafi saw what Abū 'Ubayd and his successors met and what the troops did, he preceded them to the bridge, which he cut, saying, "O people, die as your commanders have died, or else win!" The polytheists drove the Muslims back onto the bridge. The troops grew fainthearted and jumped into the Euphrates, where those who did not persevere [in fighting] drowned, while the enemy hurried [to smite] those who persevered. Al-Muthannā and some of the Muslims' horsemen gave the troops cover. He called out, "O people, we will protect you; therefore, cross at your ease. Do not be taken aback, for we will not move from here

---

956. Though the Arabic clearly means "lip," perhaps "trunk" better fits the context.
957. Lit., "hand."
958. Unidentified and mentioned only by Sayf in this place.
until we see you on that side, and do not drown yourselves.’ They found the bridge, with ‘Abdallāh b. Marthad standing on it, preventing the men from crossing. They took him and brought him to al-Muthannā, who beat him and asked, ‘What led you to do what you did?’ He answered, ‘So that they would fight.’ Those who had crossed summoned some peasants [to help]. They joined the vessel that had been cut away to its other vessels, whereupon the people crossed. The last one killed at the bridge was Saliṣ b. Qays. Al-Muthannā crossed and protected his side, but his troops were in disarray. Dhū al-Ḥājib eagerly desired them, but he was unable to get to them. When al-Muthannā crossed, the people of Medina dispersed from him until they reached Medina, though some of them avoided it, remaining in the deserts. Al-Muthannā remained with a few [men].

Al-Sari—Shuʿayb—Sayf—a man—Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdi: On that day, four thousand perished either killed or drowned, and two thousand fled, leaving three thousand. When Dhū al-Ḥājib heard about the outbreak of civil violence in Persia, he turned back with his army. That was a cause of their dispersing from him. Al-Muthannā was wounded, links from his chain mail having become embedded in him where the spear had torn them.

Al-Sari—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Mujālid and ʿAṭīyyah: The like of it. Al-Sari—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Mujālid, ʿAṭīyyah, and al-Naḍr: The troops of Medina, when they made their way to Medina, told about those who went about in the land out of shame for the defeat. That was hard for ʿUmar to bear, and thus he was merciful to them.

Al-Ṣaḥbī: ʿUmar said, “O God, every Muslim has a right to my help. I am the party of every Muslim. Whosoever meets the enemy and reckons something in the matter to be hard, I will be a party [of supporters] for him. May God have mercy on Abū ʿUbayd; if he had retreated to me, I would have been a party [of supporters] for him.” Al-Muthannā sent the news to ʿUmar with ʿAbdallāh b. Yazīd, who was the first to come to ʿUmar.

Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq: The like of Sayf’s report about the matter of Abū ʿUbayd, Dhū al-Ḥājib, and their war. However, he said [the following differently.

959. This transmitter, though having a name similar to the often-quoted Abū ʿUthmān Yazīd b. Aṣīd al-Ghassānī, must be different from him. However, both are un-attested in works other than those of Sayf.
Ibn Ishaq: Dawmah, the mother of al-Mukhtar b. Abi ‘Ubayd saw [in a vision] that a man descended from heaven. He had a vessel in which was a drink from paradise such a sleeper sees, and Abû ‘Ubayd, Jabr b. Abi ‘Ubayd, and men from his family drank from it. [Ibn Ishaq] also: When Abû ‘Ubayd saw what the elephant was doing, he asked, “Is there any way to kill this beast?” They answered, “Yes, if its trunk is cut off, it will die.” Therefore, he attacked it, striking its trunk and cutting it off, but the elephant knelt on him, killing him. [Ibn Ishaq] also: When the Persians turned back, al-Muthanna b. Hârithah camped at Ullays. The troops scattered, making their way to Medina. The first to reach Medina with news of the troops was Abdallah b. Yazid b. al-‘Hzayn al-Khatami, who told the people.

Ibn Ḥumayd — Salamah — Muhammad b. `Abd al-Rahmin [b. `Abdallih) b. al-Hugayn and others: Mu`adh al-Qari', one of the Banii al-Najjir, was among those who participated in it and fled on that day. When he read this verse, “And whoever turns his back to them on that day, except if maneuvering for battle or turning aside to join a company, has brought God’s anger on himself. She is `Amrah bt. `Abd al-Rahîm b. Sa’d [or As’ad) b. Zurârah al-Najjâriyyah al-Khazrajiyyah of the Anṣâr, a Medinan traditionist of excellent reputation who specialized in transmitting from ‘A’ishah. She died in 98-106/717-24 at the age of seventy-seven. See Ibn Sa’d, Tabagat, VIII, 480-81; Ibn Hajar, Tahdhib, XII, 438-39. 961. Abu Halimah Mu`adhdh b. al-Hârith, he was a Companion who was said to have fought first at al-Khandaq in 5/627. He is said to have been killed at the Battle of al-Harrah in 63/683 at the age of sixty-nine, but is not mentioned in Ibn Khayyat, Ta’rikh, 307-10. See Maqdisi, Istibsâr, 75; Ibn Hajar, Iṣâbah, III, 427-28.
The Events of the Year 13 (cont’d)

His final refuge is hell, which is the worst fate," he wept, whereupon 'Umar said to him, "Do not weep, O Mu‘ādh. I am your company, and you have only retreated to me."

Lesser Ullays

Abū Jaʿfar — al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā — Shuʿayb b. Ibrāhīm — Sayf b. 'Umar — Muhammad b. Nuwayrah, Ṭalḥah, Ziyād, and ʿAṭiyyah: Jābān and Mardānshāh went forth until they took to the road, thinking that the Muslims would have scattered. They did not know what had reached Dhū al-Ḥājib about the discord among the Persians. When the Persians had scattered and Dhū al-Ḥājib had gone forth after them, al-Muthannā, having heard of the action of Jābān and Mardānshāh, left behind ʿĀṣim b. Ṭamr as his deputy and went forth with light cavalry, heading toward the two of them. They supposed that he was in flight, wherefore they opposed him, but he took them both prisoner. The people of Ullays rebelled against the troops of the two commanders and brought those troops as prisoners to al-Muthannā, who gave the Ullaysis a treaty of protection. He brought forward the two commanders to say, "You two deceived our commander, lying to him and inciting him!" Then he beheaded them and beheaded the prisoners, whereupon he went back to his camp.

Abū Miḥjan fled from Ullays and did not return with al-Muthannā.

Jarir b. ʿAbdallāh, Ḥanżalah b. al-Rabīʿ, and a group of others asked Khalid for permission to go while at Suwā. He permitted them, so that they came to Abu Bakr. Jarir mentioned his request to him, whereat he said, "In our condition?" and delayed responding to him about it. When ‘Umar became the ruler, he summoned him to show proof, which Jarir then demonstrated. Then ‘Umar wrote for

962. Qurʾān, 8: 16.
963. Abū Miḥjan ʿAmr b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAmr b. ʿUmayr al-Thaqafi, he embraced Islam in 9/631. He was a celebrated poet who is the hero of a small epic in which he is punished by the caliph ʿUmar for drinking wine but redeems himself by fighting bravely at al-Qādisiyah. He later died in ʿAdharbayjān or Jūrjān. See EP, s.v. Abū Miḥdjan; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamhatat, I, 118; II, 174; Wāqidi, Maghāzi, 926, 930–32, 935, 955; Ibn Saʿd, Ṭabaqāt, V, 515; Ibn Khayyāt, Tāʾrīkh, 109; Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 308–9, 316–17, 319; ʿIṣbahānī, Agāhī, XXI, 137–43; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barri, ʿIṣṭāʿab, IV, 182–87; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, IV, 173–76 (criticizing Sayf); Donner, Conquests, 376, 385, 400.
him to his taxgathering agents among all of the Arabs, "Whoever has in his district anyone who belonged to the Bajilah\textsuperscript{964} in the Jāhiliyyah and has remained in it in Islam, that being recognized, send him to Jarīr." Jarīr appointed a place for them [to meet] between Iraq and Medina. When Jarīr was granted his request to bring forth the Bajilah from among the people, he collected them together. When they were brought forth to him, he ordered them to an appointed meeting in the land between Mecca, Medina, and Iraq. Their gathering completed, Umar said to Jarīr, "Go forth until you join al-Muthannā." Jarīr said, "Rather, Syria." Umar said, "Rather, Iraq, for the forces in Syria have become strong against their foe." But he refused until 'Umar compelled him. When they had gone forth to [join] Jarīr and he had ordered them to meet at the appointed time, 'Umar gave him compensation for having compelled him and to benefit him, making over to him a quarter of the fifth of what God had bestowed on them as spoils in their campaigns. This was for him, those who gathered to him, and those who had been brought forth to him from among the tribes. He said [to them], "Come to us on your way." Thus, they came to Medina, then they departed from it for Iraq, as reinforcements for al-Muthannā. He also sent forth ʿIsmah b. ʿAbd-Allāh of the Banū ʿAbd b. al-Hārith al-Ḍabbī with those of the Banū Ḍabbah\textsuperscript{965} who followed him. He had also written to the former apostates (ahl al-riddah), but none came in Shaʿbān (30 September–28 October 634) except those whom he dispatched to al-Muthannā.

\textsuperscript{964} They were a Yemeni tribe scattered in the mountains of al-Sarāh, in what is now southern Saudi Arabia. They played a role in the conquest of Iraq and were active there subsequently, especially at al-Kūfah. See \textit{EP}, s.v. Badjilā; Ibn al-Kalbi, \textit{Gamharat}, I, 221; II, 45–46, 219.

\textsuperscript{965} They were an important tribal grouping of northeastern Arabia originating in the area southwest of modern al-Kuwayt. They were a part of the Ribāb confederacy, but later became a tribal regiment at both al-Kūfah and al-Baṣrah, where they were included in the Tamim tribal division though they were not originally a part of the Tamim. See \textit{EP}, s.v. Dabba b. Udd; Ibn al-Kalbi, \textit{Gamharat}, I, 59; II, 11, 240.

\textsuperscript{966} This battle is reported only by Sayf, who either has elaborated it out of Ibn Isḥāq's tradition given below, pp. 213 –15, or has further embroidered an already-elaborated tribal tradition emanating from the Rabī'ah, as is perhaps more likely. Even
Forcements who were near him, so that they came to him all together in a huge mass. [News of] that reached Rustam and al-Fayruzān, as the spies brought it to them, as well as bringing [information about] what [further] reinforcement the Muslims were expecting. At this, the two of them agreed to send forth Mihrān al-Hamadhānī, until the two of them considered their view [of matters further]. Thus, Mihrān set out with the cavalry, his two superiors having ordered him to attack al-Ḥirah.

The news reached al-Muthannā while he was encamped at Marj al-Sibākh between al-Qādisiyyah and Khaffān with those Arabs who had reinforced him because of the news of Bashīr and Kinānah. Bashīr was at that time in al-Ḥirah. Al-Muthannā thoroughly probed Fūrāt Bādāqlā and sent a message to Jarīr and those with him, [saying], “Something has come to us that we cannot stand against until you reach us, so therefore hurry to catch up with us. Your appointed meeting [place] is al-Buwayb.” Jarīr was reinforcing him. He also wrote to ʿĪsmah and those with him—ʿĪsmah was likewise reinforcing him—and to every leader who had provided him with the like of that, “Take the way of al-Jawf,”970 so that they followed the route of al-Qādisiyyah and al-Jawf, while al-Muthannā followed the route through the middle of al-Sawād, coming out in al-Nahrayn, then going on to al-Khawarnaq. ʿĪsmah came out at al-Najaf, along with those following his route with him. Jarīr came out in al-Jawf, along with those following his route with him. Then they came to al-Muthannā, who was at al-Buwayb, while Mihrān was across the Euphrates in front of him.

Thus, the Muslims’ troops gathered at al-Buwayb, which is near the present location of al-Kufah. Al-Muthannā was in command. They faced Mihrān and his troops. Al-Muthannā asked a man from

---

967. His father was Mihrībundadh or Bādhān. He was killed in 14/635. He is mentioned twice in poetry quoted by Abū Mikhnaḵ. See Tabari, I, 2378; II, 152, 1038; Balādhuri, Futūḥ, 311, 419. Yaʿqūbī, Taʿrikh, II, 162, says he was killed at al-Nukhaylah by al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān al-Ḍabbī and Jarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bajali.

968. Unidentified.

969. The referent of this name is unknown. It could be an error, for Ms. IH' reads kitābihi, which would mean “his letter.” But see Tabari, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, Dcxiv.

970. Evidently it is a place in the desert west of al-Ḥirah, certainly not the well-known modern al-Jawf in northern Arabia.
the inhabitants of al-Sawād, “What is the piece of land that Mihrān and his troops are on called?” The Sawādi replied, “Basūsiyā.”\(^{971}\) Al-Muthannā went on, “Mihrān’s efforts have not availed and he has perished!” Al-Muthannā camped at a site that is al-Basūs and remained in his place until Mihrān wrote to him, “Either you cross over to us, or we cross over to you.” Al-Muthannā answered, “Cross over.” Thus, Mihrān crossed over and descended on the shore of the [same] side of the river as the Muslims. Al-Muthannā asked that man, “What is this piece of land that Mihrān and his troops descended on called?” The man replied, “Shūmiyā.”\(^{972}\) That was in Ramaḍān (29 October – 27 November 634).

Al-Muthannā called out to the troops, “Rush upon your enemy,” whereupon the two sides attacked one another. Al-Muthannā had put his troops in battle formation, giving command of his two flanks to Madh’ūr and al-Nusayr.\(^{973}\) ‘Āṣim was in charge of the light cavalry, and ‘Īsmah was in charge of the skirmishers. When the two sides were arranged for battle, al-Muthannā stood up among the troops to speak, saying, “You are fasting. As fasting makes [one] weak and feeble, I believe it would be wise for you to break your fast. Then, with food, you will be strong enough to fight your enemy.” They said, “Certainly,” and broke their fast.

Al-Muthannā noticed a man ready for his chance to spring forth from the line. He asked, “What is the matter with this [man]?” They answered, “He was among those who fled from the advance on the Day of the Bridge and [now] intends to seek death in battle.” Al-Muthannā thereupon hit him with his lance, saying, “You bastard, stick to your place! If your equal comes against you, then save your companion from him, but do not seek death in battle.” The man replied, “I am indeed deserving of that,” and settled down, sticking to the line.

---

971. A place near al-Kūfah. See Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, I, 423.
972. A place beside al-Kūfah on the Euphrates where the dār al-rizq, which was storehouse, armory, and treasury, was located at a later date. See Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, III, 374; Morony, Iraq, 63. The element shūm might also imply “ill-omened,” which may have inspired its inclusion in the story.
973. Al-Nusayr b. Daysam b. Thawr al-‘Ijli. He participated in the conquests of Iraq and Iran as far as Nihāwand, then is last reported by Sayf to have been governor of Hamadhan in 34 – 35/655 – 56. See Tābarī, I, 2484, 2616, 2628, 2648, 2928, 3058; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 160; II, 453; Baladhuri, Futūh, 304 – 5; Kūfi, Futūh, I, 133 – 34; Ibn Hajar, Isḥāb, III, 384; Donner, Conquests, 373, 386, 434 – 35.
Al-Sarî—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Abū Ishāq al-Shaybānî: The like of it.  
Al-Sarî—Shuʿayb—Sayf—ʿAtiyyah, and Sufyān al-Ahmari—al-Mujālid—al-Shaʿbî: When the army of the Bajilah was collected, `Umar said, “Come to us on your way.” Thus, the leaders of the Bajilah and their delegation set out to [go to] him, leaving the mass [of troops] behind. `Umar asked them, “To which of the fronts would you prefer to go?” They replied, “Syria, for our brethren by marriage are in it.” He then said, “Rather Iraq, for Syria has enough [forces already].” He did not cease insisting to them and they refusing him until that was decided on and he assigned them a quarter of the fifth of what God had bestowed on the Muslims as booty, in addition to their [proper] share of the booty. He appointed `Arfajah to be in charge of those of the Bajilah who had been residing among the Jadiłah, and Jarir to be in charge of those who were living among the Banū ʿAmir and others. Abū Bakr had put him in charge of fighting the people of ʿUman, along with several others, and then brought him back when he campaigned by sea. Then `Umar gave him charge of the main part of the Bajilah. He said, “Heed this one,” and said to the others, “Heed Jarir.”

Jarir said to the Bajilah, “Do you acknowledge this one, even though he has brought in among us what he has brought?” For the Bajilah were wroth with ʿArfajah on account of a woman from

974. `Arfajah b. Harthamah b. `Abd al-ʿUzza al-Bāriqi al-Azdi, he was probably born in al-Sarāh, as he commanded the Bajilah although he himself was of the Azd. After helping to suppress the Riddah in ʿUman, he campaigned in southern Iraq, then fought at al-Qādisiyah, and later was the first Muslim governor of al-Mawsil. See Ẓabari, I, 1881, 1929, 1977–80, 2269, 2382, 2472, 2477, 2481, 2548, 2552; Ibn al-Kalbī, Ǧamharat, I, 202; II, 192; Balādhuri, Futūḥ, 407–10, 419, 476 (under Harthamah b. `Arfajah); Yaʾqūbī, ʿIrīkh, II, 162, 164; Ibn Durayd, Ishtiqāq, 481; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, II, 474–75; Donner, Conquests, 86–87, 196–97, 216, 382, 399, 417, 423.

975. A smaller tribal grouping consisting of the ʿAdwān and the Fahim, and associated in the genealogy with the Bāhilah and the Ghanī. Their original homeland was at al-Barām northeast of Mecca and east of Medina about 120 km. on the road to Najd. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Ǧamharat, I, 92; II, 22, 252; Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharah, 243–44; Yaḥyūt, Muʿjam, I, 366–67 [under al-Barām].

976. Text: Jarirun; read: Jariran, as Cairo ed.

977. Text: min; read: fi, as Ẓabari, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, DCXIV.

978. A great tribal grouping of nomadic tribes located between al-Hijāz and Najd in west central Arabia extending as far as 44° E. See ǦP, s.v. Banū ʿAmīr [b. Ṣaʾṣaʾa]; Ibn al-Kalbī, Ǧamharat, I, 92; II, 13–16, 163–64.

979. That is, ʿArfajah.
among them. Therefore, they met and came to ‘Umar to say, “Relieve us of ‘Arfajah.” He replied, “I will not relieve you of the earliest of you in migration and Islam and the greatest of you in bravery and doing good.” They went on, “Put in charge of us a man from among us. Do not put us under an interloper among us.” ‘Umar, thinking that they were rejecting ‘Arfajah’s [true] genealogy, said, “Look at what you are saying!” They said, “We are saying what you will hear.”

‘Umar sent a message to ‘Arfajah saying, “These have asked me to relieve them from you. They have claimed that you are not from them. What do you have [to say]?” He answered, “They have spoken the truth, nor would it please me to be from them. I am a man of the Azd, then of the Bāriq,980 of a house whose number is countless and of a noble lineage that is unmixed.” ‘Umar said, “What an excellent group the Azd are! They take their share of the good and the evil.”

‘Arfajah said, “It befell me that the evil increased dangerously among us, although our house is one. Thus, as we had shed blood, so that some among us needed to take revenge from others, I separated myself from them because I was afraid of them. Then I [came to] be among these [Bajalīs], ruling them and leading them. They are resentful of me because of a matter that occurred between me and their dihqāns. They have envied me and treated me ungratefully.”

‘Umar said, “It will not harm you to separate from them when they do not like you.” He then appointed Jarir in his place, bringing together the Bajilah under him. He also revealed to Jarir and the Bajilah that he would send ‘Arfajah to Syria; that made Jarir like Iraq.

Jarir led his people forth as reinforcements for al-Muthannā b. Hārīthah until he stopped at Dhu Qār. Then he went up until, when he was at al-Julī981 and al-Muthannā was at Marj al-Sibākh, the news came to al-Muthannā about the report of Bashīr, who was at al-Ḥirah, that the Persians had sent forth Mihrān, who had set out from al-Madā’in heading toward al-Ḥirah. Al-Muthannā sent messages to Jarir and ʿĪsmah urging [them to come] with haste. ‘Umar had exacted a promise from them not to cross any body of water nor any bridge except after a victory. They gathered at al-Buwayb. The two


981. A place deep in the desert some 170 km. south of al-Kūfah on the road from al-Qādisiyah to Mecca, it still has the same name. See Yāqūt, Muʿjam, II, 115–56; Musil, Northern Neğd, 236 and accompanying map of northern Arabia [k 19].
armies gathered on the east shore of al-Buwayb. Al-Buwayb had been a sink [for overflow from] the Euphrates on days of flooding in Persian times; it flowed into al-Jawf. The polytheists were at the site of Dār al-Rizq, and the Muslims were at the location of the Sakūn.

Al-Sarī b. Yahyā—Shu‘ayb b. Ibrāhīm—Sayf b. 'Umar—'Āṭiyah and al-Mujālid, according to their isnād: The warriors of the Banū Kinānah and the Azd came to 'Umar seven hundred strong altogether. He asked them, "Which front is preferable to you?" They answered, "Syria, our brethren by marriage, our brethren by marriage!" He said, "That [front] you have already taken care of. Iraq! Leave aside a country that God has reduced in power and number. Turn your faces to fighting a people who possess various kinds of livelihood, for it may be that God will give them to you as an inheritance along with your share of that, so you will live with whoever of the people is living." Then Ghālib b. so-and-so al-Laythi and 'Arfajah al-Barigi said, each to his own people, among whom he had stood up, "O brethren, heed the Commander of the Faithful in what he deems [necessary] and put into effect for him that [mission] that he has lodged in you." They responded, "We obey you and heed the Commander of the Faithful in what he deems [necessary] and desires." Then 'Umar prayed for good for them, saying it to them. He made Ghālib b. 'Abdallāh the commander of the Banū Kinānah and dispatched him. He made 'Arfajah b. Harthamah the commander of the Azd, most of whom were from the Bāriq. They rejoiced at the return of 'Arfajah to them. Each of them set forth leading his people until they both came to al-Muthannā.

Al-Sarī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muhammad and 'Amr, according to their isnād: Hilāl b. 'Ullafah al-Taymi went forth with those of...
the Ribāb\textsuperscript{986} who had gathered to him until he came to `Umar, who put them in command of them and sent him off, so that he reached Muthanna. Ibn al-Muthannā al-Jushami\textsuperscript{987} — the Jusham of the Sa`d\textsuperscript{988} — also went forth until he came to `Umar, who sent him out, appointing him commander of the Banū Sa`d. He also came to al-Muthannā.

Al-Sarī — Shu`ayb — Sayf — al-Mujālid — al-Sha`bī; and `Atiyyah, according to their isnād: 'Abdallāh b. Dhi al-Sahmayn\textsuperscript{989} came with men from the Khathram.\textsuperscript{990} `Umar made him their commander and sent him to al-Muthanna. He went out in his direction until he reached him.

Al-Sarī — Shu`ayb — Sayf — Muḥammad and `Amr, according to their isnād: Rib`i\textsuperscript{991} brought men from the Banū Ḥanẓalah.\textsuperscript{992} `Umar

\textsuperscript{986}. A confederacy of Mu`arr tribes from northeastern Arabia that included the Taym, `Adi, and Thawr b. `Abd Manāh b. Udd, as well as the `Ukl and the Qabbah b. Udd. This confederacy was then in alliance with the Said Tamim. See EP, s.v. Qabba b. Udd; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 85-87, 89-91; II, 10, 486.

\textsuperscript{987}. Unidentified and not mentioned elsewhere.

\textsuperscript{988}. A small subtribe of the Sa`d Tamim that combined with other small Sa`di groups to form the Abnā`. Because the Jusham's members evidently were scattered among several larger groups, they have differing genealogies: Jusham b. Sa`d, Jusham b. `Abshams b. Sa`d, Jusham b. `Amr b. `Abshams b. Sa`d, Jusham b. Ka`b b. Sa`d, Jusham b. al-Ḥārith al-A`raj b. Ka`b b. Sa`d, and Jusham b. Rab`ah al-Ḥibāq b. Ka`b b. Sa`d, of which only the first appears to represent the Jusham as an independent unit within the Sa`d. The extremely large number of other Jushams, mostly clans rather than individuals, points to an earlier larger grouping having been scattered among many tribes. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 75, 78; ii, 267-69. Sam`ānī, Ansāb, III, 278-81, and Ibn al-Athir, Lubāb, I, 227-28, do not even mention any Jusham of the Tamim, as these were probably early absorbed into other Tamimi groups.

\textsuperscript{989}. Apparently mentioned only in Sayf's traditions in al-Ṭabarī. See Ṭabarī, I, 2225, 2329, 2335, 2552, 2633; Donner, Conquests, 196, 385, 402, 435.

\textsuperscript{990}. A large tribe located in 'Asir. One of its branches, the Shahran, still resides in its original homeland. See EP, s.v. Khathám; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 221, 224-26; ii, 45-46, 345.

\textsuperscript{991}. Rib`i b. Ḥuṣayn al-Riyyāḥ of the Ḥanẓalah Tamim, he is wrongly identified in Ṭabarī, Indices, 189, as Rib`i b. `Āmir al-Usayyidy of the 'Amr Tamim. Crone, Slaves, 118, has also mixed up the two Rib`is. Actually, Rib`i al-Riyyāḥ seems to appear only in this one place in the tradition. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 68, II, 487; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābāh, I, 525, and next two notes.

\textsuperscript{992}. One of the three great branches of the Tamim, the Ḥanẓalah included the two large subdivisions of the Dārim and the Yarbu`, each of which contained a number of clans that became tribal regiments under the Islamic state. See EP, s.v. Ḥanẓala b. Malik; Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 59; II, 8-9, 298.
made him their commander and dispatched them. They went along until he brought them to al-Muthanna. His son Shabath b. Rib'i led them after him. Men from the Banū 'Amr came to him as well. He made Rib'i b. 'Āmir b. Khalid al-'Anūd their commander and sent him to join al-Muthanna. When men from the Banū Ijābbah came to him, he arranged them in two divisions, putting Ibn Hawbar in command of one of the two divisions and al-Mundhir b. Hassan came to him leading the 'Abd al-Qays, and 'Umar sent him forward.

All: Al-Fayruzān and Rustam agreed to send forth Mihran to fight al-Muthanna. The two of them sought permission from Buran. When they needed something, they would approach her chamberlains so that they might speak with her about it. They said what they thought, informing her of the size of the army. The Persians

993. Al-Riyābi al-Tamimī, he had a spectacular career. Doubtfully said to have started as a mu'adhdhin of the false prophetess Sajāh, he became a Muslim and migrated to al-Kūfah, where he became an important leader. Later, he enthusiastically supported 'Ali against 'Uthmān, but after Siffin became a Khārijite and fought against 'Ali at al-Nahrawān. Still later, he was among those who urged al-Husayn b. 'Ali to come to al-Kūfah, but then deserted him and actually fought against him. He remained a leader, surviving until at least 68/687–88, after which he seems to have died peacefully. In this case, we once again see Sayf emphasizing the role of a prominent anti-'Alid in the early conquests. In view of Shabath's role in the second civil war, any significant role for him in the conquests over fifty years earlier is improbable. See Ṭabarī, 1, 1919, 3148, 3265, 3270–72, 3274–76, 3349, 3380, 3387–88; II, 27, 104, 133, 234, 355–57, 272, 329–30, 343–44, 347, 355, 614, 619, 621–24, 626, 629–32, 649–50, 652, 654–55, 657, 703–4, 716, 718, 759, 761; Ibn al-Kalbi, Ġamharat, I, 68; II, 521; Ibn Muzāḥim, Siffin, 97–98, 187–88, 195, 197, 199, 205, 294; Ibn Sa'd, Ta'baqāt, VI, 216; Ibn Khayyāt, Ta'rīkh, 216–17, 221; Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 119; Ya'qūbi, Ta'rīkh, II, 223; Ibn Durayd, Isḥiqāq, 223; Ibn Hajar, Isābah, II, 163; Cron, Slaves, 118; Donner, Conquests, 385.

994. The 'Amr b. Tamim, they constituted the third and smallest of the major branches of the Tamim tribal grouping. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Ġamharat, I, 59; II, 10, 184–85.

995. Presumably a Dābbi, he is further unidentified and found only in Sayf's transmissions. See also Ṭabarī, I, 2619; Donner, Conquests, 195, 383, 434.

996. Al-Dabbī, he was slain by al-Mukhtār's followers in al-Kūfah in 66/686. He is yet another anti-'Alid leader whose role in the conquests is displayed prominently in Sayf's transmissions. See Ṭabarī, II, 633, 750; Ibn al-Kalbi, Ġamharat, I, 89; II, 429; Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 311, 389; Ya'qūbi, Ta'rīkh, II, 162; Donner, Conquests, 195, 384, 397, 410.


used not to send out many expeditions until the matter of the Arabs came up. When the two of them told her of the great size of the army's numbers, she asked, "Why will the Persians not go forth against the Arabs as they used to go forth before today? Why do you two not send forth [expeditions] as the kings used to send forth before today?" They replied, "Fear was with our enemy at that time but is among us today." She supported them, knowing what they had brought her [was true].

Thus, Mihrān went along with his army until he encamped on the nearer side of the Euphrates, while al-Muthanna and his army were on the [opposite shore] of the Euphrates, the Euphrates being between them. Anas b. Hilāl al-Namari999 came to reinforce al-Muthanna with men from the Namir who were Christians and traders (jullāb) who brought horses. Ibn Mirdā al-Fīhr al-Taghlībi, who is ‘Abdallāh b. Kulayb b. Khālid,1000 came leading men from the Banū Taghlībi who were Christians and traders who brought horses. When they saw the Arabs camping beside the Persians, they said, "We will fight with our people." Mihrān said, "Either you cross over to us, or else we will cross over to you." The Muslims responded, "Cross over to us." They then departed from Basūsiyā for Shūmiyā, which is the site of Dār al-Rizq.

Al-Sarī — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — ‘Ubaydallāh b. Muhaffīz — his father.1001 When they were permitted to cross, the Persians descended on Shūmiyā, the site of Dār al-Rizq and put themselves into battle formation there. Then they advanced against the Muslims in three lines. Each line had an elephant, with their infantry before their elephant. They came on shouting. Al-Muthanna declared, "What you hear is cowardice. Therefore, remain silent and consult

999. He is apparently mentioned only in Sayf’s transmissions. See Donner, Conquests, 336 nn. 158 and 163, 385.

1000. Despite his generous nomenclature, he appears only in Sayf’s report in this place. See Donner, Conquests, 336 nn. 158 and 163, 384.

1001. Muhaffīz (or Muhaffirī) b. Tha‘labah b. Mūrah al-‘A‘idhi, a Kūfī, he signed the document approving the execution of Ḥujr b. ‘Adi and his companions in 51/671. Later, he was infamous for bringing the head of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ali to Damascus in 61/680. See Ṭabarī, II, 333, 375–76, 380; Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 30; II, 421; Zubayrī, Nasab, 444; Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharah, 174. It is extremely interesting that Sayf quotes such a person as a source. Not only is this yet another indication of Sayf’s anti-‘Alid tendency, but it also is a sign of the anti-‘Alid countercurrent that continued to exist in the mainly pro-‘Alid city of al-Kūfah.
by whispering." They approached the Muslims, coming at them from the direction of Nahr Bani Sulaym, approximately the site of the present Nahr Bani Sulaym. When they drew near, they marched slowly, while the Muslims' line was between the present Nahr Bani Sulaym and what is behind it.

Al-Sari—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad and Ṭalḥah: Al-Muthanna’s two flanks were commanded by Bashir and Busr b. Abī Ruhm, while the light horse was commanded by al-Mu‘annā. Mas‘ūd had charge of the infantry. Before that day, al-Nusayr commanded the skirmishers. Madhūr was in charge of the covering force. Mihrān’s two flanks were commanded by Ibn al-Azadhbih the governor of al-Ḥīrah and Mardānshāh. When al-Muthanna went forth, he went about among the ranks, charging them with obligation to himself while on his horse, al-Shamūs. It was called al-Shamūs owing to its mild temper and cleanness. When he mounted it, he would fight, for he would not ride it except to fight, keeping it in reserve as long as there was no battle. He reviewed the battle standards one by one, spurring them on, giving them his command, and setting them in good spirits by [reminding them of] the best of their qualities as an incentive to them. To each of them he would say, "I earnestly hope that the Arabs will not be ruined because of you today. By God, nothing will please me on my own account today except what pleases me on account of all of you." They responded similarly. Al-Muthanna was judicious in [both] word and deed. He would mix with the people in both hard and fair circumstances. No one among them could criticize him in either word or deed. Then he said, "I am going to shout 'God is Greater' three times. Therefore, prepare yourselves; then attack on the fourth [shout]."

But when he shouted the first "God is Greater" the Persians anticipated them, attacking them in haste and falling upon them with the first "God is Greater." When the battle slowed down for a while, al-Muthanna noticed gaps in certain of his lines. At this, he sent a man to them to say, "The commander greets you in peace and says, 'Do not put the Muslims to shame today.'" They said, "Of course," and redistributed themselves in a balanced way. Before that, they

---

1002. An unidentified canal probably located in the Sulaym quarter of the later, expanded al-Kūfah.
had been looking at him while he was pulling at his beard because of what he beheld from them. Thus they paid attention to a matter that no one of the Muslims had brought [before them] on that day. Then they cast a glance at him and saw him laughing in joy. The people [concerned] were the Banū 'il.

When the battle became prolonged and severe, al-Muthannā directed himself to Anas b. Hilāl to say, "O Anas, you are an Arab man even if you do not follow our religion. When you see me attack Mihrān, attack with me." He also told Ibn Mirdā al-Fihr the like of that. Both of them responded. Al-Muthannā then charged Mihrān, pushing him back until he went into his right wing. Then the Muslims fell upon them, so that the two centers joined [in combat] and dust rose up, while the wings fought as well. Neither the polytheists nor the Muslims were able to break free to aid their commander. Mas'ūd was brought out of the battle wounded on that day, along with other Muslim commanders. He had said to them, "If you see us struck down, do not leave off what you are doing, for the army will retreat and then turn away. Stick to your battle formation. Add your help to the strength of those near you." The Muslims' center wreaked pain in the polytheists' center. A boy from the Taghlibīs who was a Christian slew Mihrān and mounted his horse. Al-Muthannā assigned his spoils to the commander of his horsemen. Likewise, if a polytheist was leading the horses of a man and was then killed and despoiled, the spoils went to the commander of the one who did the killing. He had two commanders, one of whom was Jarīr and the other was Ibn al-Hawbar. The two of them divided his arms.

Al-Sarī—Shu'ayb—Sayf—'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥaffiz—his father Muḥaffiz b. Tha'labah: Young men from the Banū Taghlib brought horses [to sell]. When they saw the two armies meet on the Day of al-Buwayb, they said, "We will fight the Persians with the Arabs." One of them struck down Mihrān on that day, while Mihrān was astride a reddish bay horse of his armored with a yellow coat of mail, with a crescent between its eyes and crescents of brass on its tail. The boy mounted Mihrān's horse and then, tracing his origin, [said,] "I am the Taghlibī boy; I have slain the governor!" Jarīr and Ibn al-Hawbar came to him with their people and, taking his leg, made him descend.

Text: ajābahu; read: ajābāhu, as Ms. IH and note to the Leiden ed.
Al-Sarî — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Sa‘îd b. al-Marzubân: Jarîr and al-Mundhir participated in it and disputed over his arms, bringing their contention to al-Muthannâ for a decision. He assigned his arms [to be divided] between them, and his belt and two bracelets [to be divided] between them. Then the Muslims annihilated the polytheists' center.

Al-Sarî — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Abû Rawq: By God, whenever we would come to al-Buwayb, we would see in the area between the site of al-Sakûn and the Banû Sulaym1004 heaps of white bones, including heads and limbs, from which a warning would be taken. Certain of those who participated in it told me that they guessed them to be one hundred thousand. They were not effaced until they were buried by the rubble1005 of houses.

Al-Sarî — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Muhammad and Taḥlah: Al-Muthannâ stood his ground when the dust rose up until the dust cleared away. The polytheists' center had been annihilated. Meanwhile, the flanks had dashed against each other. When they saw that he had removed the center and annihilated its troops, the flanks — the Muslims' flanks — were strengthened against the polytheists and began to make the Persians turn their backs [in flight]. Meanwhile, al-Muthannâ and the Muslims in the center were praying for victory for them. He also sent them someone to incite them, saying, "Al-Muthannâ says, 'Your customs are [preserved] in the likes of you. If you support God, he will support you,'"1006 until they defeated the enemy. Al-Muthannâ raced them to the bridge, preceding them, and took the Persians, who scattered on the shore of the Euphrates, [some] going upstream and [some] going downstream. The Muslims' cavalry took them by turns until they killed them, then piled them in heaps. No battle between the Arabs and Persians left more enduring remains than this. When Masûd b. Ḥârizah was carried wounded from the battlefield on that day, having been struck before the rout, those with him were weakened. Seeing that, he said, in spite of his serious wounds, "O tribe of the Bakr b. Wâ‘il! Raise up your standard, may God raise you up! Do not by any means let..."
my prostration frighten you." Anas b. Hilāl al-Namārī fought on
that day until he was carried wounded from the battlefield. Al-Mu-
thānna carried him from it, joining him and joining Masʿūd to him-
self. Qurṭ b. Jammāḥ al-ʿAbdī fought so [hard] on that day that he
broke spears and cut swords. He also killed Shahrbarāz, one of
the Persian dihqāns who was the commander of Mihrān’s light cav-
alry.

When they were done, al-Muthānna sat down before the people,
after finishing, so that he might speak to them and they to him.
Whenever a man would come to speak, he said to him, "Tell me
about yourself." Qurṭ b. al-Jammāḥ told him, "I slew a man and
found the smell of musk [coming] from him. I said, ‘Mihrān!’ hop-
ing that it would be he, but it turned out to be the Master of the
Horse Shahrbarāz. By God, I did not think him anything, for he was
not Mihrān." Al-Muthānna said,

I have fought the Arabs and the Persians in both the Jāhi-
liyyah and Islam. By God, one hundred of the Persians in the
Jāhiliyyah were indeed stronger to me than one thousand of
the Arabs. But today one hundred of the Arabs are indeed
stronger to me than one thousand of the Persians. God has
taken away their credibility and rendered their trickery
weak. Therefore by no means let a [large] number that you
see, nor a great multitude, nor tightly drawn bows, nor long
arrows scare you, for, if they are attacked quickly so that
they cannot use them, or if they lose them, they are like
dumb beasts: wherever you direct them, they go.

Speaking to al-Muthānna, Ribʿi said, "When I saw the fighting
and its heat slowing down, I said, ‘Protect yourselves with your
shields as hiding places, for they are going to attack you. Persevere
for two assaults, and I promise you victory in the third.’ They an-
swered my [wish], by God, so that God fulfilled my promise." Ibn
Dhi al-Sahmayn said in his speech, "I said to my companions, ‘I
heard the commander reciting and mentioning terror in his recita-

1007. This alleged person appears only in this one place in Sayf’s traditions. He
probably is an invention imitating the name of Khusraw II’s general and the later ill-
fated usurper of 629 or 630 C.E., for the name does not appear to have been a common
one, but rather was an exceptional title.
tation. He did not mention it except for the excellence that he possesses. Follow your standard. Let your horse protect your foot, then attack. There is no breach of promise in God’s word.’ God carried through his promise to them, and it was as I had hoped.” ‘Arfajah said in his speech,

We drove a regiment of them to the Euphrates. I hoped that God would permit them to drown and thereby console us for the disaster of the Bridge. When they had begun to be in difficult straits, they counterattacked against us. We fought them hard until certain of my people said, “If only you were to hold back your standard.” I responded, “The responsibility for advancing it is mine.” I charged with it against their rear guard [commander], killing him. Then they turned toward the Euphrates in flight, but none of them reached it alive.

Rib`i b. ‘Āmir b. Khālid said, “I was with my father on the Day of al-Buwayb.”

Al-Buwayb was named the Day of the Tens. One hundred men were enumerated, each of whom had killed ten in the battle on that day. ‘Urwah b. Zayd al-Khayl1008 was among those who killed nine. Ghālib, leading the Banū Kinānah, was also of those who killed nine. ‘Arfajah, leading the Azd, was among those who killed nine. The polytheists were slain in the area between the present al-Sakūn and the shore of the Euphrates, the east bank of al-Buwayb. That was because of al-Muthanna, at the time of the rout, beat them to the bridge, taking it against them, so that they scattered to the right and the left. The Muslims pursued them into the night and the next day into the [second] night.

Al-Muthanna regretted having taken the bridge. He said, “I indeed made a mistake, whose evil was averted by God, when I raced them to the bridge and cut it so that they were put in hard straits. I will not repeat it, nor do you repeat it or imitate my example, O peo-

1008. Al-Ṭā‘ī, he fought at al-Qādisiyyah, participated in further conquests in Iran, and later fell in Daylam. He is also said to have survived until ‘Ali’s reign and to have fought on his side at Šiffin, but there is no mention of this in Ibn Muzāḥim. See Ibn al-Kalbī, Gamharat, I, 257; II, 575; Ibn Khayyāt, Ta’rikh, 108–10; Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 307–8, 389–90; Ibn Ḥajar, Isābāh, II, 476; Donner Conquests, 378, 385, 431, 438.
ple, for it was a slip from me. One ought not to put anyone in hard straits unless it is someone who cannot defend himself.” Some of the Muslims’ outstanding men who were among the wounded died, including Khālid b. Hilāl and Masʿūd b. Ḥārithah. Al-Muthannā prayed over them, giving them precedence over the spear blades and swords and saying, “By God, it indeed makes my sadness easier that they took part in al-Buwayb and fought boldly and patiently, neither becoming anxious nor shrinking [from the fight], and that there is in martyrdom an atonement that allows their sins to pass.”

Al-Sāri—Shuʿayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: Al-Muthannā, ʿIṣmah, and Jarir gained on the way (ʿalā ḏahr) the stores of Mihrān as spoils, including sheep, flour, and cattle. They sent these to the families of those who had come from the people of Medina whom they had left behind at al-Qawādis,101 and to the families of those who had fought in the earliest battles (ahl al-ayyām) before them. They were at al-Hīrah. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masiḥ b. Buqaylah was the guide for those who had gone with the portion of the stores belonging to the families who were at al-Qawādis. When the women saw them from afar and saw the horses, they screamed, supposing it to be an attack, and stood up to defend the children with stones and poles. ʿAmr declared, “Such is fitting for the women of this army.” They gave them the good news of the victory, saying, “This is [just] the beginning.” Al-Nusayr was in charge of the horsemen who brought them the stores. He stayed with his horses in order to protect them, while ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masiḥ returned to spend the night at al-Hīrah.

On that day, al-Muthannā said, “Who will lead the men in pursuit until he reaches al-Sīb?” Jarir b. ʿAbdallāh stood up in the midst of his men to say,

O people of the Bajīlah! You and all those who participated in this battle are equal in priority, excellence, and gallantry. But no one among them will obtain tomorrow the like of what you will obtain from this booty, for yours is a quarter of the fifth, by [the order of] the Commander of the
Faithful. Therefore, do not let anyone be faster against this enemy nor fiercer against him than yourselves, for [the sake of] that which is yours from him, and [to show] a good intention toward that which you hope for. For you are only waiting for one of the two best things: either martyrdom and paradise, or else spoils and paradise.

Al-Muthanna was hard on those who, having been defeated on the Day of the Bridge, wanted to seek death in battle. Then he said, "Where is the one who was so ready [to fight] yesterday and his companions? Heed the call [to follow] the tracks of these people to al-Sib! Get at your enemy with what will enrage him, for, 'it will be better for you and greater in reward. And ask God's forgiveness, for God is the Forgiving, the Merciful.'"

Al-Sari — Shu'ayb — Sayf — Ḥamzah b. ʿAli b. Muḥaffiz — a man from the Bakr b. Wā'il: The first man to heed al-Muthanna's call on that day and follow their tracks was the one who had been ready to fight and his companions. He had wanted to go forth from the Muslims' battle line to [fight] the enemy the day before, waiting for his chance and being ready. Al-Muthanna commanded the bridge to be tied in place for them. Then he sent them forth in pursuit of the enemy. The Bajilah followed them, while the Muslims' cavalry spurred on every horse. Thus they dashed along in pursuit of them until they reached al-Sib. There did not remain in the Muslim army any participant in the Battle of the Bridge but that he went forth with the cavalry. They took a great amount of cattle, captives, and other goods as spoils, which al-Muthanna divided among them, giving preference to the gallant ones from all the tribes. He allotted to the Bajilah on that day the fourth of the fifth, [dividing it] among them equally. He sent the [other] three-quarters of it off with ʿIkrimah. God cast terror into the hearts of the Persians. The leaders who had led the men in the pursuit wrote to al-Muthanna. ʿAṣim, ʿIsmah, and Jarīr wrote, "God has delivered, protected, and turned over to us what you have seen. There is nothing near the people (qawm);"
therefore you may permit us to advance." When he gave them permission, they raided until they reached Sābāt. The forces in Sābāt fortified themselves against them. They raided the villages near it. The men in the fortress at Sābāt rained arrows down on them from their fortifications. The first to enter their fortress were three leaders: ʿIṣmah, ʿAṣim, and Jarīr. Parties from among all the men followed them. Then they turned away, going back to al-Muthannā.

Al-Sāri — Shuʿayb — Sayf — ʿAtiyah b. al-Ḥārith: When God caused Mihrān to perish, the Muslims were able to attack the area of al-Sawād between them and the Tigris. Therefore they plowed into\(^{1015}\) it, not fearing any trick nor meeting any opposition in it. The Persians' garrisons mutinied and, retreating to their [lines], sought refuge in Sābāt. It pleased them to abandon what was beyond the Tigris. The Battle of al-Buwayb was in Ramaḍān 13 (29 October – 27 November 634). God slew Mihrān and his army in it. The Muslims crammed the two sides of al-Buwayb with bones so that it became level. Nothing has effaced them save the dust in the times of the civil war, nor is anything stirred up there but that they discover something of them. It is between al-Sakūn, Murhibah,\(^{1016}\) and Banū Sulaym. In the times of the Sāsānians, it used to be a backwater of the Euphrates that flowed into al-Jawf. Al-ʿAwār al-ʿAbdi al-Shanī\(^{1017}\) said:

[2.200] The home[land] of the tribe is aroused with sorrows for Aʿwar, and has taken Khaffān as a substitute after ʿAbd al-Qays.\(^{1018}\) He has shown us there, the whole affair being complete, for at al-Nukhaylah\(^{1019}\) are the slain ones of Mihrān’s army,

---

\(^{1015}\) Or, "took the best part of."

\(^{1016}\) A quarter of the later al-Kūfah.

\(^{1017}\) Not further identified, he appears only here in Sayf’s traditions in al-Ṭabarī.

\(^{1018}\) Here ʿAbd al-Qays seems to refer to the tribe’s homeland in eastern Arabia.

\(^{1019}\) The al-Nukhaylah meant here, according to Yaqūt, Muʿjam, V, 278–79, is a waterhole on the right side of the road near al-Mughīthah and al-ʿAqabah, 11 km. from Juwayy, west of Wāqīṣah, and 5 km. from al-Hufayr. Judging by the locations of Wāqīṣah and al-ʿAqabah, which still have the same names, this puts it more than 155 km. south-southwest of al-Kūfah on the pilgrimage road to Mecca. However, Sayf’s al-Nukhaylah appears to be right at al-Kūfah and on the Euphrates. This latter al-Nukhaylah by a river is also described in the report of Ibn ʿĪsāq on p. 214, below. See also Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 299, 310–11, 314, 389; Yaʿqūbī, Taʿrīkh, II, 162, Ibn al-Faqqīh, Bul-
The Events of the Year 13 (cont’d) 213

The times when al-Muthannā went against them with the horses, so that the army of the Persians and Jīlān1020 was slaughtered. He rose up against Mihrān and the army that was with him, until he annihilated them in pairs and singly.

Abū Jaʿfar: Ibn Ishāq has said on the subject of Jarir, ‘Arfajah, and al-Muthannā, and al-Muthannā’s fighting Mihrān other than was Sayf has related of reports about them. He has reported on them [the following].

Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq: When [news of] the disaster of the men at the bridge reached ‘Umar and their defeated remnants had reached him, Jarir b. ‘Abdallāh al-Bajali came to him from Yemen with a party of the Bajilah and ‘Arfajah b. Harthamah. ‘Arfajah, who was the lord of the Bajilah at that time, was a confederate of theirs from the Azd. ‘Umar spoke to them saying, “You have learned of what catastrophe befell your brothers in Iraq. Go to them. I will send out to you whoever is from among you in the Arab tribes, thereby bringing them together for you.” They said, “We will do so, O Commander of the Faithful. Send out to us the Qays Kubbah,1021 Suḥmah,1022 and ‘Uraynah.”1023 They were tribes of the Banū ‘Āmir b. Saʿsaʿah. ‘Umar made ‘Arfajah b. Harthamah their commander, but Jarir b. ‘Abdallāh al-Bajali became angry because of that. He said to the Bajilah, “Speak to the Commander of the Faithful.” Thus, they said to ‘Umar, “You have put in charge of us a man who is not of us.” He then sent a message to ‘Arfajah to ask, “What are these [men] saying?” He answered, “They have told the truth, O Commander of the Faithful. I am not of them, but rather I am a man of the Azd. In the Jahiliyyah, we shed blood among our own people

---

1020. Persian Gilān, it is the Iranian district lying at the southwestern corner of the Caspian Sea around the city of Rasht. See EP, s.v. Gilān, Le Strange, Lands, 5, 172–75, maps I and V.
1021. The Qays Kubbah b. al-Ghawth, they lived among the Kilāb of the ‘Āmir b. Saʿsaʿah, but they are accounted a part of the Bajilah. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 223; II, 460.
1023. The ‘Uraynah b. Nadhir, they mostly lived among the Kilāb of the ‘Āmir b. Saʿsaʿah, but they are accounted part of the Bajilah, being a subdivision of the Qasr. See Ibn al-Kalbi, Gamharat, I, 222; II, 574.
and therefore joined the Bajilah, among whom we reached the [degree of] authority you have heard about." 'Umar said to him, "Stay firm in your position and repel them as they repel you." 'Arfajah replied, "I will not do so, nor will I go with them." 'Arfajah went to al-Baṣrah after it was settled, abandoning the Bajilah. 'Umar appointed Jarir b. 'Abdallāh as commander of the Bajilah. His appointment brought them to al-Kūfah. 'Umar joined his people from the Bajilah to him.

Jarir advanced until, when he passed near to al-Muthannā b. Ḥāri-thah, al-Muthannā wrote to him, "Come to me, for you are only a reinforcement for me." Jarir wrote back to him, "I will not do so unless the Commander of the Faithful orders me to do that. You are a commander, and I am a commander." Then Jarir headed toward the bridge. Mihrān b. Bādhān, who was one of Persia's great men, met him at al-Nukhaylah, having crossed the bridge to him. They fought a hard battle. Al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān b. Ḍirār al-Ḍabbi attacked Mihrān, stabbing him so that he fell from his horse. Then Jarir rushed upon him to cut off his head. After that, they quarreled over his spoils, finally coming to an agreement about it. Jarir took his arms, while al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān took his belt.

[Abū Ja`far]: I have been told that Mihrān, when he met Jarir, said:

If you ask about me, I am Mihrān;

for those who do not recognize me, I am the son of Bādhān.1024

I rejected that [report] until one of the knowledgeable scholars whom I do not accuse [of weakness] told me that he was an Arab who had grown up with his father in Yemen when the latter was governor for Kisrā. I no longer rejected that [report] when [this latter information] reached me.

Al-Muthannā1025 wrote to 'Umar to denounce Jarir. 'Umar wrote back to al-Muthannā, "I would not put you in charge of a man from the Companions of Muḥammad," meaning Jarir. 'Umar sent Sa`d b. Abī Waqqāṣ to Iraq with six thousand [men] whom he had appointed him to command. He also wrote to al-Muthannā and Jarir b. 'Abdallāh that the two of them join Sa`d b. Abī Waqqāṣ. He made Sa`d the

---

1024. This Bādhān is meant to represent the last Persian governor of Yemen, who is said already to have embraced Islam in 10/631. For Bādhān of Yemen, see EP, Supplement, s.v. Bādhān, Bādhān.
1025. Ibn Ishaq's report probably resumes here.
commander of the two of them. Sa‘d went along until he stopped at Sharāf,1026 and al-Muthannā and Jarīr went along until they joined his camp. Sa‘d wintered there, while troops gathered to him. Al-Muthannā b. Ḥarīthah died.

The text reverts to the report of Sayf.

**Al-Khanāfīs**

Al-Sarī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Tālḥah, and Ziyād, according to their isnād: Al-Muthannā penetrated deeply into al-Sawād, leaving Bāshīr b. al-Khaṣṣāyiyyah behind at al-Ḥirah. He sent Jarīr to Maysān and Hilāl b. ‘Ullāfah al-Taymi to Dast-i Maysān.1027 He strengthened the frontier posts with ‘Īgmah b. so-and-so al-Rabbī, al-Kalaj al-Dabbī, ‘Arfajah al-Bārīqi, and the likes of them among the Muslims’ leaders. He began by stopping at Ullays, which was one of the villages of al-Anbār.1028 This expedition is called “the latter expedition of al-Anbār” and “the latter expedition of Ullays.” Two men importuned al-Muthannā, one of them from al-Anbār, the other from al-Ḥirah, each one pointing out to him a market. As for the Anbārī, he directed him to al-Khanāfīs, while the Ḥirī directed him to Baghdādih. Al-Muthannā said, “Which of the two is before the other?” They answered, “Between them are some days.” He went on, “Which of them is more immediate?” They replied, “The market of al-Khanāfīs is a market to which the people come all together. The Rabi‘ah meet at it while the Quḍā‘ah protect them.”

Thus, al-Muthannā prepared himself for it, so that when he reckoned that he would reach it on its market day, he rode toward them, attacking al-Khanāfīs on its market day. In it, there were two groups of horsemen from the Rabi‘ah and the Quḍā‘ah, the Quḍā‘ah under

---

1026. A place in the desert some 155 km. to the south-southwest of al-Kūfah on the pilgrimage route, it still retains the same name. See Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, III, 331; Muṣil, Middle Euphrates, 109 n. 60, 289, 358; Northern Neğd, 193–95, 212, 232–33, 236, and accompanying map of northern Arabia (k 19); Donner, Conquests, 203, 298 n. 83.

1027. This was a district of Iraq not identical with Maysān. It was above Maysān and al-Madhār and constituted the most northerly of Maysān’s four districts. Its capital was Basamātā. See EE, s.v. Maisān; Morony, Iraq, 160–61.

1028. This can hardly be the same Ullays as mentioned before, for al-Anbār is far to the northwest of al-Ḥirah. Most likely, there is a confusion in Sayf’s sources about where Ullays actually was.
Rūmānis b. Wabarāh and the Rabī‘ah under al-Salīl b. Qays. They were the guards. Al-Muthannā tore down the market and what was in it and despoiled the guards [of their weapons]. Then he went back toward where he started, until he came suddenly to the dihqāns of al-Anbār in the early light of that day (yawmahu). They fortified themselves against him, but when they recognized him, they came down to him, bringing him fodder and supplies and also bringing him guides to show him Baghdād, for his objective was the Baghdād market. He came against them in the morning.

The Muslims were penetrating deeply into al-Sawād while al-Muthannā was at al-Anbār, as they launched attacks in the area between lower Kaskar, the lower Euphrates, and the bridges of Mithqāb as far as ‘Ayn al-Tamr and the region belonging to it in the land of al-Falālij and al-‘Āl.

Al-Sarī — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — ‘Ubaydallāh b. Muhaffiz — his father: A man from the inhabitants of al-Ḥirah said to al-Muthannā,

Shall I not show you a village to which the merchants of Madā‘in Kisra and al-Sawād come? They gather there once a year and have with them valuables like the public treasury. These are the days of their market. If you are able to attack them without their noticing [your approach], you will obtain there wealth that will be riches for the Muslims and by which they will be strengthened against their enemy for as long as they live.

Al-Muthannā asked, “How far is it from Madā‘in Kisra?” The man answered, “Part of a day or most of a day.” Al-Muthannā went on, “How can I get to it?” They said,

We bid you, if you set out for it, to take the land route until you get to al-Khanāfs, for the people of al-Anbār will make their way to it, giving information about you so that the people of the market will feel secure. Then you turn to stop at

1030. Al-Dhuhli, he traveled from Iraq to al-Yamāmah to join the retinue of the false prophetess Sajāh. See Ṭabari, I, 1911; Ibn al-Kalbi, Ḥamharat, I, 144, II, 507.
1031. This would appear to mean “on the same day,” but that does not seem to fit the context.
1032. Apparently an unidentified place in al-Sawād and not the same as the desert place named on p. 69.
1033. The same as al-Madā‘in.
al-Anbār, in order to take guides from the *dihqāns*. Then you go along in the dark of the night from al-Anbār so that you come against them in the morning, greeting them with an early morning attack.

Therefore, he went forth from Ullays until he came to al-Khanāfīs. Then he turned aside until he came back upon al-Anbār. When its ruler became aware of him, he withdrew inside his fortress, as he did not know who he was, that being at night. When he recognized him, he came down to him. Al-Muthannā offered him food, intimidated him, and told him to keep his secret, saying, "I intend to raid. Therefore, send with me guides [to show me the way] to Baghdādh, so that I may raid from it as far as al-Madā’in." The ruler said, "I will come with you." Al-Muthannā said, "I do not want you to come with me. Rather, send with me one who is a better guide than you." The ruler supplied them with food and fodder and sent guides with them. They traveled until, when they were at the midpoint [of their journey], al-Muthannā asked them, "How far is this village from me?" They answered, "Four or five *farsakhs*." He then asked his men who would volunteer for guard duty, and a group volunteered. He said to them, "Keep your wits sharp as guards."

When he stopped to camp, he said, "O people, stay, eat, make ablutions, and prepare yourselves." He sent out reconnaissance parties, which held up the people [in the vicinity] so that the Muslims would precede the news [about them]. When they were done, he sent [forces] toward the enemy in the latter part of the night. Then he crossed over to them and greeted them in the morning in their markets. He put them to the sword, killing, while the Muslims took what they wanted. Al-Muthannā said, "Take only the gold and the silver. Do not take more goods than one of your men can carry on his mount." The people of the markets fled. The Muslims filled their hands with the yellow, the white 1034 and the free1035 of everything. Then he went out to fight again until he stopped on Nahr al-Saylahīn1036 by al-Anbār. On making camp, he addressed the people, saying, "O people, camp, take care of your wants, and be prepared to

---

1034. That is, the gold and the silver.
1035. That is, captives.
1036. The modern Șālihiyyīn, it is a canal that lies about 26 km. west of Baghdād and 36 km. east of al-Anbār. Not to be confused with the other al-Saylahīn near al-Ḥirah. See Ibn Khurdādhbih, *Masālik*, 72, 216; Muqaddasi, *Taqāsim*, 134; Musil, *Middle Euphrates*, 134 n. 70, 248, 253–55.
march, praising God and asking Him for safety. Then, retreat in a hurry.” They did so, but he heard a whispering among them saying, “How fast the enemy are in pursuing us!” At this, he said,

Give each other counsel of goodness and obedience to duty, and do not counsel each other to crime and rebelliousness. Look into matters and weigh them carefully, then speak, for the alarm has not yet reached their city. Should it reach them, terror would prevent them from pursuing you, for raids create fears that spread outward from them for a day into the night. Should the guards pursue you upon actually seeing you, they would not overtake you, because you are on full-blooded Arabian horses, until you have reached your camp and your army. If they were to overtake you, I would fight them for the sake of two [purposes]: the seeking of reward and the hope of victory. Therefore have confidence in God and keep a good opinion of him, for God has supported you in many situations, even though they be more numerous than you. I will keep you informed about myself, as well as about my [feigned] shrinking back and what I intend thereby. The caliph of God’s Messenger, Abū Bakr, bade us to shorten our halting,

He advanced with them — they had their guides to convey them across the deserts and the canals — until he brought them to al-Anbār. The dihqāns of al-Anbār received them with hospitality and rejoiced at his safe return, for he had promised to treat them well if their affairs remained in good order for them according to what the Muslims liked.

Al-Sari — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Muhammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: When al-Muthannā returned from Baghdadh to al-Anbār, he sent al-Muḍārib al-‘Ijli1038 and Zayd1039 off to al-Kabāth,1040 where Fāris al-

---

1037. The wording recalls Qurān 58:9.
1038. Al-Muḍārib b. Yazīd, he appears only in Sayf’s reports here and in Tabari, 1, 2269, 2478, 2655 – 56. His mention in Ya‘qūbi, Ta’rīkh, 164, probably derives from Sayf. See also Ibn Hajar, Isābah, III, 422; Donner, Conquests, 383, 398, 438.
1039. Unidentified.
1040. A marketplace in Mesopotamia belonging to the Taghlib, according to Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, IV, 433, whose notice is probably drawn from Sayf’s report.
The Events of the Year 13 (cont’d) 219

‘Unāb al-Taghlibi1041 was ruling, and then set out in their tracks. The two men reached al-Kabātḥ. The people had scattered, emptying al-Kabātḥ, whose whole population were of the Banū Taghlib. The Muslims rode in their tracks, sending out forces in pursuit of them that overtook their rear, while Fāris al-‘Unāb protected them, keeping them safe for an hour, then fleeing. At this, the Muslims slew their rear, making much [slaughter]. Al-Muthannā returned to his camp at al-Anbār. The deputy [left] in charge of the Muslims was Furāt b. Ḥayyān. When al-Muthannā returned to al-Anbār, he sent off Furāt b. Ḥayyān and ‘Utabah b. al-Nahās, commanding them both to attack groups of the Taghlib and the Namir at Ẓiffin.1042 Then he followed them [himself], leaving ‘Amr b. Abī Sulmā alHujaymi1043 behind in charge of the troops. When they drew near Ẓiffin, al-Muthannā, Furāt, and ‘Utabah split up. The inhabitants of Ẓiffin fled, crossing the Euphrates to al-Jazīrah,1044 where they fortified themselves. Al-Muthannā and his troops exhausted their provisions, so that they resorted to their mounts, except for those that were needed, and ate them, even their feet, their bones, and their skins. They they overtook a caravan of the people of Diyāf1045 and Ḥawrān. They killed the non-Muslims and, striking three persons from the Banū Taghlib who were guards, took the caravan. It was an excellent showing.

Al-Muthannā said to them, “Guide me.” One of them responded, “Give me a guarantee of security for my family and my property and I will show you a band of the Taghlib from whom I set out today.” Al-Muthannā gave him the guarantee and went with him for the day, until, when it was evening, he assaulted the [Taghlibi] group. Just then, their livestock were returning from the watering place, while the people were sitting in the courtyards of their dwellings. At this point, he unleashed his attackers, who killed the warriors, took the

1041. Unidentified and found only in this place in al-Ṭabarī.
1042. The site of the famous later battle of 37/658 between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiyah, it is located on the right bank of the Euphrates between al-Raqqah and Bālūṣ. See El’s.v Ẓiffin. The appearance of the name here is probably retrospective, given Sayf’s preoccupation with this battle and the justification of its participants.
1043. Al-Tamimi, he is not further identified and apparently mentioned only here in al-Ṭabarī. See Ibn Ḥajjat, Iṣāḥah, III, 114; Donner, Conquests, 384.
1044. That is, to the north bank.
1045. Text Dabā; read: Diyāf, as Cairo ed. and Tabari, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et Emendanda, Dcxv. Diyāf was a place in al-Jazīrah or Syria. See Yāqūt, Mu‘jam, II, 494–95.
dependents captive, and drove off their property. They turned out to
be the Banu Dhí al-Ruwayhilah. Those of the Rabí’ah who were
among the Muslims bought the captives with their share of the
spoils and freed their captives. The Rabí’ah were not used to taking
captives, whereas the Arabs took captives from each other in their
Jahiliyyah.

Al-Muthanná was informed that most of those going about in the
country had gone to seek pasturage on the shore of the Tigris. Thus,
al-Muthanná set forth. Hudhayfah b. Miḥṣan al-Ghalafání was
in charge of his vanguard in all of these campaigns of his after al-
Buwayyb. Al-Nu‘mán b. ‘Awf b. al-Nu‘mán and Maṭar, the two
Shaybánis, were in command of his two wings. He sent Ḥudhayfah
after the fleeing enemy and followed him. They overtook them at
Tikrit, a little before it, whence they pursued them while they
were fording the water. They obtained the amount of livestock they
wanted, to the extent that each man received five animals and five
captives. Al-Muthanná took a fifth of the property, carrying it until
he came to the people at al-Anbár.

Furát and ‘Utaybah had gone off in their own directions until they
attacked Šīffín, where the Namir and the Taghlib were under their
various standards. They attacked them, throwing a band of them
into the water. These pleaded with them, but they did not leave off

1046. These are perhaps the ‘Āmir Dhú al-Rujaylah b. Málík b. Jusham b. Bakr of
the Taghlib, as no Dhú al-Ruwayhilah are known, whereas the Arabic written form
of Dhú al-Rujaylah differs only by a single letter. In fact, one ms. of IH has al-Ruwayji-

1047. This nisbáh also variously is given as al-‘Alqá‘í, al-‘Alaqání, or al-Qal‘ání.
None of these names is found in Ibn al-Athir’s Lubāb, despite Ibn Ḥajar’s preference
for al-‘Alqá‘í based on an alleged reading from Ibn al-Athir. Whatever Sayf may have
meant, al-Balādhuri describes this Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan as an Azdí from the al-Báriq
clan. He is famous chiefly for having subdued ‘Uman during the Riddah and having
subsequently governed it, possibly until 17/638. If he did remain in ‘Uman while the
conquest of Iraq was taking place, it is unlikely he could have played the great role in
the latter that Sayf attributes to him. See Ṭābari, I, 1880, 1929, 1977–80, 2269, 2273,
2292, 2389, 2426, 2481, 2548, 2552, 2565, 2570; Ibn Khayyám, Ṭaríkh, 107; Balā-
dhuri, Futúh, 92–93; Ya‘qúbí, Ṭaríkh, II, 148, 156, 164; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Isti‘áb, I,
278–79; Ibn Ḥajar, Isábah, I, 317; Donner, Conquests, 86, 386, 403, 426.

1048. Probably the same as Maṭar b. Fiḍḍah al-Taymi introduced on p. 180–81,
above.

1049. This is still a large town in Iraq, located on the Tigris about 155 km. north
of Baghdád. See El, s.v. Tikrit. That the Muslims should pursue the Persians so far
north even before the Battle of al-Qádisiyyah had taken place is hardly possible.
from [attacking] them. They started calling out to them, "Drowning, drowning!" Utaybah and Furat began to instigate the men, calling out to them, "A drowning for a burning!" reminding them of one of their battles in the Jähiliyyah in which they had burned up a group of the Bakr b. Wāʾil in a certain swampy thicket. Then, having drowned them, they turned away, going back to al-Muthannā. When the men had returned to their camp at al-Anbār, and the expeditions and raiding parties had come together there, al-Muthannā led them down to al-Hirah and camped in it.

Umar used to have spies in every army. As Umar was informed by writing of what took place on those expeditions, he heard what Utaybah and Furat had said at the battle of the Banū Taghlib and the water. He sent a message to the two of them, asking them [about it]. They informed him that they had said that because it was a proverbial saying and that they had not said it to seek revenge for the Jähiliyyah. He asked them to swear an oath, and they swore that they had meant by that only to use a proverbial saying and to strengthen Islam. He believed them and sent them back, so that they came to al-Muthannā.

What Stirred Up the Matter of al-Qādisiyyah

To where are you being carried? Dispute has not left you alone, so that you have weakened the Persians and made their enemies greedy for them. The two of you have not reached such rank that Persia will concur with you in this opinion and that you expose it to perdition. After Baghdādh, Sābāt, and Tikrit, there is only al-Madā'in. By God, either you two truly unite, or else we will indeed begin with you before any malicious gloater rejoices at our misfortune.

Al-Sarī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—‘Ubaydallāh b. Muḥaffīz—his father: When the Muslims were plunging deeply into al-Sawād, the Persians said to Rustam,

What are you waiting for, by God, unless it is for us to be beset [by misfortune] and destroyed? By God, none but you brought this weakness upon us, O leaders! You have divided the Persians and held them back from [dealing with] their enemy. By God, if killing you would not lead to our own annihilation, we would have hastened to kill you this hour. If you do not cease, we will most certainly destroy you and then perish ourselves having been cured of you [at least].

Al-Sarī—Shu‘ayb—Sayf—Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād: Al-Fayruzān and Rustam said to Būrān bt. Kīsrā, "Write down for us the women of Kīsrā and his concubines, and the women of the family of Kīsrā and their concubines." She did so, and then forwarded that to them in a written document. Thereupon they sent forth [troops] to seek them, until not a woman remained among them but that they brought her. They took them in place of the men, putting them under torture to ask them to point out any male from the descendants of Kīsrā, but no one of them was found among these women. They said—or someone among them said, "There remains only this boy called Yazdigird, who is of the sons of Shahriyār b. Kīsrā1054 and whose mother is from the people of Badurāyā."1055 They sent [troops] to her, who arrested her on account of him. She had lodged him in the days of Shīrā, when the latter gathered the females in al-Qaṣr al-

1054. The son and father of Persian kings, but never king himself and hardly more than a link in the Sāsānian family tree. See Ṭabarī, I, 1044, 2883.
1055. A district just west of Baghdad extending from the ʿIsā and ʿṢrāh canals in the north to the ʿṢarʿārah canal in the south. See EP, s.v. Baduraya; Le Strange, Lands, 31, 66–67, 80, map II; Morony, Iraq, 145–46.
The Events of the Year 13 (cont'd) 223

Abyad and killed the males. She arranged an appointed time with the boy's maternal uncles, then lowered him to them in a basket. Thus, they [now] asked her about him and arrested her on his account until she showed them where he was. They sent [men] to him, who brought him forth, then, having agreed upon him, they made him king when he was twenty-one years old. Persia felt secure [once more]. As they flocked in, the chiefs competed with one another in offering him obedience and aid. He named divisions for every outpost that Kisrā had held, or every frontier position. Thus, he named the divisions of al-Hirah, al-Anbār, the outposts, and al-Ubullah.

That [news] about them and their agreeing on Yazdigird reached al-Muthannā and the Muslims. They wrote to ʿUmar about what they were expecting from those in their midst. The letter did not reach ʿUmar before the people of al-Sawād had rebelled (kafar), both those of them who had an agreement [with the Muslims] and those of them who had no agreement. Al-Muthannā led forth his own garrison until he stopped at Dhū Qār. The [other] troops came gradually to [gather] in a single camp in al-Ṭaff, until ʿUmar's letter came to them:

Now then, go out from the midst of the Persians and scatter in the waters which lie next to the Persians on the borders of your land and their land. Do not leave among the Rabilah anyone, nor among the Mudar nor their confederates anyone of the courageous, nor any horseman, but that you bring him with you. If they come willingly, [fine,] if not, draft them. Bring the Arabs around to earnestness, for the Persians are in earnest. Meet their earnestness with your earnestness.

Al-Muthannā encamped at Dhū Qār, and [other] troops camped at al-Jull and Sharāf as far as Ghūdayy. [Ghūdayy is before al-Baṣrāh.] Jarir b. ʿAbdallāh was at Ghūdayy, and Sabrah b. ʿAmr al-ʿAnbarī and those who had followed his example of those he had

1056. This was the desert plateau west of al-Kūfah, elevated above the flood plain of Iraq. See EI', s.v. al-Ṭaff; Yāqūt, Mu'jam, IV, 35–36.
1057. A watering place in the desert near al-Baṣrāh belonging to the 'Āmir b. Rabilah. See Yāqūt, Mu'jam, IV, 207.
1058. He is attested by Ibn Isḥāq as a member of a Tamīmī delegation to the Prophet. In 36/656, he is reported to have been governor of al-Yamāmah, perhaps for 'Ali. See Ṭabarī, I, 1762, 1798, 1909–10, 1912, 3132; Ibn Hishām, Sirah, II, 621; Ibn
The Caliphate of `Umar b. al-Khattab

charge of [were spread] as far as Salmān.1059 They formed [a line of] fortified posts in the waters of al-Taff1060 from their beginning to their end. These were able to see each other and could support each other if something occurred. That was in Dhū al-Qa’dah of the year 13 (27 December 634–25 January 635).

Al-Sāri — Shu‘ayb — Sayf — Muḥammad, Ṭalḥah, and Ziyād, according to their isnād: The first act that ‘Umar undertook when he heard that the Persians had made Yazdigird king was to write to the Arab officials in charge [of taxation] of the [settled] districts and the [nomadic] tribes. That was in Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 13 (25 January 635–24 February 635), when he went forth to the pilgrimage. He made the pilgrimage during all the years of his [reign]. [He wrote,] “Do not leave anyone who has a weapon, a horse, courage, or sound counsel but that you select him and then send him to me. Hurry, hurry!” The messengers went to those to whom he had sent them at the time when he went forth to the pilgrimage. First, those tribes that lived near to Mecca and Medina came to him. As for those who resided from Medina as far as the midpoint between him and Iraq, they came to him at Medina after he had returned from the pilgrimage. As for those who were farther away than that, they joined al-Muθhannā [directly]. As for those who came to ‘Umar, they urgently informed him about those behind him.1061


1059. This is yet another waterhole near Wāqīṣah and Sharāf. See Yaqūt, Mu’jam, III, 239; Musil, Northern Negēd, 186 n. 100, 230, 236.

1060. Text: al-‘Irāq; read: al-Ṭaff, as Cairo ed. and Tabari, Introductio, Glossarium, Addenda et E mendanda, DCXV.

1061. This sentence would seem to refer to those who brought the alarm to ‘Umar from Iraq in the first place.


1063. Abū Ya‘qūb Iṣḥāq b. Muhammad b. Ismā’il b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Farwāb, the mawla of the family of the Caliph ‘Uthmān, d. 226/841, he was a Medinan tradition-
the pilgrimage in the year in which he began to rule; thus, 'Abd al-Rahmān led the pilgrimage. Then 'Umar led the pilgrimage himself during all the years of his [reign] after that.

In this year—according to what has been reported—'Umar's governor of Mecca was 'Attāb b. Asīd. 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣī was in charge of al-Ṭā'īf, Ya'lā b. Munyah was in charge of Yemen, Ḥudhayfah b. Miḥṣan was in charge of 'Umān and al-Yamāmah, al-'Ālā' b. al-Ḥadramī was in charge of al-Baḥrayn, Abū 'Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ was in charge of Syria, and al-Muthannā b. Ḥārithah was in charge of the frontier of al-Kūfah and that part of its land which had been conquered. 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib—according to what has been reported—was in charge of the judiciary. It has also been said that during his reign 'Umar had no judge.

His traditions from 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar, who predeceased him by at least seventy-seven years, are criticized in Ibn Ḥajar, Ṭahdhib, I, 248. See also Sam'ānī, Ansāb, X, 202; Dhahabi, Mizān, I, 198–99.
Bibliography of Cited Works


Bibliography of Cited Works


Ibn Ḥibbān, Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad al-Tamimī al-Bustī [d. 354/965]. al-


Bibliography of Cited Works


Bibliography of Cited Works


al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Jarīr [d. 310/923]. Tāʾrīkh al-rusul wa
Bibliography of Cited Works


This index contains all proper names of persons, places, and tribal and other groups found in the translator’s foreword and the text, as well as certain technical terms used in the text. It also includes proper names mentioned in the footnotes, except for names of modern persons and places, authors and titles of books in bibliographical references, and geographical names used only to identify individuals (e.g., “of al-Kūfah”) or to locate sites (e.g., “15 km. west of the Euphrates”). Judgeships and other political offices mentioned in the footnotes are, however, indexed in the references under specific cities. If an indexed item occurs only in a footnote, the page number is followed by “n.” in the index; otherwise, only the page number is given.

The definite article and the abbreviations b. (for ibn “son of”) and bt. (for bint “daughter of”) are ignored in alphabetization. Roman numerals given to monarchs are also ignored for purposes of alphabetization. Most Muslim figures are alphabetized only according to their first names. Certain persons, however, are alphabetized by their family names or those names by which they are best known. In many instances cross-references are provided.

Persons whose existence is attested only in the transmissions of Sayf b. ‘Umar are marked with an asterisk*.

A

*A‘bad b. Fadākī al-Sa‘dī al-Tamīmī 60, 63
Abān b. Sa‘īd al-Umawī 101
al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim xix n., 133 n.

al-‘Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulāmī 144 n.
al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd b. Mazyad al-
‘Udhri 135
‘Abbāsids xvii, xix–xx, xxviii, 72 n., 75 n.

**‘Abd ‘Amr b. Yazīd b. ‘Āmir al-Jurashi

164
Index


'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām 71 n., 82 n., 132 n., 133 n., 141 n., 190 n.

Abel, son of Adam 24

Abhalah al-Aswad Dhu al-Khimar b. Ka`b al-'And 91 n.

Abil al-Zayt xxxiv, 77

Abjar b. Jābir b. Buṣayr al-'Ilī 23

al-Abnā' (Persians in Yemen) 134 n.

Abrahah 107 n.

Abraham 31 n.

Abu `Abdallah, mawld of Zuhrah 123

Abu `Abdallah `Ubayd, mawid of Ibn al-Mu`alla al-Ansāri 123

Abu al-A`war b. Sufyin al-Sulami xxii n., 91, 164, 168, 170, 172

Abu Ayyub Khalid b. Zayd al-Najjari al-Ansāri 123


Abu Bakr b. `Ayyāsh, mawld of Asad 157


Abū al-Dardā' Uwaymir b. Zayd al-Khazraji 93

Abū Dāwūd Umayr b. `Āmir al-Najjāri al-Anṣāri 123

Abū al-Fath Naṣr b. al-Mughirah, see Naṣr b. al-Mughirah

Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu`mān b. Thābit 134 n., 145 n.

Abū Hārithah Muḥriz b. Jāriyah al-Abhami al-Qurashi 83, 170

Abū Ḥathmah b. Hudhayfah al-`Adawī al-Qurashi 100

Abū Ḥātim 46 n.

Abū Hurayrah al-Dawsī 132 n., 191 n.

Abū `Imrān al-`Uffā 180

Abū Isḥāq `Amr b. `Abdallāh al-Sabī`i al-Hamdānī 132

Abū Isḥāq al-Shaybānī (actually mawld of Shaybān) 76, 199

Abū Ja`far `Abdallāh al-Manṣūr 46 n., 82 n., 131 n., 136 n.


Abū Jandāl b. Suhayl al-`Āmiri al-Qurashi 103

Abū al-Khaṭṭāb Ḥamzah b. `Alī b. al-Muḥaffīz, see Ḥamzah b. `Alī


Abū Laylā b. Fadāki al-Sā`di al-Tamimi 61-63, 65

Abū Marthād Kannāz b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ghanawi 70

Abū Ma`shar Ṣayyāb b. `Abd al-Rahmān al-Sīsī 131, 224

Abū Mīḥān `Amr b. Ḥābīb b. `Amr al-Thaqafī 195


Abū Mūsā `Abdallāh b. Qays al-Asḥārī xxii n., 92, 117 n., 143

Abū Na`īm al-Faḍl b. Dukayn, see al-Faḍl b. Dukayn

Abū al-Qāsim 191

Abū Qays, mawld of the Syrians 56

Abū Quhāfah `Uthmān b. `Āmir al-Taymī 138-40, 145

Abū Rawq, see `Āṭiyah b. al-Ḥārith

Abū al-Rijāl, see Muhammad b. `Abd al-Rahmān al-Najjārī

Abū al-Safar Sa`īd b. Yaḥmād al-Thawrī al-Hamdānī 34, 132, 146

Abū Sa`dīyah al-Taymī al-Shaybānī 76

Abū al-Ṣā`ib Salm b. Janādāh b. Khālid
Index

239

'Alqamah b. Ṣakîm al-Firāṣi al-Kinānī xxii n., 165, 168
'Alqamah b. Muťaziz al-Kinānī 87
al-‘A`mash, Sulaymān b. Mihrān, mawlā of Kāhil 157
Amghishiyā 25–27
‘Āmir b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Jarrāh al-Fihri, see Abū ’Ubaydah b. ‘Abdallāh
‘Āmir b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr 136
‘Āmir Dhū al-Rujaylah b. Mālik (a branch of Taghlib) 220 n.
‘Āmir b. Ḥathmah 164
‘Āmir b. Khilid al-‘Amid al-Usayyidi al-Tamimi 209
‘Āmir b. Rabī‘ah 223 n.
‘Āmir b. Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqās al-Zuhri 132
‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘ṣa‘ah, Banū 199, 213
Ammianus Marcellinus xxvii
‘Āmir 92
‘Āmir b. Abasah al-Sulami 92
‘Āmir b. Abū al-‘Asī b. Al-Masīh 29–35, 210; see also Abū al-Masīh
‘Āmir b. ‘Abdallāh al-Sabi‘ī al-Hamdānī, see Abū Isḥāq
‘Āmir b. Abī ‘Ammr, mawlā of Makhzūm 137
*‘Āmir b. Abī Sulmā al-Hujaymī al-Tamimi 219
*‘Āmir b. ‘Adī 35
*‘Āmir b. Dinār, mawlā of Bādhān 134
*‘Āmir b. Ghaziyyah al-Khazrajī 168 n.
*‘Āmir b. Ḥabīb b. ‘Ammr 164
*‘Āmir b. al-Haytham b. al-Ṣalt b. Ḥabīb al-Sulami 179
*‘Āmir b. al-Haytham al-Zabīdī, Abū Qatān 145
*‘Āmir b. Ḥakīmah b. Abī Jahl al-

Makhzūmī 99–100
*‘Āmir b. Kulyāb al-Yaḥṣubī 164
*‘Āmir b. Mālik b. ‘Utbah al-Zuhri 168
*‘Āmir b. Maymūn b. Mihrān al-Jazari 102
*‘Āmir b. Sa‘īd al-Umawi al-Qurashi 101
*‘Āmir b. al-Ṣa‘īq al-Kīlābī 54–55
*‘Āmir b. Shimr xxii n., 168 n.
*‘Āmir b. Shimr b. Ghaziyyah 168
*‘Āmir b. Tamīm 43 n., 59 n., 90 n., 202 n., 203
*‘Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl b. ‘Ammr al-Dawsī 101
*‘Āmir al-‘Udhri 79
*‘Āmir b. ‘Utbah b. Nawfāl, see ‘Ammr b. Mālik
*‘Āmir b. Uthmān b. Hānī, mawlā of Uthmān 136–37
*‘Āmir b. Zayd al-Khayl 184 n.
*‘Amrah bt. Abū al-Raḥmān b. Sa‘d al-Najjāriyyah al-Khazrajīyyah 194
*Amwās 74 n.
*‘Anas b. Hīlāl al-Namārī 204, 206, 208, 210 n.
Anatolia 84 n., 102 n.
*‘Anazah 73 n.
al-Anbār xxxiii, 47, 49–53, 58 n., 60, 70, 215–21, 223
*al-Andarzaghar 19–20
*al-Andarzaghar b. al-Kharukbādī 185
al-Anfāl, Surah 94
al-Anṣār 93 n., 99 n., 113 n., 124 n., 128, 142 n., 150, 174, 194
al-Anṣār, a man from 175
Antioch 169
Apologos 2 n.
Apostasy Wars, see Riddah Wars al-‘Aqabah 93 n.
al-‘Aqīq 35 n.
'Aqlat Hawrân xxxiii, 63 n.; see also Hawrân (in Iraq)
al-'Aqr ['Aqr Suwayd, 'Aqr Babil] 42
al-'Arabah 99 n., 107 n., 109 n.
al-`Arabit 2 z6; see also Ghamr al-`Arabat
Arabia 9 n., 59 n., 70 n., 76 n., 78 n., 119 n., 176
'Arafât 69
Arak xxxiv, 109
Arash I b. Bâbah 12
*Arashîr b. Shahriyâr b. Kîsrâ II
Barwiz xxxi
Arashîr III b. Shîrîyâh (or Shirâ) b. Kîsrâ II Barwiz xxxi–xxxii, 11–12, 16, 19, 22, 28, 43, 45, 47, 117 n.
Armenia 77 n., 91 n.
Armenians xxx
*Artâh b. Juhaysh 100, 102
Arwâ bt. 'Abd al-Mu'tâlib b. Hâshim 101 n.
Asad b. Khuzaymah 47 n., 69 n., 136 n.
Asbâbahdîh xxxii
al-'Ash'ath b. 'Abd al-Malik, mawâlî of âHûrmûn b. 'Abân 134
al-'Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindî 138 n., 149
Asbja', a man from the Banû [an unidentified informant] 49
al-Ashtar, see Mâlik b. 'Abd al-Hârîth al-Nâkha'i
*Asid al-Ghassânî 98
'Âshîm b. 'Amr al-Usayyîdî al-Tamîmî 8 n., 11, 17, 49, 58–59, 68, 117, 182, 184, 187, 189, 195, 198, 211–12
'Âshîm b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭâb 75 n.
'Âsîr 108 n.
'Askar al-Mahdi 134 n.
Aslam, mawâlî of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭâb 71, 130 n.
Asmâ' bt. Abî Bakr al-Siddîq 71 n., 140
Asmâ' bt. 'Umayr al-Khath'âmiyyah 133–34, 141, 147, 153
al-Aswad al-'Ansi, see 'Abhalah
'Aṭâ' b. Abî Rabâh, mawâlî of Quraysh 133
'Aṭthâm b. 'Ali al-Kilâbî, Abû 'Ali 135
'Aṭtâkîh bt. Zayd al-'Adawiyyâh al-Qurashiyyâh 70
'Aṭîq b. Abû Qâhîfah al-Taymî, see Abû Bakr al-Siddîq
al-'Aṭîq Canal 27 n.
'Aṭîq b. Abû Qâhîfah al-Taymî, see Abû Bakr al-Siddîq
al-'Aṭīq Canal 27 n.
'Aṭîq b. Abû Qâhîfah al-Taymî, see Abû Bakr al-Siddîq
'Aṭîq Canal 27 n.
'Aṭîq b. Abû Qâhîfah al-Taymî, see Abû Bakr al-Siddîq
al-'Aṭīq Canal 27 n.
'Aṭīq b. Abû Qâhîfah al-Taymî, see Abû Bakr al-Siddîq
al-'Aṭīq Canal 27 n.
'Aṭīq b. Abû Qâhîfah al-Taymî, see Abû Bakr al-Siddîq
al-'Aṭīq Canal 27 n.
'Aṭīq b. Abû Qâhîfah al-Taymî, see Abû Bakr al-Siddîq
al-'Aṭīq Canal 27 n.
Aylah xxxiv, 73, 107 n.
'Ayn Fihl, see Fihl
'Ayn al-Tarîm xxxiii, 47, 49, 53, 55 n., 57, 61, 63, 65, 66 nn., 70, 71 n., 112–24, 216
Ayyûb b. Sulaymân b. 'Abd al-Malik 55 n.
[al-]Âzâdhibîh 5, 10, 26–28, 44
[al-]Âzâdhibîh, son of 27–28, 205
Âzarmîdûkh b. Kîsrâ II Barwiz xxxi–xxxii, 120, 122, 176–78
al-Azîd 108, 144 n., 199 n., 200–1, 109, 213
Azîd al-Šârîh 108 n., 200 n.
Index

Azd 'Umân 108 n.
Azdâd b. Fasâ'ah al-Fârîsî 46
*Aziz b. Miknaf al-Usayyidî al-Tâmîmî 221

B

Bâbîl (Babylon) xxxiii, 118–20, 190
Bâdhan 214
al-Bâdhrîq 183
Badr 70 n., 91 n., 93 n., 94, 100 n., 101 n., 123 n., 159 n., 173 n., 174 n., 190 n.
Bâdûrâyâ 222
Baghdâd xxxiii, 82 n., 134 n., 136 n., 158 n., 224 n.
Baghdâd 60, 70, 215–17, 222
Bâhân (Baanes) 77, 81–82, 85–86, 160
Bahîlâh 199 n.
Bahîr b. Raysân al-Himyari 46 n.
Bahman Jâdhûyâh 19, 22–23, 43–44, 51, 118 n., 188, 190
Bahman b. Khurhurmuzân 44 n.
*Bahr b. al-Furât al-`lîjî xxii, 26–27
Bahrâ'â' 57–58, 76, 115, 124–25
Bahrâm VI Jâbîn (or Chûbîn or Shûbîn)
  b. Bahrâm Jushnas xxxii, xxxi–xxxii, 53 n., 120 n.
Bahrâm V Jûr 47
al-Bahrâyn xxxiii, 56 n., 78, 101 n., 142 n., 144, 225
Bahurasîr xxxiii, 44, 47
Bajîlah 196, 199–200, 210–11, 213–14
Bakr b. Wâ`îl 4 n., 5, 21, 22 nn., 30 n., 53 n., 56 n., 62 n., 70, 120, 207, 221
Bakr b. Wâ`îl, a man from 114, 211
al-Balâdhi, Ahmad b. Yahyâ xiii
Bali 80 n.
al-Balîkh 16 n.
al-Balqâ' xxxiv, 74, 108
Bânîbûrâ 42
Bânîqyâ 3, 7, 40, 42, 52
al-Baqâyîs, see Bâqûsâyathâ
Bâqûsâyathâ 22 n., 39 n., 186
Baradân xxxiii, 63
al-Barâm 199 n.
Bârîq (place) 182
Bârîq (tribe) 100–1, 220 n.
al-Barahâ', Banû 62
Bârûsîm 3, 40 n., 183–86; see also Bâsma
Basma
Basâmâtâ 215 n.
Bashîr b. al-Khašašîyyah al-Sadûsî (or al-Dhuhiyli) 24, 42, 45, 48, 117, 121, 197, 200, 205, 215
Basmâ 40, 42; see also Bârûsîm
Basrîsâ 184
al-Basûsî 198
Basûsiyâ' 184 n., 198, 204
al-Bâsţâ 'îb (The Great Marshes) xxxiii, 5 n., 41 n.
Batânaza 169 n.
al-Bathaniyyah xxxiv, 169
al-Bawâzîj (Bawâzîj al-Anbâr) 52
al-Bawâzîj (Bawâzîj on the Tigris) 52 n.
Bayrut (Beirut) 135 nn.
Baysân xxxiv, 159 n., 160 170–72
Bayt Jībrîn xxxiv, 126
Beja 71 n.
Berbers xxx
Beth Neqya 3 n.
Beth Rushme 3 n.
Betogabela (Baetogabras), see Bayt Jîbrîn
Bihqûydîth xxxiii, 3 n., 24 n., 41–42, 43 n., 47 n., 179
Bîlîl b. al-Hârîth al-Muzânî 116
Bîlîl b. Rabâb, mawlâ of Abû Bakr 162
Bindûyah (or Bîndî) b. Ašâbâhbadh xxxii
*Bîndûyah b. Bîstâm xxxi, 183
Bînt al-Jûdî b. Rabî'ah 60, 70
Bînt Khâqân al-Turk xxxii
al-Bîshr xxxiv, 61, 65–66, 126
Bîshr b. 'Îsmah al-Muzânî xxii n., 164
Bîstâm b. Ašâbâhbadh xxx–xxxii, 179 n., 183
Index

Bishtām b. Narsi xxxii, 179 n.
Bitiq 184
Blood Canal [Nahr Dam] 5, 24
Borsippa 120 n.
Bridge, Battle of the xxvi, 11 n., 44 n., 169, 173, 174 n., 188–90, 198, 209, 211, 213
Bujayr b. al-ʿAbd b. ʿAlqamah al-Taghilibi 54
Bujayr b. Iyās b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd Yālīl, see al-Fujiʿah al-Sulami
al-Bukhārī, see Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī
Buḥhtina 44 ar 51
Buqaylah, see ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Masih Buqaylah, Banū 7
Burs xxxiii, 120
Buṣbūrā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sawādī 3–4, 7, 191
Busr b. Abī Arṭāh al-ʿĀmīr xxii, 110
*Busr b. Abī Ruhm al-Juhānī 20, 43, 205
Busrā xxxiii, xxxiv, 57, n., 103, 108, 116, 126, 128
al-Buwayb xvii, 196–97, 200–1, 206–7, 209–10, 212, 220
Byzantines xxix

C

Camel, Battle of the xxi, 40 n., 48 n., 71 n., 83 n., 117 n., 134 n., 136 n., 143 n.
Cappadocia 58 n.
Casama 110 n.
Chosroes II, see Kišārī II Barwiz
Christianity 88, 98
Christians 18, 21–22, 31 n., 53 n., 56 n., 57 n., 58 n., 77 n., 85 n., 113 n., 183 n., 204, 206
Cilicia 102 n., 113 n.
Companions of the Prophet xix–xxii,
Index

Dhū al-Marwah 82–83
Dhū Qar [place] 200, 223
Dhū Qar, Battle of 6 n., 28 n., 29 n., 30
Dhū al-Qassah 150
Dhū al-Rujaylah 220 n.
Dhuhl b. Tha`labah 62 n., 117 n., 189 n.
Dibāb, a man from 34
dihqāns 19, 27, 41, 179, 186, 200, 208, 116–18
Dihyā b. Khalifah al-Kalbi 90, 168
dirafsh kābiyān 188
Dirār 48
Dirār b. al-Azwar al-Asadi 28–30, 43, 64 n., 93, 98–99, 101, 103, 117, 170
Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fihri xxi n., 28, 30, 43, 117
*Dirār b. Muqarrin al-Muzani 28–30, 43
Dirār b. Murrah al-Shaybānī, Abū Sinān 158
Diyāf 129
Diyālah River xxxiii
Donner, Fred xviii, xxv
Dubayʿah 22
Dukht-i Zaban, see Biiran Shah-i Zanin
Dumah, New 58 n.
Dūmat al-Jandal xiv, xxxiv, 18, 47, 57, 58 n., 59–61, 70, 80, 109 n., 113, 144, 146 n.
Dura Europus 47 n.
*al-Durāqīs 84–85
Durṭā 182
al-Durunjar, see Adrunjar

E

Egypt xvi, 5, 73 n., 87, 91 n., 92 n., 108 n., 110 n., 123 n., 134 n., 137 nn., 140 n., 148 n., 159 n.
Egyptians xxx
Eleutheropolis, see Bayt Jibrīn
Emesa, see Hims
Ethiopia 82 n., 87 n., 133 n., 141 n., 159 n.

F

Fadak 101 n.
al-Fadl b. Dukayn b. Ḥammād, mawla of Taym 132
al-Fahlūj [party or ethnic group] 189
Fahm 199 n.
al-Falālīj xxxiii, 41–42, 48, 216
al-Fallūjah 49
Fam al-ʿAtiq 27
al-Farazdaq b. al-Bindawan xxxi, 48, 120
*Faris al-ʿUnāb b. Ṭaghlibī 218–19
*Farrūkh (or Ibn Farrūkh) 184–85, 187
*al-Farrūkhzād b. al-Bindawān xxxi, 48, 120, 176–78
Fārs 2, 16
*Farwandād b. al-ʿIjli 184–85
Fāṭimah bt. Muhammad the Prophet 71 n., 149
Fāṭimah bt. al-Walīd b. al-Mughirah al-Makhzūmiyyah 162
Fayruz b. Mihrān Jushnas xxxii
Fayruz b. Yazdigird III b. Shahriyār b. KISRĀ II Barwiz xxxii
al-Fayrūzān 189, 197, 203, 222–22
Fazārah, Banū 92, 144 n., 173
Fertile Crescent xiii
Fiḥl xiv, xxxiv, 101 n., 159–65, 168–71
Fihr xxi
Filastīn, see Palestine
al-Fiqār b. Nastūs 84–85, 98
al-Firād xxxiii–xxxiv, 47, 67–70, 111
First Civil War 36 n.
al-Fujāʾah al-Sulami 149
Furāt Bādaqla 25 n., 26–28, 181, 197
(al-)Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-ʿIjli 21, 26 n., 116, 219–21
al-Furat al-ʿIjli 26–27
Furāt Siryāxxxiii, 41
G

Gaza xxxiv, 73 n., 108 n.
George, see Jurjah b. Tawdhurā
gHālib b. ‘Abdallāh al-Laythi xxi n., 201, 209
Ghāmir al-‘Arabāt xxxiv, 107–8; see also al-‘Arabāt
Ghanī 199 n.
al-Ghariyyayn 28
Ghassan 57–58, 76, 110, 115, 126
Ghassanids xxiii, 57 n., 58 n., 74 n., 103 n.
Ghaṭafān 49 n., 56 n., 69 n., 144 n., 69 n., 144 n., 148 n.
al-Ghawr xxxiv, 126
Ghūdatayn 223
Habbār b. al-Aswād b. ‘Abd al-Asad, see Habbār b. Sufyān
Habbār b. al-Aswād b. al-Muṭṭalib 128 n.
Habbār b. Sufyān b. ‘Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī al-Qurashi 101, 128
Hābib (or Yāṣār), Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaṣrī 18, 56 n.
Hābib b. Abī Thābit, mawla of Asad 46, 52
Hābib b. Buṣayr al-Ṭaghlibī 61 n., 66 n.
Hābib b. Maslamah al-Fihri xxi n., 91, 110
Hādas (a branch of Lakhm) 78
al-Ḥādī, see Mūsā al-Ḥādī
hadiths xxviii, 45 n., 80 n., 113 n., 180 n.
Ḥaḍramawt 143, 149 n.
Ḥadriān 168 n.
hajj 68–69, 71–73, 224–25
al-Ḥajjāj b. Dhi al-‘Unuq al-Āmahī al-Bajalī 46, 48
Ḥamadhān 198 n.
al-Ḥamāh 65
Ḥamādān 135 n., 144 n.
Ḥamīnah bt. Khālaf b. As‘ad al-Khuṣā’iyyah 82 n.
al-Ḥamrā’ (called Ḥamrā’ Siyāh) ii
Ḥamzah b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib 70 n., 133 n.
Ḥamzah b. ‘Ali b. al-Muṭṭafīz, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb xxiii n., 4, 211
Ḥānā’ b. Qabiṣah b. Ḥānā’ al-Shaybānī 6
al-Ḥashālah b. Ḥanafī 40, 42, 46, 195
*al-Ḥārīth b. al-Ayham al-Ghassānī 115
*al-Ḥārīth b. Bilāl al-Muzanī 117; see also Bilāl b. al-Ḥārīth
al-Ḥārīth b. Ḥassān al-Dhuḥlī xxii n., 117
al-Ḥārīth b. Ḥishām al-Makhzūmī 97–98, 103, 162
al-Ḥārīth b. Kaladah al-Thaqāfi 129
al-Ḥārīth b. al-Khazraj 141, 151 n., 152
al-Ḥārīth b. ‘Arīf, Banū [a branch of Dabbah] 62.
*Ḥarmalah b. Murayṭah al-‘Adawī 9, 26 n.
al-Harrāh, Battle of 121 n., 123 nn., 194 n.
Harrān 28 n.
Hārūn al-Rashid xv
*Hasakah al-Habāṭi al-Tamimi 48
al-Hasan al-Baṣri 18, 145 nn.
Hasanah, mawlaḥ of Jumāb 56 n.
Hishim b. 'Abd al-Malik 55 n., 102 n., 130 n., 135 n.
Hishām b. al-ʿAṣī b. Wāʾil al-Sahmi al-Qurashi 101, 128
Hishām b. Urwah b. al-Zubayr 82, 135, 140
Hishām b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughirah al-Makhzūmī 4, 40, 42, 45–46, 137–38
*História Augusta xxvii
*Hziqīl al-Nabāṭī 44
Hūbābāh bt. al-ʾAshʿāth b. Qays al-Kindī 138 n.
Hubayrāh b. al-ʾAshʿāth al-Dabīrī 189 n.
Hudhayfah b. Miḥṣan al-Ghalafānī 220, 225
*al-Hudhayl b. Ḥimrān al-Ṭaghlibī 54
61–63, 65–66
*al-Hudhayl al-Kāhili 32
al-Ḥufayr xxi, 11–12, 19, 32
Huji r. ʿAdi al-Kindī 83 n., 139 n., 204 n.
Hulwān 43 n., 142 n.
Hūmāyūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwp al-Zuhri 151
Hūmrān b. Abān al-Namari, mawlaḥ of ʿUthmān b. ʿAṣfān 56, 124
Hunayn, Battle of 80 n., 91 nn., 144 n.
Hūraqah, see Ḥamīs b. ʿAmīr
*Huṣayr, mawlaḥ of Ḥībād 55–56
Hurmuz (Persian general) 9–13, 16–18, 37, 118 n.
Hurmuz, mawlaḥ 9 n.
Hurmuz IV xxxi–xxxii
Hurmuz Jādhūyah 118, 120
Hurmuzjīrīd xxi, 41
Ḥuťqūs b. al-Nūmān al-Bahrānī (or al-Namari) 63–64, 109, 125 n.
al-Ḥuṭaydī 60–61, 65, 109
al-Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbī Ḥurram al-ʿAnbarī al-Tamimi 48
al-Ḥuṣayn b. Ṭālib b. ʿAbī Ḥurram al-ʿAnbarī al-Tamimi 48
al-Ḥuṣayn b. ʿAbī Ḥurram al-ʿAnbarī al-Tamimi 48
Index

I

'Ibād, a man from the Banū 56
Ibn Abī Fudayk, see Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Abī Fudayk
*Ibn Abī Mukiḥ b. 41
Ibn Abī Mulaykah 133–34
Ibn Abī Sabrah, see Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad
Ibn Akkāl, see Hīrī b. Akkāl
Ibn A‘tham al-Kūfi 113–32
Ibn al-Ayyāṣh, see Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh, son of Ibn al-Āṣādhibh, see [al-]Āṣādhibh, of Ibn Dhi al-Khimir 91
Ibn Dhi al-Sahmayn, see 'Abdallāh b. Dhi al-Sahmayn
Ibn Dhi al-'Unuq, see al-Hājjī jā b. Dhi al-'Unuq
Ibn Farrūḵh, see Farrūḵh
Ibn Fuḍayl, see Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān
*Ibn Hawbār 203, 206
Ibn Hazārīf al-Qudā‘i 127
*Ibn al-Hādīr jān 58–59
*Ibn al-Hudhayl al-Kāhilī 46–47
Ibn Ḥumayd, see Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Rāzī
Ibn Ishaq, Muḥammad, see Muḥammad b. Ishaq
Ibn al-Kalbi, Hishām b. Muḥammad x v, xxvi, 4, 7, 140
Ibn Khayyāṭ, Khalīfah al-‘Uṣfuri xiii
Ibn Mājah 46 n.
*Ibn al-Muthannā al-‘Uṣṣāmī 102
Ibn Sa‘d, see Muḥammad b. Sa‘d, Abū 'Abdallāh
Ibn Ṣalūbā, see Buṣbuhrā b. Ṣalūbā
Ibn Salīṭa, see Buṣbuhrā b. Ṣalūbā
Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, see Muḥammad b. Muslim
Ibn Ukht al-Namīr, see al-Sā‘īb b. Yazid al-Kindi
Ibn Wahb, see 'Abdallāh b. Wahb b. Muslim
Ibrahīm b. Abī al-Nāḍr Sālim b. Abī Umayyah, mawla of Taym 147
*Ijl, Banū 5, 21–22, 206
*Ikrimah 211
Ilīyā', see Jerusalem
*Imru' al-Qays b. al-‘Aṣbāgh al-Kalbī 61, 80, 90
*Imru’ al-Qays b. Bishr al-Hilālī 63
India 2, 9, 11
Indians 11
Iran xvi, 18 n., 49 n., 142 n., 176 n., 198 n.
Iranians 27, 31, 148 n.
Iraqis xvii, 88, 90, 104 n., 116, 167 n., 168
'Isā Canal 70 n.
'Isā b. Yazid al-Laythi 158
'Isām b. Shahrar al-Jarmi 25
Iṣfahān 1 n., 131 n., 148 n.
*Iṣḥāq b. Ibrahīm 111, 115
Iṣḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Farwi, mawla of 'Uthmān 224
Iṣḥāq b. Ṭalḥah al-Taymi al-Qurashi 139
Iṣḥāq b. Yahyā b. Ṭalḥah al-Taymi al-Qurashi 139
Index

Ishmael 31 n.
*Ismah, Banū 93
*Ismah b. 'Abdallāh al-Asadi 93
Ismā'īl b. Abī Khalīd, mawla of Abū Ḥamas 39, 147
Ismā'īl b. al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindi 138 n.
Iyād 51–53, 67
*Iyād 158
*Iyād b. (Abd) Ghanm b. Zuhayr al-Fihri 7–8, 10, 47–49, 57–59, 61, 90, 144, 165, 170
*Iyād b. 'Umar b. al-Khattib 70 n.
Iyās b. Qabīshah al-Tā'ī 4 n., 28, 30, 35

J

al-Jabal xxxiii, 16
Jābān xxvi, 5, 22–23, 179–81, 183, 186, 195
Jābir b. Bujayr al-'Ilīli 21–22
Jābir b. Tāriq al-Ahmāsi al-Bajali 45
al-Jābiyah xxxiv, 108
Jabr b. Abī 'Ubayd al-Thaqafi 191, 194
Jabri b. Akkāl, see ʿIrīr b. Akkāl
Jadīlah 199
Jafar b. Abī Tālib b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib 133 n., 141 n.
al-Jāhiyyah 18 n., 29 n., 59, 106, 140–41, 196, 208, 213, 220–21
al-Jālinūs 183–86, 188, 190
Jalūlā' 90 n., 168 n.
Jāmī' b. Shaddād al-Muḥāribi 157
Jamīl b. Zayd al-Tā'ī 37
al-Jānābīs xxxiii, 63
al-Janād 143
Jandal al-ʿIlīli 25
Jarīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Qurt al-Dabbi 131
Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥīmyari 40, 42, 45, 48, 189
Jarīyah b. 'Abdallāh al-Asḥaʿī 93
Jarīrāyah 55 n.
al-Jawf (place near al-Kūfah) 197, 201, 212
al-Jawlān 76 n.
Jerusalem xxxiv, 99 n., 102, 159 n., 168
Jews 32 n., 56 n., 129
al-Jibāl 180 n.
Jībāl al-Rūm xxxiv
Jīdhrab b. Dhuḥibl b. Shaybān 23
jiḥād 79–80, 108
Jīlān xxxiii, 213
Jilliq, see Thaniyyat Jīlliq
Jūbārah (or Jawbarah) 11 n.
*Jubayr b. Sakhr 75
Judhām 76, 78, 126 n.
al-Jūdī b. Rabi‘āb 58–59
al-Jūfrāh 56 n.
al-Jull xxxii, 200, 223
Jumāb 56 n., 134 n., 159 n.
Junādah b. Zuhayr (a branch of Kalb) 65
Jundab b. Amr b. Ḥumamah al-Dawsi 92, 101
Jundīsābūr 129 n.
Jurāsh 144
Jurjah b. Tawdhurā 84–85, 95–97
Jurjān 195 n.
Jushām 202
Jushnas Māh xxxii, 12 n., 180
Justinian I 85 n.
Juwayriyyah b. Abī Sufyān b. Harb 99 n., 100
al-Jūzājīn 49 n.

K

al-Ka‘bah 158
al-Kabāth 118–19
al-Kalāb b. al-Ḥārith al-Dhuḥli 189 n.
al-Kalaj al-Dabbī 189, 215
Kalb b. Wabrāh 57–59, 61 n., 65, 76, 110 n., 124
Kalwādḥā xxxii, 49, 52
Kāmin Dār, see Ṭamāḥīj bt. Narsī
^Karāmah bt. ʿAbd al-Masīh 34, 37–38
Karbalāʾ' xxxii, 49
al-Karkh (unidentified place) 54
*al-Karukbādha 118
Kaskar xviii n., xxxiii, 5, 11 n., 19, 179, 182–84, 216
al-Kathab 115
Kavadh II, see Shirūyāḥ b. Kīsrā II
Barwīz
al-Kawāthil 115 n.
ak-Wāzīmim 11–12, 17, 37
al-Kāzīmāh, see al-Kawāzīm
Khābūr River xxxiii–xxxiv, 53 n.
Khādir b. Khuwaylīd al-ʿAsādiyyāḥ 71 n., 133 n.
Khāffān xxxii, 5, 179, 181, 197, 212
Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Malik 135 n.
Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qāsrī 10 n.
^Khālid b. Hilāl 210
Khālid b. Maʿdān al-Kalāʾī 81, 83, 87, 94, 98, 100, 161, 163
^Khālid b. al-Wāṣhirīmāh 48
Khālid b. Zayd al-Najjārī al-ʿAnsārī, see Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd
al-Khānāfīs 60–63, 115–17
al-Khandaq, Battle of 21 n., 93 n., 194 n.
kharājī 18, 32, 43, 45, 52
Khārijītes 124 n., 202 n., 203 n.
^Khārūkūkhīdha 118
Khāthām 202
Khāthām, a woman from 90 n.
al-Khawānaq 28, 32, 197
Khawlah 119
Khawālīn al-ʿĀliyyāh 143
Khaybār 25, 123 n., 141 n.
Khayr, mawla of Abū Dawūd al-ʿAnsārī 123
Khūfāf b. Nadbah al-Sulāmī 144
Khūfāf b. ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥārith al-Sulāmī, see Khūfāf b. Nadbah
Khurāsān xviii–xix, xxviii, 19, 59 n., 117 n., 139 n., 177, 179, 203 n., 207 n.
Khurrazādha Khusrav IV xxxii
Khusrav b. Fayrūz b. Yazdīgīrd III xxxii
Khusravīrī Parvīz, see Kīsrā II Barwīz
Khuzāʾāh 128 n.
Khūzīstān 43 n.
Kīlāb 213 nn.
Kītkia, see Cīlicia
Kinānāh 197
Kinānāh, Banū 201, 209
Kinānāh, a man from Banū Kinānāh (an unidentified informant of Ṣayf) 29, 33, 36, 39
Kindah 108, 143 n., 144 n., 201 n.
Kīsrā, family of, see Sāsānīs
Kīsrā I Anūshīrwanī r. Qubādh xxxi–xxxii, 47
Kīsrā b. Mīhrān Jushnaš xxxii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>249</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kufans xv, xvii, xix, 70, 90 n., 102 n., 111, 114 n.</td>
<td>166, 189, 198, 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kufans xvii, xix, 70, 90 n., 102 n., 111, 114 n.</td>
<td>al-Madinah, see Medina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurdiyyah bt. Bahram Jushnas xxxii</td>
<td>*Mafannah, mawlā of 'Uthmān 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurdūyah (or Kurdi) b. Bahram Jushnas xxxii</td>
<td>Māhān al-Ḥanāfī, Abū Sālim xxiv, 39, 41, 45, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Kuwayfah (or Kuwayfat Ibn 'Umar) xxxiii</td>
<td>*al-Mahbūdān 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labid b. Jarir al-Namari, see Labid b. 'Utbah</td>
<td>al-Mahdi, Muḥammad, see Muḥammad al-Mahdi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labid b. 'Utbah al-Namari 64</td>
<td>Mahmiyah b. Jaz' al-Zabīdī 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakhm 76</td>
<td>*Mahmiyah b. Zunaym 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakhmids xxiii, 2 n., 4 n., 25 n., 32, 58 n.</td>
<td>Mahrah 127 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Laqīt b. 'Abd al-Qays b. Bajrah, confederate of Fazārah 92</td>
<td>majhūlūn xxii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latins xxx</td>
<td>Makkah, see Mecca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawdhān of the Aws 93 n.</td>
<td>Mālik b. 'Abbād al-Awsī al-Ansārī 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leo III (Roman emperor) 123 n.</td>
<td>Mālik b. al-Najjār, Banū 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesser Zāb River xxxiii</td>
<td>Mālik b. Nuwayrah al-Yarbū'ī al-Tamīmī 64, 162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Libdah b. 'Āmir b. Khath'amah 164</td>
<td>Mālik b. Qays al-Jidhri 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lycia 91 n.</td>
<td>*Mālik b. Zayd (or Yazid) 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Mārād b. Anbarī 69</td>
<td>Manichaeism xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma'āb xxiv, 108</td>
<td>Manishiyā 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma'add b. 'Adnān 9 n., 32, 57 n.</td>
<td>al-Mansūr, see Abū Ja'far 'Abdallāh al-Mansūr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma'āfīr 144 n.</td>
<td>*Ma'qil b. al-A'shā b. al-Nabbāsh, Abyad al-Rukbān 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma'bad b. Akta'm al-Aslāmī al-Khumā'lī xxii, 117</td>
<td>Ma'qil b. Muqarrin al-Muzānī 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma'bad b. Akta'm al-Aslami al-Khuzā'ī xxii, 117</td>
<td>al-Maqr 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Maḍā'īn, 'Āli b. Muḥammad, see 'Āli b. Muḥammad al-Maḍā'īn</td>
<td>*Mardānshāh 180, 195, 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhāhīj 144 n.</td>
<td>*Mardānshāh al-Khaṣṣā 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhūr b. 'Adi al-'Ilījī 5, 9, 21, 90, 117, 166, 189, 198, 205</td>
<td>Mardānshāh b. Kiṣrā II Barwīz xxxii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marj Musālihī 183</td>
<td>Marj Rāḥīṣ xxxiv, 110, 115, 126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Marwāhī 188–91</td>
<td>al-Marwah 188–91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwân b. Abî Sa'id, see Marwân b. 'Uthmân</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwân I b. al-Hakam 106–7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwân II b. Muhammad 90 n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwân b. 'Uthmân b. Abî Sa'id b. al-Mu'alla al-Khazraji 151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwânids 106 n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryam bt. Mawriq xxxii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mashja'ah, Banû 110</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masrûq b. Ḥarmalah al-'Akki xxii n., 93, 165, 168</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Mas'ûd b. al-Muthanna al-Shaybânî 117–18, 205–8, 210</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṭar b. Fīd̲̲āh al-Taymi 180–81, 220 n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṭar al-Shaybânî 220</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maurice (Maurikios) xxxii n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mawsil xxxiii, 142 n., 199 n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maymûn b. Mihrân al-Jazârî 102</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maymûnâh al-Hilâliyyah 163 n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maysân xxxiii, 118, 215</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māzin b. al-Najâr, Banû 123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mecca xxî n., xxxiii, 68, 73, 77, 83 n., 91 n., 92 n., 93 n., 107 n., 121 n., 128 n., 129, 131 n., 134 nn., 139, 142 n., 145, 190 n., 196, 224–25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mecca, Conquest of 28 n., 49 n., 70 n., 77 nn., 93 n., 97 n., 100 n., 101 n., 116 n., 139 n., 143 n., 144 n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meccans 28 n., 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media 16 n., 180 n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medinans 121 n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediterranean Sea xxxiv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesopotamia, see al-Jazirah mihnah xv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mihrân Jushnas xxxii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mihrân b. Mihrîbundādh (or Bâdhân) al-Hamađhâni 197–98, 200, 203–6, 208, 210, 212–14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Miltâţayn 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Miqdâd b. 'Amr al-Kindî (or al-Haḏramî) 94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mis'âr b. Kīdām b. Zâhir al-Hilâlî 142</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Miswar b. Makhramah al-Zuhri 72 n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mithqab (in desert) xxxiii, 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mithqab (in al-Sawâd) 216</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mizzah 90 n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Carmel 73 n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Sinai 77 n.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountains of Rome 102–3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTZMAS group xxv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu'âdh b. Jabal al-Khazraji al-Anṣârî 143</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu'âdh b. Mu'âdhdh al-'Abnârî 134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu'âdh b. al-Qârî b. al-Hârîth al-Najjârī, Abû Hâlîmâh 194–95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mu'alla b. Lawdhn al-Zurâqî al-Anṣârî 123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*al-Mu'annâ b. Hârîthah al-Shaybânî 15–16, 56, 118, 205</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu’âwiyyah b. Ḥudayy al-Sukûnî al-Kindî xxii n., 16 n., 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu’âwiyyah b. Iṣḥâq b. Ṭalîḥah al-Taymi al-Qurashi 139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Mubashshîr b. Fudayl xxii n., xxiv, 75, 81, 83, 175–76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḍār xix, 9, 29 n., 202 n., 223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*al-Muḍârib b. Yazîd al-‘Ilî 218</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Mu’dhin al-Namârî 66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index

Muḥaffiz [or Muḥaffir] b. Thaʿlabah b. Murrah al-ʿAʿidhi 114 n., 204, 206, 216, 222
muḥājirūn 121
Muḥājurūn 174, 194
*al-Muhallab b. ʿUqbah al-Asadi xxiii n., xxv, 9, 11, 16, 19, 45, 48, 53, 57, 60, 67, 86, 111, 116
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbdallih b. al-Hugayl al-Tamimi 153, 194
Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Najjirī al-ʿAngiri, Abū al-Rijīl 133
Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallih (al-Ansāri?) 133
Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallih b. ʿAmmār b. Sawīdah al-Ghimdī 142 n.
Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallih b. al-Ḥasan, al-Nafs al-Zākīyyah 136 n.
Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Mubārak al-Mukharrimi al-Qurashi 142
Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muslim b. ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿAbdallāh al-Zuhrī 130, 151
Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Muṭhannā b. ʿAbdallāh b. Anas al-Anṣāri 134
Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. ʿUmar, mawādī of Asad 130 n.
Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Šīkiq 79 n., 133 n., 134, 141
Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ b. Kurayb al-Hamdānī, see Abū Kurayb
Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. ʿAtāʾ al-ʿĀmīrī al-Qurashi 163
Muḥammad b. Fuṣayl b. Ghazwān, mawādī of Dabbah 158
Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah b. ʿAmr al-Aslāmī 130
Muḥammad b. Ibrāhim b. al-Ḥārīth al-Taymī al-Qurashi 147, 151
Muḥammad b. ʿIṣāq b. Abī Fudayk, mawādī of Di1 137
Muḥammad b. ʿIṣāq b. al-Bukhārī 39 n., 46 n., 91 n., 151 n.
Muḥammad b. ʿIṣāq b. al-Murādī 150
Muḥammad b. ʿIṣāq b. Yūsuf al-Sulami al-Tirmidhī 150 n.
Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām 127
Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-ṭabarī, see al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad b. Jarīr
Muḥammad al-Mahdī [the caliph] xv, 131 n., 136 n., 158 n.
Muḥammad b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam al-Umāwī 102 n.
Muḥammad b. Muslim b. ʿUbaydallāh
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page 252</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. 'Abdallāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72 n., 130, 137, 151, 153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥammad b. Sa’d, Abū 'Abdallāh 130, 133–34, 136–39, 145–46, 151, 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥammad b. Sirīn, mawla of the Anṣār 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥammad b. Ţumār al-Wāqidi, see al-Wāqidi, Muḥammad b. Ṭumār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Muḥrīz b. al-Ḥarīsh al-Muḥāribī 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥrīz b. Jāriyāh al-Abshami, see Abū Ḥārīthah Muḥrīz b. Jāriyāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mujālid b. Sa’d al-Hamdānī 7, 10, 17, 19, 38–40, 44, 47, 175–76, 186–87, 190, 193, 199, 201–2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān b. Dirār al-Ḏabbī 203, 207, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mundhirs, see Lakhmids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Muqṭatta‘ b. al-Haytham al-Bakkā’ī 69, 111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murḥḥaba 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mu‘rīqah xxxiv, 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Murji‘ah 141 n., I Son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murrah (place) 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murrah b. ‘Awf 56 n., 144 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murrah b. Dhuḥl b. Shaybān 55 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Murrah al-Hifīr 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūsā al-Hādī 158 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymi 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, mawla of Lakhm 55, 123 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Muṣṭāb b. al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām 56 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musaylimah al-Ḥanāfī 1 n., 101 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Musayyakh (or Muṣayyakh Bahrā‘) xxxiii, 8, 61–65, 109, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Mushāfi‘ b. ‘Abdallāh b. Shāfi‘ 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musil, Alois xxv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim b. ‘Aqīl b. Abī Ṭalib 66 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*al-Mustanīr b. Yazīd al-Nakḥā’ī xxiii n., 100, 102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu‘tāq b. Abī Qūfāf al-Taymi 140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muṭarrāḥ b. Yazīd al-Asadi al-Kinānī 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mu‘tazīlah 134 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Muthannā b. Lāḥiq al-‘Ilī 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥantab al-Makḥzūmī 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzaynah 116 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Nābīghah al-Dhubyānī 25 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Naḍīr, Banū 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*al-Naḍīr b. al-Sā‘ī al-Ḍabī xxiii n., 185–87, 191, 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāfī‘, mawla of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar 151, 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahr Banī Sulaym 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahr Dam, see Blood Canal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahr Jawbār xxxiii, 183–84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahr al-Ma‘rāh xxxiii, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahr al-Saylahīn 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahr Sūrā 24 n., 41 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahr Uṣūl 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Nahrāwān 203 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Nahrayn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naʿim b. Abdallāh al-Naḥḥām al-ʿAdawi al-Qurashi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Najaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Najjar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Najrān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Namārīq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Namir b. Qāṣīt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Naqab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narsī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naṣr b. al-Mughirah, Abū al-Fath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Naṣtās b. Naṣṭūrūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naṣṭūnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Naṣṭūrūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawfal b. al-Ḥārid b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebuchadnezzar, see Bukhtināṣṣar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negev, see al-Naqab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Nibāj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nihāwand, Battle of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Nirstyān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nistar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Nufūd Desert, xxxiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nujayb b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Sindi, see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qalansuwwah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qābāth b. Ashyam al-Laythi al-Kinānii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qabiṣah b. Iyās b. Hayyah al-Ṭāʿī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qadariyyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qādisiyah, Battle of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qaṭān tribes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>License</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qaṭīf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*al-Qaʿqāʾ b. Amr al-Usayyid al-Tamīmī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qārin b. Qāryānīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qarqashandah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qarqisiyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qarqūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qaryatyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Index**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palaeastina Prima</td>
<td>73 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palaeastina Salutaris</td>
<td>73 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palaeastina Secunda</td>
<td>73 n., 80 n., 84 n., 170 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestine</td>
<td>xxxiv, 73, 76 nn., 80, 84, 87, 99 n., 107 n., 108, 126, 160-65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmyra, see Tadmur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pella, see Fihl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>2, 10-11, 21 n., 22, 44-45, 47, 173, 177-78, 180, 182, 184-85, 193, 214, 222-23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian Gulf, xxxiii</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilgrimage, see hajī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punic speakers</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Q**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qabīth b. Ashyam al-Laythi al-Kinānii</td>
<td>xxii n., 93-94, 106-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qabiṣah b. Iyās b. Hayyah al-Ṭāʿī</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qadariyyah</td>
<td>134 n., 145 nn., 158 n., 163 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qādisiyah, Battle of</td>
<td>xiv, 11 n., 35 n., 40 n., 45 n., 100, 116 n., 173 n., 176 n., 180 n., 183 n., 195 n., 197, 199 n., 201 n., 209 n., 210, 220 n., 221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qaṭān tribes</td>
<td>31 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qalansuwwah</td>
<td>qalansuwwah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qaṭīf</td>
<td>xxxiii, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*al-Qaʿqāʾ b. Amr al-Usayyid al-Tamīmī</td>
<td>xxii, xxv, 8, 11 nn., 13, 24, 36, 40, 42-43, 45, 48, 60-63, 65, 90, 95, 166, 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qārin b. Qāryānīs</td>
<td>16-17, 19, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qarqashandah</td>
<td>148 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qarqisiyā</td>
<td>36 n., 40 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qarqūs</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qaryatyn</td>
<td>xxxiv, 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān</td>
<td>99, 104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
\begin{itemize}
\item Qasr \(\text{xxiv}, 79, 81, 134, 135, 136-37, 153, 173, 175\)
\item al-Qasr al-Abyad \(28-29, 222-23\)
\item Qasr al-\'Adasiyyin \(28\)
\item Qasr Bani Māzīn \(29\)
\item Qasr Ibn Buqaylah \(29\)
\item al-Qastal \(\text{xxiv}, 77\)
\item al-Qawidis, see al-Qādisiyyah
\item Qays b. Amr b. Bishr al-Hilili \(63\)
\item Qays b. al-Haytham b. Qays b. Habīb al-Sulami \(179\)
\item Qays b. Hubayrah al-Muridi \(62\)
\item Qays b. al-Makshūb, we Qays b. Hubayrah al-Muridi
\item Qays b. Tha'labah \(62\)
\item Qinnasrin \(58, 107\)
\item Qubadh \(14, 16-17, 22-24\)
\item Qubbdh H b. Kisri II Barwiz, see Shirdyah b. Kisra II Barwiz
\item al-Qubiqulir \(127\)
\item Qudi`ah \(57, 70, 78, 88, 91, 97-98, 112-13, 115, 124\)
\item Qur'ān \(80, 94, 96, 107\)
\item Qurāqir \(99, 126, 165\)
\item Rabbath Moab \(108\)
\item al-`Atīb b. Mu`adh b. Thaljī \(26\)
\item al-`Abd b. Ashur, mawlid of Tamim \(145\)
\item Rabī`ah b. Buayr al-Taghlibi \(61, 65-66, 109\)
\item Rabī`ah b. `Isā al-Yarbi`ī al-Tamimi \(xxii, 48\)
\item Raybān b. Nizār b. Ma`add xvi, \(5, 9, 53, 60, 61, 63, 122, 181, 196, 203\)
\item Ra`fī` b. ‘Amīrah al-Ṭā`ī \(11, 113-15, 124-25\)
\item Rajaz \(67, 95, 106\)
\item Ramadān, fast of \(67\)
\item al-Ramlah \(xxiv, 99, 126, 165\)
\item al-Ranq \(65\)
\item al-Raqqa \(102\)
\item Ra`s al-`Ayn \(53\)
\item al-Rashid, Hārūn, see Hārūn al-Rashid
\item Rayhānah b. al-Hudhayl b. Hubayrah al-Taghlibiyah \(66\)
\item al-Rayy \(3, 120, 131, 139\)
\item Red Sea \(xxiv\)
\item al-Ribāb [tribal group] \(53, 196, 202\)
\item Rib`ī b. ‘Amīr b. Khālid al-`Anūd al-Usayyidi al-Tamimi \(168, 202\)
\item 203, 208-9
\item Rib`ī b. Husayn al-Riyāhī \(102\)
\item Riddah Wars \(xix, 8, 64, 78\)
\item 91, 150, 178, 199, 220
\item Rima` \(143\)
\item Romans \(xiii-xiv, xx, xxix-xxx, 36, 57, 58, 67, 76, 81-83, 84, 85-86, 88-89, 91, 94, 97-98, 99, 100, 102-4, 107-8, 110, 112-13, 115, 124\)
\end{itemize}
116–27, 159–61, 164, 169–71
al-Rudāb 66–67
Rūhmīnīs b. Wabarah al-Kalbi 216
al-Rummanatayn 115
Ruqayyah bt. `Alī b. `Abī Ṭalīb 66
al-Ruṣfāf xxxiv, 65
Rustam b. al-Farr ukhzhādīh b. al-
Bindawān xxxi, 176–80, 182–83, 188–90, 197, 201 n., 203, 221–22
*Rūzbih 60–62, 65

Sābāṣ xxxiii, 50, 212, 221 n., 222
*al-Sabbaḥ al-Muzani 66
Ṣābiḥah al-Taymi 151
Sabrah b. `Amr b. Ahnān b. Dithār
224 n.
Sabrah b. `Amr al-Anbari 223
Sabrūr II Dhū al-Akṭāf 11 n., 117
*Sābūr b. Shahibrāz b. Ardashīr b.
Shahriyār b. KIsrā II Barwīz xxxi, 120, 178
Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ Mālik al-Zuhri 35, 90 n., 168, 214–15
Sa’d b. `Amr b. Ḥarām al-Khazrajī al-
Anṣārī xxxii n., 109
Sa’d Hudsaym 78
Sa’d b. Mālik, see Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ
Sa’d b. `Ubayd al-Awsī al-Anṣārī 173–76
Sa’d b. Zayd Manāh, Banū 43, 59 n., 115 n., 202
Sa’d b. Zayd Manāḥ, a man from Banū 67
Sa’d b. Zuhayr 54 n.
ṣadaqāt 78
Ṣadīf 143 n.
al-Sadīr 32
al-Ṣāfrā’ 71 n.
Ṣafwān b. Umayyāh al-Jumāḥī xxxi n., 91
Ṣaharbakht bt. Yazdāndār b. KIsrā I
Anūshirwān xxxii
al-Ṣabhā’ al-Taghliibiyyah, Umm Ḥabīb
54 n., 61 n., 66
*Sahl b. Yūsuf al-Anmāṭī 79 n.
*Sahl b. Yūsuf al-Anṣārī xxxii n., xxiv, 79, 81, 83, 173, 175–76
Sahm, a man from Banū 71
*Sahm b. al-Musāfīr b. Ḥazmah 168
al-Sā’īb b. Abī Ḥubaysh b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad 100 n.
al-Sā’īb b. Yazīd al-Kindi, Ibn Ukhṭ al-
Namir 56
Sa’īd b. Khālid b. Sa’īd b. al-`Āṣī 82, 91, 109, 112
Sa’īd b. al-Marzubān, mawlā of ‘Abīs
xxv, 190, 207
Sa’īd b. Murrāh al-‘Jlī 20–21, 121
Sa’īd b. al-Musayyab al-Makhzūmī al-
Qurashī 131, 137, 151
*Sa’īd b. al-Nu’mān al-`Adawī (of the
‘Adī b. Ka’b) 17–18
Sā’īdah, Banū 149 n.
Sajāh al-Tamimiyyah 54 n., 203 n., 216 n.
Sākāsik 144 n.
*Ṣakhr 75
Sakūn 144 n., 201, 207, 209, 212
Salama b. Hishām b. al-Mughirah al-
Makhzūmī 100–1, 128
Ṣaliḥ 58 n., 76
Ṣaliḥ b. Kaysān 3, 107, 148, 151, 158
Salīl b. Qays al-Dhuḥli 216
Salīm b. “Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. al-
Khaṭṭāb xxiv, 81, 175
Sālim b. Naṣr 11
Salimah, Banū 93
Ṣaliṣ b. Qays al-Najjārī al-Khazrajī 174–76, 188, 190–91, 193
Sallām b. Salīm, mawāl of the Ḥanīfāh, see Abū al-Aḥwāṣ
Salm b. Janādah b. Khālīd al-Suwā‘ī, see Abū al-Ṣā‘īb
Salmā bt. Ṣakhr b. ‘Amir al-Taymiyyah, see Umm al-Khayr
Salmān (place) xxxiii, 224
al-Ṣalt b. Bahram al-Ṭaymi, Abū Hāshim 180
Ṣalūbā, Banū 52
Ṣalūbā b. Buṣbuhrā 41
Ṣalūbā b. Nastūnā b. Buṣbuhrā 39–41, 44
Sāmarra' 1 n.
*Samīr b. Ka'b 172
Ṣan'ā' 143
Ṣandawāda' 109
Ṣaqallār b. Mikhraq, see Theodore the Sakellarios
al-Saqāṭiyyah 182–83
Ṣaqīfāt Banī Sā'idah xx, 149
Ṣalār b. 196 n., 199 n.
Ṣalār Canal 119
Ṣayf b. 'Ulbah b. Shāmil 164
al-Saylahūn 217 n.
Sergiopolis 65 n.
Sergios 127 n.
Shabath b. Rib'i b. Ḥusayn al-Riyāḥī al-Tamimi xxii n., 203
al-Sha'bi, 'Āmir b. Sharāhil, see 'Āmir b. Sharāhil al-Sha'bi
Shabīb b. Yazīd 43 n.
Shaddād b. Aws b. Thābit al-Najjārī al-Anṣārī 159
Shaddād al-Muḥāribī 137
Shadīd, mawld of Abu Bakr 147
Shāh-i Afrīd bt. Fayruz b. Yazdīgird III xxxii
Shahrbarāz (Khusrav II's general) xxiii, 117 n., 176 n.
Shahrbarāz (Persian dihqān) 208
Shahriyār b. Kislā Barwīz xxxi–xxxii, 117 n., 222
Shajarah b. al-A`azz 68
al-Shamūs (al-Muthannā's horse) 205
Shapūr II, see Sābūr II Dhū al-Aktāf
Sharāf xxxiii, 215, 223
Shaybān b. Tha'labah 62 n.
Shi'is xxviii, 46 n., 91 n., 158 n.
Shī'ism xix–xx
Shimr b. Dhī al-Jawshan al-Ḍibābī al-Kilābī 34 n.
Sharīr b. Kislā Barwīz, see Shirīyāh b. Kislā Barwīz
Shirīr xxxii
Shirīyāh (or Shirā, also Qubādh II) b.
Index

Kistì II Barwiz xxxi—xxxii, 11—12, 16, 47, 177, 222
Shirzādh 50—51
Shu`ayb b. ʿIbrāhim 16, 19—21, 25—27, 30, 33, 36, 38—39, 41, 44—46, 48—
49, 52—53, 56, 60, 64, 67, 69, 75—
76, 79, 81—83, 86—87, 94, 98—100,
102, 104—6, 111, 114—16, 161, 170,
173, 175—77, 180, 182, 185—86,
188, 190—91, 193, 195—96, 199,
201—2, 204—7, 210—12, 215—16,
218, 221—2, 224
Shu`ayb b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b.
ʿAmr b. al-ʿAṣ al-Sahmi 130
Shu`ayb b. Ṭalbāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd
al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq
138
Shūmiyā 198, 201 n., 204
shūrā 135 n.
Shuraḥbil b. Ḥasanah al-Ghwathī 56,
74, 82—84, 87—88, 90—91, 107—8,
112, 126, 144, 164—65, 170—72
*Shuwayl 34, 37—38
al-Sib 43, 117, 122, 210—11
Ṣiffin xxi, xxxiv, 46 n., 73 n., 77 n.,
90 n., 91 n., 99 n., 109 n.,
110 n., 143 n., 164 n., 165 n.,
178 n., 203 n., 209 n., 219—20
al-Simt b. al-Aṣwād al-Kindī 92
Sinai xxxiv, see also Mount Sinai
Simbis (a branch of Tayyīl) 113 n.
Sīdīr 9, 135 n., 145 n.
Sīrin 55
*Sīyāḥ (al-ʿAlmārī) 45, 48
*Sīyāwukhsh al-Rāzī b. Mihrān b.
Bāḥrān VI Jūbīn xxxi, 120, 177
Skythopolis, see Bṣān
Spain 55 n., 123 n.
Subayʿ (or Sabʿ) Dhū al-Khīmār b. al-
Ḥarīth b. Mālik 91 n.
al-Sudd 69
al-Suffār, see Marīj al-Suffār
*Sufyān b. ʿAlmārī xxiii, xxiv, 16, 39,
41, 45, 48, 199
Sufyān b. al-Thawrī 37 n.
Sufyān b. ʿUṣaynah b. Abī ʿImrān,
mawād of Hilāl 134, 142, 147
Sufyān b. Wakiʿ b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Rawāsī
al-Kīlābī 134
Suhayl b. ʿAmr al-ʿĀmīrī al-Qurashi 80,
90
Suḥmāh b. Saʿd b. ʿAbdallāh 213
Sulaym, Banū 144 n., 205 n., 207, 212
Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik 55 n., 126 n.
Sulaymān b. Fayrūz, mawād of Shībān,
see Abū Isḥāq al-Shaybahī
Sulaymān b. Mihrān, mawād of Kāhil,
see al-ʿAmāsh
Sulaymān b. Yasār, mawād of
Maymūnāh 163
Sulmā b. al-Qayn al-ʿAdwī 9
al-Sund 151—52
Sunnis xxi, xxvii—xxviii
Sūwā xxxiv, 103, 109, 114—15, 124—25,
195
Suwayd b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Minqārī
al-Ṭamīmī 42—43
Suwayd b. Muqarrīn al-Muẓānī 18—19,
42, 48
Suwayd b. Qūṭbah b. Qatādah al-Sadūsī
2 n.
Syria xiii—xiv, xvi—xxiv, xxvi, 1 n., 4—
5, 18 n., 21 n., 28 n., 36, 47, 56 n.,
57 n., 58 n., 60 n., 67—69, 70 n.,
73—76, 78, 80 n., 82—83, 87,
90 n., 91 n., 92 n., 97 n., 99 n.,
102, 103 n., 104, 107—9, 111—14,
116, 121—22, 126—27, 144, 150,
159, 161, 162 n., 163, 165, 167 n.,
170, 173 n., 178, 196, 199—201,
219 n., 225
Syrian Desert 57 n.
Syrians xxx, 104

T

al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b.
Jarīr xiii—xiv, xix—xx, xxviii—xxix,
1—2, 4, 7, 14, 21, 25, 68—69, 74, 87,
107, 109, 111, 114, 121, 129, 136,
142 n., 144, 147, 151, 157, 169—70,
Index

185, 188, 195, 213–14
Tabariyyah, see Tiberias
Tabūk xxxiv, 58 n., 74, 78 n., 83, 107
Tadhārīq, see Theodore
Tadmur (Palmyra) xxxiv, 57 n., 109 n., 110, 118
al-Ṭaff 223–24
Taghlib, Banū 47 n., 53, 62 n., 66–67, 204, 206, 218 n., 219–21
al-Ṭāʾīf 40 n., 129 n., 130 n., 133 n., 140 n., 142, 188 n., 225
*Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Abū Sufyan xxiii n., 56–57
Ṭalḥah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Siddiq 131, 138
Ṭalḥah b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Taymi 132 n., 135, 139 nn., 141 n., 153
Tamāḥij bt. Narsi xxxii, 12 n., 15
Tanūkh 57–58, 76
Taurus Mountains 102 n.; see also Mountains of Rome
Taʾyım Allat 22, 115 n.
Taʾyım al-Ribāb 201 n., 202 n.
Taʾyiṣ 101 n., 113 n., 136 n.
Taḍīz b. Haydān (branch of the Quḍāʾah) 127
al-Ṭhānī, see al-Thiny (at al-Bishr)
Thanīyyat Jilliq 84, 107, 126
Ṭhaqīf 192
Ṭhaqīf, a man from 188–89
Thawr b. ʿAbd Manāh b. Udd 202 n.
al-Thawrīyyah, Banū 63
Theodore (brother of Herakleios) 84–85, 98, 103–4, 107, 126–27
Theodore the Sakellarios 104, 171
al-Thiny (at al-Bishr) 61, 65
al-Thiny (at al-Madhār) 15–16, 18–20, 37
Thuluth 76
Tiberias xxxiv, 80 n., 170, 172
Tiberius 170 n.
Tigris River xviii n., xxxiii–xxxiv, 5 n., 17, 18 n., 19, 43, 45, 49, 52, 120, 122, 212, 220
Tihāmah 18 n., 78
Tīkrīt xxxiii, 220, 222
*Tirūyah b. Bīšām xxxi, 183
Transjordan 76 n., 78 n.
al-Tūfayl b. ʿAmr al-Dawsī, see ʿAmr b. al-Tūfayl b. ʿAmr
Tūlayb b. ʿUmar b. Wahb al-Qurashi 101
Tūmāḍīr bt. al-ʿAṣbāḥ al-Kalbiyyah 61 n., 146 n.

U

*ʿUdādah b. Bishr al-Hilālī 63
ʿUdādah b. Nusayy al-Kindi 81, 83, 87, 94, 98, 100 n., 161, 163
ʿUdādah b. al-Ṣāmit al-Khazraji 99
ʿUbayd, mawld of Saʿd b. Bakr (father of Abū Wajzah) 72, 115
ʿUbayd b. al-Muʿallah b. Lawdhān al-Zurāqī al-Aṣṣārī 123 n.
*ʿUbaydallāh b. Muḥaffīz b. Thaʿlabah al-ʿĀʾidhī 114, 204, 206, 216, 222
ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ b. ʿĀṣim al-ʿAḍwī al-Qurashi 151, 224, 225 n.
ʿUbaydallāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb 42 n.
*ʿUbayy 181
al-Ubullah xiv, xxxiii, 2, 9, 14, 15 n., 48, 223
ʿUḏrah 78
Uḥud, Battle of 28 n., 93 n., 109 n., 113 nn.
Ukaydir b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Sukūnī al-Kindi 58, 70
‘Ukkāshah b. Thawr al-Ghawthi 144 n.
‘Ukl 202 n.
‘ulamā’ xxviii
‘Ulāthah, mawla of Shaybān 53–56
Ulla'ah al-Taymi 202 n.
Ullays xxxiii, 3, 5, 21–22, 24–26, 39, 194–95, 215, 217
‘Ulwan b. Dāwūd, mawla of Bajilah 148, 150–51
‘Ulwan b. Śāliḥ, see ‘Ulwan b. Dāwūd 148
Umāmah bt. ‘Abi al-‘Aġī b. al-Rabī’ 71 n.
Umān 78–79, 108 n., 142 n., 199, 220 n., 225
Umar II b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz 55 n., 102 n., 123 n.
Umar b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf al-Zuhri 148
Umar b. Abdallāh b. ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr 136
Umar b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abi Ṭālib 66
Umar b. Hubayyrah al-Fāzārī 10 n.
Umar b. al-Husayn, mawla of the family of Māz‘ūn, Abū Qudāmah 131

‘Ummah b. Ghazīyyah al-Najjārī al-Ansārī 140
‘Umarah b. Makhshī b. Khuwaylid al-Damri 91, 164
‘Umarah b. al-‘Aṣiq b. Ka‘b 164
‘Umayr 56
‘Umayr b. ‘Amīr al-Najjārī al-Ansārī, see Abū Dāwūd ‘Umayr b. ‘Amīr
‘Umayr b. al-Ḥārith al-Sulami 144
Umayyads xvii, xix–xx, xxii, 55 n., 57 n., 75 n., 104 n., 106 n., 107 n., 123 n., 130 n., 144 n.
Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt al-Thaqafī 51 n.
Umm Farwah b. Abū Qūfahā 138
Umm Ḥakīm b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr 136 n.
Umm al-Khayr Salmā bt. Ṣakhr al-Taymiyyah 139–40
Umm Kultūḥum b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddiq 141
Umm Rūmān b. ‘Āmir al-Kinānīyyah 141
Umm Salamah 143 n.
‘Umm Ṣhuwayl 38
‘Umm Taghlib al-Hārīthah 63
al-Uqūwūnāh 143 n.
Uraynah b. Nadhir 213
al-Urdūn xxxiv, 80, 84 n., 87, 91 n., 107 n., 108, 143 n., 160–62, 164, 170, 172–73
‘Urwa b. al-Jā’d al-Ġārīqi al-Adī 60, 63
‘Urwa b. Zayd al-Khayl al-Tā’ī xxii n., 209
‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām 82, 127, 130, 135–36, 151, 153 n.
Usāmah b. Zayd, mawla of Layth 130
Usāmah b. Zayd b. Ḥārīthah al-Kalbi 108
Usayyid xxii, 8 n., 90 n.
‘Utaybah b. ‘Abdal 21 n.
‘Utaybah b. al-Nahḥās al-Iṣṭi 21, 43, 117, 219–21
Index

`Utayq b. Abi Qubāsah al-Taymi 140
`Utbah b. `Abdallāh b. `Utbah, see Abū `Umays `Utbah b. `Abdallāh
`Utbah b. Ghawzān al-Māzīnī 14 n., 15 n.
`Utbah b. Rabī‘ah b. Bahz al-Bahrānī xxi n., 93
`Utbah b. Sa‘d b. Zuhayr, Banū 54
`Uthmān b. Abī al-‘Āṣī al-Thaqafī 142, 225
`Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. `Ubaydallāh b. `Abdallāh, Abū Qudāmah 72, 151
`Uthmān b. Yahyā 147
`Uthmān b. Yahyā b. `Isā al-Qarqasānī al-Šayyāḍ, Abū `Amr 147
*Uṭṭ b. Abī Uṭṭ al-Sa‘dī al-Tamīmī 43, 48
*Uwaym b. al-Kāhil al-Aslāmī 57

V

Veh-Ardashīr, see Bahurasīr
Veh-Artakhshātr 183 n.
Veh-Kavat, see Bihqubādī
Vologesias 3 n.

W

Wabarāh b. Rūmānīs al-Kalbī 58 n., 59
Wādī Hawrān xxxiii–xxxiv, 63 n., see also Hawrān [in Iraq]
Wādī al-Qurā 78 n., 101 n.
Wādī‘ah al-Kalbī 58–59
Wā‘il 53 n.
Walusjah xxxiii, 19–21
al-Walīd b. Mazyad al-`Udhri 135

Y

Yahyā b. `Abdallāh b. Bukayr, mawlā of Makhzūm 147, 150
Yahyā b. Adam 6 n.
Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Najjārī al-Anṣārī 131
Yahyā b. Wādhī, mawlā of the Anṣār, Abū Tumaylah 133, 146
Ya‘lā b. Munyah [or Umayyah] al-‘Adawī al-Tamīmī 143, 175, 225
al-Yamāmah 1–2, 4, 7, 10, 21 n., 53 n., 56 n., 216 n., 223 n., 225
al-Yamāmah, Battle of 28 nn.
al-Yaqūbī, Ahmad b. Ishaq xiii
al-Yaqūṣah 159; see also al-Waqqāṣah
Yarbū‘ 43 n., 202 n.
Yarīa, mawlā of `Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb 159
Yasār, Abī al-Hasan al-Bāṣrī, see Ḥabīb, Abū al-Ḥasan
Yasār, mawlā of Qays b. Makhramah 123
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>261</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yashkur, Banū 56 n.</td>
<td>Zafar, Banū 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yazdāndār b. Kisrā 1 Anūshirwān xxxii</td>
<td>*Zafar b. Dahi 67, 111, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yazdigird III b. Shahriyār b. Kisrā II</td>
<td>Zhām b. Ma'bād al-Sadūsī, see Bashir b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barwiz xxxii, 117 n., 176, 222–24</td>
<td>al-Khasāsiyyah al-Sadūsī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yazid II b. `Abd al-Malik 55 n.</td>
<td>zandaqah xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yazid b. Abi Sufyān b. Harb 74–75, 80,</td>
<td>Zandaward 179, 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112, 116, 144, 165, 168, 170</td>
<td>al-Zawābī xxxii, 183–84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Yazīd b. Asīd al-Ghassānī, see Abū</td>
<td>al-Zayādhibah 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Uthmān Yazid b. Asīd</td>
<td>*Zayd 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruhāwī, Abū Farwah 104</td>
<td>Zayd b. `Ali b. al-Husayn xix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see Abū Wajzah</td>
<td>*Zayd al-Tāʾi 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxxii</td>
<td>Zaynab bt. Muḥammad the Prophet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasān 90</td>
<td>al-Zibriqān b. Bādīr al-ʿAwwām al-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen 46 n., 74–75, 77, 78 n., 91 n.,</td>
<td>Tāmīmī xxxi n., 53, 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110 n., 143 nn., 144 n., 175, 213–</td>
<td>*Zirr b. Kulayb 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14, 225</td>
<td>*Ziyād b. Ḥanẓalah al-ʿAmrī al-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen tribes 31 n., 38 n., 168, 176</td>
<td>Tāmīmī 90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137, 140, 147, 150</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yūnūs b. Abī Isbāq ʿAmr al-Sabīʿi 33,</td>
<td>*Ziyād b. Sarjīs al-ʿAḥmārī xxii n., xxv,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36, 132, 146</td>
<td>16, 19, 45, 53, 173, 177, 182, 186,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muʿāwiyah 137</td>
<td>22, 224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>Zizā ̊ xviii, 76–77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Zāb, see al-Zawābī</td>
<td>al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām 70 n., 71, 92,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zabīd 143</td>
<td>141 n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Zādh b. Buhaysh 41</td>
<td>Zubayrids xxii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zafar 10</td>
<td>Zuhayr (Bakri Christian Arab) 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhām b. Maʿbad al-Sadūsī, see Bashir b.</td>
<td>al-Zumayl 65–66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Khasāsiyyah al-Sadūsī</td>
<td>Zurayq, Banū 123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>