XXVIII.

AN UNIDENTIFIED MS. BY IBN AL-JAUZI,

IN THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

ADD. 7,320.

By H. F. AMEDROZ.

THE Arabic MS. Add. 7,320, Cat. cccvii, is unidentified.

It is a historical fragment beginning with the necrology of the year 58 A.H., and extending to the succession of Ma'mūn in 198 A.H. It contains 162 folios of 23 lines to the page: there is an omission at fol. 49^a, l. 10, where the narrative passes suddenly from the notice of Anas b. Mālik, under 92 A.H., to the killing of the poet Waḍḍāḥ al-Yaman by Walid (as told in the Kitāb al-Aghāni, vi, 39, l. 9, a.f.), and at fol. 101 comes a gap of 23 years, the text breaking off in the midst of the obituary notice of the Caliph Saffāḥ, and resuming on fol. 102 in that of the poet Ḥammād al-Rāwiyā, in a story on him by al-Dāraqutni (Brockelmann, i, 165) quoted from his Kitāb al-Taṣḥīḥ (H. Kh., No. 9,975). Thence the text proceeds uninterruptedly to the point where it breaks off early in the year 198 A.H.

An examination of the MS. points to its being certainly the work of Ibn al-Jauzi, and probably a fragment of one recension of the "Muntazam." In form it resembles that work, being a record of the events in each successive year, followed by a necrology, some years containing the necrology alone, preceded in one or two cases by a statement of there being nothing to record.

First, as to the authorship. One of Ibn al-Jauzi's historical works is the "Shudhūr al-'Uqūd" (Brock. i, 502, No. 4),

which is cited in the Biographies of Ibn Khallikān, in many cases for dates which are at variance with those generally received. Such of these citations as fall within the years covered by the B.M. MS. are to be found therein.¹ Again, the notices of the reign of the Caliph 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and of his death (MS. fols. 58*b* and 64*b*) comprise three lengthy anecdotes which are not to be found in Ṭabari, nor in Mas'ūdi's account of 'Omar in vol. v, nor in the full life of him given by Suyūṭi in his history of the Caliphs, transl. Jarrett, 233. But they are all three given, and in identical language, in Ibn al-Jauzi's 'Manāqib 'Omar, ed. C. H. Becker, Berlin, 1900, pp. 77-9, 100-1, 139-42. This also points to the B.M. MS. containing a work of this author.²

Next as to the identity of the work. The citations by Ibn Khallikān might suggest that it is the *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd*, but this work is extant. There is a copy in the Collection of the Royal Academy, Amsterdam (de Jong, Cat. Codd. Orient. Acad. Reg., No. 102), now for some time past deposited at Leyden.³ In the opening words of the manuscript

¹ These citations are: (1) that Wāṣit was built by Ḥajjāj between 75 and 78 A.H., instead of 84-86 A.H. (ed. Būlāq, i, 155; Sl. Eng. i, 360), in the MS. fol. 34*a*; (2) that the death of Farazdaq, as also of Jarīr, occurred in 111 A.H., and not in some other year (ib. ii, 265; Sl. Eng. iii, 622), MS. 73*b*; (3) that Khaliḥ b. Aḥmad, author of the 'Ain, died in 130 A.H., an error for 170 A.H., or some such date (ib. i, 217; Sl. Eng. i, 497), MS. 89*a*; (4) the date 135 A.H. for the death of Rabi'a al-'Adawiyya, given elsewhere as 185 A.H. (ib. i, 227; Sl. Eng. i, 516), MS. 97*a*; (5) the account of Aḥmad al-Sabti, the son of Rashīd, who renounced his rank for a life of humble toil, which account, Ibn Khallikān says, is to be found also in the "Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa" of Ibn al-Jauzi, and also in his "Muntazam" (ib. i, 66; Sl. Eng. i, 149), MS. 132*a*, where it corresponds verbatim; (6) the interval there was between the birth of 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Ḥashimi and that of his brother, and how Rashīd had three generations of uncles in his presence together (ib. i, 372; Sl. Eng. ii, 143), MS. 134*a*, verbatim, with changed order of paragraphs; (7) that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan and al-Kisā'i died at al-Rayy on the same day in 189 A.H. (ib. i, 147; Sl. Eng. ii, 238), MS. 147*a*, the statement that the former died at Zanbarwaih being there omitted.

² Another slight indication of authorship is afforded by a citation in Ibn Khallikān, ed. Būlāq, i, 237, Sl. Eng. i, 534, from the Tanwīr al-Ghabash of Ibn al-Jauzi (Brock, i, 505, No. 75), of a saying of Abu Dulāma at the burial of a wife of Manṣūr. This saying does not appear in the MS. of the *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* (as to which see *infra*), but it is given in the B.M. MS. at fol. 108*a*, and more fully than in the citation of Ibn Khallikān.

³ This MS. Willm. No. 174, dated 685 A.H., contains 152 folios of 11 short lines to the page, and extends from the Creation to 578 A.H. The Leyden MS. Warn. 1,008 (Cat. No. 755, Revised Cat. No. 833) contains only the opening portion of the former, that relating to angels and prophets.

the author states it to be an abridgment of his "Muntazam." In form it is highly condensed, the record of many a year comprising but a single fact or death, but it contains all the above citations by Ibn Khallikān, that relating to 'Abd al-Šamad appearing verbatim, whilst in the case of Aḥmad al-Sabti only the bare fact of his death is stated. But for his life Ibn Khallikān cites equally the Muntazam. To the British Museum MS., assuming it to be the Muntazam, the Amsterdam MS. might, having regard to the similarity of contents, well stand as an abridgment, except that in the latter are included many deaths not noticed in the former. But the Muntazam is likewise, in part, extant, and two manuscripts which I have examined include portions of the work which cover to some extent the period of the B.M. MS. These are (1) the Bodleian MS. Pocock, 255 (Cat. Uri, No. 779, p. 171), for the years 96-136 A.H.; and (2) two fragments included in the B.M. MS. Add. 5,928 (Cat. No. 353), a collection of historical odds and ends, of which the fourth and ninth excerpts, at fols. 99*a* and 226*b*, are from the Muntazam.¹ A comparison of these two MSS. with B.M. Add. 7,320 shows that, although neither the historical narratives nor the biographies in the latter accord with the Muntazam, yet that in many cases the biographies correspond exactly but for the omission in Add. 7,320 of the 'Isnāds' and of some historical matter, which is mostly to be found verbatim in Ṭabari. The MS. may therefore be the Muntazam, either in a somewhat abridged form or in an earlier recension.² For it is not

¹ These excerpts are described in the catalogue as beginning, one with the year 33 A.H., and the other with the reign of Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, viz. 86 A.H., but in each case, after a few lines given to those years, and a few biographies, the narrative passes abruptly to the reign of Rashīd.

² The Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi, in the "Mir'āt al-Zamān" (B.M. Add. 23,277), twice quotes the Muntazam; on fol. 115*a*, for the death in 99 A.H. of Ibrāhīm b.

Muḥammad b. Ṭalha, *سُجَرِمَا بِمَنْعَى وَدُنَيْنِ بِاسْمِئِلَ السَّعْبَةِ*, adding that Ibn Sa'd and al-Zubair b. Bakkār put his death later (as is implied also in Tab. ii, 1483): the date and words are given in Add. 7,320, 62*a*; again, on fol. 179*a*, for the death of Sukaina bint al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī, on a certain day of the month in 117 A.H., at Mecca: in Add. 7,320, 81*a*, the day is thus specified, but not the place, which may have been dropped out by the scribe.

only probable that more than one recension of the *Muntazam* was current, it is certain. The Berlin MS. of the work, Ahlwardt, No. 9,436, and the Schefer MS., Paris Arabe, No. 5,909, overlap to the extent of some years, and they differ in the presence or absence of some of their respective biographies. Similarly, in the case of the *Mir'āt al-Zamān* of the Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi, more than one recension has reached us. For the matter contained in the B.M. MS. Or. 4,619, covering the years 282–460 A.H., is considerably exceeded in bulk by the corresponding parts of the Schefer MS., Paris Arabe, No. 5,866, of the Munich MS. Arab. 378c,¹ and of Paris Arabe, No. 1,506 (which together form an almost uninterrupted record for the years 358–517 A.H.), not by reason of the narrative being unabridged, but owing to added matter, drawn probably from authorities to which the author had later access. It may well be, therefore, that the B.M. MS. Add. 7,320 represents an early recension of the *Muntazam*.

But whatever be its title, as the work of Ibn al Jauzi the MS. is of high authority, and some information as to its contents may prove of value to students. How such information should be offered is not immediately obvious. An edition of the text, apart from the obstacles to such a task, would in a measure be superfluous. Much of the historical narrative is a mere repetition of Ṭabari, and much of the biographies, especially of the many poets noticed therein, is to be found in very similar language in the *Kitāb al-Aghāni*,² and these two great sources of Moslem history,

¹ This MS. is unidentified by the Catalogue (Suppt., No. 952. p. 157), but I have endeavoured elsewhere to show that it is a part of the *Mir'āt al-Zamān* (see J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 476 n.).

² Ṭabari is quoted by name in the latter part of the MS. for the manner of Hādī's death and for the Barmecides, and Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahāni for lines by al-Sayyid al-Him'yari (Agh. vii, 23, l. 11) and for the sale of his Qur'ān by Salm al-Khasir (Agh. xxi, 110, l. 10). Other authors quoted by name are: Jāhiz; Ibn Qutaiba's "Ma'arif," on fol. 37b, for the passage ed. Wüst., 265, l. 2, and his "Ṭabaqāt al-Shu'arā'" for the passage ed. de Goeje, p. 490, on the heresy of the 'Hammādūn' poets; Ibn abi Ṭāhir Ṭaifūr, on fol. 97b, for the dream of Maṣṣūr's mother that she would give birth to a lion; Abu Bakr al-Sūli, frequently; Aḥmad b. Kāmil (Ibn Shajara), on fol. 87a, for Walid's shooting at the Qur'ān, Agh. vi, 125, l. 8; and, latest in date, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadhāni, on fol. 47a, for Ma'mūn. This author died in 521 A.H., in the lifetime of Ibn al-Jauzi.

both now completed by an Index, could at most gain from such repetition an occasional emendation of their text. Numerous passages of the MS. occur, too, in Mas'ūdi's "Prairies d'or," and in the Biographies of Ibn Khallikān, the contents of which are equally accessible, and many of the anecdotes are to be found in printed works of 'Adab' literature. A precedent for editing the text of a MS., with the omission of so much of it as is already in print, is to be found in Becker's "Manāqib 'Omar," already mentioned; and it seemed possible to follow this method whilst presenting, not the text of the MS., but merely an outline of its contents sufficient to indicate what part of it is not readily to be got at elsewhere, that is to say, a brief abstract of so much of the historical matter as seems to add to, or differ from, the accepted narrative, and a list of the persons whose deaths are recorded, with so much of what is told of them as does not appear in their biographies elsewhere. To do this adequately would require a knowledge of Arabic history and literature to which I cannot pretend, but I have, at least, not failed to turn when possible to those possessed of such knowledge for assistance, as Professors at two seats of learning will readily and, let us assume, cheerfully, acknowledge. Some errors will thus, at least, have been avoided. The following pages deal with the historical matter in the MS.

60 A.H.

(fol. 5a) Mu'āwīa's last advice and Yazīd's accession are given as in Ṭabari, ii, 196-7; (fol. 8a) the notice of Mu'āwīa's illness and death, as Ṭab. 200-2, and how Yazīd's daughter 'Ātika, by her marriage with 'Abd al-Malik, became related to as many as twelve Caliphs, viz. all from Mu'āwīa onwards, with the exception of 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.¹ Traditions were transmitted by Yazīd from the Prophet through his father Mu'āwīa, but Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal rejected them.

¹ 'Ātika's unique position in the Omayyad pedigree is noticed by al-Tha'ālibī (d. 429 A.H., Brockelmann, i, 284) in his "Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif," ed. de Jong, 55, and he instances also that of Zubaida, granddaughter of Maṣṣūr, wife of Rashīd,

(fol. 5*b*) The suspicious conduct of Ḥusain and of Ibn al-Zubair, Ṭab. ii, 216–20, 222.

(fol. 6*b*) The disaffection at Kūfa, ib. 227–30, 231–5.

(fol. 8*a*) The advice given to Ḥusain and his march to Karbalā', ib. 273–81.

61 A.H.

(fols. 9*a*–12*b*) The defeat and death of Ḥusain, less fully than in Ṭab. It is stated (fol. 12*a*) that when the camel which bore heads of the slain was killed for food, its flesh proved more bitter than aloes. As to the head of Ḥusain, according to Muḥammad b. Sa'd (fol. 12*b*), it was sent by Yazīd to the governor of Medina and buried there near the tomb of Fāṭima, but according to Ibn abi-l-Dunyā (d. 208, Brock., i, 153) it was found in Yazīd's treasury and was buried at Damascus near the Bāb-al-Farādīs. Also (fol. 13*a*) that on the day of Ḥusain's death Ibn 'Abbās had a vision of the Prophet, dishevelled and dust-stained, bearing a bottle in which he said he had collected the blood of Ḥusain and of his followers.

63 A.H.

The account of the revolt of Medina against Yazīd and the battle of al-Harrā follows Ṭab. ii, 405.

In disclaiming from the pulpit allegiance to Yazīd, 'Abd Allah b. abi 'Amr said: "I throw him off as I do my turban; true, he has been a friend to me, but he is an enemy to Allah." Another said: "I throw him off like my slipper," and the heap of turbans and slippers grew apace. After the battle a woman told the victorious general that her son was among the prisoners. By his order he was brought

and mother to Amīn, quoting a saying on her by Abu-l-'Ainā (Ibn Khall., de Sl. Eng. iii, 56), that her hair, loosened, would attach solely to Caliphs and their heirs designate. Again, on the marriage of Fāṭima, daughter of 'Abd al-Malik, to 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, the 'Qubba' was inscribed with the verse:

بنت الخليفة والخليفة جدّها : أخت الخلائف . الخليفة بعلمها

which, according to al-Zubair b. Bakkār, was applicable only to her, for Yazīd b. Mu'awia being her maternal grandfather, no less than thirteen Caliphs came within the prohibited degree of marriage (Mir'āt al-Zamān, op. cit., 138*b*).

to her and his head struck off, the general ordering it to be given to her and saying: "Are you not satisfied at having your own life spared, but must also be interceding for your son?"¹

Khālīd al-Kindi relates (fol. 14*b*), as a result of the presence of black soldiery in Medina after the battle, that his aunt Umm al-Haitham b. Yazīd, seeing a Quraish woman meet and embrace a black, was told by her that he was her son by one of these soldiers, and according to Hishām b. Ḥassān, one thousand women of the tribe bore illegitimate offspring after the battle; cf. Fakhri, ed. Derenbourg, 126. Another of these soldiers named 'Amr, who had once arrived at Medina in a caravan from Yemen to Syria so ill that it was proposed to leave him for dead, and who had been saved and sent home cured, was now recognised by a servant of the family as 'Amr; and he, hearing that his benefactor was among those killed, told his comrades that the family was affluent and worth pillaging. His name passed into a byword for ingratitude at Medina.²

64 A.H.

(fol. 15*b*) On the occasion of the burning of the Ka'ba at the siege of Mecca (Ṭab. 426-7) a Quraish woman's funeral was largely followed, in the hope of averting any judgment by reason of the calamity; and Ibn al-Zubair prayed that the consequences might be visited on himself and not on the people. On their return he reminded them that whilst their own dwellings were kept in repair the Ka'ba was in ruins, and he proceeded to have it demolished to its foundations, and rebuilt it with the assistance of Persian and Byzantine workmen; cf. Mas'ūdi, v, 193, and Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 170. The plague at Baṣra (dated 65 A.H., Ṭab. 579) is said to

¹ . اما ترضين ان لا تُقتلى حتى تكلمى في ابىك .

² انت اقل شكراً من عمرو . The authority is the benefactor's son.

Abu Bakr b. Ibrāhīm b. Nu'aim al-Najjām.

have carried off 70,000 persons daily for three days. A survivor related that when the burying of the dead became impossible, the houses where they lay were blocked up. On reopening one of these later, a male child was discovered alive having been suckled by a bitch. The plague is dated, alternatively, in 67 A.H.

The accession of Marwān and the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ, Ṭab. 467-70 and 481-2, and (fol. 16a) the Shī'a revolt at Kūfa to avenge Ḥusain, ib. 497. Marwān's short-lived predecessor, Mu'āwīa b. Yazīd, is commended for having refused the request of his mother, Umm Hāni bint Hishām b. 'Uqba b. Rabī'a, that he would name his brother Khālīd to succeed him, saying that he would not be swayed by affection.¹

65 A.H.

(fol. 17b) The circumstances of the death of Marwān are told rather more fully than Ṭab. 577; cf. Mas. v, 206. 'Ali said of him that he would attain power unlawfully and at an advanced age, and that his reign would be short.² There is also a story of a poetic contest between him and Ibn al-Zubair in the presence of 'Ā'isha.

66 A.H.

(fol. 19a) Mukhtār, on the occasion of his revolt at Kūfa (Ṭab. 598-606), is described as asking a traditionist, in return for an ample reward, to forge a tradition from the Prophet that he was to be Caliph, and was to avenge his descendant (i.e. Ḥusain). The man replied, from the Prophet, no, but from any one of the Ṣaḥāba he chose; for, although the Prophet's authority would no doubt be the

¹ لا احملها حبًا وصيًا.

² ليحملن راية ضلالة بعد ما تشيب صدعاه وله امرة كلسجة (كلحسة) الكلب انقه. In Fakhrī, ed. Ahl., 144, ed. Der., 165, it is كلعقة الكلب.

For the simile see Lisān, viii, 89, l. 10.

weightier, yet so would be his punishment for the forgery. That Mukhtār did forge a letter from Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya (Muḥammad b. 'Alī) approving his proceedings, is stated. For a full account of this, cf. al-Akḥbār al-Ṭiwāl, ed. Guirgass, 1888, pp. 297-8.

67 A.H.

The killing of Mukhtār is recorded. He is said to have pretended that he received visits from Jibrīl and Mikā'il, and to have once told a follower that he would have given him a cushion, but that his brother Jibrīl had just risen from it. For this speech the man said he would have killed him, but for a tradition from the Prophet that a Moslem who killed another in violation of his word would forfeit his protection.¹

71 A.H.

(fol. 24a) The Caliph 'Abd al-Malik's hesitation as to attacking Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubair, Ṭab. 805; his wife 'Ātika's attempt to dissuade him, as Agh. viii, 35, and Ibn Khall., *sub* "Kuthayyir," i, 548, Sl. Eng. ii, 530; and the Caliph's expression of regret at beholding the head of Muṣ'ab, nearly as Ṭab. 811. Two couplets are addressed by Muṣ'ab to his wife Sukaina. As he was arming to depart, and, as she felt, not to return, she gave way to her grief. Unaccustomed to signs of affection from her he asked if she really was grieving for him, and on her replying yes, and more even than she showed, said it would have been well for both of them had he known this earlier.² Later, she recognised his body amongst the slain by a mole on his cheek.

¹ انما مؤمن آمن مؤمناً على دمه فقتله فانما من القاتل بري.

² فصاحت : احزناه عليك يا مصعب . والتفت اليها وقد كانت تخفى ما في قلبها عنه فقال : وَاَيْلَ هذا لي في قلبك ؟ قالت : وما خفي اكثر . فقال : لو كنت اعلم هذا كانت لي ولك حال .

On the authority of al-Mājishūn, whose nickname was given by Sukaina, Agh. xiii, 114, l. 19.

There follows (fol. 25a) the story how a prisoner once induced Muṣ'ab to spare his life, and to give him money besides, which occurs in the *Faraj ba'd al-Shidda* of al-Tanūkhī, ed. Cairo, 1904, ii, 65; and the story of 'Abd al-Malik's appreciation of Muṣ'ab's valour, which is told (with some variation) as in Agh. xvii, 166-7. When Muṣ'ab's death was imminent he offered a dependant a gem of great value, but the man refused to survive him and died fighting. The notice of Muṣ'ab concludes with the story how 'Abd al-Malik, hearing that the castle at Kūfa had been the scene of the bringing in of the heads of Ḥusain, of 'Ubad Allah b. Ziyād, of Mukhtār, and of Muṣ'ab, in succession, ending with Muṣ'ab's head being brought to himself, ordered the chamber to be demolished (see Mas. v, 252, and Ibn Badrūn, p. 191).¹

72-73 A.H.

(fol. 26) Ḥajjāj is chosen to command against 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubair, the rival Caliph at Mecca, Ṭab. 829-31. When the catapults used at the siege (ib. 844-5) set fire to the Mosque, the assailants slackened their efforts, but he encouraged them by saying that among the Israelites an

¹ In the *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* this story likewise appears under this year, and Ibn al-Jauzi adds what he considers to be an equally remarkable circumstance, how the Caliph Mu'taṣim sent *Ītākḥ* to al-Afshīn with a message to the effect that he was a vile traitor. Al-Afshīn replied that he, too, had gone with a similar message to 'Ujaif b. 'Anbasa, who told him how he had himself taken a similar one to 'Ali b. Hishām, and that 'Ali had told him how he had done the same to another; that 'Ujaif had warned him to beware of himself receiving a similar message; and he, in turn, now gave a similar warning to *Ītākḥ*. And, says Ibn al-Jauzi, in a few days *Ītākḥ* was himself imprisoned and slain. According to Ṭabari nine years separated the two events, as *Ītākḥ* was killed by Mutawakkil in 235 A.H. (Ṭab. iii, 1384), whereas al-Afshīn fell in 226 (ib. 1314). 'Ali b. Hishām was put to death by Ma'mūn for misconduct as a governor in 217 A.H., 'Ujaif being sent to arrest him (ib. 1107). 'Ujaif, who instigated the conspiracy of Ma'mūn's son, al-'Abbās, against Mu'taṣim, died near Mosul, in the custody of *Ītākḥ*, al-'Abbās being, according to Ṭabari, in the charge of al-Afshīn (ib. 1265). A story how later one of 'Ujaif's victims came by chance on his place of burial near where he had died whilst in custody, is told by Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 350, and appears in a somewhat similar form in Tanūkhī's "*Faraj ba'd al-Shidda*," i, 92.

offering was not held to be acceptable until consumed by fire. Ibn al-Zubair's interview with his mother, and the account of his death, Tab. 845-7 and 849-52. Amongst those mentioned (fol. 27a) as doing homage to 'Abd al-Malik (ib. 852, l. 4) are ('Abd Allah) b. 'Omar, Abu Sa'id (Sa'id b. Mālik al-Khudri), and Salama (b. 'Amr) b. al-Akwa'. An anecdote follows of a strange petition addressed to the Caliph that he would be pleased to cause an inmate of his ḥarīm to sing thrice to the petitioner, whose life was then to be at the Caliph's mercy. The petitioner was both young and handsome, and the Caliph in his anger said that he would make an example of him, and summoned the lady. She came "as though Cynthia's Orb" bearing a lute. Told to order his melodies, the man specified three couplets by Qais b. Dhariḥ (which occur Agh. viii, 123, ll. 10-8 a.f., but in inverted order). She sang them, whereupon he rent his garments. Next he asked for verses by Jamīl, and fainted. Recovering, he asked for her third song, one by Qais b. al-Mulawwah (Majnūn), after which he threw himself from the belvedere where they were to the ground, and so perished. The Caliph mourned his act, saying that he had intended a better fate for him, and he had the singer removed from the palace. Enquiry about the deceased revealed only that he was a stranger, and had been heard to ejaculate in public lines which presaged woe to himself and others.

75 A.H.

In this or the following year is dated the first issue of Moslem coinage, cf. Tab. 939, and Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 337. The various traditions on the previous coinage are collected by Sauvaire, Num. et Metr. Mus., *Journal Asiatique*, 7th ser., vol. xiv, 455 et seq., where much of what appears here is included. According to Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i (d. 96 A.H., Naw. 135) the weight of the dirham and dinar was fixed by 'Omar as ten to six, and by Ziyād as ten to seven. According to other authorities the latter ratio was fixed also by 'Omar, ib. 494. If this was so, then he did in theory what 'Abd

al-Malik did in fact. The story of his coinage as told by Rashīd to Kisā'i appears in Schwally's edition of al-Baihaqī's *Maḥāsin wal-Masāwi*, Giessen, 1902, p. 498—it has been previously quoted through Damīri—see Sauvaire, *ib.* 480, and Lavoix, *Cat. Monn. Mus. Kh. Or.*, Preface, xxii. The same story is given in our MS. on the authority of Waqī' (Naw. 614), a contemporary of Kisā'i. He describes the then existing dirhams as of three sorts: the 'Wāfia' or 'Baghaliyya,' weighing a full mithqāl; the 'Jariyya,' weighing half a mithqāl; and the 'Ṭabariyya,' ten of which equalled six mithqāls; and that by fusing the three sorts together, 'Abd al-Malik made ten dirhams to equal seven mithqāls.

It is to be noticed that Sauvaire, in his definition of 'Ṭabariyya,' *ib.* xv, 476, quotes al-Māwardī for the statement that these weighed four dāniq, i.e. a half mithqāl, the Wāfia dirham being defined in the *Kāmūs* as equalling one dirham plus four dāniq. The dirham of that weight is here called 'Jariyya,' a term which does not occur in Sauvaire's list.

That prior to 'Abd al-Malik's coinage the dirham was legally seven-tenths of a mithqāl is apparent also from a previous passage in the MS. (fol. 2a), in the story of the sale of the house of Sa'id b. al-Āṣi (d. 58 A.H.) to Mu'āwīa by his heir in return for the discharge of Sa'id's debts in 'Wāfia' dirhams. The story is given also in *Agh.* i, 17, but here the term 'Wāfia' is explained to mean Persian dirhams of the weight of a gold mithqāl each, and we are told that the heir sorted and reckoned them up in the diwan on the footing that the 'Wāfia,' viz. the 'Baghaliyya,' dirhams exceeded the 'Jawāz' or current dirhams by three in every ten.

(fol. 30b) The appointment of Ḥajjāj as governor of 'Irāq, and his address to the people in the Mosque of Kūfa, Ṭab. 863-4, is followed by the account of how he volunteered for the post, fuller than *Mas.* v, 292, and Ḥajjāj's statement of how he should act is set out on the authority of 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umair, Qaḍi of Kūfa (d. 136, at a great age, Naw.

396). He describes the scene in the Mosque when Ḥajjāj appeared and his address from the pulpit, *Tab.* 865-6 and *Mas.* v, 294-8 (a quotation from *Qur.* xiv, 31, preceding the reading of the Caliph's letter), and how Ḥajjāj struck terror by executing 'Umair b. al-Ḍābi, nominally for having exceeded the three days' grace for joining the force under Muhallab, the real motive being that he was one of 'Othmān's murderers. Here (fol. 32*b*) Ḥajjāj taunts him with having been ready enough then to act in person, whereas he now wished to fight by deputy, and hearing that 'Umair's tribesmen were clamouring outside, he directed his head to be thrown to them. The lines here appear in *Tab.* 871-2 and *Mas.* v, 301, and follow the latter with some variants.

78 A.H.

The completion of *Wāsiṭ* is thus dated on fol. 31*a*, but on fol. 40*b* in 83 A.H. The received date is 86 A.H., *Tab.* 1125, and *Yāqūt*, iv, 883-4. Its cost is said to have equalled the entire *Kharāj* of 'Irāq for five years. We are told how Ḥajjāj assigned quarters to the various trades, and that hearing his work was generally admired he had a prisoner brought in chains from the gaol and asked him what he thought of it. He replied, "You have built it on alien soil, and it will pass from you to aliens," whereupon Ḥajjāj ordered him to be set free. This sentiment is attributed to Ḥajjāj himself by *Yāqūt*, iv, 885, l. 17.

Again, (fol. 40*b*) al-Riyāshi ('Abbās b. al-Faraj, d. 257, *Ibn Khall.*; *Sl. Eng.*, iii, 10) relates that Ḥajjāj sought also the opinion of Ḥasan al-Baṣri (*Naw.* 209). He replied that, as truth was incumbent on him, he considered it a misapplication of Allah's money and the act of his enemy, and he then withdrew. After reflection Ḥajjāj exclaimed that such language from a Baṣra man should not go unpunished in Syria, and he had him recalled for execution. But Ḥasan uttered a silent invocation which Ḥajjāj was powerless to resist, and he departed unmolested. The exact terms of the invocation were ascertained by a chamberlain sent after him,

and it was copied. It included the mystic opening words of Qurān, xix, xx, xxxvi, and according to Abu Ishāq al-Baihaqi, it was often used by al-Riyāshi and with success.¹

79 A.H.

(fol. 34*b*) Al-Ḥārith, a pretended prophet, is executed, after being exhorted in vain to repentance. A lance thrust from a soldier failed to take effect, and people began to protest against the execution, but another soldier with a sharper weapon despatched him. And the first soldier, admitting that he had forgotten to call on Allah when striking, was told by the Caliph that that accounted for his failure.

86 A.H.

The obituary notice of 'Abd al-Malik occupies fols. 44-5, and some of the anecdotes of him occur elsewhere. His repining at his greatness and the Qādi's reflection thereon, Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 414; and his longing for water, which was forbidden him, ib. 411. He expressed a fond regret for his only daughter, Fāṭima, the wife of 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, and said his father Marwān had made her a gift of earrings (but the text here is doubtful). Next comes his dying advice to Walīd, Mas. v, 368,² and then a story how, on his deathbed, he received Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwīa b. Khālīd and 'Abd Allah b. Usayyid b. abi-l-'Īs, and required from them an admission that his son Walīd was his successor (making them name him in their admission), and that in their view no one had any better right. On

¹ This statement does not seem to occur in the *Maḥāsīn wal-Masāwī*, ed. Schwally (the edition is not provided with an index), and I am informed by Professor D. S. Margoliouth that there is another 'Adab' work by a 'Baihaqi,' which is often cited by Yāqūt. Stories as to the efficacy of silent invocations seem to have been current. One is told of a prisoner before Ziyād (d. 53 A.H., Tab. ii, 158), in the Faraj ba'd al-Shidda of Ibn abi Dunyā, Lith., Allahabad, 1314, p. 22, and of another before Yazīd b. Abi Muslim (governor of 'Irāq before 96 A.H., Tab. ii, 1282), in the Tadhkira of Ibn Ḥamdūn, B.M. Or. 3180, fol. 88*a*. The above story is given, as in the text, in the Mir'at al-Zamān, op. cit., 30*a*, and Paris, Ar. 6, 131, 255*a*.

² The MS. reads *مستخبر* in place of *مشتغل*, the reading in Mas'ūdi, both masculine and feminine.

their doing this he told them that else he would have struck off their heads, and he disclosed a drawn sword which he had concealed in readiness for this purpose. (This story seems to be referred to in the "Akhbār al-Tiwāl," 328, ll. 18-21.) He addressed his children, as in Mas. v, 370, adding some lines by Ibn 'abd al-A'la al-Shaibāni, and then commended his brother Mu'āwia, who was weak in mind, to Walid, telling him that but for his affliction he would have made him his successor. He told him also to retain his other brother, Muḥammad, in his governorship of Jazīra, and to drop his resentment against his own brother 'Abd Allah, and retain him as governor of Egypt, and to pay regard to his cousin 'Ali b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Abbās (al-Sajjād, the head of the Abbasids), who was well disposed towards them, and to Ḥajjāj, even though he might dislike him, for they owed him their empire, and had more need of him than he of them; and he continued, as Mas. v, 369, saying of the sword, which he told Walid to use, that with it he had killed 'Amr b. Sa'id al-Ashdaq in 70 A.H. (Mas. v, 233). We are told later that 'Amr's son Sa'id was a bearer of the bier at 'Abd al-Malik's funeral, and was reproached and struck by Walid as rejoicing at their loss. Walid's altercation with his brother Hishām is given to same effect as Agh. xii, 104, l. 10 a.f., and Fakhrī, ed. Ahl., 150, ed. Der., 172 (except that here the line he quotes in reply is attributed to Aus b. Ḥajar, and the third brother, Maslama, also quotes some verse).

(f. 42b) Walid's character is described as Ṭab. 1271-3, and his demolishing a convent, as Mas. v, 381. He was particular as to his letters, and was the first Caliph to write on skins (Ṭawāmir). Once whilst at chess with 'Abd Allah b. Mu'āwia b. 'Abd Allah b. Ja'far b. Abi Ṭālib, a member of the Thaqif tribe who was on his way to fight the infidel sought an audience of him. Before he was admitted the board was covered with a cloth so as to preserve the game. The visitor appeared to be a person of some consequence,¹

¹ معتم قد رَجُلَ لِحِيته .

and, after an exchange of compliments, was asked by Walīd whether he could tell him anything on the Qurān, or the traditions or wars of the Prophet, or any Arab, Hījāz, or Persian stories. For none of these, he answered, had he found leisure; whereupon Walīd removed the cloth and resumed the game, saying that in point of fact he and his partner were alone.

Walīd's oration from the pulpit is given as Ṭab. 1177-8, and is repeated (fol. 45*b*) in the notice of 'Abd al-Malik very much as Mas. v, 371, with the addition that, whilst those doing homage were in doubt whether to congratulate or condole, a Thaqif tribesman said a few well-chosen words, which led to his stipend being increased, this being Walīd's first act of favour.

(fol. 43*a*) Maslama's invasion of Byzantine territory is mentioned (Ṭab. 1181), with the story how a Christian captive got leave to procure two Moslems as his ransom, an Arab of the Banu Kilāb agreeing to be surety for his return, and how the Christian afterwards identified the surety as his son. This story occurs in al-Tanūkhī's "Faraj ba'd al-Shidda," i, 92, and also in the Tadhkira of Ibn Ḥamdūn, op. cit., 225*a*.

87 A.H.

(fol. 46*a*) The appointment of 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz over Medina, and his proceedings there, Ṭab. 1182-3.

88 A.H.

(fol. 46*b*) On the occasion of the rebuilding of the Mosque at Medina, Ṭab. 1192-4, there was much public weeping, and Sa'id b. al-Musayyib regretted that the demolished buildings should not have been left as evidence of the simplicity of the Prophet's mode of life.

The expenditure on the Mosque of Damascus, also now rebuilt, is estimated at over one hundred million dinars, and Walīd, hearing that this was disapproved of, demonstrated

that the treasury still contained enough to furnish three years' allowances for the whole of those entitled, 300,000 in number, by causing the bullion to be produced for inspection. And he told the people that his aim was to add a fifth marvel to those the city already possessed, viz., its air, water, fruit, and baths.

There follows a quotation from the historian Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadḥānī (d. 521 A.H.; Wüst., Gesch., No. 232), giving a saying of Jāḥiẓ (which is quoted from his Kitāb al-Buldān by Yāqūt, ii, 593, l. 7), and then an account of a visit by Ma'mūn and others to the Mosque, and their opinions thereon.¹ There follows the story how lead, required for the roof, was bought at its weight in gold, and (again from Hamadḥānī) the sum spent on vegetables for the workers, and the placing in the Mosque of the jewel of the Caliph's dead daughter, Yāqūt, ii, 592-3, with the statement that the total outlay on the Mosque equalled thrice the land-tax of the entire world—presumably the Moslem part only.²

ودخله المأمون ومعه المعتصم ويحيى بن اكثم انقضى فقال
المأمون : اى شئ يعجبكما من هذا المسجد ؟ فقال المعتصم : دهنه
فاننا نصنعه في قصورنا فلا تمضى عليه عشرون سنة حتى يحول وهذا
بحاله كأن الصانع قد فرغ منه الان . فقال : ما اعجبني هذا . فقال
يحيى بن اكثم : اعجبه يا امير المؤمنين تاليف رخامه فان فيه عقوداً
ما يرى مثلها . قال : كلا بل اعجبني انه شئ على غير مثال شهود

² A marginal note on fol. 47a states that the reader had found in another history that Walid had built also a mosque in Spain where the pulpit had employed 18,000 workmen for seven years, at a half-dinar a day each. This must refer to the building by the Omayyad 'Abd al-Rahmān of the Mosque at Cordova in 170 A.H., which is mentioned in the Muntazam, add. 5,928, 104b, where the number of workmen on the pulpit is given as eight, and its total cost as 10,050 dinars. 'Abd al-Rahmān in fact only founded it, spending 500,000 dinars thereon; it was finished by his successor, Hishām, see Bayan al-Mughrib., ed. Dozy, ii, 20 and 70. The pulpit seems to have been placed in the 'Mimbar' by Hakam b. 'Abd al-Rahmān when he altered the building in 354 A.H., and the chronicler Ambrosio de Morales says that it was to be seen in the Cathedral at Cordova as late as the middle of the sixteenth century, when it was dismembered, and its materials employed in the construction of a Christian altar; see "Moorish Remains in Spain," by A. F. Calvert, London, 1906, p. 103.

89 A.H.

(fol. 47*b*) The Abbasid claims were now first openly preached in favour of the Imām Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, and spread continuously until his death in 124 A.H.

91 A.H.

Al-Qasri is appointed Governor of Mecca and addresses the people, Ṭab. 1231. He puts to death the poet al-Ja‘di b. Dirham, who had denied the claims of Moses and Abraham to their titles of al-Kalīm and al-Khalīl, the Governor remarking that whoever so wished might go and celebrate the Adhā, or feast of victims, but that his victim was al-Ja‘di.¹ The authority for this is ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb. Then follows Walid’s pilgrimage and his interview with Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib, Ṭab. 1232–4, and the story of his wife Umm al-Banīn asking for the gifts of Ḥajjāj’s son Muḥammad, Ṭab. 1273–4.

94 A.H.

(fol. 49*b*) Sa‘īd b. Jubair is put to death by Ḥajjāj, Ṭab. 1261–6. The manner of his death is told also in Mas. v, 376–7, Fragm. 9, and Naw. 279.

It is here stated that, with Sa‘īd, was sent another prisoner, Ismā‘īl b. Ausaṭ al-Bajali, who is not mentioned in Ṭab. 1262, and that the escort, on seeing Sa‘īd’s acts of piety, told him to escape as he was going to his death, but he refused, lest they should suffer for it; cf. Ṭab. 1263. On fol. 55 is an account of his dialogue with Ḥajjāj, as given by Mas‘ūdi, but fuller, Ḥajjāj asking what he thought of the heads of the Moslem community from the Prophet to ‘Abd al-Malik, and lastly himself, to which Sa‘īd replied, “You best know yourself”; but went on to express a very unfavourable opinion of his acts, and was beheaded. His

¹ In Ibn al-Qaisarānī, ed. de Jong, p. 31, the last Omayyad Caliph is said to have been given his laqab by the Abbasids as holding al-Ja‘di’s views.

severed head is said to have uttered a pious formula (as in *Fragm.* and in *Nawawi*), once completely and once partially.¹ Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri imprecated vengeance on Ḥajjāj for his act, and that its memory haunted him is mentioned on fol. 54a, as *Fragm.* 10.

95 A.H.

Ḥajjāj's death is recorded, with anecdotes. His incorrect mode of pronouncing Arabic was admitted, under pressure, by the grammarian Yaḥya b. Ya'mar, who illustrated it by a passage from *Qur.* ix, 24, and was banished to *Khurāsān* so as to be safe against hearing it again.² The number of his victims is given as in *Mas.* v, 382. Then follows a long story (fols. 53-4) how Anas b. Mālīk escaped his vengeance by appealing to the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, who forthwith ordered him to desist. This is told also in the *Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, pp. 327-8, but here more fully, the letters to Anas and to Ḥajjāj being set out.³ In excusing himself Ḥajjāj told Anas that but for the Caliph he would have dealt strongly with him, to which Anas replied that he knew of an invocation which protected him against all tyranny. Ḥajjāj tried to ascertain the formula both from him and his son, but failed. It is here given on Anas' authority. Next comes Ḥajjāj's minatory address at Baṣra on appointing his son Muḥammad (not his brother) as deputy for him, *Mas.* v, 336. And finally the physicians' mode of discovering

¹ A note to *Mas.* v, 503, states the genesis of this miracle. *Nawawi* relates, too, that a cock used to wake Sa'id for prayer. He once failed to do so, and Sa'id wished he might never crow again. The wish was granted. With this may be compared the story told by Saint Bonaventura, in the life of St. Francis of Assisi, that a falcon used to rouse St. Francis at the appointed hours for the offices, but that when the Saint was afflicted with any kind of infirmity it woke him somewhat later ('parcebat falco nec tam tempestivas indicebat vigiliis'). It is not recorded that the Saint resented this in the falcon. Sa'id was less merciful, if the cock's punishment is to be measured by the relief to his hearers.

² In the life of Yahya, in *Ibn Khall.*, ii, 300, *Sl. Eng.* iv, 61, the *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* is quoted for this incident, and the passage appears verbatim in the *MS. de Jong*, 122, under 84 A.H. Earlier in the same life *Ibn Khall.* gives another version of the story; here we have a third.

³ The story is told at length in the *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, op. cit., 74b.

the disease which was killing him is told as in Ibn Khall. i, 157; Sl. Eng. i, 362.¹

96 A.H.

(fol. 55*b*) Walid dies, being prevented by death from substituting his son as his successor² in place of Sulaimān, who succeeds.

His acts of clemency are stated, Ṭab. 1337, and he is said to have taken 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz as his vizier. His address from the pulpit, Mas. v, 398, appears here more fully (fol. 56). The next folio contains an anecdote of his excessive voracity, how having invited his courtiers to eat fruit with him he applied to the gardener for successive dishes of meat which he ate and then reverted to the fruit. This characteristic of his is mentioned Mas. v, 400-1.³

99 A.H.

(fol. 58*a*) Sulaimān dies after providing that 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz should succeed him, as Ṭab. 1341-4, but shorter. On fol. 63*a* is given the anecdote illustrating his vanity, and how swiftly death overtook him, Mas. v, 403-4,

¹ A similar story is told earlier in the MS. (fol. 28*a*) of Bishr, brother of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, how his physician Banādūq (probably Thiyādhūq, Ibn Uṣābi'a, i, 120) ascertained his disease and announced to him it would be fatal. And on Bishr saying that he had always avoided extremes of heat and of cold, the physician told him that it was precisely that which had ruined his stomach, *بعل حوفك*, heat and cold being both essential to health.

² In the fragment of the Muntazam, B.M. Add. 5,928, fol. 100*b*, this is stated more fully and exactly in accordance with Ṭab. 1274.

³ The story there given of al-Aṣma'i and Sulaimān's 'Jubba' is told in the Fakhri, ed. Ahl., 152-3, ed. Der., 174, in a somewhat different form, in which it occurs also in the Tadhkira of Ibn Hamdūn, op. cit., where the text, fol. 182*a*, l. ult., has *طبيباً* in place of *طبيباً* in the Fakhri text. In the Mir'at al-Zamān, op. cit., 116*a*, and Paris, Ar. 6,132, 71*a*, al-Aṣma'i merely tells the story: the stains on the 'Jubba' are explained by an Omayyad present. Later al-Aṣma'i got the credit of the explanation and of Rashīd's wonder at his knowledge.

and Fakhri, ed. Ahl., 153, ed. Der., 175, with variants in the verses.¹

(fols. 58*b*–62*b* and 64*b*–65*b*) The stories relating to ‘Omar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, given under his accession and death, occur in the notices on him in Mas. v, 416, Naw. 463, in Suyūṭi’s life of him, p. 233, and in Agh. vii, 153–4 and 156, l. 9, a.f. (the last story being told in different language at fol. 64*b*). Three of the longer stories occur in Becker’s “Ibn al-Jauzi’s *Manāqib* ‘Omar,” pp. 77–9, 100–1, and 139–42.² The concluding story relates that the sovereign of India, the possessor of 1,000 elephants, and the suzerain of as many kings, and for whom aloes and camphor rose up in streams, sent to the monotheist sovereign of the Arabs a gift, one hardly deserving, as he said, the name, yet a rarity, with a request that someone should be sent to instruct him. The authority for this is Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāh (d. 150 A.H., Naw. 198).

100 A.H.

(fol. 64*a*) The embassy of the revolted Kharijites to ‘Omar, and how it led to his being poisoned, is told as Ṭab. 1348–9 (cf. Mas. v, 434), and the beginning of the Abbasid movement in *Khurāsān*, as Ṭab. 1358. The MS. adds the instructions given by the Abbasid Muḥammad b. ‘Ali to

¹ The MS. has also (fol. 101*b*) the story how al-Saffāh, with equal right to pride in his personal appearance, expressly disclaimed following Sulaimān’s example, and asked for a long life in Allah’s service. At that very moment he heard a slave say to another, “We fix two months and five days as the term.” Saffāh accepted the augury, and (therefore?) died exactly at that interval of time.

² With some variations in the text, e.g., p. 77, l. 6, *برزئت* for *أزريت*; p. 78, l. 5, *لما* for *بها*; l. 10, n. 6, the editor’s conjecture is confirmed, and the readings in nn. 3 and 7 are confirmed also; p. 77, l. 1, *المسلمين* for *العرب*; l. 4, *بنيات* as in n. 1; p. 102, l. 7, *عن الهوى* is inserted after *النفس*; p. 140, l. 8, *مضرسة* after *كودًا*; p. 142, the reading in n. 2 is followed; and ‘Omar’s vision occurs during, not a fainting fit, but slumber, which Abu Ḥazm attributes to his wakeful nights.

these emissaries, and why *Khurāsān* was the district which offered the most promising field for their work.¹

(fol. 64^b) Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik’s attempt to emulate the piety of his predecessor is frustrated by *Habāba* singing to him the verses of al-Aḥwaṣ, as Agh. xiii, 157–8. The authority is ‘Ubaid Allah b. ‘Amr al-Fihri.

102 A.H.

(fol. 65^b) In recording the death of the rebel Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, an anecdote is given, on the authority of al-Ṣūlī (d. 325 A.H., Brock. i, 143), how al-Kauthar b. Zufar (mentioned *Tab.* ii, 1455) attended on him when he was Governor of ‘Irāq, and began by observing that the Governor’s rank was such that aid against him could be procured only through him; that no favour coming from him could possibly be worthy the giver, and that people marvelled, not at what he accomplished, but at his leaving anything unaccomplished. Being then told to state what he wanted, he did so, but the dialogue proceeded at such a high level that it needed the Governor’s persuasion to induce his visitor to accept anything.

105 A.H.

(fol. 67^b) Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik dies, and the notice of him (fol. 70^b) states that the cause was his grief at the

وكان يقول لرجال أهل الدعوة : أما الكوفة وسوادها فهناك شيعة¹
على وولده . وأما البصرة فعثمانية . وأما الجزيرة فمسلمون اخلاف
النصارى . وأما أهل الشام فلا يعرفون إلا طاعة بنى مروان . وأما أهل
مكة فقد غلب عليهم أبو بكر وعمر . ولكن عليكم بخراسان فإن
هناك الصدور السليمة والقلوب الفارغة التي لم تنقسمها الهوى ولم
توزعها النحل

death of Ḥabāba. And the accident which occasioned his death is stated as *Fragm.* 77.

(f. 67*b*) *Hishām* b. ‘Abd al-Malik succeeds. The imbecility of his mother, and ‘Abd al-Malik’s dream about her, are stated as *Fragm.* 81–2, with the addition of a dream in which *Hishām* saw himself eating apples to the number of nineteen and a part of another, which was interpreted by reading regnal years for apples; after becoming Caliph he never partook of this fruit.

(f. 68*a*) *Yūnus* tells a story how an inmate of *Hishām*’s ḥarīm told him that, although her position was all that she could desire, yet earthly considerations must yield to the fact that she had belonged to a son of his.¹ *Hishām* highly approved her conduct and separated from her, giving her a position in his household. His daily habits are next described; how he first received the police report for the day, then heard a section of the Qurān read; then gave audience, and then had a meal, during which he heard petitions, his replies being taken down by clerks. Later, after the midday prayer, he attended to current business until the afternoon prayer, and then gave audience until the sunset prayer, when his evening guests, al-Zuhri and others, attended. And once, when the news of a rising in Armenia arrived, he rose forthwith and swore that no roof should shelter him until it had been suppressed. His punishment of his son for his absence from the mosque is told as *Ṭab.* 1733, and there follows a story how the Mu‘tazil Abu Marwān *Ghailān* b. Marwān al-Dimashqi was put to death in this reign; cf. *Ṭab.* 1733, and *Fragm.* 130 (where he is called *Ghailān* b. Muslim). A question was put by him to Rabī‘a b. (abi) ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (*Naw.* 244), “Do you hold that it is by Allah’s assent that people disobey Him?” To which Rabī‘a answered, “Do you think that they disobey Him in His own despite?” and *Ghailān* was

¹ The words are—

ولكن الناس (الدنيا؟) ليس لها خطر ان ابنيك فلانا اشتراكي الخ

silenced.¹ For the doctrine held by the Mu'tazila on this subject see Mas. vi, 21-2.

Next follows, from Madā'ini, the story how the grateful recollection of a Shaikh, who had been a dependant of Hishām, and his regard for his benefactor's memory, compelled the admiration of the Caliph Maṣṣūr, as Ṭab. iii, 412-13, and Mas'ūdi, vi, 167, but in different terms, and on other authority. And Hishām is said to have refrained from in any way favouring the children of 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, saying that he should do no more for them than 'Omar himself had done.

Obituary notices occupy the intervening years until, under 118 A.H. (fol. 81a), Madā'ini tells how Mālik b. Dīnār (Naw. 537) expressed surprise at a man, whose apparel represented some three dirhams, paying twice that sum for a fish, and was told by him that the fish was intended, not for himself, but for their tyrannical governor Bilāl b. Abi Burda (then over Baṣra, Ṭab. 1593). Mālik took the man to the governor, and by his influence procured him redress. The governor thereupon requested his prayers on his behalf, but he replied that this would be of little avail whilst ten score hands were being outstretched against him at his own gate.

121 A.H.

(fol. 82b) The death of the revolted Zaid b. 'Ali is stated, and how his body was exhumed, crucified, and afterwards burned, as Mas. v, 470-1; and then the expedition of Naṣr b. Sayyār to Farghāna, and how the queen-mother gave him her opinions on the essential requisites for a ruler, as Ṭab. 1297. On the question of what caused Zaid's rising (which is discussed Ṭab. 1668), fols. 83-4 contain the story of a dialogue between Hishām and Khālīd b. Ṣafwān b. al-Ahtam, which is related in the same terms in Agh. ii, 35, l. 14, to 36, l. ult.

انشدك الله اترى الله يحب ان يعصى ؟ فقال ربيعة : انشدك

الله اترى الله يعصى قسراً ؟ فكان ربيعة القى غيلان حجراً

125 A.H.

(fol. 86*a*) Hishām dies, telling his weeping children on his deathbed (fol. 87*b*) that he had given them amply of this world's goods, and they were equally liberal of their tears; his worldly goods he left to them, but whatever of reward he might have earned remained his, and terrible indeed would his transition by death be should that reward fail him.¹

Walid b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik succeeds, as provided by the predecessor Walid. The new Caliph's misconduct when leader of the pilgrimage, as Tab. 1740-1, with the addition of a story, on the authority of Ṣāliḥ b. Kaisān, how the Qāḍi of Medina, Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm, told the people to burn the 'Qubba' which Walid had sent to be placed round the Ka'ba, and, on their hesitating because of its escort of 500 troopers, he called for the coat of mail worn by 'Abd al-Rahmān on the day of Badr, and, placing himself at their head, burned it himself. The people's firmness protected him from the escort's anger. (Nevertheless his dismissal from his post soon followed, Tab. 1768.)

Hishām's wish to make his own son Maslama his successor, and his failure, is told as in Tab. 1742, and the further fact (fol. 86*b*) that applications for grants were refused by Hishām on the ground that he was merely in the position of treasurer for Walid, and that his death followed thereon (but scarcely therefore, as the act seems to indicate scrupulous honesty). The difficulty about preparing his body for burial is given as Tab. 1730, and the name of Walid's mother and his bodily vigour as Tab. 1810-11. Poetry follows by Walid on Sulaima, whom he had married after divorcing her sister, see Fragm. 113, where the lines are different. He was partial and generous to poets, with one of whom he drank from

جاء لكم هشام بالدنيا وجدتم له بالبكاء وترك لكم ما جمع وتركتم
عليه اتم ما كسب ما اعظم منقلب هشام ان لم يغفره الله

as corrected by B.M. Add. 23,277, fol. 205*b*.

a pool of wine. His heresy is vouched for by Aḥmad b. Kāmil (Ibn Shajara, the historian, died 350 A.H., *Wüst.*, *Gesch.*, 123), who gives the story of his piercing a Qur'ān with arrows, cf. *Mas.* vi, 10; *Agh.* vi, 125, l. 8; and *Fakhri*, ed. *Ahl.*, 159, ed. *Der.*, 182. And in conclusion is recorded a tradition handed down by al-Zuhri from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib, that the Prophet was heard by 'Omar to say, on the occasion of the birth of a son named Walīd to the brother of Umm Salma, that they had named him after one of their Pharaohs, and that in truth a man of this name would prove to this people even worse than Pharaoh. And al-Adhira'i ascertained from al-Zuhri that it was this Walīd rather than the son and successor of 'Abd al-Malik whom the Prophet intended by the phrase "one of your Pharaohs."

126 A.H.

(fol. 87*b*) Yazīd b. Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik succeeds, *Ṭab.* 1825. He was the first Caliph whose mother was a slave, which the Omayyads believed to be of ill augury for the continuance of the dynasty.

127 A.H.

(fol. 88*a*) Marwān b. Muḥammad succeeds (*Ṭab.* 1876), and Ibrāhīm, Yazīd's successor, submits to him (*ib.* 1892). The name of Marwān's mother is given as Hāribat al-Birmā, cf. *Mas.* vi, 47, and *Fragm.* 154-5, where al-Ja'di, from whom Marwān's nickname was derived, is called his uncle—here, his tutor—and is said to have been executed for heresy, as above mentioned.

129 A.H.

(fol. 88*b*) The mission of Abu Muslim to Khurāsān in the Abbasid cause, *Ṭab.* 1949, is followed by a statement of the divergencies between the Omayyad and Abbasid rites in the Mosque, *Ṭab.* 1955-6; and (fol. 89*a*) the correspondence between Marwān and his General, Naṣr b. Sayyār, *Ṭab.* 1973.

130 A.H.

Abu Muslim enters Merv, Tab. 1984.

131 A.H.

(fol. 91a) The plague of 'Ibn Qutaiba' is recorded, and al-Aṣma'i relates that 11,000 corpses were borne daily across the Ṭariq al-Mirbad (at Baṣra); that the deaths on the first day were 70,000, and still more on the second and third; and that doors were closed lest dogs should eat the bodies. This plague is mentioned also in the Kitāb al-Ma'ārif of the historian Ibn Qutaiba, ed. Wüst., 292, as having happened in this year, the Governor of Baṣra being Salm b. Qutaiba (cf. Tab. iii, 21). The authority there is al-Aṣma'i, and he is quoted as referring to it also as the plague of Salm.

132 A.H.

(fol. 93a) The defeat of Marwān at the Zāb River is related as Tab. iii, 40-2 and 45-6, and the narrative of his death follows in a form differing somewhat from the printed histories—see the text *infra*.¹ The story of the

وهرب مروان الى مصر فدخلها في رمضان وبها عبيدالله قد سبقه¹
ونزل (94b) عبدالله بن علي نهر ابي فرطس (فطرس) من فلسطين
وجمع بنى امية واظهر انه يريد ان يفرض لهم العطاء وهم نيف
وثمانون انسانا (و) خسر جوا عليهم فقتلوههم . وجاء كتاب
ابى العباس بان ينفذ صالح بن علي لطلب مروان ويجعل
على مقدمته ابا عون والحسن بن فحطبة فبلغوا العريش وبلغ
مروان الخبر فاحرق ما حوله من علف وطعام وهرب ومضى
صالح ومن معه في طلبه الى الصعيد فساروا حتى ادركوه بقرية
تسمى بوعير من اخر الليل وقد نزل الكنيسة ومعه حرمه وثقله

Abbasid general placing Marwān's head in his eldest daughter's lap in requital for Zaid's head having been similarly placed in the lap of his sister Zainab, seems new; cf. *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, op. cit., 248b. Mas'ūdi, vi, 100, says that Marwān's daughter rebuked his conqueror for eating the meal prepared for her father, a rebuke which Saffāh confirmed.

(fol. 95a) The escape of some of the Omayyads to Abyssinia and their eventual surrender to Mahdi, *Tab.* iii, 46.

Thus ended the Omayyad dynasty. In the notice of Marwān's State Secretary, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yahya (fol. 97a), it is said that, according to the historians, the dynasty had

وولده . قال عامر : فوصلنا في جمع يسير فلو علم قلّتنا لشكّ علينا
فلجأنا الى شجرٍ ومخلٍ وقلّت لاصحابي : ان اصبحنا وراى قلّتنا
اهلكونا . وخرج مروان فقاتل وهو يقول : وكانت لله علينا حقوق
ضيعناها ولم نقم بما يلزمنا فحلم عنا ثم انتقم منا . وكان قد عرض
جيشه بالركة فمّر به ثمانون الف عربى على ثمانين الف فرس
عربى ففكر ساعة ثم قال : اذا انعمت المال ولم تنفع العدة . ثم
بالغ في القتال فقتل ثلثمائة رجلٍ وأخذه الجراح وحمل عليه رجل
فقتله واحتزّ راسه رجل من اهل البصرة كان يبيع الرقمان . فقال
الحسن بن قحطبة : اخرجوا الى اكبر بنات مروان . فاخرجوها وهى
ترعد فقال لها : لا لباس عليك . فقالت : اى لباس اعظم من
اخراجك اياي حاسرة من حيث لم ار رجلاً قط . فاجلسها ووضع
الراس في حجرها فصرخت واضطربت فتقيل له : ما حملك على
هذا ؟ قال : كفعلهم بيزيد بن على حين قتلوه فانهم جعلوا راسه في
حجر يزيد بنت على . وبعث براسه الى صالح بن على فنصب
على باب مسجد دمشق وبعث به الى السقاج فخرّ ساجداً وتصدق

بعشرة آلاف دينار

in its service at its close four men distinguished by qualities of the first rank:—Marwān himself, for his bravery and state ability; his secretary, for his skill and eloquence; Yazīd b. ‘Omar b. Hubaira, for administration and soundness of judgment; and Naṣr b. Sayyār, for vigour, moderation, and wide renown. The Caliph Maṣṣūr is reported (fol. 95*a*) to have said of the Omayyads: “Why were they not granted their lives; they would then have experienced under our rule what we experienced under theirs, and been as well disposed towards us as we were towards them, for, in truth, they were happy whilst alive and regretted when dead.”¹

He was given an occasion for putting his precept into practice. Marwān had two sons, ‘Abd Allah and ‘Ubaid Allah, the latter of whom he had preferred in the order of succession to an elder brother, ‘Abd al-Malik, on the ground of his greater similarity in name to his Abbasid opponent; see Ṭab. iii, 204-5. By the received account they both escaped to Abyssinia, where one of them was killed, and the other was later captured and surrendered to Mahdi, dying in prison in 170 A.H.; see *Fragm.* 205, Ṭab. iii, 46, 485, and 569.² There now follows (fol. 95*a*) the story of the adventure of one of them in Nubia, which is given, but less fully, in *Mas.* vi, 163. He is there called ‘Abd Allah, here ‘Ubaid Allah, and in the result is not reconducted to prison, as in *Mas’ūdi*, but kept under observation in one of the palaces with a suitable provision for his wants. And this, on the advice, not of ‘Īsa, but of Ismā‘il b. ‘Alī, also uncle to Maṣṣūr. The story is not conclusive as to the Nubian monarch’s moral views; the Omayyad’s dynastic abasement may have been intentional, and as he thought, well-timed; and in this version of the story it proved not ineffective.

Another story follows (fol. 96*b*), told by al-Ḥasan b.

¹ *آلَمْ تَوَدُّوا عَلَيْهِمْ لِيَرَوْا مِنْ دَوْلَتِنَا مَا رَأَيْنَا مِنْ دَوْلَتِهِمْ وَيَرْغَبُونَ إِلَيْنَا
كَمَا رَغِبْنَا إِلَيْهِمْ فَقَدْ لَعْنَتِي عَاشُوا سَعْدَاءُ وَمَاتُوا فَقْدَاءُ*

² The passage in *Tab.* iii, 46, l. 11, as corrected in accordance with *Fragm.* 205, makes ‘Ubaid Allah the one killed. In this text it is he who survives.

Khidr, how one of the fugitive Omayyads, Ibrāhīm b. Sulaimān b. ‘Abd al-Malik, who had been pardoned by Saffāh at the intercession of his uncle Dā’ud, was asked by the Caliph to relate what had happened to him whilst in hiding. He said that whilst at Hīra he saw troops approaching from Kūfa, and suspecting they had come after him he escaped in disguise to Kūfa. Knowing no one, in his perplexity he entered the courtyard of a house and sat there until the owner arrived with a retinue of attendants. He told him his life was in danger, and he was thereupon shown into a chamber overlooking the women’s apartments, where he remained for a long period, well provided with all he needed, and not questioned in any way. Seeing his host ride out daily, Ibrāhīm asked him his motive. He answered that his father had been deliberately murdered by Ibrāhīm b. Sulaimān; that he had heard he was in hiding, and that he was looking out for his revenge. In astonishment at fate having conducted him to his house, and tired of life, Ibrāhīm said that he conceived himself bound to help him to his redress, and that he was able to hasten its attainment, and he told him who he was. The man replied that he believed him to be tired of hiding and anxious to be dead, but Ibrāhīm insisted that he was the murderer, and gave details of the deed. The man’s anger rose, but checking it he replied that as for his father he would later have the opportunity of taking his revenge on Ibrāhīm; as for himself, he would not do anything to violate his asylum, but that he had better depart since he could not feel safe against a change of mind. And he offered Ibrāhīm a thousand dinars, which he refused, and departed. But never had he known, said he, a nobler character.¹

¹ This anecdote is given in similar terms in Ibn al-Jauzi’s “Kitāb al-Mughaffalīn,” Paris, Ar., 3,453, fol. 129a.

(*To be continued.*)