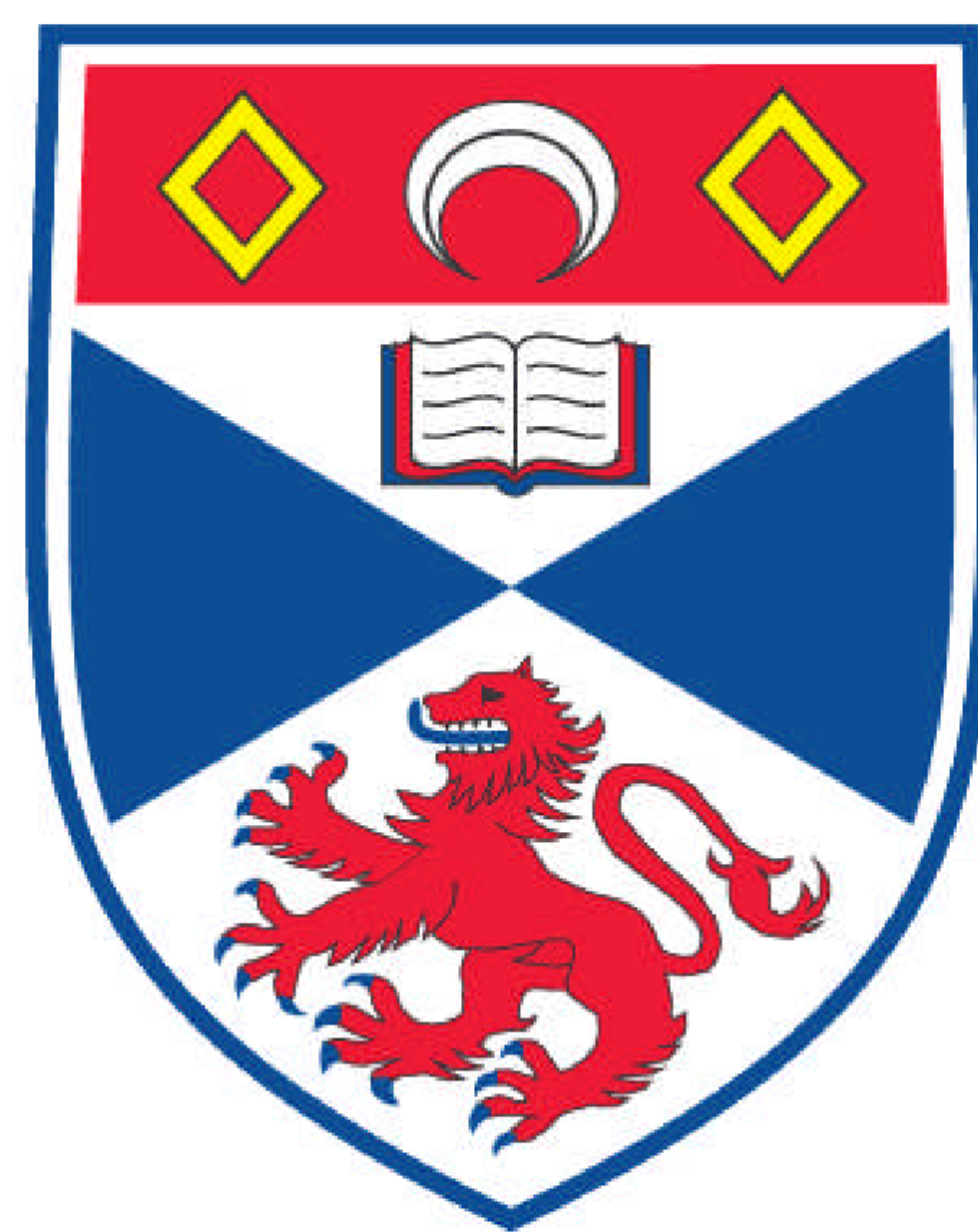


**THE Umayyad Succession: Succession to the
Caliphate from the First Civil War to the End of the
Umayyad Dynasty**

Ramli Omar

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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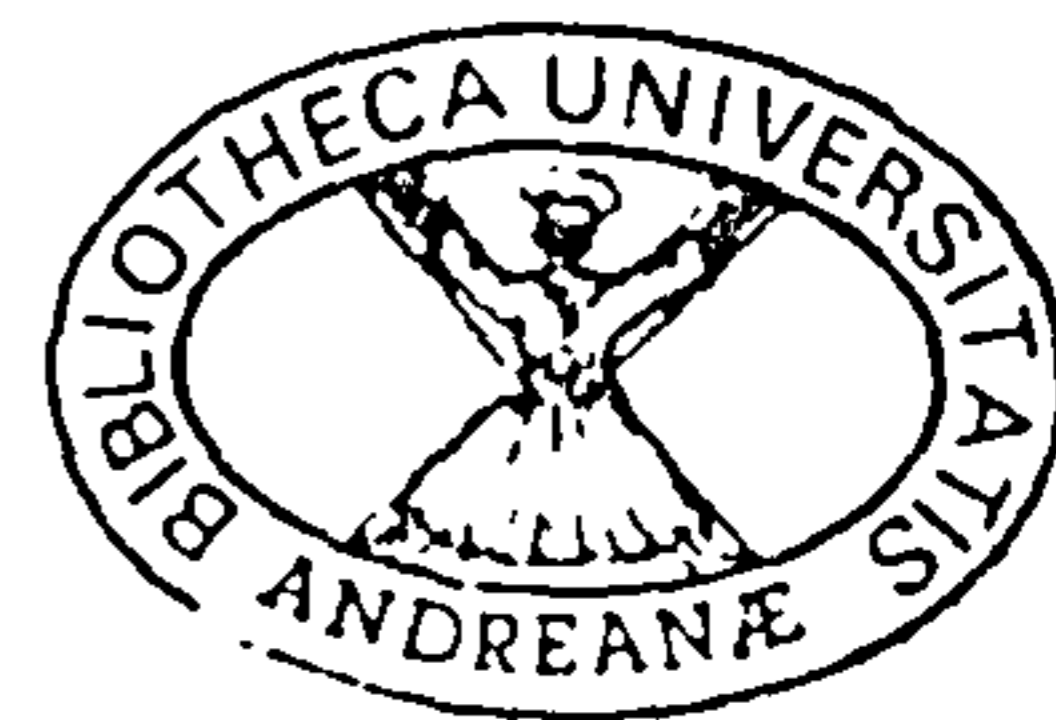
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THE UMAYYAD SUCCESSION:
SUCCESSION TO THE CALIPHATE
FROM THE FIRST CIVIL WAR TO THE
END OF THE UMAYYAD DYNASTY

RAMLI OMAR



Presented in application for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

1997

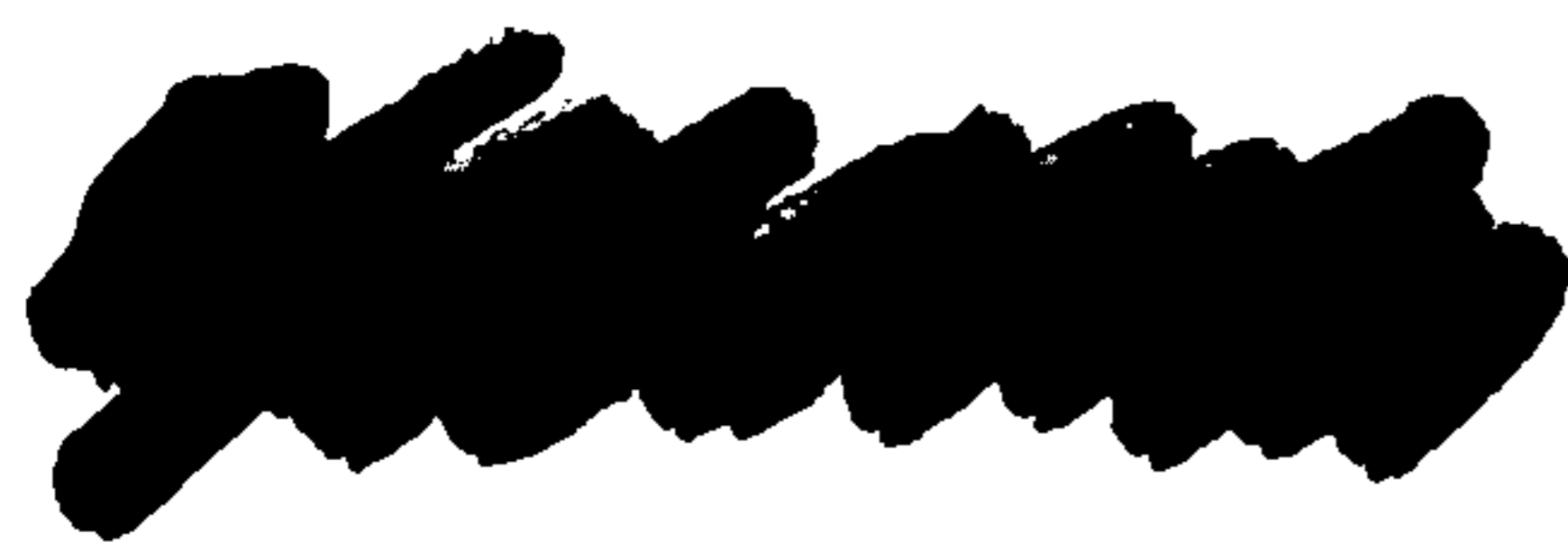
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Supervisor

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Dedication

My beloved wife Meriah
all my sons and daughters

Nailah

A. Salami

Afifuddin

Hidayati

Nazri

who patiently waited for me during my study

Thank you so much

Acknowledgements

Dr RA Kimber, of the Department of Arabic Studies, Mrs E. Kerr, the Secretary of the Department of Arabic Studies, Dr H. Kennedy, of the Department of Medieval History, the members of staff of St Andrews University Library and of the Modern Languages Library and the members of staff of the University of St Andrews English Language Teaching Centre. I owe very special thanks to all of them. I also wish to express my sincere and deep gratitude to my supervisor Dr RA Kimber for his expert guidance and for all his kindness.

Above all, I am most deeply indebted to Sultan Zainal Abidin Religious College, a Higher Education institute of Terengganu State of Malaysia for sponsoring my studies and to my wife Meriah Bakar for her endless patience. I am grateful to all of them.

Ramli Omar
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March 1997.

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Introduction

Review of Modern Works

The present state of knowledge of the Umayyad succession is not complete. There are various studies on the Umayyad Caliphs dealt with by the modern scholars, but as far as I am concerned, nobody has done research on the succession of the caliphs in which they particularly mention the early life of the candidates, on what grounds they were chosen to inherit the position and the other things related to the succession such as policy and preparation of a caliph and so on.

We have a number of modern researchers who work in the history of this period. They are Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall*, Shaban, *Islamic History AD 600-750 (AH 132)*, Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam*, Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* - just to name a few examples. Wellhausen, who refers to Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-'l-Nihāya*, Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh al-Rusul*, al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān wa-'l-Tabayīn* and to others for his study, mentions the succession of all the caliphs, but the discussions are very brief. In this respect, Shaban, Hawting and Kennedy the modern scholars who recently published their works do the same. Although detailed research into the succession of the caliphs during the early Abbasid period has been carried out by Chejne, his research into the Umayyad period is also very brief. He deals only with the succession of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya up to the nomination of Marwān b. Muḥammad. (Chejne, *AG. Succession to the rule in Islam: with special reference to the early Abbasid period*, Michigan 1985, 43-50). Another researcher who describes the Umayyad patterns of the succession since 'Uthmān b. 'Aflān is Blay-Abramski. However, her discussion about the Umayyad successors is also in general. (Blay-Abramski, Irit Irene, *From Damascus to Baghdad: The Abbasid Administrative System as a Product of the Umayyad Heritage*

(41/661-320/932), Princeton University, Ph. D. 1982, under the title 'The Umayyad Patterns of Succession, 69-80).

Among other scholars who have chosen to describe a particular candidate in more detail is W. W. Barthold (V. V. Bartold). He describes 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz in his article 'Caliph 'Umar II and the conflicting reports on his personality,' published in *Islamic Quarterly* XV (1971) which was translated from Russian by Jan W. Waryho. He uses a lot of Arabic references in his study such as Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh al-Rusul wa-'l-Muluk*, Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, Ya'kūbī, *Ta'rīkh al-Ya'qūbī*, Muḥy al-Dīn b. Sharaf Nawāwī, *Tahdīb al-Asmā wa-'l-Lughāt* and others. From all of these, he scans a lot of information about 'Umar's early life before he became caliph.

Saleh K. Hammarneh whose article 'Marwān b. al-Ḥakam wa-'l-Khilāfa,' first published in *Dirāsāt Tārīkiyya* VI (1981) translated and edited by Eugene L. Rogan: 'Marwan b, al-Hakam and the Caliphate,' in *Der Islam* LXV (1988) challenges Wellhausen's view that despite any initiative on his own part, Marwan, following his expulsion from Medina, ascended the throne in Damascus. Although Saleh K. Hammarneh's opinion that Marwān had clear ambitions to be caliph is not strong enough, his article nevertheless provides a lot of information about the early life of Marwān before he eventually did become caliph. Marwān has more recently been examined by C. E. Bosworth in his work 'Marwan I b. al-Ḥakam,' published in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, VI, Leiden 1991. Bosworth's information on Marwan before coming to power, is more or less the same as that of Saleh. However, Bosworth seems to differ from Saleh, in his opinion that Marwan came to power after lengthy preparation. Bosworth's point of view is that Marwān was about to give the oath of allegiance to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr but that 'Ubayd Allāb b. Ziyād urged Marwān to claim power for himself.

In addition to the above mentioned scholars is 'Abd al-Ameer 'Abd Dixon who also

contributes a great deal of information on 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's personality in his book *The Umayyad Caliphate, 65-86/684-705*, London 1971. Although he is not dealing with the succession of 'Abd al-Malik in particular, he provides an introductory chapter on the background of 'Abd al-Malik and finally arrives at his conclusion that it was the valuable experience of 'Abd al-Malik which determined him as successor, to the exclusion of his brothers. Moreover, we have a little information about 'Abd al-Malik's succession and his background from H. A. R. Gibb's work "'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān,' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, I*, London 1960. Contrary to this, Khalid Yahya Blankinship who very recently published his work (*The End of the Jihād State*, State University of New York 1994) mentions nothing about the succession of any of the candidate belonging to the Umayyad dynasty. He describes only the internal and external causes of the downfall of the Umayyad caliphate but looks closely into the reign of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik in relation to the jihād state.

A further recently published article about the history of the Umayyad period the article 'Apocalyptic and Other Materials on Early Muslim-Byzantine Wars: a Review of Arabic Sources,' in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society I* (1991). The article is composed by Suliman Bashear who mentions nothing about the history of the succession during the Umayyad dynasty. He describes only the events in which the Umayyad caliphs were involved.

Patricia Crone has a slightly different opinion when she deals with the tribes of the Qays and Yemen in her article 'Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad Period Political Parties?' in *Der Islam* 71 (1994). She concern herself only intermittently with the involvement of the tribes, and mentions briefly the close relationship between Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. I agree with her that this close relationship caused the caliph to make his final decision on 'Umar as his unexpected successor. She also states that Sulaymān protected Yazīd b. Muhallab from being sacrificed by al-Ḥajjāj through

al-Walid's power, and that al-Walid tried to remove Sulaymān as the successor in favour of his own son 'Abd al-'Azīz. When she describes the Qadarites in relation to Yazīd b. al-Walid, she mentions only very briefly that Yazīd b. al-Walid believed in the sect, as we can conclude from Ṭabarī's work in *Ta'rikh*. In addition, Van J. Ess goes seemingly a little further when he states that the Qadarites had been politically involved in Yazīd b. al-Walid's revolt against al-Walid b. Yazīd and that among them was 'Umar b. Hāni' al-'Ansī who in 127/749 was executed on the orders of Marwān b. Muḥammad, on account of his participation in the rebellion. (Ess, J. V. 'Qadariyya,' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition IV, Leiden 1978, 370). According to Ṭabarī, the person who was assassinated by Marwān's order was not 'Umar b. Hāni' al-'Ansī, but in fact Qays b. Hāni' al-'Absī who strongly supported Yazīd b. al-Walid and blamed 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, Cairo 1966, 270/II, 1836). In the case of 'Umar b. Hāni' al-'Ansī, al-Bukhārī states that he was 'Umayr b. Hāni' al-'Ansī who had served as governor of Bathaniyya and Ḥawrān for 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. He was not among the Qadarites, but among the third generation which had attained thirty companions of the Prophet. (Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, *al-Ta'rikh al-Kabīr* III/2, Hyderabad 1970, 535).

Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān is the most important figure of the Umayyad caliphs whom many scholars have been sufficiently interested to study in more detail since Wellhausen up to the present time. The very recent study of the above subject by M. Hinds is Mu'āwiya I, a work published in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition VII, Leiden 1993. Hinds clearly uses many Arabic references in order to scan the early life of the candidate. Among other sources are Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba fī-Tmayīz al-Ṣaḥāba*, Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa-'l-Muluk*, al-Qurtubī, *al-Jāmi' li-Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān* - to name just a few. No less important than Hinds's work in this case is H. Lammens's work published in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition, III, London 1936. In addition to Hinds, Lammens also uses Mu'āwiya as the title of his study. Another reliable work is *The*

Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates (London 1986) by H. Kennedy, especially chapter four The Umayyad Caliphate which concerns a lot of information about the background of Mu'āwiya.

G. R. Hawting, in his book *The First Dynasty of Islam*, London 1986 describes briefly Marwān b. Muḥammad, the last of the Umayyad caliphs, from the beginning of his political leadership up to the time he came to power. Later on, he deals with the subject in more detail in his other work 'Marwān b. Muḥammad,' published in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, VI, Leiden 1991. Nevertheless, the first detail study of the caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad is by Wellhausen in his book *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall*. Of particular relevance is Chapter VII 'Marwān and the Third Civil War.'

Little is known about the early life certain caliphs such as Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, al-Walīd b. Yazīd, Yazīd b. al-Walīd and Ibrahīm b. al-Walīd. The best reason for the lack of information is probably that those caliphs were not sufficiently popular among the people. However, we know of a number of modern scholars who have examined the unpopular candidates. I mention here their names and their works: H. Lammens, 'al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik,' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition, IV, London 1924; K. V. Zettersteen, 'Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik,' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, IV, London 1924; H. Lammens, 'Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik,' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition, IV, London 1934; H. Lammens, 'Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya,' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition, IV, London 1934; F. Gabrieli, 'Hishām,' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, III, London 1971; H. Lammens, 'al-Walīd b. Yazīd,' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition, IV, London 1924 and V. Cremonesi, 'Ibrahīm b. al-Walīd,' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, III, London 1971.

A Contribution

The above mentioned are the second group of sources of modern works on the Umayyad caliphate from the beginning to the end of the dynasty on which I rely for my research into the succession of the Umayyad caliphs. In fact, the great information in this subject have been done by the modern scholars. However, their discussions about the Umayyad successions are not complete.

My studies concern the succession to the caliphate beginning with ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān to Marwān b. Muḥammad. In the case of each caliph, I examine his sons, their careers in the period before their father became caliph, what evidence exists that the new caliph was preparing one or more of his sons for succession and what part they played in public affairs.

Other members of the Umayyad family who were alive when a caliph came to power have also been focused upon including their political experience, the offices they held under the caliph, the branches of the family they belonged to and the grounds for a claim to the caliphate in the future. Since nearly every caliph who came to power desired to nominate his own son as his successor we found that the new caliph dealt very carefully with his family members especially those who had or might have a claim to power. In order to prevent them from claiming power he changed the previous policy of succession and put his own son in the position of heir apparent. In order to implement the new policy and to determine the new successor a new caliph took certain careful steps.

The period of this thesis, which concerns fourteen caliphs and three civil wars, can be divided into three parts. The first part started with ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān who was the first member of the Umayyads elected to power. ‘Uthmān died without nominating any successor and this led to the first *fitna* a civil war between ‘Alī of the Hashimites and the Umayyad

family. Power eventually reverted from the Hashimites to the Umayyads. Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān was the ideal leading Umayyad who had fought hard to claim power for himself on the grounds of blood revenge and he finally came to power successfully. However, his efforts in securing power for his own line did not succeed for long. His grandson Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd died with the absence of any nominated successor as was the case with 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, and the Muslim community consequently faced another *fitna*. The second part then began and the second civil war removed power from the Sufyanid branch to the Marwanids, another branch of the Umayyad family. The third part began with al-Walīd b. Yazīd who was responsible for breaking the unity of the Marwanid power in particular and of the whole Muslim community in general. Yazīd b. al-Walīd, who rebelled against al-Walīd b. Yazīd caused the third *fitna* and al-Walīd b. Yazīd was killed by the rebels. Marwān b. Muḥammad, the last member of the Umayyad family failed to restore the unity necessary to guarantee his power base for the future. This was brought about by the Abbasid revolution which united the people under the control of Abū 'Abbās al-Saffāh.

The Original Sources

It is generally accepted that the historical sources of the Umayyad period are very limited in comparison with the periods before and after. However, most of the facts of the succession of all the Umayyad caliphs are found in *Ta'rīkh al-Rusul wa-'l-Muluk*, a great work of a great Sunnite historian Abu Ja'far, Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī. He describes the succession of the Umayyad caliphs beginning chronologically with the first of them, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān to the last caliph of the dynasty, Marwān b. Muḥammad.

According to the valuable table of contents for the *Ansāb* manuscript of Istanbul provided by M. Hamidullah (Al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf I*, Cairo 1959, 34-53), al-Balādhurī also deals with all the Umayyad caliphs as Ṭabarī does. Unfortunately, in a limited period of studies, we have only examined volumes IV/1, IVA, IVB, V and VIB of

the *Ansāb* in which we scanned some of the caliphs. They are Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik. However, as far as I am concerned al-Balādhurī, whose sources were mostly related to the account of al-Madā’inī (Khalil Athamina, ‘The Sources of al-Balādhurī’s *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*’ *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam (JSAI)* 5 (1984), 248) does not provide as much information as Ṭabarī.

Aḥmad b. Abī Ya‘qūb (Ya‘qūbī) is a well known historian of Shi‘ite bias who describes the events of the related candidates in a limited way and very briefly. His statements from time to time differ to the account of both historians Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī, and in some cases, he provides completely different reports. For example, when he describes Yazīd b. al-Walīd, he states that during his limited period of rule he faced the threat of *fitna* everywhere (Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh* III, 63). Al-Mas‘ūdī also states the same when he describes the political situation under the rule of the rebel caliph, Yazīd b. al-Walīd (Mas‘ūdī, *Tanbīh wa-’l-Ishrāf*).

Ibn al-Athīr, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad is a historian who used the annalistic style of Ṭabarī in his work *al-Kamil fī-’l-Ta’rīkh*. Anuar Chejne mentions that the book is based on the work of Ṭabarī. However, we found that, from one event to another, Ibn al-Athīr provides his own reports which, for many occasions, help us to solve the problems of unclear data we faced in both Ṭabarī’s *Ta’rīkh* and the other sources.

However much Ṭabarī’s work is to be valued, it is clear however, that he does not provide everything we need in order to describe the whole history of the candidates especially their early life. The background of a candidate undoubtedly played an important function in making him the successor to the exclusion of the others. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz are the ideal examples in this case. More information about the caliphs prior to their accession to power is however, found in other Arabic books such as

al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr and *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* by Ibn Sa'd, *al-Iṣāba fī-Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥāba* and *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* by Ibn Ḥajar - to name just a few.

In fact, *al-Iṣāba*, *Tahdhīb*, *al-Ṭabaqāt* are theological-judicial works, thus we found that little of the related caliphs is mentioned by the authors. They were a few caliphs who were actively involved in theological-judicial studies such as Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.

There are a few Arabic books which deal with the history of the Umayyad caliphs such as *al-Ma'ārif* by Muslim b. Qutayba and *Nasab Quraysh* by Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. Ibn Qutayba describes all the caliphs, but very briefly. In *Nasab Quraysh* written by Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, we learned especially of the wives of the caliphs and their sons and daughters, even though these are by no means a complete account of what we need for our research. However, his contribution is very helpful particularly with regard to the historical background of certain candidates. *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Ibn Khallikān's biographical work in this respect is even more helpful. Al-Jāḥiẓ, 'Amr b. Baḥr, through his work *al-Bayān wa-'l-Tabayīn* also makes the same contribution. Al-Iṣbahānī, Abu al-Faraj tended to be pro 'Alawī. However, he does not seem to be biased when he relates the general narrative of political events of the Umayyad caliphs. For instant, he reports that Yazīd's bad character is an additional innovation by someone who hated him. For this reason, his work *al-Aghānī* provides us with useful information on the early life of some of the Umayyad caliphs.

Furthermore, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥakam in his work *Sīrat 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz*, (Damascus 1966) deals with the above candidate in particular. Al-Iṣbahānī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh who describes the biography of the mystical pious Muslims of previous times in his work *Hilyat al-Awliyā'* (Cairo 1935) involves the great figure 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz who in his view was an Umayyad caliph pious to the exclusion of the other caliphs.

Listed below are the medieval Arabic texts on which I rely as primary sources, which deal with the history of the Umayyad caliphs and their early life. *Ta'riḫ al-Rusul wa-'l-Muluk* by Ṭabarī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* and *Futūḥ al-Buldān* by al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ Miṣr* by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Ta'riḫ al-Ya'qūbī* by Muḥammad b. Abī Ya'qūb, *al-Iṣāba* and *Tahdhīb* by Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Ṭabaqāt* by Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ma'ārif* and *'Uyūn al-Aḫbār* by Ibn Qutayba, *al-Aghānī* by Abī al-Faraj and *al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'riḫ* by Ibn al-Athīr.

Listed here are a few modern scholars who have published their works on the Umayyad caliphs in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam (EI)* and who have referred to the medieval Arabic works cited above: Bosworth, CE, 'Marwān b. al-Ḥakam' *EI* New Edition, VI, Leiden 1991. Cremonesi, V. 'Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd' *EI* New Edition III, London 1971. Gabrieli, F. 'Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik' *EI* New Edition, III, London 1971. Gibb, HAR. "'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān' *EI* New Edition, London 1960. Hawting, GR. 'Marwān II b. Muḥammad' *EI* New Edition VI, Leiden 1991. Hinds, M. 'Mu'āwiya I' *EI* New Edition VII, Leiden 1993. Lammens, H. 'al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik' *EI* First Edition I London 1924. *Idem.* 'al-Walīd b. Yazīd' *EI* First Edition IV, London 1924. *Idem.* 'al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik' *EI* First Edition IV, London 1924. *Idem.* 'Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya' *EI* First Edition IV, London 1934. I have specifically mentioned above some of them.

1. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān

'Uthmān b. 'Affān was the third caliph of the Muslim community succeeding 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb who died shortly after being fatally wounded.¹ He came to the power in the year 23/645 when he was around 70 years old.²

A member of the Umayyad family who belonged to the branch of Abū al-'Āṣ, 'Uthmān was an early Muslim and was one of the ten for whom the Prophet testified that they would go to Paradise.³ His mother was Arwā bint Kurayz, the daughter of al-Bayḍā' bint 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, an aunt of the Prophet.⁴ He was twice appointed by the Prophet as his deputy in Medina, firstly, when the Prophet went to the Battle of Dhāt al-Riqā', and secondly when he went to the Battle of Ghaṭafān.⁵ He was one of the great leaders of the Muslims who directed the affairs of the state since Abū Bakr came to power. He was among the members of the advisory group whose advice was sought by Abū Bakr, when death came to him, in order to nominate the best person of the community. He was chosen as the third caliph following the death of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.⁶

Ṭabarī states that 'Uthmān had two wives before his conversion to Islam. They were Umm 'Amr bint Jundub by whom he had 'Amr, Khālid, Abān and 'Umar, and Fāṭima bint al-Walīd by whom he had Sa'id.⁷ As soon as he became a Muslim he married Ruqayya, the Prophet's daughter, by whom he had 'Abd Allāh. However, 'Abd Allāh died when he

¹ Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr, *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa-'l-Muluk*, Cairo 1960-9, IV, 233/I, 2786.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 416-18/I, 3051-54.

³ Ibn Ḥajar, Aḥmad b. 'Alī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, Beirut 1968, VII, 140.

⁴ Ibn Ḥajar, Aḥmad b. 'Alī, *al-Iṣāba fī Tamayīz al-Ṣaḥāba*, Cairo 1910, II, 462.

⁵ Ibn Sa'd, Muḥammad, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, Beirut 1947-60, III, 56-7.

⁶ Hawting, G. R., *The First Dynasty of Islam*, London & Sydney, 1986, 26.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 420/I, 3056. Al-Balādhuri, Aḥmad b. Yahyā, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* Jerusalem 1936 IVA, 600-1.

was a child.¹

Ṭabarī also states that at the time the rebels besieged his house in the year 35/655, 'Uthmān had four wives: Ramla bint Shayba, Nā'ila bint al-Farāfiṣa, Umm al-Banīn Mulayka bint 'Uyayna and Fākhita bint Ghazwān. He seems to have married them after he became caliph. Only one wife, Umm al-Banīn produced any children one of whom was a son named 'Abd al-Malik. So, 'Abd al-Malik was the son born to him after he came to power.² This shows clearly that 'Uthmān had five sons when he became caliph. The oldest of them must have been in their twenties or thirties years old at least. However, the sources are completely silent on their careers before 'Uthmān came to power.

'Uthmān b. 'Affān was the first member of the Umayyads who gained the caliphate. At the time he came to power, there were other members of his family who were alive, including Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ, al-Walīd b. 'Uqba and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān was a companion of the Prophet who had experience in administration and politics since he served as a scribe for the Prophet.³ In the year 13/635 the caliph Abū Bakr sent him to Syria as second in command to his brother, Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān in various operations against the Byzantines.⁴ When Yazīd died in the plague of 'Amwas in the year 18/640, the caliph 'Umar put Mu'āwiya in his (Yazīd's) position.⁵ He continued to hold the position when 'Uthmān b. 'Affān became caliph of the Muslim community.⁶

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 420/I, 3056. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVA, 600-1.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 420/I, 3056. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IVA, 600-1.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* III, 173/I, 1782.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* III, 391/I, 3085.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 62/289/I, 2520/2866.

⁶ Lammens, H., 'Mu'āwiya', *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition, London 1936, III, 617. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 342/I, 2945.

Al-Walīd b. 'Uqba was the son of Arwa bint Qurayz, 'Uthmān's mother, who had married 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayt.¹ Ṭabarī states that he served as governor of the Jazīra for the caliph 'Umar. When 'Uthmān became caliph, he put al-Walīd in charge of Kūfa. Al-Walīd was reliable and responsible and did his work well and carried out all his duties, but he had a habit of being drunk.²

Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ had only recently become involved in politics. In the year 30/650, when 'Uthmān dismissed al-Walīd as governor of Kūfa, Sa'id was chosen to play his part in the government of the province.³ He was an orphan, who grew up under 'Uthmān's care and protection and after the conquest of Syria he stayed with Mu'āwiya.⁴ As soon as he went to Kūfa he ordered someone to wash the rostrum of the mosque before he used it for his speeches.⁵

Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was 'Uthmān's scribe⁶ and his right-hand man in Medina.⁷ He converted to Islam in the year of the Conquest of Mecca (8/629)⁸ and lived with his father al-Ḥakam who was exiled to Baṭn Wajj in Ṭā'if by the Prophet. When 'Uthmān came to power, he called al-Ḥakam back, and Marwān came with him.⁹ He, Marwān had been favoured by the caliph, 'Uthmān and their relationship become very close. 'Uthmān obeyed him too much in his decisions and this caused the people to be unhappy with the caliph.¹⁰ In the conquest of Ifrīqiya in the year 27/647, 'Uthmān gave one fifth of the booty to

¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba* III, 637.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 273-91, 2843-52.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 271/1, 2844.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 278/1, 2850.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 322/1, 2915.

⁶ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 36.

⁷ Kennedy, H., *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, London 1991, 91.

⁸ Ibn Qutayba, 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim, *al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Cairo 1960, 353. Hinds, 'Mu'āwiya', *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition VII, 264.

⁹ Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 353. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba* III, 477.

¹⁰ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt* V, 36.

Marwān.¹

Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān belonged to the Umayyad branch of Ḥarb, Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ belonged to the branch of al-'Āṣ, al-Walīd b. 'Uqba belonged to the branch of Abū 'Amr² and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam belonged to Abū al-'Āṣ, the same branch as 'Uthmān the caliph. In other words, he was 'Uthmān's cousin. However, Mu'āwiya held the strongest claim to the caliphate in the future.

During 'Uthmān's time, he, Mu'āwiya enjoyed exclusive independence in Syria he established a model province, the best organized and with the best disciplined troops of the young empire.³ He also instituted Arab maritime warfare in the Mediterranean, which he had previously asked 'Umar's permission to develop, but he had not allowed him. When 'Uthmān came to power, Mu'āwiya continued asking him until he allowed him.⁴ Moreover, he established strong garrison towns along the coast to deter the Byzantines. Therefore, he provided elements of stability for Syria, which had been the main Arab front since Abū Bakr's time.⁵ 'Ā'isha, the Prophet's widow tested his reaction by saying that she had entrusted a man to kill him because he had killed her brother Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. On hearing those words he said that this would be impossible since he was well protected in Syria.⁶

In fact, Mu'āwiya was the ideal candidate whom 'Uthmān b. 'Affān had never dismissed as governor of Syria even though he was accused of malpractice in administration. In this case, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib had questioned 'Uthmān about Mu'āwiya who had made decisions

¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 514-5.

² Al-Walīd b. 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayṭ (Abān) b. Abī 'Amr b. Umayya. See Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab Quraysh*, Cairo 1953, 134-8.

³ Lammens, 'Mu'āwiya', *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, III, 617.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 258/260/I, 2823-4.

⁵ Hinds, M., 'Mu'āwiya I', *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition 1993, VII, 264.

⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, *al-Kāmil fī-'l-Ta'rikh*, Cairo 1929-1937, III, 251.

on issues without consulting him and then told the people that this was 'Uthmān's command. 'Alī said that 'Uthmān knew about all this, but he did not punish him. Hearing 'Alī's questioning, 'Uthmān simply replied that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had kept Mu'āwiya in office throughout his entire caliphate, and that he, 'Uthmān, had only done the same.¹ In the letter which was read by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās to the people at Mecca, 'Uthmān mentioned another reason why he kept Mu'āwiya as governor. He said that this other reason was because the Messenger of God's wives had commanded him to do that. They gave the same as 'Uthmān, that 'Umar had made Mu'āwiya governor previously, and that Mu'āwiya seemed to have looked after his province well, and that his army seemed to have been content with him.² In fact, the Umayyads were the leaders of the Meccan merchant aristocracy and they had co-operated with former Byzantine officials during the establishment of the Arab financial administration at Damascus. Thus, they had special interests to safeguard Syria and this brought Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān to the governorship of the province the same reason that his deceased brother Yazīd had been governor before him.³

Mu'āwiya seems to have spoken honestly about his ability as governor when Ṣa'sa'a, a man of al-Ashtar's group challenged him telling that he should resign. Mu'āwiya said: 'I have priority in Islam, but the others have better priority than I. But, in my period as governor, there is no one better able to do my job than I. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was of this opinion, and if there had been a man more capable than I, 'Umar would not have been gentle in regard to me or any one else. I have not committed any wrongdoing that would require me to resign my office. If the caliph and the Muslim community thought so, he would have written to me by his own hand and I would have stepped down from the

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 338/I, 2939.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 410/I, 3043.

³ Petersen, E. L., 'Ali and Mu'āwiya, The Rise of the Umayyad Caliphate 656-661', *Acta Orientalia*, XXIII (1955), 159.

office.'¹

There was no evidence that 'Uthmān b. 'Affān intended to secure power for his sons or attempted to appoint a member of the Umayyad family as his successor.² He had never prepared his sons in any public affairs since he came to power. However, from time to time, he used his relatives for filling high positions in the government, even though he had to dismiss the Prophet companions as governors of the provinces. The companions whom he dismissed were Abū Mūsa al-Ash'arī, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.³

Soon after he came to power, in the year 24/646 'Uthmān replaced al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba as governor of Kūfa with Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ. He was advised by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb before his death to do so.⁴ Unfortunately, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was involved in the treasury. According to Ṭabarī's reports, he demanded a loan (or the like) from 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd who was in charge of the treasury. When 'Abd Allāh took on the debt, Sa'd refused to pay back the loan, and the dispute extended publicly between them. 'Uthmān became angry with them and dismissed Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ as governor and replaced him with his, 'Uthmān's half-brother al-Walīd b. 'Uqba who was then also dismissed, having been involved in a scandal.⁵ Finally, 'Uthmān put Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ, another member of the Umayyad family, in the position.⁶ The possible reason for the caliph's anger is the fact that they, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd were the Messenger of God's companions to whom the people looked for guidance. They, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd had indeed brought disgrace not only on themselves but also on Islam.⁷

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* IV, 324/I, 2919.

² Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 26.

³ Levi Della Vida, G., "'Uthmān b. 'Affān', *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition, III, London 1936, 1008.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* IV, 244/I, 2802.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* IV, 252/I, 2812. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isāba* III, 637-8.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* IV, 276-7/I, 2848-9.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* IV, 144-5/251-2. I, 2645/2647/2811-3.

However, the public finance was more important for 'Uthmān than the dispute itself.

The sources disagree about the reason for dismissing 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ as governor of Egypt. According to Ṭabarī, 'Uthmān dismissed 'Amr from the position of public tax collector and put 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ in his place. The two acted wrongfully to one another: 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd wrote to 'Uthmān telling him that 'Amr had refused to turn the tax over, while 'Amr wrote to 'Uthmān that 'Abd Allāh had threatened war against him. 'Uthmān became angry and dismissed 'Amr and gave 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd authority over both the public tax collector and the army.¹

Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam states that, when 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb died in the year 23/643,² Egypt had two governors. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ was governor of one part, while 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd was governor of the other. When 'Uthmān came to power, 'Amr desired to take over all of Egypt, so he came to 'Uthmān to discuss the possible dismissal of 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd from his part, but 'Uthmān refused and said that he could not dismiss 'Abd Allāh who was appointed by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ became angry, but 'Uthmān wrote to 'Abd Allāh appointing him as governor of all Egypt.³ The facts above agree that two people ('Amr b. al-'Āṣ and 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd) had been simultaneously given power over Egypt and that 'Uthmān restricted 'Amr to control of the army. This clearly indicated that he could not trust 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ because of his attitude to tax collection.

Ṭabarī states that in the year 29/651 'Uthmān replaced Abū Mūsa al-Ash'arī as governor of Baṣra with 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz, a young man of twenty years old.⁴ According to Ibn Sa'd, his reason was to make their ('Uthmān and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir) relationship

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 256/I, 2819.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 191/I, 2722-3. Kennedy, *The Prophet*, 69.

³ Ibn al-Ḥakam, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akḥbāruha*, Baghdad 1967, 173-4.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 264/I, 2828. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt* V, 44-5.

closer,¹ but Ṭabarī refers to someone who served in the army of Baṣra, namely Ghaylān b. Kharsha, who reported to 'Uthmān that Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī misappropriated funds from the public finance of Baṣra for his own purposes and revived the tradition of the Jahiliyya among the people. His followers respected his personal authority but despised the authority of Baṣra.²

According to al-Balādhurī, 'Uthmān exploited all the above relatives because he tended to practise nepotism especially during the second six years of his caliphate.³ In this case, we see that what al-Balādhurī says was not true. We agree with Hinds who says that 'Uthmān attempted to make changes in policy. He was left a large community in which he would indeed require to impose strong measures of central control.⁴ It was not easy for him to put the ideal policy in practice. He used his relatives as governors in order to increase his control over the provinces. He believed that they had enough qualification in administration and were ready to follow his orders. In fact, 'Uthmān can not trust the dismissed companions any longer. They were evidently misusing the public money for their own purposes.

The sources show that Egypt was extremely disorganized during the last years of Byzantine rule, and 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd, shortly after the year 26/646, established the *dīwān* through which he centralized methods of tax collection and to which all the taxes of Egypt were paid. Meanwhile, he also radically overhauled the previous Greek system.⁵ Ṭabarī states that, later on, in the year 27/647, he sent 'Uthmān a sum of money from Egypt that he had amassed.⁶ This was the aim of 'Uthmān who made the decision to appoint him as governor

¹ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt* V, 44-5.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 265-6/1, 2830-1.

³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 512. 1, 1328.

⁴ Hinds, M., 'The Murder of the Caliph 'Uthmān', *IJMES* III (1972), 453.

⁵ Dennett, D. C., *Conversion and the Poll Tax in the Early Islam*, Cambridge Mass. 1950, 70. Hinds, *IJMES* III (1972), 453-4.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 257/1, 2819.

of Egypt instead of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and this was also evidence of 'Abd Allāh's ability in administration.

Furthermore, 'Uthmān appointed 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz who was said too young, but he knew him as a young man who was capable, mature, and skilful in his job. The Messenger of God had appointed Usāma b. Zayd, a young man, to his office before, so should 'Uthmān be wrong if he did the same? ¹ However, their age was not the reason 'Uthmān was criticized, but rather their descent and their priority in religion.

In fact, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz and 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ were not among the members of the Umayyad family. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir was 'Uthmān's maternal cousin,² and 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd was his foster-brother.³ Therefore, Hawting's statement that 'Uthmān used members of the Umayyad family to govern Egypt and Baṣra ⁴ is not exactly true. The only Umayyads whom 'Uthmān appointed in his government were Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ, al-Walīd b. 'Uqba and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. Marwān was 'Uthmān's cousin, his son-in-law and his scribe whom he, 'Uthmān ordered to distribute wealth, and he interpreted this as the strengthening of his relationship.⁵

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 347/I, 2952.

² Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt* V, 44-5. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz b. Rabī'a b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd Shams. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd Shams was Umayya's brother. 'Affān b. Abī al-'Āṣ married Arwa, 'Āmir's sister, by whom he had 'Uthmān. See al-Zubayrī, Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab Quraysh*, Cairo 1953, 147.

³ The details of his descent, according to Ṭabarī's statement, are as follows: 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ b. Ḥubayb b. Jadhīma b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisḥ b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ay. However, Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh reports differently that Abū Sarḥ was the son of al-Ḥārith and that Jadhīma was the son of Mālik. The details are as follows: 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥubayb b. Jadhīma b. Mālik b. Ḥisḥ b. 'Āmir b. Lu'ay. His relationship to 'Uthmān became very close. In the year of the Conquest, the Prophet allowed the people to kill 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd because he had abandoned Islam. 'Uthmān protected him and brought him to the Prophet requesting peace. After a long period of peace, the Prophet finally agreed. When 'Uthmān became caliph, he made 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd governor of Egypt and in the year 27/647 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd invaded Ifriqiya where he amassed a lot of booty. Four fifths of the booty was put into the public treasury and as reward the remaining one fifth of the booty was given to 'Uthmān's governor 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd. According to al-Balādhurī, one fifth of the booty was given to Marwān. See Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* III, 58-9/I, 1639-1640. See also Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 430-3. See also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 514-515.

⁴ Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 26.

⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt* V, 36.

Some historians see this as a weakness in 'Uthmān's personality. Hawting, for example, interprets that the Umayyads put 'Uthmān under their influence and at the same time they rebuilt their power.¹ It would appear that they have overlooked the fact that 'Uthmān was advised by Mu'āwiya in the pilgrimage season of 35/655 to come with him to Syria before he was attacked by men against whom he could not defend himself, but 'Uthmān refused. Mu'āwiya offered to send an army from Syria which would protect him from the eventuality of attack, and 'Uthmān once again refused it. Finally, Mu'āwiya said: 'By God, you will surely be assassinated or attacked.'² If 'Uthmān had been influenced by members of the Umayyad, he would have done as Mu'āwiya advised. But 'Uthmān replied by saying: 'God suffices for me, and what an excellent guardian is He.'³

As far as we know, 'Uthmān did not attempt to make any of his own sons or relatives his successor. There is no evidence that he gave any thought to the succession before his death.

According to Ṭabarī, after the Mecca meeting in the year 35/655, and after the governors of the provinces went home, 'Uthmān heard a camel driver recite verses of poetry that 'Alī would be the caliph after 'Uthmān, al-Zubayr after 'Alī and Ṭalḥa after al-Zubayr. Ka'b al-Aḥbār was present, and said that was not true. The next caliph after 'Uthmān would be Mu'āwiya, the man on the mule.⁴ Al-Balādhurī tells the same story with the additional information that Mu'āwiya then met Ka'b al-Aḥbār arguing that what he said was impossible, because there were the companions of the Prophet who had priority of power over him. However, Ka'b al-Aḥbār kept saying that Mu'āwiya was 'the man on the mule' who

¹ Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 26-7. Levi Della Vida, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition, III, 1009.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* IV, 345/I, 2949.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* IV, 345/I, 2949.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* IV, 343/II, 2946. Ka'b al-Aḥbār, Abu Ishāq b. Mātī' was a Yemenite educated Jew who converted into Islam and became a close friend of 'Uthmān. See Schmitz, M. Ka'b al-Aḥbār, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, Leiden 1978, 316-17.

would become caliph.¹ Hearing the prediction however, 'Uthmān said nothing.

Ṭabarī states on authority of al-Wāqidī that 'Uthmān warned the people in his speech that he had a great number of supporters who would help him immediately if he wanted. His government earned more money, so he, as a caliph had freedom to spend the money for his purposes. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam then arose and said that if 'Uthmān wanted he should deal with the people by force. However, 'Uthmān warned Marwān not to get involved and to let him deal with his friends alone.² Soon after 'Uthmān was killed, Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ was alone with Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr and suggested to them to make one of 'Uthmān's sons the caliph, because they, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr took revenge for 'Uthmān's blood since he had been murdered unjustly. Abān and al-Walīd, two sons of 'Uthmān joined their rebellion.³

¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IV, 495.

² 'Uthmān meant when he said 'his friends' the Muḥājirūn and the Anṣār who lived in Medina and who attended his speech in the mosque. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 338-9/I, 2939-40.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 453/II, 3103-4.

2. The First Fitna

The rebellion had led to ‘Uthmān being murdered and the unity of the Muslim community split into pieces. The members of the Umayyad family who controlled most of the government of the provinces for ‘Uthmān were still alive. They were Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ, al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. The branches of Umayya to which they belonged to and their previous prominence in politics have been mentioned. When the *fitna* began, they were all with the exclusion of al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba, not only governors of the provinces but also among the important advisors whom ‘Uthmān consulted in his affairs.¹ They were also the members of the Umayyad family who had strong grounds for a claim to the caliphate. However, Mu‘āwiya was the most powerful leader among them who had been preparing for that since ‘Uthmān had confirmed him as the governor of Syria.

We have mentioned earlier that Mu‘āwiya established in Syria the best troops, the best means for maritime warfare, set up garrison towns and looked after the province. The Syrian army was extremely content with him. For twenty years he governed the area peacefully. Thus, Mu‘āwiya had among the other members of the Umayyad family a strong basis to claim power for himself.

In the pilgrimage season of 35/655, ‘Uthmān held a meeting at Mecca.² The meeting was attended by the governors of the provinces. Among them was Mu‘āwiya who was one of ‘Uthmān’s important advisors. ‘Uthmān questioned them about the complaints and the protests he had heard. They said that there was no valid basis for the state of unrest. All this was mere allegation that should not be taken seriously.³ Historians tell us that, before

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* IV, 333/I, 2932.

² See note 2, 25.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* IV 342/I, 2945-6.

this meeting had been called, an agitation started by Ibn Sabā' spread throughout the garrison towns. Ṭabarī states that Ibn Sabā', a Jew from Ṣan'ā' namely 'Abd Allāh b. Sabā' who converted to Islam in the time of 'Uthmān, attempted to agitate the Muslim people with his innovative claim that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was the legatee of the Prophet and that 'Uthmān had seized power over the community unlawfully. This news extended to Medina and 'Uthmān was advised to send men to the towns and to report back to him, but they found that this was purely a rumour.¹

After the meeting at Mecca, Mu'āwiya did not cease to hope for the caliphate.² He seems to have been encouraged by Ka'b al-Aḥbār's prediction as mentioned before.³ When he happened to meet some of the Muhājirūn, among them Ṭalḥa, 'Alī and al-Zubayr, he said in a veiled threat that the Muhājirūn chose their leaders on the basis of priority, precedence in religion and legal judgement. These principles had made them the leaders of the people, and the people were their followers. They would all lose out to the Umayyads if they abandoned these principles and got into a struggle for power. God would change the situation and give power back to those who had it before the arrival of Islam. He warned them to be good to 'Uthmān and protect him.⁴

Mu'āwiya went so far as to warn the Prophet's companions Ṭalḥa, 'Alī, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and al-Zubayr in the presence of 'Uthmān. He said: "Talk has spread, and I fear for your sakes. If you have a grievance, here is my hand in help. Do not encourage the people to aspire to your level of power, for by God, if they do, you will never see them do anything but turn away from you."⁵

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV 342/I, 2945-6.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV 342/I, 2946-7.

³ See note 4, 25.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 344/I, 2947-8.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 344/I, 2948.

Mu'āwiya's fear that 'Uthmān would be murdered came true when, in the following year, a group of more than five hundred Muslim troops, according to one of Ṭabari's report, came from Kūfa, Baṣra and Egypt,¹ while another report says that they came from Egypt.² When 'Uthmān thought the Medinese had become unbelievers, and abandoned obedience and renounced their oath of allegiance, he wrote to Mu'āwiya asking him to send the Syrian army to support him ('Uthmān), but Mu'āwiya delayed action on this. He did not wish to differ openly with the companions of the Messenger of God, since he knew of their unity.³ In this case, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās said that Mu'āwiya had gained power by exploiting 'Uthmān who in turn sought his, Mu'āwiya's support but Mu'āwiya delayed taking action. Consequently he, Mu'āwiya quietly gained power.⁴ In spite of his powerful situation, Mu'āwiya, who had a charismatic personality and had an impeccable sense of judgement of men and of situation, deliberately waited and did not to take action quickly. After the negotiation was unsuccessful, the troops who had besieged 'Uthmān in his house, finally killed him.

Mu'āwiya, being among the leaders of the Umayyads who had sufficient administrative ability, was the most entitled to be 'Uthmān's successor. He was the only one who had broad shoulders and powerful arms. Thus he would unite not only the Umayyads but also the entire Muslim community. It is true that 'Uthmān had sons who could succeed their father such as Abān, Sa'id or 'Amr. Al-Balādhurī states that Abān was weak and not fit to be caliph. He joined 'Ā'isha in the Battle of the Camel in which he was the first defeated. Mālik b. al-Rayb al-Māzanī described his, Abān's weakness in his poetry saying that he, Abān would be killed if the Ḥarbs did not help him.⁵ Sa'id and 'Amr at that time were

¹ Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* IV, 348-350/I, 2954-2957.

² Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* IV, 351-9/I, 2968-2970.

³ Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* IV, 368/I, 2985.

⁴ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 105-6.

⁵ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 617-8.

probably too young for the position. They were under thirty years old and not the right candidates to deal with 'Alī who was among the great companions of the Prophet. Later in 'Abd al-Malik's time as caliph, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān told his son 'Umar about 'Alī, saying that if the Umayyads' followers had known of 'Alī's priority in Islām, they would have turned away and have supported 'Alī's descendants.¹ Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who was among other leading Umayyads, had no strong grounds to claim power for himself. He had no special province and no army as Mu'āwiya had. At that time, he was busy seeking protection for himself rather than claiming power. Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ and al-Walīd b. 'Uqba, two other leading Umayyads were facing the same problem as Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

The conclusion to the above was that 'Uthmān was murdered without leaving any successor, unlike Abū Bakr the previous caliph who had in fact nominated a successor. 'Uthmān nominated neither any of his own sons nor any of the other members of the Umayyad family. So, the rebels of Egypt who took control of Medina brought the people together to 'Alī, and finally they appointed 'Alī as caliph. Hearing the news, 'Ā'isha, the Prophet's widow said that the power of the common people was not perfect and not in right condition. 'Uthmān had been killed unjustly and this was the great issue on which the people should seek vengeance.²

'Ā'isha's words were the first proclamation accepted by the Umayyads who fled from Medina before the people including the rebels swore allegiance to 'Alī and they, the Umayyads gathered round 'Ā'isha in Mecca.³ Among them were Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ, al-Walīd b. 'Uqba, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz, Ya'lā b. Umayya. They were joined by Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr. 'Ā'isha advised them to seek the support of the people of Baṣra.⁴ Marwān

¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 154.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 448-9/I, 3096-8.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 456/I, 3098-9.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 450/I, 3099.

b. al-Ḥakam who advised Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ to go home when they happened to meet each other in Dhāt 'Irq,¹ finally followed 'Ā'isha.²

In fact, the first opposition against 'Alī was led by Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, who hoped that if 'Alī was defeated the people would choose one of them as their caliph. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ suggested to them that they make 'Uthmān's son caliph, but they refused.³ In the year 36/656 they marched from Mecca to Baṣra calling the people to join them to fight against 'Alī.⁴ Learning about this, 'Alī also left Medina to go to Kūfa and raised an army to fight against them.⁵ The two forces met outside Baṣra in the Battle of the Camel in which Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr were killed.⁶

Mu'āwiya who was well protected in Damascus,⁷ observed all of the events carefully. At this stage, he did not take action hurriedly neither to fight 'Alī nor to join the opposition. On the contrary, a number of the members of the Umayyad family who were defeated in the Battle of the Camel sought refuge and the protection of his province. Among them were 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Yaḥyā the two sons of al-Ḥakam and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir.⁸ 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ also escaped from Egypt, seeking refuge in Damascus, when he was forced out by Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfa just before 'Uthmān was murdered.⁹ Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was the only one who did not seek protection in Damascus. He had been wounded in the battle and sought protection from the 'Anza

¹ Dhāt 'Irq was a boundary place situated between Nadj and Tihāma. See al-Ḥamawī, Yāqūt b. 'Abd Allāh, *Mu'jam al-Bulḍān*, Beirut 1957, 107.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 453-4/I, 3103-5.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 453/I, 3099.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 450/I, 3100. Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 27.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 450/I, 3100. Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 27.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 450/I, 3100. Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 27.

⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, III, 251.

⁸ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 535-6/I, 3219-3220.

⁹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 546-7/I, 3233-5.

family whereupon someone, namely Mālik b. Misma' a member of this family took him into his house. After the people of Baṣra swore allegiance to 'Alī, he, Marwān with his companion al-Aswad b. Abī al-Bakhtarī went to Medina.¹ However, Mu'āwiya became the single most powerful leading Umayyad from whom most members of his family sought protection.

Ṭabarī has two versions of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's action in order to subdue Mu'āwiya after the murder of 'Uthmān, the caliph. According to Abū Mikhnaf, Al-Mughira b. Shu'ba advised 'Alī that he should confirm Mu'āwiya in his position as well as 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir and the other governors in their provinces, in order that he received their obedience and the oath of allegiance of the army. After that, if he so desired he could make changes or leave them. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās also advised 'Alī in the same way, and suggested that if Mu'āwiya and the other governors swore allegiance he should dismiss them and make them the followers, instead of the leaders.² In any case, 'Alī refused the advice and said that he would use his judgement in the matter and would not appoint these people on the grounds that they were not fit to be appointed.³

According to 'Awāna, Jarīr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bajalī offered to go to Syria in order to demand allegiance from Mu'āwiya. Jarīr was governor of Hamadhān for 'Utmān b. 'Affān at the same time as al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī was governor of Ādharbayjān. After the Battle of the Camel 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib called them back to Kūfa to swear allegiance. Al-Ashtar thought that Jarīr's desire was to support Mu'āwiya, so he advised 'Alī that he should not send Jarīr to Syria. In spite of that, 'Alī agreed with Jarīr and ordered him to hand a letter to Mu'āwiya, mentioning the fact that the Anṣār and the Muhājirūn had recognized 'Alī, and that Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh and al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām who rebelled

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 530/536/541-2/I, 3213/3220-1/3227-8.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 438-9/I, 3082-3.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 441/I, 3086.

against 'Alī had been killed. Mu'āwiya called 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, whom he consulted regarding 'Alī's request and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ then advised Mu'āwiya to make an agreement with the Syrian chiefs to seek blood revenge and fight against 'Alī.¹

Al-Balādhurī says that, according to Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, 'Alī promised Mu'āwiya his friendship if he would swear allegiance, but he refused.² Ṭabarī states that when 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib sent his messenger Sabra al-Juhanī to Mu'āwiya he said nothing and refused to answer. Three months later, Mu'āwiya sent his own messenger, Qābiṣa, to 'Alī taking a sealed scroll with no writing on it. 'Alī asked the messenger about the situation of the Syrians. He said: 'I left a group of men in Syria who will not be satisfied except with retaliation against you ('Alī). I left sixty thousand men crying below 'Uthmān's bloody shirt in the mosque of Damascus.'³

After that, Mu'āwiya declared his opposition to 'Alī and he was supported by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.⁴ While 'Alī fought at Baṣra and after that returned to Kufa, Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda al-Anṣārī was in Egypt as 'Alī's governor. Mu'āwiya was afraid that 'Alī would attack him from 'Irāq and Qays b. Sa'd from Egypt at the same time.⁵ So, he wrote to Qays and among other things he said: 'If you can join those who demand vengeance for 'Uthmān's blood, then do so. Support us in our affair and if I win, you would govern Kūfa and Baṣra for life. Moreover, your family would also rule the Ḥijaz. Ask me for anything else that you want, and I would give it to you.'⁶

In fact, the idea of demanding vengeance for 'Uthmān's blood was the ground on which

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 561-2/1, 3254-5. Petersen, *Acta Orientalia* XXVII, 165.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 164-5.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 444/1, 3089-91.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 546/1, 3233.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 550/1, 3238.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 550-1/1, 3239.

Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr had claimed power for themselves before. Mu'āwiya used the same idea to win power. He gathered the people of Syria to fight against 'Alī, who was protecting 'Uthmān's murderers, and they did not stop fighting him, 'Alī until he, 'Alī, on Mu'āwiya's insistence had killed the murderers or until they, Mu'āwiya and his army had killed 'Alī.¹ They strongly desired to make Mu'āwiya caliph after 'Uthmān. Al-Walid b. 'Uqba also mentioned in his poetry this wish to make Mu'āwiya caliph, and he subsequently wrote to Mu'āwiya urging him to fight against 'Alī.²

In the end, the two sides met at Ṣiffīn, a place near the Euphrates. They fought over a few days and 'Alī's side almost won the battle. Considering the danger for Mu'āwiya's side, 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ suggested an idea to stop the fighting before they were defeated. The idea was to raise on swords parts of the Qur'ān and then to call 'Alī's side to arbitration based on the teachings of the Book.³ Hinds states that al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī, who was not involved in the battle, is reported to have warned of attack by the Persians and Byzantines if the fighting broke the Muslim unity. Mu'āwiya who reacted to the warning, ordered his side to stop fighting.⁴ However, the important aim of his reaction was to break the unity of 'Alī's supporters.⁵

Fortunately, Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān had loyal supporters who were outraged by 'Uthmān's murder. Ṭabarī states that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Alī's organizer in the arbitration agreement praised Mu'āwiya's supporters who had wholeheartedly trusted Mu'āwiya as their leader, and who had suspected nothing when Mu'āwiya wrote to 'Amr. On the contrary, when

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 562/I, 3255. Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 27.

² The verse of the poetry is as follows:

يمنيك الإمارة كل ركب + لأنقاض العراق بها رسيم

See Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 564/I, 3258.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 47-8/I, 2327-9. Hinds, M. 'The Siffin Arbitration Agreement', *JSS* XVII (1972), 93. Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 28.

⁴ Hinds, *JSS* XVII, 93-4.

⁵ Hinds, *JSS* XVII, 94-5.

'Alī wrote to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Alī's followers investigated everything and when 'Abd Allāh kept the letter confidentially, they thought about it and made various presumptions.¹ The disloyal followers actually caused disaster for 'Alī. According to Abū Mikhnaf, 'Alī realised Mu'āwiya's trick when he suggested the arbitration. Although 'Alī explained the trick clearly to his followers, they disloyally forced him to accept the suggestion.² They also forced him to make Abū Mūsa al-Ash'arī his representative instead of his own choice, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās or al-Ashtar, his trustiest companions.³

When the arbitration meeting began, Abū Mūsa was easily tricked by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ who was wellknown as a scheming trickster. Ṭabarī reports that both representatives held a conversation in which they discussed the possible candidate whom they should suggest. Among other candidates, they mentioned Mu'āwiya, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, the son of the former caliph and 'Abd Allāh, the son of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. However, they did not reach any agreement. Finally, Abū Mūsa suggested dismissing both 'Alī and Mu'āwiya and letting the Muslims choose whom they wanted. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ strongly welcomed this idea. As soon as Abū Mūsa had announced that he had dismissed both 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ accepted the dismissal of 'Alī and announced publicly that he confirmed Mu'āwiya as caliph of the Muslim community.⁴

It is obvious that Mu'āwiya had referred to the teaching of the tradition of the Prophet when he suggested an arbitration instead of fighting in the Battle of Siffin as mentioned above. The Prophet was reported as saying: 'War is finished by a single act of deceit.'⁵ Ṭabarī states that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās reminded 'Alī to use the teaching of the tradition

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 67/I, 2354.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 48-9/I, 3230.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 51/I, 3333.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 70-1/I, 3358-9. Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 29.

⁵ Al-Bustānī, Buṭrus, *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, I, Beirut 1870, 510. See also Lane, E. W., *Arabic-English Lexicon* I, London 1984, 760.

itself if he desired to subdue Mu‘āwiya, but ‘Alī refused.¹ After the battle, on the way back to Kūfa, a large part of ‘Alī’s army became hostile to him, although they by no means supported Mu‘āwiya. The group was the Kharijites whose slogan was “Judgement belongs to God alone.”²

In the year 40/660, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was murdered in Kūfa by a Kharijite, Ibn Muljam³ who sought revenge for the massacre at Nahrawān.⁴ The people of ‘Irāq made ‘Alī’s son Ḥasan his successor, who hated fighting. He, Ḥasan thought his powerbase was not strong enough, so he preferred to surrender to Mu‘āwiya and sought peace. He knew Qays b. Sa‘d the chief commander of the army disagreed completely with him. In order to make his (Ḥasan) planning work smoothly, he dismissed him, Qays and replaced him with ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās, who wrote to Mu‘āwiya seeking peace as soon as he learned of the plan.⁵

As regards the Syrian people, Mu‘āwiya was the legal caliph of the Muslim community as a result of the arbitration agreement. Soon after the meeting, in the year 37/657, ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and the Syrian people swore allegiance to him.⁶ Four years later, in the year 41/661, Ḥasan swore allegiance to him, settled for his (Ḥasan) compensation in return for abdication, and retired into private life.⁷ Finally, Mu‘āwiya entered Kūfa to receive the oath of allegiance of the people and this year was called the year of unity.⁸ In this year the Muslim community saw the end of the *fitna*.

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* IV, 441/I, 3086.

² Hawting, Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 30.

³ Ibn Muljam al-Murādī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Amr and his friends al-Burak b. ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Amr b. Bakr al-Tamīmī agreed to kill ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān and ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ whom they recognized as the losing leaders. Ibn Muljam chose ‘Alī, al-Burak chose Mu‘āwiya while ‘Amr b. Bakr chose ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ. Ṭabarī reports that al-Burak and ‘Amr b. Bakr failed to kill their target but Ibn Muljam fatally wounded ‘Alī with his sword. (Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 143-5/I, 3457-9).

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 143-4/I, 3456-7.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 158-160/II, 1-3.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 71/324/I, 3359-60/II, 99. Hinds, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* VII, 265.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 324/II, 99.

⁸ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 324/II, 99. Hinds, *JSS* XVII, 265.

3. Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān

The man who is well known as the founder of the Umayyad dynasty of caliphs based in Syria, and as the man who perverted the caliphate into kingship, was acknowledged as caliph of the Muslim community in the year 41/661. At that time he was around 55-60 years old.¹ His father was Abū Sufyān (Ṣakhr) b. Ḥarb b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, who had emerged as leader of the Meccans in the Battle of Badr and had conducted the negotiations which brought the city to recognize the authority of the Prophet.² His mother was Hind bint 'Utba b. Rabī'a.³

The sources provide conflicting reports of the date of Mu'āwiya's birth and of his age when he died. He is said to have been born 5, 7 or 13 years before the time of the mission of Muḥammad,⁴ and to have been aged 73, 75, 78, 80 or 85 years when he died in Rajab 60/April-May 680.⁵

According to Ibn Ḥajar, Mu'āwiya converted to Islam after the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybia (6/627) as a crypto-Muslim and made his Islam manifest at the time of the conquest of Mecca (8/629).⁶ Speaking about his conversion, Mu'āwiya said: 'Islam came into my heart, but my father and mother warned me saying, if I became a Muslim, they would refuse me food.'⁷ Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh quotes that Mu'āwiya said, he became a Muslim in

¹ Historians do not mention directly how old he was. According to Ṭabarī's statements, he died in the year 60/679 after ruling for nearly twenty years. In the year of the mission of the Prophet he was around 5-13 years old. So in the year 41/662 he was around 55-60 years old. See *Ta'rikh* V, 323-4/ II, 198-9. Hinds, 'Mu'āwiya,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* New Edition, VII, 264.

² Kennedy, *The Prophet*, 82.

³ Hinds, 'Mu'āwiya I,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition VII, 264.

⁴ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba* I, 433.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 325/ II, 200.

⁶ Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba* I, 433. See also Hinds, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, VII, 264. See also al-Nadwī, 'Alī al-Ḥasanī, *al-Sirat al-Nabawiyya*, Beirut 1981, 309-13.

⁷ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 13.

the year of *al-'umra al-qaḍiya* (7/629) and he met the Prophet who then recognized his conversion.¹

Under the training of his father, the most influential personage in the merchant community of Mecca, Mu'āwiya had an opportunity to be initiated into the principle of government.² He was literate, numerate and eloquent. So he went on to serve as one of the Prophet's scribes.³

At the time Mu'āwiya became caliph he had two sons, Yazīd and 'Abd Allāh. Yazīd, the son of Maysūn bint Baḥdal al-Kalbī⁴ was sixteen years old. 'Abd Allāh was the son of Fākhita bint Qarāza. According to Ibn Qutayba and al-Balādhurī, Fākhita was Mu'āwiya's female slave.⁵ During his caliphate, Mu'āwiya had two other wives, Nā'ila bint 'Umāra and Katwa bint Qarāza, Fākhita's sister. Neither Nā'ila nor Katwa gave him any children.⁵ He had lost his ability to produce children since his buttock had been hacked by al-Burak b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī, the Kharijite who attempted to kill him.⁶ Since 'Abd Allāh was foolish and weak in his judgement,⁷ his qualification was not strong enough to be a caliph, thus Yazīd was the single candidate to be Mu'āwiya's successor.⁸

At the time Mu'āwiya became caliph, other members of the Umayyad family were still alive including Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ, Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān and Abān b. 'Uthmān. Although Sa'īd and Abān were sons of the former caliph, both of whom were probably over thirty years old, they had previously not been prominent in politics. On the

¹ Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 124.

² Lammens, 'Muāwiya', *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition, III, 617.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* III, 173/I, 1782.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* V, 329/II, 204. Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 350.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* V, 329/II, 204.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* V, 149/I, 3465. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 195.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* V, 329/II, 204. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 128. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 284.

⁸ Ibn Qutayba, *al-M'ārif*, 350. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IV, 284.

contrary, Marwān b. al-Hakam and Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ had gained a lot of experience during 'Uthmān's caliphate. They were among 'Uthmān's important advisors. However, Sa'īd and Abān were two sons of 'Uthmān the former caliph, and therefore they had the strongest grounds among the others for a claim to the caliphate in the future.

Mu'āwiya, who had married Maysūn, a lady of the Kalb, and lived in Damascus near the residence of the former kings of the tribe, had ambition for her son Yazīd that he should inherit the kingdom. His marriage was also regarded as a political alliance, because since Mu'āwiya had come to power, all the Kalbs felt themselves brothers-in-law of the caliph.¹ From this time onwards, Mu'āwiya desired to make his son Yazīd his successor. Al-Balādhurī states that Mu'āwiya told Yazīd, "God flashed in my heart the strongest desire to make you successor."²

According to Arab law, the ruling power passed on as an inheritance within one tribe or clan, but not from father to son. The succession from father to son was the tradition of the Sasanids and the Byzantines. Mu'āwiya was probably influenced by both traditions when he made his son his successor.³ However, he had never attempted to make the succession an inheritance within his family, but as a caliph, he had the legal right to select anyone of his choice, even though the nomination of a son of the caliph had not occurred before.

It is true that Muḥammad the Prophet had not left the practice like that. The Qur'ān teaches that the ruling power is not an inheritance within a family who are not always fit to hold power from one generation to another. Abraham the Prophet questioned God as to whether his descendants should be leaders by inheritance when God made him an imam for the people. God told him that among his family there would be evil-doers who would

¹ Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 133.

² Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 60.

³ Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 140.

have no right to become imam. God said: 'My covenant does not apply to the wrongdoers.'¹

According to Sa'īd b. Jubayr, a *muhaddith* of Kūfa, 'wrongdoer' here means 'unbeliever.'² In this case, Yazīd, who was not an unbeliever, was not a wrongdoer. He was a young man who enjoyed an easy life with no responsibility, besides his love of hunting. It is said that Yazīd was the first man who had a habit of being drunk, who liked song, who had singing female slaves, and who kept animals as pets.³ This is the real problem which, according to Ṭabarī, caused Mu'āwiya to be anxious that the people would dislike Yazīd.⁴ In spite of that, Mu'āwiya hoped that the people would accept Yazīd as his successor. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the people whom Mu'āwiya thought might reject his son Yazīd were in fact the members of the Umayyad family. They were the *ahl al-ḥall wa al-'aql* who strengthened the Umayyad power. So, he had to avoid everything he thought would break their unity.⁵ In relation to this, Mu'āwiya not only trained Yazīd but also put pressure on him from time to time, and hoped that Yazīd would behave himself, in order that they would be satisfied with him and make him successor.

In order to ensure that his son Yazīd should be his successor, Mu'āwiya worked hard in preparation. After a long time blaming 'Alī in the Friday sermon, Mu'āwiya attempted to close the distant gap in relationship between the Umayyad family and the Hashimite family by way of intermarriage. Al-Balādhurī states that Mu'āwiya wrote to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, when he was governor of Medina, ordering him to ask Umm Kulthūm bint

¹ Q: 2; 124. See Al-Qurtubī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *al-Jāmi' li-Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, II, Cairo 1954, 107. See also Ibn al-Jawzī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī, *Zād al-Masīr*, I, Damascus/Beirut 1964, 140-1.

² Sa'īd b. Jubayr was among the second generation religious scholars, who related traditions of the Prophet on authority of Ibn al-'Abbās, Ibn al-Zubayr, Ibn 'Umar and others. In the year 94/712 al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsūf al-Thaqāfī killed him because he had joined 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, who rebelled against al-Ḥajjāj. See Al-Qurtubī, *al-Jāmi'* II, 108. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-Masīr* I, 141. See also Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 490-1/II, 1265. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* IV, 11-13. See also Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt* VI, 250.

³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA 286.

⁴ Ṭabarī. *Ta'rikh* V, 302-3/II, 174-5.

⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Kitāb al-'Ibar* I, Beirut 1961, 364-5.

'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib in marriage for his son Yazīd. Mu'āwiya promised that he would pay 'Abd Allāh's debts of fifty thousand dinārs, and give a gift of ten thousand dinārs, and provide Umm Kulthūm's dower of ten thousand and four hundred dinārs.¹ Marwān announced the intended marriage in the mosque, but unfortunately Ḥusayn b. 'Alī gave a short and unexpected speech saying that he had already married Umm Kulthūm to Qāsim b. Muḥammad, and he had made al-Bughaybigha² her dower. Marwān was angry.³

It is reasonable to suppose that Mu'āwiya wished Ziyād b. Abih would support his plan of making Yazīd his successor, when in the year 44/664 he, Mu'āwiya attached the lineage of Ziyād b. Abih to his own father Abū Sufyān and recognised him as his brother.⁴ In the beginning of the year 45/665 Mu'āwiya replaced 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir with al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Allāh al-Azdī as governor of Baṣra and four months later he dismissed him, al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Allāh and put Ziyād in his place. Al-Ḥārith was obviously a turning point for Ziyād.⁵ Ṭabarī says that Ziyād was the first governor who strengthened Mu'āwiya's power in Iraq.⁶ Mu'āwiya then made him governor of several large areas: Baṣra, Kūfa, Sijistān, India, Baḥrayn and 'Umān.⁷ In the year 53/675 Ziyād died after governing 'Iraq for only five years.⁸ Mu'āwiya then put his adopted nephew, 'Ubayd Allāh, the son of Ziyād in charge of Baṣra.⁹

Mu'āwiya expressed his feelings to Yazīd when he advised him saying: 'My son, I have

¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 142. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 82.

² Al-Bughaybigha was 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's land which he endowed for the poor people of Medina until his sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn required it. See Al-Ḥamawī, Yāqūt b. 'Abd Allāh, *Mu'jam al-Bulḍān*, I Ṭahrān 1965, 696-8 & III, 757-8.

³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 142-3.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 214-5/II, 69-70.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 216/II, 71.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 221-2/II, 76-7.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 217/II, 73.

⁸ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 288/II, 157-8. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 244-5.

⁹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 300/II, 172.

made everything easy for you. I have saved you from the need to travel. I have subdued enemies, humbled the necks of the Arabs, and gathered a community for you.¹ He also taught Yazīd the correct way to treat the people in order to gain their respect, especially the high-class people who would regard him with greater respect if he behaved with goodness and acted with honesty among them.²

In the year 49/50 (669/670) Mu'āwiya sent huge numbers of the army to invade Byzantium, and charged Yazīd to command them, but Yazīd did not hasten to carry out the order. Starvation and serious illness then affected the Muslim army. Ibn al-Athīr states that they had fever and chickenpox. In fact, Yazīd loved his wife Umm Kulthūm deeply, so, when he heard what was happening to the army he worried about leaving her alone. He mentioned his feelings in a poem saying: 'I do not care what happens to them when I sit firmly on the carpets with Umm Kulthūm.' Mu'āwiya learned of this poem and in anger swore that Yazīd must go to Byzantium despite he had the risk of catching the same illness. In any case, Yazīd had to obey his father who formed a large additional group to join him. Among them were Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn 'Umar, Ibn al-Zubayr, the Prophet's companion Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī and others. They reached Constantinople and finally Yazīd returned to Syria with the army.³

Our sources only mention the single invasion in which Yazīd led the Muslim army. According to H. Kennedy, after the year 50/670, during the last seven years of Mu'āwiya's reign, Yazīd led continuous attacks on Constantinople (54-60/673-679).⁴ Ṭabarī states that the following commanders had been in charge of invading the Byzantines: Busr b. Abī

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 322-3/II, 197.

² Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 26.

³ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 227-8. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 232/II, 86. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* II, 166.

⁴ Kennedy, *The Prophet*, 87.

Arṭāt and Sufyān b. 'Awf in the year 50/670,¹ Sufyān b. 'Awf in the year 52/672,² and Mālik b. 'Abd Allāh in the year 58/678.³ During the years 51/671, 53/673, 54/674, 55/675, 56/676, 57/677 and 59/679 it is reported that a few commanders such as Faḍāla b. 'Ubayd, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam and others merely stayed there during the winter.⁴ Thus, according to this report, Kennedy's statement is not true. In order to make Yazīd more mature in leadership, Mu'āwiya also put him in charge of the pilgrimage. That was in the year 51/673. Some said that Yazīd also led the pilgrimage in the year 50/670.⁵

Ṭabarī states that, at the end of his governorship, al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba had been interested in making Yazīd Mu'āwiya's successor. Mughīra knew that Mu'āwiya disliked him because he was old and weak, and intended to replace him with Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ as governor of Kūfa.⁶ So he attempted to change Mu'āwiya's intention. He met Yazīd and spoke to him indirectly about the possibility of his succession, and Yazīd took the suggestion to Mu'āwiya.⁷ Ibn al-Athīr says that al-Mughīra spoke directly to Yazīd: "The chief companions of the Prophet and the great men of the Quraysh are dead, and their sons have taken their places and Mu'āwiya is the best and most excellent of them in opinion and ideas and has great experience of the Prophet's practice and administration. In spite of this, he has not made you his successor. I do not understand why." When Yazīd took these words to his father, Mu'āwiya then called al-Mughīra to ask him what Yazīd had said to him. Al-Mughīra reminded him that they had faced a *fitna* after 'Uthmān, and that the same trial would

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 234/II, 87.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 287/II, 157.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 309/II, 1181.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 253/II, 111, 288/II, 157, 293/II, 163, 299/II, 170, 301/II, 173, 308/II, 180 and 315/II, 188.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 240/286/II 94/156.

⁶ In the year 50/671 death came to al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba. Mu'āwiya then joined Kūfa to Baṣra and Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān was the first governor who held two provinces together. See Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 234/II, 87. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 288.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 301-2/II, 173-4.

happen if Mu'āwiya did not appoint Yazīd as his successor. Al-Mughīra promised that he would support and gave him, Mu'āwiya his backing in respect of the Kufan people, and that Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān would support him in respect of the Basran people. It would then nobody disagree with him there.¹ So Mu'āwiya sent al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba back to Kūfa and ordered him to arrange Yazīd's succession.² In order to do that, al-Mughīra called together a group whom he trusted and whom he knew were members of the Umayyad party, to encourage them to support Yazīd's succession. They agreed to give the oath of allegiance. Then, he sent more than ten people from this group led by his son, Mūsa b. al-Mughīra to Mu'āwiya. Some said that, al-Mughīra had sent forty people and had charged his son 'Urwa to lead them, and that they had come to Mu'āwiya and suggested that he should make Yazīd his successor. It is reported that he agreed with them but that he had told them not to hurry.³

Ya'qūbī, who differs from the above in some ways, states that in the year 42/664 al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba was governor of Kūfa for Mu'āwiya. A few years later, Mu'āwiya replaced him with 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz. So most of the people of Kūfa went to see him, including al-Mughīra's secretary. Al-Mughīra was very upset by this, so he went to see Mu'āwiya who asked him why he had left his job and responsibilities to the town and to the Iraqi people who had tendency of rapid violence. He said that he was old and weak and would be sorrowful for only one thing. He wished before dying to give him, Mu'āwiya his due namely to ensure the succession of Mu'āwiya's son Yazīd. He called the Kufan noblemen to give the oath of allegiance to Yazīd as Mu'āwiya's successor and they hurriedly agreed, but he hated doing anything without consulting Mu'āwiya. So, he went to see him and told him about this and said that he wanted to retire. Mu'āwiya was

¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 249.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 301-2/II, 173-4.

³ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 249.

interested in this point and asked him immediately to go back to his job and finish the preparations for Yazīd's succession.¹

Following al-Mughīra's suggestion to make Yazīd his successor, Mu'āwiya wrote to Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān asking his advice and ordering him to do what al-Mughīra had done. Ziyād was afraid that the people would refuse if he called them to give the oath of allegiance to Yazīd, whom they knew played with dogs and monkeys, and liked music and had habit of being drunk. Ziyād felt that they would prefer the choice of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar. Yazīd had to behave himself for at least one or two years, and hopefully, then, the people would be convinced. Ziyād asked 'Ubayd b. Ka'b al-Numayrī, his advisor, to remind Mu'āwiya about this. 'Ubayd b. Ka'b al-Numayrī suggested to him another idea, that he, Ziyād should advise Mu'āwiya not to be too quick in his intention, and that he, 'Ubayd, Ziyād's advisor should advise Yazīd to give up his bad behaviour.² However, after receiving Ziyād's letter, Mu'āwiya worried that Ziyād, also known as Ibn 'Ubayd, would claim the caliphate for himself. Mu'āwiya heard that the camel driver of Ziyād had sung a song saying that the next caliph would be Ziyād.³

Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who had valuable experience in the administration gained during his service for 'Uthmān in Medina, in the year 42/662 was appointed by Mu'āwiya as governor of the same area.⁴ Mu'āwiya however, claimed he, Marwān was too arrogant⁵ and in order to teach him a lesson, in the year 47/667, Mu'āwiya dismissed him and replaced him with Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ.⁶ However, in the year 54/673, Mu'āwiya restored him as governor.⁷ In

¹ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* II, 159-160.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 302-3/II, 174-5.

³ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* II, 160.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 172/II, 16.

⁵ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 65.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 233/II, 86.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 293/II, 164.

fact, each of the two leaders namely Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ, belonged to branches of the Umayyad which were separate from Mu'āwiya's branch. According to Saleh's statement, Marwān who was unhappy when Mu'āwiya made his son Yazīd his successor, consequently provoked the sons of 'Uthmān against Mu'āwiya, who sought power in the name of 'Uthmān, their father.¹ When Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya was buried, Marwān - in order to influence the people, as Saleh claims - said openly that they had buried Abū Layla, a name symbolic of Mu'āwiya's weakness.²

We have clear evidence that Mu'āwiya felt jealous of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam when he set him and Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ against each other. According to Al-Balādhurī, Mu'āwiya ordered Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ to destroy Marwān's house, but he did not do this. So, Mu'āwiya replaced him with Marwān as governor of Medina to whom he gave the same order in writing namely to demolish Sa'īd's house. As Marwān was about to implement the task, Sa'īd told him that Mu'āwiya had previously asked him, Sa'īd to destroy Marwān's house, but that he had refused to do so because he, Sa'īd knew that Mu'āwiya was trying to provoke both of them.³ According to Bosworth, Mu'āwiya did not trust Marwān, who came from the branch of Abū al-Āṣ, which was more numerous than that of the Ḥarbs,⁴ as was claimed by Marwān himself.⁵ When Mu'āwiya wrote to him that the Prophet had said referring to his father, al-Ḥakam, that 'as soon as he had thirty sons they would acquire the property of God for the duration of their power, they would corrupt the religion of God and they

¹ Hanmarneh, Saleh K., 'Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and the Caliphate,' *Der Islam* LXV (1988), 206.

² Ṭabarī, in his two accounts of Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya only uses Abū Laylā another name by which he had been known. While Ibn Manzūr, al-Mas'ūdi, al-Balādhurī and others state that the name Abū Laylā is a symbol of weakness, because the Arabs used "Abū Laylā" to call somebody who is too weak to rule the people. Similarly, Marwān called Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd Abū Laylā because he was unable to rule the people for more than three months. See Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 500/ 503/II, 429/432. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 356. Ibn Manzūr, Muḥammad b. Mukrim, *Lisān al-'Arab* II, Beirut, no date, 609. Al-Mas'ūdi, 'Alī b. Ḥusayn, *al-Tanbih wa-'l-Ishrāf*, ed. Cairo 1938, 265.

³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 33. See also two versions of Ṭabarī's statements in *Ta'rikh* V, 293-5/II, 164-5.

⁴ Bosworth, CE, 'Marwān b. al-Ḥakam', *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* New Edition, Leiden VI, 622.

⁵ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 46.

would treat the servants of God as their servants,' he arrogantly said that he was the father of ten sons, had ten brothers and was uncle of ten nephews.¹

However, Mu'āwiya was frightened when Sa'id, the son of 'Uthmān the former caliph criticized him. Sa'id said that his father had kept Mu'āwiya as governor of Syria after the death of Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān. In gratitude for 'Uthmān's favour, Sa'id said, it was fair that Mu'āwiya should appoint him as successor instead of his own son, Yazīd.² The people of Medina - the boys and slaves - soon sang a song in which they predicted according to the following words: 'By God, Yazīd would never become caliph because he would be killed. The caliph who succeeded him is Sa'id.'³ According to Ṭabarī, Sa'id b. 'Uthmān actually demanded Mu'āwiya to make him governor of Khurasān,⁴ but al-Balādhurī states, governor of 'Iraq rather than Khurasān.⁵ Hearing the song, Mu'āwiya denied that this would happen, but Sa'id said: "Why not? because firstly, I am better than Yazīd and secondly, my father was caliph."⁶

The events above clearly illustrated how Mu'āwiya maintained the balance of his power. He was in need of family support, but they did not necessarily have a great deal of power. In Sa'id b. 'Uthmān's case for example, Mu'āwiya was not happy to make him governor of 'Irāq. He, Mu'āwiya had already ordered Ziyād to make him, Sa'id governor of Khurasān but without responsibility for tax administration. The administration of taxes was entrusted by Mu'āwiya to someone else, namely Aslam b. Zur'ā al-Kilābī. In any case, Mu'āwiya distrusted Sa'id and worried that he would claim the caliphate for himself, and finally he,

¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 58.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 303-4/II, 173-8.

³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 614-6.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 305/II, 177.

⁵ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 616.

⁶ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 616.

Mu'āwiya dismissed him.¹

After receiving Ziyād's letter, Mu'āwiya wrote to Marwān ordering him to tell the Medinan people that he wanted to make Yazīd his successor. Marwān then announced the plan publicly, so 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr objected to the decision saying that Mu'āwiya wanted to make the caliphate a Heraclian dynasty.² Whenever a Heraclian king died another Heraclian king took his place. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, Ibn 'Umar and Ibn al-Zubayr also opposed the decision. Marwān reported the disagreement to Mu'āwiya.

The objection mentioned above however, did not damage Mu'āwiya's plan. Al-Mughīra's and Ziyād's advice shortly onwards started to bear fruit. Yazīd's character improved. The Kufan and Basran people agreed to give their allegiance to Yazīd. The Syrian people unanimously supported Mu'āwiya's plan of making Yazīd his successor. Ignoring the objections, Mu'āwiya finally, wrote to his governors ordering them to send delegations from the garrison towns to Damascus. Ibn al-Athīr mentions that among the delegations who came to Mu'āwiya were Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm from Medina and al-Aḥnaf b. Qays from Baṣra. When they were assembled, Mu'āwiya gave his speech mentioning that obedience to the ruler is commanded by God, and then he talked about Yazīd's merit and knowledge of administration, and finally he spoke indirectly about his successor. And then al-Ḍahhāk b. Qays al-Fihri interrupted - because Mu'āwiya had ordered him to do so - and said: 'Commander of the Faithful, the people require a caliph to succeed you. We have proved that unity is the best way to make peace effectively. Your son, Yazīd, is under good guidance, moderate, has knowledge and ideas and is gentle. So, make him your successor.' Mu'āwiya treated the people gently until most of them trusted him and gave

¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 616.

² Heraclian dynasty was founded by Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor (610-41). See Roberts, JM., *The Penguin History of the World*, London 1995, 310. See also *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, New Edition VII, London 1955, Heraclius, 26.

the oath of allegiance to Yazīd.¹

According to Ṭabarī's statement, in the year 56/675, three years after Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān's death, Mu'āwiya called for the document which referred to the official nomination of Yazīd as his successor and read it publicly. When death came to him, Mu'āwiya, Yazīd would be his heir apparent. The people came together and gave their oath of allegiance to Yazīd with the exclusion of five men. They were Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr.²

After obtaining the oath of allegiance to Yazīd from the people of Syria and 'Irāq, Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān went to Hijāz with a thousand bodyguards and soldiers. He performed the pilgrimage and gathered the people of Medina, among them the four young men who disagreed with him in his decision. He said: 'You know my practice, my responsibility and my relationship with you. Yazīd is your brother and your cousin. I want you to make him caliph. Do you agree?'³

'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who acted as spokesman for the people, made three suggestions. (a) Act in accordance with the Prophet's practice. He did not nominate anybody as successor, so the people approved Abū Bakr. (b) Do as Abū Bakr did. He made his successor a man who was not of his kin. (c) Do as 'Umar did. He made a *shūra* of six persons who held a meeting to choose the candidate. They were also no relation to 'Umar.

However, Mu'āwiya was not interested in the suggestions. Instead, he ordered his chief bodyguard to allocate two men for every person watching them, and to kill them if they said anything. Then, he ascended the rostrum of the mosque and proclaimed: 'The best leaders of the Muslims have approved Yazīd and have sworn their allegiance to him. So,

¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 250-1.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 303/II, 175-6.

³ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 251-2.

all of you must do the same.' They did so and then he returned home to Syria.¹ The best leaders of the Muslims to whom Mu'āwiya referred were the Syrian-based regime which he had set up. They included the tribal groups in the north of Ḥijāz who agreed with him and swore allegiance to Yazīd without incident.²

In the year 60/679 Mu'āwiya fell ill. He entrusted Yazīd according to the provisions of the document which he had previously read publicly in the year 56/675. Ṭabarī reports of two versions of the document. First version quotes that Mu'āwiya, among other things said: "I do not fear anybody who would fight against you for the caliphate except four men of Quraysh: Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar is a submissive man of religion, who will give you the oath of allegiance when he remains alone. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī whom the Irāqi people will pretend to make caliph will in fact on arrival be expelled by them. If he rebels against you and you can defeat him successfully, forgive him, because he has a close relationship and a great right to power. Abū Bakr's son is a man who has no ideas of his own and just copies his friends. His ambition is limited to women, enjoyment and pleasure. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr would fight you if he had the opportunity. As soon as he does this to you and you have mastered him, tear him to pieces."³ According to al-Balādhurī's statement, soon after he had returned from Ḥijāz, Mu'āwiya gave Yazīd the advice concerning his command and succession.⁴

The second version states that Yazīd was absent when Mu'āwiya died. Before dying, Mu'āwiya called al-Dahhāk b. Qays al-Fihri, his chief of police and Muslim b. 'Uqba al-Murri and gave those two his commission. He said: "Take my order to Yazīd: Look

¹ Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil* III, 252.

² Conrad, L. I., 'Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya,' *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* XII, New York 1989, 271.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 303-4/322-3/II, 173-4/ 196-7.

⁴ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 144.

after the people of Ḥijaz because they are your relatives, treat with honour those who are older than you, inquire about those who are absent. Pay attention the Iraqi people. If they ask you to dismiss a governor everyday, do it, because dismissing a governor is better than a hundred thousand people who are armed with their swords against you. Look after the Syrian people and make them your special friends and depository of your secrets. If your enemy attacks you, ask for their support, and if you find any Syrian people outside Syria send them back to their country, because if they are settled outside their country, their behaviour will be influenced by those around them. I fear nobody of the Quraysh but three people, Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar is a submissive servant of God and will not require anything. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī is a rash man, may God help you against him with such a man who has killed his father and has deserted his brother. He has a close relationship and a great right to power and he is descended from the Prophet's family. I think the Iraqi people will involve him in rebellion. If you defeat him forgive him and if I were you I would forgive him. Ibn al-Zubayr is a deceitful person. When he rebels against you, strike him down unless he seeks peace from you.'

¹ Tabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 322-3/II, 196-7.

4. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya

Yazīd was finally acknowledged as the caliph when, in the year 60/679 death came to Mu‘āwiya in Damascus.¹ At that time, Yazīd was a young man of 35-36 years old.

Ṭabarī, in one statement, reports that Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya was born in the year 22/642, the same year in which ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān was born.² In another statement, on the authority of al-Wāqidī, he says that he was born in the year 25/645, during ‘Uthmān’s caliphate, while Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī states that he was born in the year 25/645 or 26/646.³

Yazīd was a poet. When his father became caliph he was 15/16 years old. He grew up among the Kalb and was educated in the Qur’ān, the tradition of the Prophet, poetry and genealogy. However, the sources report that his personal life was very secular spending most of his time in drink, song and dancing with female slaves.⁴

At the time Yazīd became caliph, he had Mu‘āwiya and Khālid, the two sons of Umm Hashīm (Umm Khālid, Fākhita, Ḥabba) bint Hāshim.⁵ The sources provide conflicting reports of Mu‘āwiya’s age when his father, Yazīd became caliph. According to Ṭabarī, he was nine years old,⁶ but al-Balādhurī’s statement show that he was about fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen or nineteen years old.⁷ Khālid was Mu‘āwiya’s younger brother. His nomination for caliph in the Jābiya meeting was rejected by the people because he was too

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 323-4/338/ II, 198/216.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* IV, 160/I, 2671.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* IV, 250/I, 2810. Al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn, *History of the Caliphs*, Amsterdam 1970, 209.

⁴ Conrad, L. I., ‘Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya,’ *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, XII, New York 1989, 721.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 500/II, 428. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 290/355. Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 128.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 503/II, 432.

⁷ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 356-8.

young. He was at that time, in the year 64/683 under fifteen years old.¹ When his father became caliph in the year 60/679 he was around ten years old.

Historians report that Yazīd had two wives. They were Umm Hāshim (Umm Khālid, Fākhita, Ḥabba) b. Hāshim, the above mentioned and Umm Kulthūm bint 'Abd Allāh, his beloved wife from whom, at the time Mu'āwiya charged him to invade Byzantines in the year 50/670, he had hard time to separate. By Umm Hāshim Yazīd had two other sons. They were 'Abd Allāh (Akbar) and Abū Sufyān and by Umm Kulthūm he had 'Abd Allāh (Aṣghar, Uswar) and 'Umar. At the time he became caliph, they were under age and little children. He also had 'Abd Allāh (the third), 'Uthmān, 'Utha, Yazīd, Muḥammad and Abū Bakr the sons of female slaves.²

When Yazīd succeeded his father Mu'āwiya, members of the Umayyad family who were still alive included al-Walīd b. 'Utha, 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. Al-Walīd b. 'Utha belonged to the branch of Ḥarb. 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq belonged to the branch of al-'Āṣ, 'Ubayd Allāh, the son of Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, Mu'āwiya's adopted brother, and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam belonged to the branch of Abū al-'Āṣ.

Marwān had the most experience in administration and politics since 'Uthmān's time. Al-Walīd b. 'Utha was governor of Medina, 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq was governor of Mecca and 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād was governor of 'Irāq. However, Marwān was the member of the Umayyad family who had previously been prominent in politics. As was mentioned earlier, he gained a lot of experience during 'Uthmān's caliphate and was among 'Uthmān's important advisors. So he had the strongest ground among the others for a claim to the caliphate in the future.

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 536-7/II, 475-6.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 500/II, 428-9. Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb* IV, 355-6. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 128-30.

Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya held power for only four years. According to Ṭabarī, al-Balādhurī and Ibn al-Athīr, as soon as he came to power, the most important thing for him was to have the oath of allegiance of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar.¹ So he confirmed al-Walīd b. 'Uthba as governor of Medina and ordered him to take their oath of allegiance by force before they knew the news of Mu'āwiya's death.²

However, al-Walīd failed to do his task. Yazīd replaced him with 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq.³ In the year 61/680 Ḥusayn b. 'Alī rebelled against Yazīd in Kūfa. It would appear that he, Yazīd had not been anxious about that because his father had already reminded him of the competition in the document before. So he wrote to 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād, the governor of 'Irāq to deal with the rebel⁴ and Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was killed. Following Ḥusayn b. 'Alī's death he faced another challenge from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr who claimed the caliphate for himself in Mecca,⁵ another prediction of his father which became true. 'Amr b. Sa'īd could do nothing to make Ibn al-Zubayr pay his allegiance, so, in the year 61/680 Yazīd dismissed him and put al-Walīd back in the position.⁶

Yazīd then seems to be very confused and weak. When, in the year 62/681 Ibn al-Zubayr wrote to him telling that al-Walīd was not fit for the Meccan people, he replaced him with 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān.⁷ Shortly later, he dismissed 'Uthmān who tended to follow Ibn al-Zubayr and replaced him with 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'īn al-Makhzūmī, a candidate outside of the members of the Umayyad family.⁸

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 338/II, 217. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 299. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 263.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 338-9/II, 216-7. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 132-3.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 343-4/II, 222-3.

⁴ Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 127-8.

⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 319.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 476-7/II, 399. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 318.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 479/II, 402. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 318.

⁸ Al-Balādhurī, *Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb* IVA, 319.

In the year 63/682, the people of Medina rebelled against Yazīd and encharged 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥanzāla al-Ghasīl with his dismissal. They removed 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad the governor of the town and moved the Umayyads, their clients and their Quraysh supporters out. As soon as the bad news came to Yazīd, he made Muslim b. 'Uqba al-Murrī the chief commander and Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr the second chief to lead a group of twelve thousand soldiers to help. He drew up a plan for Muslim b. 'Uqba. Firstly, he should call the rebels to peace and obedience. Secondly, if they refused, he should fight them. Thirdly, if he should win, he should allow his soldiers to plunder the town in three days and take its property by force. Finally, he should move on to fight against Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca.¹ Having failed at negotiation to bring about peace, the battle between the two sides took place and the winner was the side of Yazīd and Muslim b. 'Uqba then allowed his army to afflict the Medinese according to Yazīd's third plan.² On his way to Mecca, in the year 64/683, death came to him. So Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr replaced him as the chief commander of the Syrian army. He besieged Mecca and set the Ka'ba on fire. Before winning the battle, the news of Yazīd's death came to him and he had to return with his army to Damascus.³

However, Ṭabarī, in one of his two statements, says that before death came to him, Yazīd ordered that the oath of allegiance be given to his son, Mu'āwiya. In another statement, he reports that Yazīd made him his successor.⁴ According to al-Balādhurī, after two years administering the caliphate, Yazīd had a heart problem. When he recovered from the illness, he sought Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal's advice to make Mu'āwiya his successor. Al-Balādhurī also states that Umm Hāshim suggested to Yazīd to nominate Mu'āwiya and Yazīd agreed. Yazīd then called Ḥassān to proclaim the nomination, so the people gave

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* V, 482-3/II, 405-8. See also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 322-3.

² Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 127.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* V, 498-501/II, 427-430.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* V, 503/II, 432.

the oath of allegiance to Mu'āwiya.¹

Both Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī, according to whose respective accounts Mu'āwiya was a mere youth of thirteen or of ages ranging between eighteen and twenty three, state that he, Mu'āwiya was a weak caliph uninterested in the caliphate.² Distressed by that, he fell ill shortly afterwards. He then encharged al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, his commander of the army to lead the prayer of the people. After forty days of holding power, death came to him. He refused to nominate anyone of his brothers or any member of the Umayyad family.

¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 356-7.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 503/ II, 432. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 356-8.

5. The Second Fitna

Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd's death without any legal successor put the Muslim community into another crisis, the second *fitna*. Several members of the Umayyad family were still alive. They included Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq and Khālid b. Yazīd.

Khālid b. Yazīd was Mu'āwiya's brother, the candidate whom the members of the Sufyanid family suggested to Mu'āwiya to make his successor, but he refused to do so. He said that he did not want to nominate a successor while he was still alive for fear that, an eventual bad choice of caliph would trouble him in death. Moreover, he had never had any benefit as caliph during his own lifetime.¹

Marwān b. al-Ḥakam had been prominent in politics since 'Uthmān's time. He served as governor of Medina many times for Mu'āwiya. Since he had a lot of experience, Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān was very afraid that Marwān would build his own power by seeking the support of both Abū al-'Āṣ and al-'Āṣ, two branches of the Umayyad, most of whom lived in Medina.² 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq also served as governor of Medina for Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya.

Marwān was among the Umayyads of Medina who were expelled to Syria by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. When he arrived at Tadmur, the people of Syria were in deep crisis following Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd's death. They were divided into two parties. First, the Qaysī party led by al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays who called the people to support 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. Second, the Kalb party organized by Ḥassān b. Mālik who led them to support the Umayyad family by making Khālid, Mu'āwiya's brother caliph.³ Most commanders of the army supported

¹ Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb* IVA, 357.

² Hammarneh, 'Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and the Caliphate' *Der Islam*, 65 (1988), 205.

³ Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* V, 531/II, 469. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 327.

the first party. They were al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr in Ḥims, Zufar b. al-Ḥārith in Qinnasrin and Nātil b. Qays in Palestine. They agreed to give the oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr. As soon as the news came to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, he wrote to al-Daḥḥāk appointing him as governor of Syria.¹

Ḥassān b. Mālik al-Kalbī had been governor of Palestine for Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān and for Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya. He put Rawḥ b. Zinbā' in charge of the area and went to Jordan to persuade the people to support his party. They agreed with his effort to defend the Umayyad power but they rejected 'Abd Allāh and Khālid, two young sons of Yazīd. Ḥassān wrote to al-Daḥḥāk to change his mind, and he sent Nāghida to Damascus calling on the people to support his party.²

Learning the situation, Marwān decided to give the oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr and to bring about peace for the Umayyads.³ Some said, he preferred not to get involved himself in the competition for power, but intended to make 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān caliph after Yazīd. However, he married 'Uthmān's widow, Umm 'Amr bint Jundub, Abān's mother and tried to persuade 'Amr to move with him into Syria, but 'Amr refused.⁴ According to Ibn Sa'd, Marwān also offered the oath of allegiance to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar whom he thought was the chief of the Arabs and son of the former caliph but Ibn 'Umar also refused. Marwān then recited a verse of poetry mentioning that the caliph after Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd would be the one who would overpower his rebels.⁵

The news of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya's death put 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād in a difficult position.

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 531/II, 468-9. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt* III, 39-40.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 531-2/II, 469-70.

³ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt* III, 39-40.

⁴ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 600-2.

⁵ The verse of poetry is as follows:

إني أرى فتنة تغلي مراجلها × والملك بعد أبي ليلى لمن غلبا
Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt* IV, 124-5.

At first, the people of Baṣra agreed to appoint him as their leader until the Muslim community settled down. This agreement encouraged him to extend the idea to the people of Kūfa, so he sent his messengers to them suggesting that they should do the same, but, unfortunately they rejected him strongly, and this action made the people of Baṣra change their mind and attack him.¹ So, he sought the protection of Mas'ūd b. 'Amr of the Azd tribe. Three months later the Azd and Bakr b. Wāil tribes sent a few men who guarded him as he fled to Syria.² When he reached Tadmur, he found there the Umayyads of Medina, Mecca and the whole of Hejaz who had been expelled by Ibn al-Zubayr.³

On the way to Ibn al-Zubayr, Marwān and 'Amr b. Sa'id al-Ashdaq happened to meet 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān who had newly arrived from 'Irāq. When Marwān informed 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād of his decision, 'Ubayd Allāh (b. Ziyād) disagreed with him. In 'Ubayd Allāh's opinion, Marwān was the senior man among the Quraysh,⁴ their chief and more entitled to be caliph than Ibn al-Zubayr. It would be shameful if he accepted the authority of Abū Khubayb.⁵ 'Ubayd Allāh urged him to change his mind, go back and claim power and summon the people and get their support. 'Ubayd Allāh promised to influence Quraysh and their clients. Finally, Marwān agreed with 'Ubayd Allāh and then they went to Damascus.⁶

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 525/II, 460.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 525/II, 461.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 540/III, 481-2.

⁴ Ṭabarī's statement of 'Ubayd Allāh is quite confusing. What did 'Ubayd Allāh mean when he said that Marwān was the senior man among the Quraysh, while 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr was also the senior man among the Quraysh? The context of the statement becomes clear that his, 'Ubayd Allāh's aim was the Umayyads. Rawḥ b. Zinbā' had used the same word when he called the people of Medina to pay obedience to Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya after the Battle of the Ḥarra. He said: 'We do not summon you to support the tribe of Kalb or the others, but the tribe of Quraysh.' He meant the Umayyads. See Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 530/541/II, 467/482. Al-Mas'ūdī, 'Alī b. Ḥusayn, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādin al-Jawhar* III, ed. Beirut 1970, 281-2.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 530/II, 467. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr had a son called Khubayb. So he was called Abū Khubayb - Khubayb's father. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 326.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, V, 540-1/II, 482. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 327.

Facing the difficult situation, al-Ḍaḥḥāk was very confused. He apologised for opposing the Umayyads and suggested to Ḥassān to organize a meeting in Jābiya. The people of Damascus as well as the people of Jordan should come together to make Khālīd b. Yazīd their caliph.¹ On the way to the Jābiya meeting, al-Ḍaḥḥāk changed his mind. He and his followers camped at Marj Rāhiṭ on the road from Damascus a few miles to the north.² Here he sought support of al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr in Himṣ, Zufar b. al-Hārith in Qinnasrin and Nātil b. Qays in Palestine.³ They were the members of his party and he seems to have prepared for fighting rather than for a peaceful meeting.⁴

Meanwhile Ḥassān, the members of the Umayyad family and their followers were ready in Jābiya.⁵ A dispute occurred between two commanders, Mālik b. Hubayra al-Sakūnī and Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr. Mālik b. Hubayra intended to make Khālīd b. Yazīd their caliph, while Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr suggested Marwān b. al-Hakam. In Ḥuṣayn’s opinion, Khālīd was a young boy who was not strong enough for challenging ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. Mālik thought, Khālīd would be their caliph because he was the son of Yazīd and was wellknown to the Kalb since they had educated his father, Yazīd. Khālīd would make the Umayyads leaders of the Arabs in the future. Mālik thought that Marwān, who had a lot of sons and brothers, would build the Marwanid power and subdue the people. However, in the end, they agreed to make Marwān b. al-Ḥakam their caliph, Khālīd b. Yazīd the first successor and ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd al-Ashdaq the second successor.⁶

Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr had been a commander of the Syrian army for Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya. He had a fairly close friendship with Marwān. When he was fighting against Ibn al-Zubayr in

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 533-4/II, 432. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 327.

² Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* III, 286. Kennedy, *The Prophet*, 92.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 535/II, 474.

⁴ Kennedy, *The Prophet*, 92.

⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 327.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 535-7/II, 475-6. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 327-8.

Mecca, Marwān wrote to him telling him the news of Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd's death and advising him to keep fighting.¹ However, hearing the news of the caliph's death, Ibn al-Zubayr invited the Syrian army to join the people who supported him. Ḥusayn b. Numayr promised him to stop fighting and to return the Syrian army home if he, Ibn al-Zubayr gave them permission to round the Ka'ba. Ibn al-Zubayr agreed.² During the period of mourning time following the caliph's death, Ḥusayn b. Numayr secretly offered the oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr on condition that he, Ibn al-Zubayr, should move to Syria. Ḥusayn promised that the army with him were the Syrian leaders who would never be disagree with Ibn al-Zubayr. In his opinion, Ibn al-Zubayr had to move to Syria because he knew among the Umayyads many candidates who had aspirations to claim power for themselves, and without Ibn al-Zubayr's presence, he could do nothing. Unfortunately, Ibn al-Zubayr refused the offer publicly.³ So, Ḥusayn returned with the army to Syria and told Marwān what had happened between him and Ibn al-Zubayr. He addressed Marwān and members of the Umayyad family saying that they would have to nominate a caliph in order to avoid a *fitna*.⁴

The people chose Marwān on the ground that he had the qualifications and experience to be caliph. In other words, the current situation of the Umayyads needed Marwān more than Khālid the young boy. Ḥassān b. Mālik regretted that he could no longer suggest the nomination of Khālid since the people had rejected him as candidate and said that he, Ḥassān then had to give the oath of allegiance to Marwān. After that, he, Ḥassān went to the people of Jordan who agreed with him to fight against Ibn al-Zubayr's followers.⁵

¹ Ya'qūbi, *Ta'rikh* II, 183.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 501/II, 429-30.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 501-2/II, 430-1.

⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 326.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 531-2/II, 469.

Among other decisions the members of the Umayyad family made at the Jāhiya meeting was the decision to begin their effort to settle the bad situation among the Muslim community. They marched to fight the Qaysī al-Ḍaḥḥāk at Marj Raḥiṭ. The two sides fought each other (in the year 65/684) and al-Daḥḥāk was killed.¹ After the battle ended with a victory for Marwān and after the Syrians swore allegiance and acknowledged him as the caliph of the Muslim community in Damascus, Marwān arranged his new government and appointed new officers.²

However, Khālid b. Yazīd, who had standing among the people, might have threatened Marwān's new power. In order to sort out the problem, 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq suggested that Marwān should marry Khālid's mother, Fākhita bint Hāshim b. 'Utba, so that he - Khālid - would become a member of Marwān's family.³ In this way, he would change the opinion of people who thought that the young boy was more entitled to power.⁴

¹ Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* V, 537-4/II, 477-8.

² Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* V, 540/II, 481.

³ Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* V, 541/II, 482.

⁴ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 40.

6. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam

Marwān became caliph as a result of the Jābiya meeting, which was organized by Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Bahdal, the chief of the Kalb. It was in the year 64/683, when Marwān was over sixty years old.

He was clearly an old man. Some said he was born two years after the Hijra, while others said, four years after. According to Ibn Ḥajar, when the Prophet died Marwān was nine years old. This statement seems to prove that Marwān was born in the year 2/623.¹

The people of the Jābiya meeting chose him on the ground that he had seniority among the Quraysh. They thought that he was comparatively the best candidate among the others. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had been a companion of the Prophet and had seniority in Islam. In spite of that, he was weak and was not fit to take charge of the Muslim community.² ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr was not only a companion of the Prophet, but also the son of Asmā’ bint Abī Bakr the caliph, as well as having seniority and merit in Islam. On the other hand, he was an evildoer. He rejected two caliphs, Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya and Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, killed the people and broke down the unity of the Muslims. The evildoer was not one who had authority to command the Muslim community.³ Marwān was a man who united the broken community and defended ‘Uthmān when he was besieged and fought against ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in the Battle of the Camel.⁴ Finally the people agreed to choose Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.⁵

When Marwān became caliph he had ten sons. We have mentioned before that he himself

¹ Ibn Ḥajar, Ahmad b. ‘Alī, *al-Iṣāba* III, 477.

² Ṭabari, *Ta’rikh* V, 536/II, 475.

³ Ṭabari, *Ta’rikh* V, 536/II, 476.

⁴ Ṭabari, *Ta’rikh* V, 536-7/II, 476.

⁵ Ṭabari, *Ta’rikh* V, 536/II, 474. Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rikh* III, 3.

claimed, he was the father of ten sons, had ten brothers and ten nephews. The ten sons were as follows: ‘Abd al-Malik and Mu‘āwiya, the sons of ‘Ā’isha bint Mu‘āwiya b. al-Mughīra b. Abī al-‘Āṣ, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, the son of Laylā bint Zabbān of the Kalb, Bishr, the son of Qutayya bint Bishr, Abān, ‘Abd Allāh, ‘Ubayd Allāh, Ayyūb, ‘Uthmān and Dāwūd, the sons of Umm Abān bint ‘Uthmān the caliph.¹ According to Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh and Ibn Qutayba, he had twelve sons.² However, this included undoubtedly sons of female slaves including Muḥammad b. Marwān.³

His first son, ‘Abd al-Malik, at that time was forty three years old. He was the most excellent of his brothers before Marwān became caliph. He first appeared in government administration as the secretary of the *dīwān* of Medina for ‘Uthmān.⁴ When Mu‘āwiya became caliph, he confirmed him in the same position as did Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya.⁵ He gained all these opportunities because of his excellent education. He had firstly been involved in politics as the governor of Ḥajar on behalf of his father for ‘Uthmān.⁶ In the year 61/680, when Yazīd sent ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Idāh al-Ash‘arī and Mas‘ada b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Fazārī leading a delegation to Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca to put his (Yazīd’s) covenant into effect,⁷ Marwān sent ‘Abd al-Malik, who was accompanied by his brother ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, with them to recite a verse of poetry which was concerned with the idea that Ibn al-Zubayr was a noble who should accept Yazīd’s letter. Apparently, Marwān tried to persuade him to pay the oath of allegiance to Yazīd submissively,⁸ but it is not the point here. The point

¹ Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 162.

² Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma‘ārif*, 353-4. Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 160.

³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 58. Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 161-2. Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 622/II, 592.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 180/II, 837.

⁵ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 160.

⁶ Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma‘ārif*, 355.

⁷ When Yazīd had proved that there were a few people who gave the oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr secretly, he (Yazīd) swore a covenant that he would arrest him (Ibn al-Zubayr). To make the covenant into effect, he sent a delegation to Ibn al-Zubayr with a letter and a silver chain for warning him, Ibn al-Zubayr that he would be arrested. See Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 475/II, 397.

⁸ According to al-Balādhurī, Ibn ‘Idāh had warned Ibn al-Zubayr, if he refused to pay allegiance peacefully,

is that Marwān wanted to give ‘Abd al-Malik more experience in political negotiation.¹

Little is known about ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and Muḥammad during Marwān’s short time as caliph. Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī mention that ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was involved in two political events, the first as mentioned above, when he came with ‘Abd al-Malik in Yazīd’s delegation to Ibn al-Zubayr² and the second when he joined the Umayyad army in the Battle of Marj Rāhiṭ.³ According to Ṭabarī’s report, in the year 95/713 Marwān put Muḥammad in charge of the Jazīra.⁴

‘Amr b. Sa‘īd al-Ashdaq was the son of Umm al-Banīn bint al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-‘Āṣ (Umm al-Banīn was Marwān’s sister). He served as governor of Medina for Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya⁵ and before that as governor of Mecca for Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān.⁶ He was with Marwān at the beginning of Marwān’s movement to claim power for himself. When he governed Medina for Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya he put ‘Amr b. al-Zubayr in charge of the police. Because he knew that ‘Amr b. al-Zubayr had a bad relationship with his brother ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr he ordered him to make preparations to fight Ibn al-Zubayr. Marwān strongly disagreed with the decision and advised ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd al-Ashdaq not to attack the holy city of Mecca. Marwān believed that ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr was an old man who would die soon even if nobody killed him.⁷

Earlier, in the discussion of Mu‘āwiya’s policy, we mentioned that Saleh K. Hammarneh states, Marwān was unhappy when Mu‘āwiya made Yazīd his successor. In Saleh’s opinion,

he, Ibn al-Zubayr would be killed. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 304-5/308-9.

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 476/II, 397-8.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 476/II, 397-8. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 305.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 539/II, 480.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 622/II, 592.

⁵ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 441. Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 343/II, 222.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 338/343/II, 216/222. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 265.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 343-4/II, 223-4.

Marwān had aspiration to be caliph since when he served as scribe under the caliph 'Uthmān.¹ Because of this aspiration, he was unhappy with Mu'āwiya's policy.

However, our sources show that in comparison to Mu'āwiya, Marwān had no strong grounds for a claim to the caliphate. In Yazīd's case for example, Ṭabarī states that, when Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān died, Yazīd wrote to al-Walīd b. 'Uṭba b. Abī Sufyān the governor of Medina at that time, telling him the news and ordering him to enforce the allegiance of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. Al-Walīd then went hurriedly to see Marwān and consulted his advice. Marwān said, if Ḥusayn b. 'Alī and his friends refused to give the oath of allegiance, al-Walīd should kill them.² At that time, in the year 60/679 Marwān was no longer governor and unemployed had no power to further support al-Walīd. By contrast, Mu'āwiya, as mentioned earlier, offered to protect 'Uthmān whom he, Mu'āwiya feared would be murdered by an eventual attack, and moreover he, Mu'āwiya would send an army from Syria.

The sources tell us that Marwān had never had any army or strong followers like Mu'āwiya's in Syria, who would support him if he claimed power for himself, or who would protect him from the eventuality of attack. In the year 63/682, when the people of Medina charged 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥanzala al-Ghāsil to dismiss Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya and remove his governor, 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān and move the Umayyads, their clients and their Quraysh supporters out of Medina, they (the Umayyads, their clients and their Quraysh supporters) who were about a thousand people, gathered in Marwān's house. Marwān could do nothing to protect them except for writing to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya who sent Muslim b. 'Uqba leading twelve thousand Syrian troops.³

¹ Hammarnah, *Der Islam* LXV (1988), 200.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 338-341/II, 217-220.

³ The people of Medina moved the Umayyads out and they met Muslim b. 'Uqba at Wādi al-Qurā. Muslim offered the Medinan people peace if they payed obedience to Yazīd, but instead, they chose to fight. This event was known as the Battle of the Harra. See Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 482-3/486-495/II, 405-8/411-422.

In spite of that, Marwān was evidently preparing for a claim to the caliphate in the future. He had trained his two sons ‘Abd al-Malik and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz in public affairs since he had that opportunity in ‘Uthmān’s and Mu‘āwiya’s times. Al-Balādhurī states that as soon as Marwān came to power he appointed ‘Abd al-Malik as governor of Palestine,¹ and ordered ‘Abd al-Malik to make ‘Abd al-‘Azīz governor of Egypt after he died.

It is not clear who were Marwān’s officers in his new administration of Syria. The sources only mentioned them very briefly.² His governor of Egypt was ‘Uqba b. Nāfi’ al-Fihri who had been previously sent by Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sulaymān to conquer Ifriqiya. As mentioned above, Marwān ordered ‘Abd al-Malik to replace ‘Uqba b. Nāfi’ al-Fihri with his brother ‘Abd al-‘Azīz as soon as he was dead. According to al-Balādhurī, Marwān also put ‘Abd al-Malik in charge of Palestine,³ but Ibn al-Athīr reports that when al-Daḥḥāk b. Qays was killed, Nātil b. Qays al-Judhāmi escaped from Palestine and joined Ibn al-Zubayr. So Marwān appointed Rawḥ b. Zinhā’ as governor of the area.⁴ In this case, Ṭabarī only reports that Nātil b. Qays fled to Mecca and joined Ibn al-Zubayr.⁵

Marwān held the caliphate for only nine or ten months.⁶ So, his urgent and immediate programme was to establish his power. As soon as the Syrian people agreed to give their allegiance and firm support, he took action to reconquer Egypt by sending ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd al-Ashdaq, who found that the Egyptian people were very pleased with his presence, although they were called earlier to support Ibn al-Zubayr by his representative ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jaḥdam al-Qurashī. He, ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd al-Ashdaq gave his speech in the

¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* V, 149/158.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 540/II, 481 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 329. Al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj* III, 288.

³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* V, 149/158.

⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 329.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 540/II, 481.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 611/II, 577.

mosque calling them to support Marwān and they agreed to swear allegiance to him.¹ In addition, Ya'qūbī states that the people of Egypt acknowledged Marwān peacefully.²

When he, 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq returned to Syria, Marwān gave him another command to lead an army, because Ibn al-Zubayr had sent his brother Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr to conquer Palestine. Before arriving in Damascus, 'Amr b. Sa'īd fought against Muṣ'ab and defeated him and his army successfully.³ Then, he entered Damascus and by this time Marwān had subdued Syria and Egypt.⁴

Marwān's final action before his death in order to strengthen his power was to send two groups of the army, the first group led by Ḥubaysh b. Dulja al-Qaynī to reconquer Medina, and the second group led by 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād to reconquer 'Irāq. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād and his troops were camping in Jazīra when the news of Marwān's death came to him.⁵

Enjoying his victory, 'Amr b. Sa'īd claimed openly that power was for him after Marwān.⁶ This was actually the decision of the Jābiya meeting in which the people agreed to give the oath of allegiance to Marwān as the caliph, to Khālid b. Yazīd as the first successor and to 'Amr b. Sa'īd as the second successor, on condition that 'Amr b. Sa'īd should be the governor of Damascus and Khālid b. Yazīd should be the governor of Ḥimṣ under Marwān.⁷ In fact, the decision of the Jābiya meeting made 'Amr the second successor after Khālid, but he knew that Marwān had put Khālid under his control and that he, Khālid could do nothing to claim the position. So it seems that he, 'Amr felt overconfident that he would

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* V, 540/II, 481.

² Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḥ* III, 4.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* V, 540/II, 481.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* V, 610/II, 576.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* V, /II, 578.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* V, 610/II, 576.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* V, 537/II, 476.

be successor automatically.

Ṭabarī reports that this claim was ‘Amr’s demand when he agreed with ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād to support Marwān to be the caliph, but al-Balādhurī states that Marwān had himself promised ‘Amr to make him his successor.¹ However, soon after Marwān’s power was confirmed in Damascus, in the year 65/684, he made a radical change to the previous policy of succession. Hearing ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd’s claim, he called Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal and told him that he wanted to make his two sons, ‘Abd al-Malik his first successor and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz his second successor. He ordered Ḥassān to organize a meeting in which the people gave the oath of allegiance.²

Therefore, Marwān thought that he had effectively stopped not only ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd’s desire to become caliph but also Khālid b. Yazīd’s, his step son’s. Moreover, Marwān destroyed Khālid’s ambitions in particular, and the Sulaymids’ future in general. He diminished Khālid’s dignity by calling him ‘son of an adulteress’ in front of a large group of the people, when he, Khālid one day was walking among them.³ A poet called ‘Uwayj al-Ṭā‘ī who witnessed the event praised the Kalb, in his poetry saying, among other things, that had Marwān not been caliph, the Quraysh would have become lords and the Qays would have become their slaves.⁴ Marwān had thus removed the threat of Khālid.

¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 442.

² Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 442. Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 610/II, 576.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 611/II, 577.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* V, 544/II, 487.

7. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān

'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān became caliph in the year 65/687 following the death of his father, who, according to Ṭabarī, was murdered in Syria.¹ At that time he was 43 years old.

'Abd al-Malik was born in the year 22/642, in the time of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.² His mother was 'Ā'isha, the daughter of Mu'āwiya b. al-Mughīra who cut off the nose of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in the Battle of Uḥud.³ At the age of sixteen, Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān made him, 'Abd al-Malik a commander of the army to lead the Medinan troops against the Byzantines.⁴ He remained at Medina until 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr expelled the Umayyads from the town.⁵

According to al-Jāhiz, when 'Uthmān's murder took place, 'Abd al-Malik was under fifteen years old. He himself said: 'When the violence took place, I was under fifteen years old and was preoccupied by my anger with 'Uthmān's weakness rather than by sadness.'⁶ Ṭabarī seems to make the general information above quite specific when he reports that when the rebels besieged 'Uthmān, 'Abd al-Malik the eyewitness of the event was ten years old.⁷ This does not concur with the year of his birth. He was in fact thirteen years old.

His behaviour since he was a young boy was excellent. He used to make polite conversation, was very careful to listen to anyone who talked to him, was very pleasant and friendly, and

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 610-611/III, 576-7. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 348.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 160/I, 2671.

³ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf* V, ed. Jerusalem 1936, 164. Gibb, IAR., 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition I, London 1960, 76.

⁴ Gibb, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 76.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 530./III, 467.

⁶ Al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān* II, 321.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 419/III, 1173.

besides hated quarrels, arguing and accompanying fools.¹ He was among the religious scholars of Medina: Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, Qabisa b. Dhu'ayb and he, who was more expert in *ḥadīth* and Arabic poetry than al-Sha'bi, the advisor of Mu'āwiya.² He was also a good speaker like the other Arab leaders.³

Ibn Khallikān states that 'Abd al-Malik had desired to be caliph since he was young. He openly prayed to God near the Ka'ba saying: 'God, make me caliph of the Arabs and kill everybody who would fight me.'⁴ However, it was by no means that his political philosophy was 'the end justifies the means.' He was a relator of the traditions of the Prophet on the authority of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh and the other companions of the Prophet.⁵ He was also educated in religious studies. Ibn Sa'd states, that he used to sit with *al-muḥaddithūn* who taught him the traditions of the Prophet.⁶

'Abd al-Malik was forty two years old when Ibn al-Zubayr forced the Umayyads out of Medina.⁷ When Marwān put him in charge of Palestine, he, Marwān advised him that he should fear God and be careful in the administration of judgment.⁸ He did not fight in the Battle of Marj Rāhiṭ because of his piety.⁹ When the Umayyads of Medina were besieged and Marwān wrote to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya seeking help, 'Abd al-Malik was the messenger who brought the letter as far as the Thaniyya al-Wadā'i, a high place on the road to Mecca¹⁰ where he then handed it to Ḥabīb b. Kurra, an Umayyad client¹¹ and waited for

¹ Al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān* II, 41.

² Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 103-4.

³ Al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān* I, 353.

⁴ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayyāt al-A'yān*, Beirut 1970, III, 30.

⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt* V, 234.

⁶ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt* V, 226.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* V, 530/II, 467.

⁸ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* V, 127.

⁹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* V, 136.

¹⁰ Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Beirut 1956, II, 86.

¹¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 300.

him there. Ḥabīb b. Qurra took it to Yazīd.¹ Twenty four days later Ḥabīb b. Qurra returned with him to Medina.²

'Abd al-Malik met Muslim b. 'Uqba at Wādī al-Qurā when Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya sent him to lead the army to help the Umayyads in Medina. 'Abd al-Malik suggested to him a strategy to defeat the people of Medina. Hearing the brilliant plan, Muslim b. 'Uqba thought the young man was a Qurashite, so he sought further information about him. He asked Marwān, who said that he was his son 'Abd al-Malik.³

No record of his early marriage has been found. However, when he became caliph he had at least one wife. She was Umm al-Walīd Wallāda bint al-'Abbās who gave him three sons; al-Walīd, Sulaymān and Marwān al-Akbar.⁴ According to Lammens, on his death in the year 86/705, his eldest son al-Walīd was over thirty years old.⁵ From this we know that in the year 65/684 in which he, 'Abd al-Malik succeeded his father Marwān, his first son al-Walīd was around eight years old and Sulaymān was around five years old.⁶ Yazīd and Hishām were born to him during his caliphate. Hishām was the son of his wife 'Ā'isha - Umm Hishām - bint Hishām b. Ismā'il,⁷ and Yazīd was the son of 'Ātika bint Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya⁸

'Abd al-Malik had fifteen other sons who were born to him during his caliphate. They were Marwān al-Aṣghar and Mu'āwiya, whose mother was 'Ātika bint Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya,⁹

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 482/II, 406.

² Ṭabarī, *Tabarī* V, 484/ II, 408.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 486/II, 410-411.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 419-420/II, 11.74. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 162.

⁵ Lammens, H. 'al-Walīd b. al-Malik,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition, London 1924, IV, 1111.

⁶ He was born in the year 60/679-80. See Zettersteen, K. V. 'Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition, Leyden & London 1924, 518-19.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 420/II, 1174. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 164.

⁸ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 420/II, 1174.

⁹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 420/II, 1174. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 103, Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab* 163.

Abū Bakr - Bakkār - son of his wife 'Ā'isha bint Mūsā, al-Ḥakam, son of his wife Umm Ayyūb bint 'Amr b. 'Uthmān the caliph.¹ He also had 'Abd Allāh, Maslama, Sa'īd al-Khayr, Mundhir, 'Anbasa, al-Ḥajjāj and Muḥammad. They were sons of female slaves.²

At the time he succeeded his father there were two important members of his family who were still alive. They were 'Abd al-'Azīz, his brother and 'Amr b. Sa'īd, his nephew. 'Abd al-'Azīz was the son of Laylā bint Zabbān of the Kalb, while he himself was the son of 'Ā'isha bint Mu'āwiya b. al-Mughīra b. Abī al-'Āṣ.³ 'Amr was the son of Umm Banīn bint al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ, Marwān's sister. His father, Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣī belonged to the al-'Āṣ branch of the Umayyad family.

'Abd al-'Azīz's and 'Amr b. Sa'īd's experience in politics have been mentioned. However, 'Amr b. Sa'īd had more experience than 'Abd al-'Azīz. He, 'Amr b. Sa'īd served as governor of Mecca for Mu'āwiya and then as governor of Medina for Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya,⁴ and was among the supporters of Marwān from the beginning of his power. He had special influence among the people of Yemen and made them fight on Marwān's side in the Battle of Marj Rāhit.⁵ Our sources show clearly that Marwān took advantage of him for strengthening his power. For example, Marwān, as mentioned before, sent 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq to Egypt on his behalf in order to have the oath of allegiance whereupon the people of Egypt then agreed to support him.⁶ When 'Amr b. Sa'īd returned to Syria, and he was about to enter Damascus, Marwān commanded him to lead an army to fight against Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr who was the governor for his brother Ibn al-Zubayr over Palestine.⁷ According

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 420/II, 1174. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab* 164.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 420/II, 1174. Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 358.

³ Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab* 162.

⁴ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 441. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, V, 338/343/II, 216/222. Ibn al-Aṭhīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 265.

⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt* V, 40. Kennedy, H., *The Prophet*, 91.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 540/II, 481. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III,4.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V,540./II, 481.

to the decision of the Jābiya meeting, 'Amr was the second successor after Marwān, while Khālid b. Yazīd was the first, and 'Amr was to be the governor of Damascus and Khālid was to be the governor of Ḥims.¹ Obviously, at this stage, 'Abd al-Malik trusted him and made him his advisor.

There was another member of the Umayyad family who was alive. He was Abān b. 'Uthmān the son of the former caliph.² In the year 76/695 'Abd al-Malik appointed him as governor of Medina.³

'Abd al-Malik had evidently secured the future caliphate for his own sons since he came to power. According to Ibn al-Athīr, his son, Al-Walīd was not good in Arabic grammar and spoke incorrectly. He, 'Abd al-Malik criticized him for this saying: 'Only the eloquent leaders should hold command over the Arabs.' In order to solve his language problem, al-Walīd organized a six month intensive class which was taught by expert teachers, but he failed to improve his grammar.⁴

In the year 78/697, 'Abd al-Malik put al-Walīd in charge of pilgrimage⁵ and in the year 80/699, he sent him on an expedition.⁶ He charged him to take part in these public affairs, in order to provide him with more experience in leadership and administration. He also trained Sulaymān to do the same thing. Some said, in the year 80/699, he charged him to lead the people performing the pilgrimage. In the following year (81/700) he did the same.⁷

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 537/II, 476.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 420-1/II, 3056-7.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 256/II, 940.

⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 138.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 321/II, 1035.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 330/II, 1047.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 329/341/II, 1047/1063.

However, 'Abd al-Malik did not hastily change the previous policy of succession. He knew that he had come to power when the Muslim community was disordered.¹ Although his father had reconquered Syria, which was the Umayyad power base, as well as Egypt, most parts of the Muslim community were still controlled by Ibn al-Zubayr and his followers. In order to strengthen his power, he had to unite the Arabs under Syrian leadership. As he was about to fight against Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī, who had called the people to support Ibn al-Zubayr, he was interrupted by 'Amr b. Sa'īd who rebelled against him.

Ṭabarī has three versions of the event. The first version says that in the year 69/688 'Abd al-Malik went to 'Ayn al-Warda where Zufar b. al-Ḥārith had strengthened his position,² and put 'Amr b. Sa'īd in charge of Damascus. 'Amr was likely depressed and frustrated by Marwān's new policy of making 'Abd al-Malik his successor, so he took his revenge by occupying the capital, and fortified himself in it.³ The Second version says that 'Abd al-Malik went to Qarqīsiyā, another town in which Zufar b. al-Ḥārith had fortified himself.⁴ 'Amr b. Sa'īd was with him, but returned at night to Damascus, conquering the capital and taking property by force.⁵ The third version says that in the year 70/689 'Abd al-Malik went to 'Irāq to fight against Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. 'Amr b. Sa'īd asked 'Abd al-Malik to make him his successor, but he refused. So 'Amr returned to Damascus.⁶ In any case, all the versions show clearly that 'Amr took his revenge against 'Abd al-Malik who had refused his demand.⁷

¹ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 13.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 531/595-6/II, 468/554-5.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 140/II, 783.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 593/II, 551.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 140/II, 783-4.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 140/II, 784.

⁷ Ibn Ḥajar and Al-Jāhīz state that 'Abd al-Malik only followed in Marwān's footsteps. When he had the power he dismissed 'Amr and made his son al-Walid his successor. The above mention shows clearly that these statements are not true. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* VIII, 38. Al-Jāhīz, *al-Bayān* I, 314 .

'Amr b. Sa'id gathered the people and gave his speech in which he promised them help and allowance.¹ 'Abd al-Malik did not see him, and when he returned to Damascus he found 'Amr b. Sa'id had taken over the main part of the capital city. He then fought against 'Amr for a few days. In the end, the two sides agreed to make peace and then wrote an agreement. The sources do not mention any of the contents of the agreement. Ṭabarī for example, states only briefly that they made an agreement, and that 'Abd al-Malik was then allowed to enter Damascus. However, 'Abd al-Malik was unable to trust 'Amr any more and was likely to take advantage of a tactic in order to win the city. Soon afterwards, he called Kurayb b. Abraha al-Ḥimyārī to ask his advice about killing 'Amr. So he gathered the Marwanid family and sent his messenger inviting 'Amr to visit him in his apartment.² 'Abd al-Malik finally killed 'Amr b. Sa'id, according to Ṭabarī's statement, with his own hands and threw 'Amr's head along with money outside the door where 'Amr's followers were waiting. As soon as they saw the head and the money they ran away with the money.³ As 'Abd al-Malik was about to kill 'Amr's family, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ada, a commander of the army, advised him not to do so, but to send them to Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. 'Abd al-Malik agreed.⁴

Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr and Ya'qūbī state that in the year 75/694, 'Abd al-Malik went to Mecca to make the pilgrimage,⁵ but Ṭabarī does not mention anything about 'Abd al-Malik's speech. Ibn al-Athīr and Ya'qūbī report that he gave a speech in Medina. However, their text of the speech completely different.⁶ According to Ya'qūbī's statement, 'Abd al-Malik mentioned why he killed 'Amr. He said 'Amr wanted not only to cause *fitna* but also to

¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 397. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 141/II, 784.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 141/III, 785. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 398.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 141-5/II, 786-791.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 146/II, 793.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 209/215/II, 873/881. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 41. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 16.

⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 41. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 16.

make the forbidden free and to damage the religion. He did not want what was good for the people at all. So God struck him down. "I take responsibility for everything on your behalf except for a rebellion. I put the chain on the neck of 'Amr (I killed him) to stop him rising."¹

'Abd al-Malik had gained a free hand for dealing with 'Irāq through the murder of 'Amr b. Sa'īd. However, in the year 70/692, the Byzantines made much trouble on the frontiers and summoned a military force against the Muslims of Syria, and this event forced him, 'Abd al-Malik, to agree with the Emperor to give a weekly payment of a thousand dinars.²

In order to attack Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr more easily, he, 'Abd al-Malik, by persuasion enlisted the support of the Marwanids sympathisers namely Ḥajjār b. Abjar, Gaḍbān b. Qaba'tharī, 'Attāb b. Warqā', Qatan b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥārithī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Zaḥr b. Qays and Muḥammad b. 'Umayr all of whom had already been in 'Irāq. They agreed with him on condition they would have control of Iṣfahān for life.³ Some said, they wrote to 'Abd al-Malik requesting power over the area in return for their support.⁴

According to Abū al-Faraj, 'Abd al-Malik had three reasons for reconquering 'Irāq immediately. Firstly, the land of Syria had not produced enough crops, so he was anxious that he would become bankrupt. Secondly, the nobles of 'Irāq wrote to him requesting him to reconquer the province. Finally, there were companions of the Prophet at that time settled in 'Irāq, whom he hoped were on his side. They were growing older, so he worried

¹ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 16. For comparison, see also the text according to Ibn al-Athīr's report page 83-4 of this chapter.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 150/II, 796. Gibb, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* I, 76.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 156./II, 804.

⁴ Al-Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* III, 10.

that they would die before he reconquered 'Irāq.¹ The nobles of 'Irāq indeed had political motives when they offered their support to 'Abd al-Malik. Abū al-Faraj states that forty persons among them demanded power over Iṣfahān.²

When 'Abd al-Malik renewed the campaign against Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, the Syrian leaders disagreed with him. They thought that the caliph should stay in the capital and should give support to the army in battle when they were in danger of defeat. This was better for him than joining the army in fighting. They were anxious that, if he was killed they would lose their caliph. He indeed knew the idea as well, but he also thought, there was nobody among the Umayyads except himself whose skill in fighting was better than Muṣ'ab's, so that in the end he led the army himself.³

In the year 71/690 'Abd al-Malik killed Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr⁴ whose mother al-Rabāb bint Unayf was among the Kalb.⁵ Before killing him 'Abd al-Malik offered him peace, asked him to forget his brother 'Abd Allāh and called him to support the Marwanid power.⁶ However, he, Muṣ'ab refused the offer saying: 'I have never turned away from fighting until I would win or I would be killed.'⁷ According to Ya'qūbī, Muṣ'ab was killed by his friends when 'Abd al-Malik fought against him at Dayr Juthāliq, a place two miles from al-Anbār. 'Abd Allāh b. Ziyād b. Zubayr brought his head to 'Abd al-Malik. They killed him in the year 72/691.⁸

After killing Muṣ'ab near the Dujayl river, 'Abd al-Malik took action to summon the

¹ Abū al-Faraj, 'Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Aghānī* XIX, Beirut 1960, 53.

² Abū al-Faraj, *al-Aghānī* XIX, 55.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 156-7/II, 805.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 158-9/II, 808.

⁵ Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 236.

⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 11. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 159/II, 808.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 159/II, 808.

⁸ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 11.

people of 'Irāq to swear allegiance to him and they did so.¹ Moreover, he arranged the administration of the area properly. 'Abd al-Malik appointed Qatan b. 'Abd Allāh al-Hārithī as governor of Kufa and then replaced him with Bishr b. Marwān, and he put Muḥammad b. 'Umar in charge of Ḥamadhān and Yazīd b. Ru'aym in charge of al-Rayy.² He also appointed Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd as governor of Baṣra and then he returned to Syria.³

'Abd al-Malik had stopped the Syrian people from making the pilgrimage because 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr forced them to swear allegiance to him when they went to Mecca.⁴ In the year 72/691, 'Abd al-Malik sent al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf to Mecca to fight 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. Someone said, on the campaign against 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, that al-Ḥajjāj asked 'Abd al-Malik to charge him to lead the army recruited to kill 'Ibn al-Zubayr. 'Abd al-Malik agreed, and according to Ṭabarī, a force of 2,000, and according to Ya'qūbī, a force of 20,000 Syrian troops was despatched under his command to deal with Ibn al-Zubayr at Mecca.⁵ Al-Ḥajjāj had served in the police force under Rawḥ b. Zinbā' al-Judhāmī in the beginning of 'Abd al-Malik's time. His involvement clearly played a part in disciplining the troops whom the caliph had recruited for fighting against Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr in 'Irāq. His success attracted the attention of 'Abd al-Malik. So, in the same month as when he defeated Muṣ'ab, he made him, al-Ḥajjāj the commander of the army to fight against 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, the anti-caliph of Mecca.⁶

'Abd al-Malik treated 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in the same way as he had his brother

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 160/II, 810-811.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 164/II, 816-7.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 165/169/II, 819/822

⁴ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 7.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 174/II, 729. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 11.

⁶ Dietrich A. 'al-Hadjdjādī b. Yūsuf al-Thakāfī,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition III, London 1971, 40.

Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr beforehand. He could have had peace if he had paid the oath of allegiance.¹ However, Ibn al-Zubayr preferred to fight rather than accept the offer of peace. So, the two sides met at 'Arafa and al-Ḥajjāj wrote to 'Abd al-Malik asking for support. Most of Ibn al-Zubayr's followers were actually disunited and al-Ḥajjāj easily defeated and killed him.² The majority of the Meccan people then went out peacefully to meet al-Ḥajjāj.³ The Quraysh of Mecca swore allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik as soon as al-Ḥajjāj entered the holy city of Mecca.⁴

Ṭāriq b. 'Amr, 'Uthman's client governed Medina for 'Abd al-Malik, while 'Abd Allāh b. Khāzim ruled Khurasān. In the year 74/693, 'Abd al-Malik replaced Ṭāriq b. 'Amr with al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.⁵ In the year 75/694, 'Abd al-Malik appointed Yaḥya b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ as governor of Medina and on the day after Bishr b. Marwān's death, he transferred al-Ḥajjāj to 'Irāq. Al-Ḥajjāj entered the mosque of Kūfa unexpectedly and gave a speech warning the people that 'Abd al-Malik had relocated him to 'Irāq in order to teach a lesson to the people who were engaged in a *fīma* and who practised the evil ways.⁶

'Abd al-Malik wrote to 'Abd Allāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī who ruled over Khurasān on behalf of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. 'Abd al-Malik offered to confirm him in his position as governor on condition he swore allegiance, but he refused to do so, because he hated 'Abd al-Malik, the son of Marwān, an exile of the Prophet. Unfortunately, the people of Khurasān disagreed with him because of his bad record, so they rebelled against him and in the end killed him.⁷

¹ Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* VI, 174/II, 729.

² Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* VI, 174-5/II, 830. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 12.

³ Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* VI, 188/II, 845.

⁴ Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* VI, 192-3/II, 852.

⁵ Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* VI, 178/195/II, 835/854.

⁶ Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* VI, 202-4/II, 863-866.

⁷ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 14-15.

In the year 85/704, 'Abd al-Malik wanted to change the previous policy of the succession. He obviously thought that it was time to dismiss his brother 'Abd al-'Azīz and to put his son al-Walid in the position. Before implementing the new policy, he took action carefully step by step. Ṭabarī states that he wrote to 'Abd al-'Azīz telling of his plan to make his son al-Walid successor, but 'Abd al-'Azīz disagreed and wrote to 'Abd al-Malik saying that he also had in mind his son, Abū Bakr as successor.¹ Ya'qūbī says that 'Abd al-Malik sent al-Sha'bī to Egypt to discuss the intention with 'Abd al-'Azīz. Al-Sha'bī said that 'Abd al-Malik wanted to make his own son his successor. 'Abd al-'Azīz should resign himself to this fact and as a reward, 'Abd al-Malik would make him governor of Egypt for life. 'Abd al-'Azīz understood and agreed.² Some said when 'Abd al-Malik thought about the possibility of making his son successor, that 'Abd al-'Azīz died by accident whereas others said that 'Abd al-'Azīz was poisoned. Ṭabarī also states that Qubaysa b. Dhu'ayb one of 'Abd al-Malik's advisors suggested to him that he should delay the intention. Hopefully 'Abd al-'Azīz would be dead shortly in which case, everything would be easy.³

'Abd al-Malik's desire was realised accidentally when soon after, the news of 'Abd al-'Azīz's death came to them.⁴ He called his scribe, Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī. He wanted to consult his advice about the successor. Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī was a gentleman of merit, intelligence and trustworthiness and whom al-Ḥajjāj suggested to al-Walid to make him his scribe. 'Abd al-Malik agreed with al-Ḥajjāj and made Muḥammad his close

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 414/II, 1167.

² Al-Sha'bī, 'Āmir b. Sharāhīl was a Kufan and was among the members of the 'Alid party. He joined Mukhtar's movement in Kufa and involved in the rebellion led by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash'ath against al-Ḥajjāj b. Yusūf al-Thaqafī (82-3/701-2). The two sides met at Dayr al-Jamājim. When al-Ḥajjāj won the battle, he offered peace to the rebels and among them was al-Sha'bī, who came to Qutayba b. Muslim in al-Rayyī. Qutayba then send him to al-Ḥajjāj who gave peace. See Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 29. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 15/346-50/374-5/II, 809/1070-6/1111-3. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 92.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 412-414/II, 1164-8.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 412-414/II, 1164-8. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 21.

confidante and let him share in his secrets.¹ In the secret meeting, Muḥammad said that 'Abd al-Malik should make al-Walīd his first successor and Sulaymān his second successor. 'Abd al-Malik agreed with him saying that in this way al-Walīd should then not control the position for his sons to the exclusion of the others. Muḥammad then confirmed in writing the agreement of al-Walīd and Sulaymān.²

In relation to the preparation for al-Walīd's succession, Ṭabarī states that al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsūf invited an elder scholar of the People of the Book to tell him about the former caliphs and to divulge his knowledge about the future caliphs. It was said that he had knowledge about the past and the future of the leaders. Among other things he told al-Ḥajjāj that the caliph after 'Abd al-Malik, as mentioned in his books, would be a man named al-Walīd.³ However, there is no evidence that al-Ḥajjāj tried to influence 'Abd al-Malik to make his son al-Walīd the successor rather than 'Abd al-'Azīz, his brother. He only agreed with what 'Abd al-Malik wanted. In the year 85/704, 'Abd al-'Azīz died and 'Abd al-Malik appointed his son 'Abd Allāh as governor of Egypt. Al-Ḥajjāj only suggested to 'Abd al-Malik that he should proclaim al-Walīd's appointment and for the proclamation, he sent a delegation led by 'Umrān b. 'Iṣām to Damascus.⁴

'Abd al-Malik's desire to make his sons his successors after he came to power was mentioned earlier. There was no proof that the desire was connected with the killing of 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq. However, according to Ibn al-Athīr's report, in his speech to the people of Medina, 'Abd al-Malik was reported among other things as saying: 'I am not weak as the caliph 'Uthmān. I also differ from Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya who had indeed no idea. You learnt the practice of the Muhājirūn but you do not follow it. You command us

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 414/II, 1168.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* 415/II, 1169.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 393/II, 1138.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 413/II, 1165-6.

to fear God, but you forget yourselves. By God, if anybody repeats the same command to me, I will kill him.'¹ He had to express his feeling about 'Uthmān's murder which had strongly impressed him since he was young.² That was because he had his own special plan for power in the future.

Some say that 'Abd al-Malik had a dream in which he urinated four times in the *mihrāb* of the mosque. The dream was hard on him, so he entrusted someone to ask Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, the religious scholar of Medina who had knowledge in the interpretation of dreams. Sa'īd said, the dream meant that four sons of 'Abd al-Malik would become caliphs.³ He seems to have been encouraged by the dream, so it was agreed that his sons al-Walīd and Sulaymān would be followed as successors by his other two sons after his death. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh states that 'Abd al-Malik obliged Sulaymān to make one of 'Ātika's sons, his brothers Yazīd and Marwān, successor,⁴ while Ṭabarī reports that 'Abd al-Malik obliged al-Walīd and Sulaymān to make Yazīd (Ibn 'Ātika) and Marwān successors after his death.⁵

¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 41. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt* V, 224. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 419/II, 1173.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 611/II, 577.

³ Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, 163.

⁴ Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, 162.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI 531-2/II, 1317.

8. Al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik

Al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik was acknowledged as caliph as soon as his father ‘Abd al-Malik died in the year 86/705.¹ At this time he was over thirty years old.

According to Ibn Qutayba, al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik had fourteen sons, but Ṭabarī’s general statement shows that he had nineteen sons. They were ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm, ‘Abbās, Tammām, Khālīd, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, Mubashshir, Masrūr, Ṣadaqa, Abū ‘Ubayda, Manṣūr, Marwān, ‘Anbasa, ‘Amr, Rawḥ, Bishr, Yazīd and Yaḥyā. Only two mothers names are known to us namely Umm al-Banīn bint ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān whose sons were ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and Muḥammad, and Zāriyya whose son was Abū ‘Ubayda. The other sixteen sons were produced by several other wives whose names are not known.² We do not know exactly how many sons he had when he became caliph. However, we believe that at the time he had already married Umm al-Banīn by whom he had ‘Abd ‘Azīz, and his age was probably around fifteen. The other sons as mentioned above seemed to be born to him during his caliphate. Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh states that al-Walīd married ‘Izza bint ‘Abd al-‘Azīz who belonged to the branch of Abū al-‘Iṣ,³ and Fāṭima bint ‘Abd Allāh bin Muṭī’, whose father, ‘Abd Allāh b. Muṭī’ was among the leading Quraysh,⁴ during his, al-Walīd caliphate by whom he had no child at all.⁵ Al-Balādhurī also states that he married Umm ‘Abd Allāh bint ‘Abd Allāh Muṭraf b. ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān, the caliph⁶ during the time but she produced no children.⁷

¹ Ṭabarī. *Ta’rikh* VI, 423/II, 1177-8. Al-Jāhīz, *al-Bayān* I, 409.

² Ṭabarī. *Ta’rikh* VI, 496/II, 1270. See also Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 165.

³ ‘Izza bint ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd b. Abū al-‘Iṣ. Her father, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd Allāh was governor of Mecca for ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. See Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 190-1.

⁴ He, ‘Abd Allāh b. Muṭī’ was governor of Kūfa for ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, while his father, Muṭī’ b. Aswad was among the companions of the Prophet. See Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 383-4.

⁵ Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 116/385.

⁶ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 604-5. Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 114-115.

⁷ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IVA, 605.

Al-Walīd was the oldest son of ‘Abd al-Malik and was nominated as his first successor. His other sons were Sulaymān, Yazīd, Hishām, Marwān al-Akbar, Marwān al-Aṣghar, Mu‘āwiya, Abu Bakr - Bakkār -, al-Ḥakam, ‘Abd Allāh, Maslama, Sa‘īd al-Khayr, ‘Anbasa, al-Ḥajjāj and Muḥammad. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was his cousin. All of them were alive when he, al-Walīd became caliph.

Little is known about Yazīd’s and Hishām’s early life. Marwān al-Akbar, Marwān al-Aṣghar, Mu‘āwiya, Abū Bakr and al-Ḥakam have no record at all. Sulaymān, al-Walīd’s successor nominated by his father, served as governor of Palestine. Sulaymān developed the area, built the town of Ramla, its mosque, his apartment and especially the wellknown house of the dyers. He also gave the people permission to build their houses.¹ ‘Abd Allāh was the son of a female slave² who had served as governor of Egypt for ‘Abd al-Malik.³ Maslama, another son of a female slave had a special talent in army administration and he served as the commander of the army for al-Walīd. Sa‘īd al-Khayr, al-Ḥajjāj and Muḥammad were at the time still young boys.

According to Ṭabarī, al-Walīd desired to make his son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz his successor. With this ambition in mind, he involved him in public exploits such as leading invasions, leading the people in pilgrimage and others. In the year 93/711, he put ‘Abd al-‘Azīz in charge of pilgrimage.⁴ In the year 91/709, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz led the summer raid, and his uncle Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik was the commander of the army,⁵ and in the year 94/712, he, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz fought against the Byzantines until he reached the Ghazāla.⁶ He, al-Walīd became angry with Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Anṣārī, who had advised ‘Abd al-Malik to

¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* I, 170.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 420/II, 1174.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 442/II, 1200.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 482/II, 1255.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 454/II, 1227.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 483/II, 1256.

make Sulaymān the second successor, so he, al-Walīd did not put him, Muḥammad in charge of anything after he, al-Walīd came to power.¹ However, there was no evidence that he, al-Walīd was preparing his other sons for the succession, with the possible exception of ‘Abbās whom, in the year 88/706 he, al-Walīd made the commander of the army for the operating of invading the Byzantines.²

Al-Walīd, in the view of the Syrian people, was the best among the Umayyad caliphs who developed the Muslim community. He built the great mosques of Damascus and Medina, founded and introduced the minaret, gave help and allowance to those who were affected with the disease of elephantiasis and with other disabilities.³ He was the first of the Umayyad caliphs who had the opportunity to do so because he enjoyed internal peace, the fruit of the work of the previous Marwanid branch. His ordinances were dispatched to his governors mentioning new projects such as repairing the roads, digging wells and so on.⁴ In relation to this, Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, the governor of Mecca praised him in his speech as an important caliph who provided facilities for the people.⁵

In the year 87/705, al-Walīd dismissed Hishām b. Isma‘īl as governor of Medina and replaced him with ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, his relative, in the government of the province. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yusūf continued in his position as governor of ‘Irāq and the East.⁶ In the year 88/706, al-Walīd renewed the campaign against the Byzantines and made his brother Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik and his son, ‘Abbās, as mentioned above, commanders of the army. He also obliged a thousand Medinan troops to join the invasion. The Muslim army

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 415/II, 1169.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 343/II, 1191-2.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 496/II, 1271.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 437/III, 1195-6.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 440/II, 1200.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, VI, 433/II, 1191.

won and conquered Ṭuwāna - Tyana - successfully.¹ In the same year, he ordered 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz to rebuild the mosque of Medina.² It was not easy to restructure and increase the size of the mosque of the Prophet without provoking violent reaction from the people. This was probably the reason why he put 'Umar in charge of the town. He hoped 'Umar had enough ability to deal with the Medinan people whom he had known since he was a child.

Al-Walīd was the first caliph who reformed the mosque of Medina. Ṭabarī states on the authority of Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān that for the rebuilding of the mosque, he had sought the aid of the Byzantine Emperor, who have given financial help of a hundred thousand weight of gold, a hundred architects and mosaic carried by forty camels.³ Cresswell believes that this statement is not true.⁴ This opinion seems reasonable on the ground that the Byzantines were the Umayyads' enemy against whose territories in the north they invaded. We have mentioned earlier that al-Walīd renewed the campaign against the Byzantines. In this case, al-Balādhurī's statement is more acceptable when he reports that al-Walīd used the service of eighty Byzantine and Coptic architects who were residents of Syria and Egypt.⁵

In the year 93/711, al-Walīd dismissed 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz as governor of Medina. It was said that 'Umar wrote to him criticizing al-Ḥajjāj who had acted evilly against the people of 'Irāq. Hearing the news, al-Ḥajjāj wrote to al-Walīd mentioning that, since he had acted harshly, the troublemakers of 'Irāq had sought refuge in Mecca and Medina. Al-Ḥajjāj said, it was indeed a weakness on his part and these words fanned al-Walīd's anger with 'Umar because he ruled his people gently. In the year 91/709 al-Walīd put

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 343/II, 1191-2. Wellhausen, J. *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall*, Beirut, 1963, 224.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 435-6/II, 1192-4.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 436/II, 1194. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 109. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 24.

⁴ Cresswell, K. A. C., 'The legend that al-Walīd asked for and obtained help from the Byzantine Emperor. A suggested explanation,' *JRAS* (1956), 145.

⁵ Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* I, 5-6.

Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī in charge of Mecca,¹ and he, al-Walīd made a pilgrimage. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, with twenty men of the Quraysh, welcomed his arrival. He, al-Walīd entered Medina, visited the rebuilt mosque, gave a speech and led the Friday prayer.² Some said that the chief of Mecca at that time was not Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī as mentioned by al-Wāqidī, but 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz himself³ who had challenged and prevented al-Walīd when he wished to remove the rostrum of the Prophet from Medina to Damascus. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz disagreed with him and prevented him.⁴

Now, 'Umar became the bitter enemy of al-Walīd, the caliph. He asked al-Ḥajjāj to show him two men with whom he could replace 'Umar. Al-Ḥajjāj suggested 'Uthmān b. Hayyān for Medina and Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī for Mecca. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz then stepped down and went to al-Suwaydā, a place where he lived outside Medina on the road to Syria.⁵

On the one hand, it is not a surprise that Al-Ḥajjāj's words were accepted without question because he was 'Abd al-Malik's candidate. Abd al-Malik advised his son al-Walīd that he would need al-Ḥajjāj to support him in his power.⁶ On the other hand, it is quite reasonable to suppose that he, al-Walīd wanted to make changes in the previous policy for succession. He wished to dismiss Sulaymān as his successor and replace him with his own son 'Abd al-'Azīz. It is to be presumed that 'Umar would have prevented the change if he had still been in power.

In the year 96/714, a few months before death came to him, al-Walīd wanted to travel to

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, VI, 464/II, 1231.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 465-6/II, 1232-3.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 467/II, 1234.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 239/II, 93.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 481-2/II, 1254. Al-Ḥamawī, Yāqūt b. 'Abd Allāh, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* III, Tahran 1965, 197.

⁶ Al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān* III, 225.

his brother Sulaymān in Palestine in order to dismiss him and offer him a lot of money. However, Sulaymān refused. Even so, al-Walīd hurriedly wrote to the officials, the leaders, poets and all the common people informing them of his intention and ordering them to swear allegiance to 'Abd al-'Azīz. However, only al-Ḥajjāj, Qutayba and certain distinguished people agreed with him.¹ Al-Ḥajjāj acted in advance without the certainty that al-Walīd's policy would be successful when he wrote to his agents ordering them to dismiss Sulaymān, among them Abū 'Āṣim al-Ziyādī al-Kalbī and Muḥammad b. Qāsim in India.²

Sulaymān had lately clashed with al-Walīd in the case of Yazīd b. Muḥallab who, in the year 90/709, escaped from al-Ḥajjāj's prison³ and sought Sulaymān's protection. The story is as follows: al-Ḥajjāj felt jealous of Yazīd b. Muḥallab who, according to a senior scholar of the People of the Books, would govern 'Irāq after him. He was not sure that Yazīd would do so in his presence or after his death, but he was, in any case, not happy at that. So, he wrote to 'Abd al-Malik provoking him that Yazīd and his family were Zubayrites. Yazīd b. Muḥallab at that time was the governor of Khurasān. 'Abd al-Malik actually knew that there was nothing wrong with Yazīd's and his family's obedience. Because al-Ḥajjāj warned him that they would disloyal, 'Abd al-Malik permitted him to dismiss Yazīd, and agreed to put Qutayba b. Muslim in his position. It was in the year 85/704.⁴

In the year 90/708, when al-Walīd became caliph, Al-Ḥajjāj put Yazīd b. Muḥallab and his brothers in prison and took them with him when he went to Rustuqbādh to fight against the Kurds who had become superior in power in the large part of Persia. In the end, they escaped from the temporary prison with six million of debts which he owed to al-Ḥajjāj,

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 498-9/506/II, 1274-5 /1283.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 499/507/II, 1274-5/1284.

³ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 106.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 393-5/II, 1138-41.

and sought protection from Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik in Palestine. Al-Ḥajjāj sent messengers to Qutayba b. Muslim in Khurasān, to the governors of the provinces and to the commanders of the frontiers informing them of the news and ordering them to watch and make preparation in case Yazīd b. Muhallab and his brothers should arrive. Finally, al-Ḥajjāj knew that they had come to Sulaymān, so he informed al-Walīd who then promised, that if Sulaymān sent Yazīd b. Muhallab to him, he, al-Walīd would leave him, Yazīd in peace. Sulaymān wrote to al-Walīd to persuade him telling him that three million of the money were with him, Sulaymān, and he gave Yazīd b. Muhallab protection. As both Sulaymān and al-Walīd were about to fight each other, Yazīd offered his surrender. So, Sulaymān negotiated by letter with al-Walīd who delightedly forgave Yazīd and then wrote to al-Ḥajjāj ordering him to do so. Yazīd then returned to Sulaymān, teaching him astronomy, and serving him with good food, thus becoming an honourable man in the sight of Sulaymān.¹

Realising that the people disagreed with the caliph, 'Abbād b. Ziyād, his advisor, suggested to him that he should not dismiss Sulaymān, but that he should invite him to attend a meeting in which he should urge him, at least, to make 'Abd al-'Azīz successor after him. He could never refuse it in the presence of the caliph, and if he did so, the people would then be against him. Al-Walīd wrote to him in accordance with the suggestion and ordered him to come, but he delayed. Al-Walīd became angered by this, and he wished to go to him and dismiss him. He had ordered his escorts to get ready for departure when he eventually fell ill, shortly after which death came to him.²

¹ Tabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 448-453/II, 1208-1216.

² Tabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 499/II, 1274.

9. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik

Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik was in Ramla when death came to Al-Walid the caliph in Dayr Murrān, a place near Damascus.¹ The arranging of the prayer for the dead body of the caliph and the funeral was done by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz who, on behalf of Sulaymān, called the people to swear allegiance to him. At that time, in the year 96/714,² he, Sulaymān was thirty six years old.

He was the son of Wallāda bint al-'Abbās,³ and was born in the year 60/679.⁴ He was educated by his mother's family the 'Abs tribe ('Abs b. Baghid⁵) in the desert, the traditional form of Arabic education, so he became fluent.⁶

We do not know exactly how many sons he had when he became caliph. According to Ṭabarī, he was well-known as the caliph who liked marriage,⁷ and had fourteen sons as Ibn Qutayba also states.⁸ At the age of thirty six, he, Sulaymān had probably more than two sons Ayyūb and Dāwūd, both of whom were under age, one barely sixteen and the other about thirteen years old. In the year 90/708, when Yazid b. al-Muhallab surrendered himself to al-Walid, he was accompanied by Ayyūb. Sulaymān instructed them to be chained together and to appear before al-Walid the caliph. At this time Ayyūb was a young boy under fifteen⁹ whose mother was Umm Abān bint Abān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī

¹ Dayr Murrān was in the place Yazid b. Mu'āwiya had been with his beloved wife Umm Kulthūm when his father forced him to lead the army to invade the Byzantines. See al-Ḥanawī, Yāqūt b. 'Abd Allāh, *Mu'jam* VIII, 533-4. see also Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 30/32.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 505/II, 1281.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 419/II, 1174.

⁴ Zettersteen, K. V. 'Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition, London 1974, 518-19.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 419-20/II, 1174.

⁶ Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 360.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 497/II, 1273.

⁸ Ibn Qutayba, *Al-Ma'ārif*, 361.

⁹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 451/II, 1213-4.

al-'Āṣī, and Dāwūd was the son of a female slave.¹

Ṭabarī states that Sulaymān liked marriage, but he does not mention how many wives he had. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh records three of them, the above mentioned Umm Abān bint Abān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣī, Umm Yazīd bint 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya by whom he had Yazīd, al-Qāsim and Sa'īd, and 'Ā'isha bint 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān the caliph, by whom he, Sulaymān had Yaḥyā and 'Ubayd Allāh. He had a number of sons born from female slaves. Among them were Dāwūd the above mentioned and al-Ḥārith.² Ya'qūbī states that Sulaymān had twelve sons. They were Yazīd, Qāsim, Sa'īd, 'Uthmān, 'Abd Allāh, 'Abd al-Wāḥid, Ḥārith, 'Amr, 'Umar and 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Ya'qūbī does not repeat the names Ayyūb and Dāwūd here as he mentions them in the other parts of his book.³

At the time Sulaymān became caliph, his brothers Yazīd, Marwān, Hishām, Maslama, al-Ḥajjāj and others whose names were mentioned earlier were still alive. In a previous discussion we have stated that 'Abd al-Malik, before dying, obliged Sulaymān to make Yazīd and Marwān, two sons of 'Ātika, his successors. Maslama and al-Ḥajjāj had served as commanders of the army for al-Walīd and continued playing the same role for Sulaymān. In the year 98/716, Sulaymān sent Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik to Constantinople and ordered him to stay there until he, Maslama, had conquered the city or received the caliph's new order. So he spent the winter and the summer there and instructed the army among whom were the Syrian chiefs to put their food aside. He commanded them to work and cultivate the land for food. They also built houses of wood for shelter and lived there until the death of Sulaymān.⁴

¹ Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab* 165-6.

² Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab* 165-6.

³ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 37.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 530/II, 1315.

The most important candidate was 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Sulaymān's nephew, who was unemployed and who had moved to al-Suwayda outside Medina after being dismissed by al-Walīd.¹ He, 'Umar, a young leader of whom the Umayyads were very proud, had been educated in religion and it was predicted that he would be a caliph.²

Evidently, Sulaymān was among the Umayyad caliphs who desired to make their own sons successors. Although 'Abd al-Malik obliged him to make Yazīd and Marwān successors, as mentioned above, Sulaymān was not interested in implimenting it. In the year 98/716 when his commander of the army, Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik was far away in Byzantine territory, death came to Marwān b. 'Abd al-Malik who was, according to Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, on his way to perform the pilgrimage when he died in Wādī al-Qurā.³ Ṭabarī reports that he died on his way home after leaving Mecca in Sulaymān's time. The significance of Marwān's death was that Sulaymān found a reason to nominate his own son Ayyūb rather than his other brother Yazīd. He not only refused to make Yazīd his successor but he also expected a misfortune would happen to him, Yazīd his brother and he hoped Yazīd would die. Unfortunately, Ayyūb died first.⁴ After that Sulaymān wanted to put Dāwūd in the position. In the year 97/715 he encharged him, Dāwūd to lead the summer raid and in

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 481-2/II, 1254. Al-Ḥamawī, Yāqūt b. 'Abd Allāh, *Mu'jam* III, Tehran 1965, 197.

² The prediction that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz would be the caliph was actually attributed to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb who said that one of his descendants, on whose face there would be a scar, would fill the world with justice. Ṭabarī and Ibn Sa'd also state that Nāfi' heard 'Abd Allāh the son of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb saying on many occasions that the caliph would come from a descendent of 'Umar, whose face would bear a scar, and who would fill the world with justice. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was a man of reliable opinion and whose dream became true. When Sāriya b. Zanīm led the army which invaded Fasā in Persia, 'Umar had a dream about the fighting in which it seemed as though the Muslim army were being seized by the enemy. While describing the dream in his speech, 'Umar shouted ordering: 'Sāriya, the hill, the hill!' He then told the audience that God had soldiers some of whom would reach them, (the Muslim army). The story continues that Sāriya heard the order as if 'Umar was near him, so he commanded the army to move up to capture the hill near them, and finally they defeated their enemy. When 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb woke up one morning, he recounted his dream saying repeatedly: 'Who would be a descendant of 'Umar, be named 'Umar and follow 'Umar's practice?' See Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 362, Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 566/II, 1362, Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* V, 243, Ibn al-Athār, *al-Kamīl* III, 21-2 and Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz*, Damascus 1966, 22-3.

³ Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab* 162.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 531-2/II, 1317.

98/716, when death came to his first successor Ayyūb, he ordered him, Dāwūd to invade the Byzantines.¹ When the news of Ayyūb's death reached Yazīd b. Muhallab he had finished invading Jurjān he then came to al-Rayy. Someone slowly recited a poem indirectly to Yazīd saying that Dāwūd would succeed Ayyūb's place.²

As soon as he came to power, Sulaymān reorganized his government. According to Ṭabarī, in the year 96/714, he dismissed the provincial governors who had a special relationship to al-Ḥajjāj. They were 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān, the governor of Medina and Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, the governor of Mecca. They were al-Ḥajjāj's candidates when al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik ordered him to name two people to replace 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.³ Sulaymān then put Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm in 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān's place in Medina as well as putting Ṭalḥa b. Dāwūd al-Ḥaḍramī in Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh's place in Mecca.⁴ Six months later, he replaced Ṭalḥa b. Dāwūd with 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd Allāh, a member of the Umayyad family who belonged to the branch of Abī al-'Iṣ.⁵ The other governor involved in the dismissal was Yazīd b. Abī Muslim, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yusūf's client,⁶ the governor of 'Irāq. Sulaymān replaced him with Yazīd b. Muhallab who then put Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān in charge of taxation, put his brother Ziyād b. Muhallab in charge of 'Umān and also put himself in charge of the army.⁷

According to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik intended to make 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz his successor since he, Sulaymān had become caliph. With this intention, Sulaymān examined 'Umar many times to discover if he was interested in holding power. When Sulaymān had some expensive presents as a test he showed all of them to 'Umar

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 550/II, 1341.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 545/II, 1335.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 505/II, 1282.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 522/II, 1305.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 529/II, 1314.

⁶ Al-Balādhurī, *Futuh* I, 273.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 506/II, 1282-3.

and asked him what he would do if he came to power and had the same presents. 'Umar said they were the worldly materials and he would give them to the people, and Sulaymān said: 'May God be witness.'¹

Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam reports another story about Sulaymān. He sent Rajā' b. Ḥaywa to 'Umar to observe his way of life and to find out more information about the extent of his interest in power. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam's statement, Rajā' b. Ḥaywa was the most pious person of Urdunn in his time. His merit was well-known among the caliphs, so they made him their consultant and minister as well as educator to their officials and their children. During Sulaymān's time he was considered the first person in importance after the caliph. He also had a special relationship and friendship with 'Umar. In order to carry out Sulaymān's order, Rajā' b. Ḥaywa stayed with him, 'Umar for a few days. During this time, Rajā' had an interesting dream about 'Umar and predicted that 'Umar would be caliph. Rajā' then described his dream to 'Umar who believed him. 'Umar said that he wished not to get involved in power. However, if he could not stop himself bowing to the will of someone else, he would use the great position of caliph to seek the best reward from God in the hereafter.²

After losing Ayyūb, Sulaymān wanted to make Dāwūd his successor. If Yazīd b. Muhallab had been with him at that time, Yazīd would have strongly suggested to him to do this, but Yazīd was far away busy invading Jurjān when he heard the news of Ayyūb's death. Sulaymān was about to decide on Dāwūd as his the second choice, when Rajā' b. Ḥaywa, his advisor reminded him that he did not actually know if Dāwūd was still alive.

Ṭabarī states that on the Friday, a week before death came to Sulaymān, he put on a green silk garment and then said proudly: 'I am the young caliph.' He led the *Jum'a* prayer and

¹ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat* 118-119.

² Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat* 139-141.

returned home. Eventually, he felt unwell, and in his own hand he wrote his orders for one of his sons, whose name Ṭabarī does not mention, and who was under age. Realising this, Rajā' said that he should choose a suitable candidate as successor in order to preserve his soul in his grave. He promised to think about it and pray to God that he would make the right choice.

A few days later, he tore up the written orders and consulted Rajā' about making Dāwud his successor. Rajā' said as mentioned above that Dāwud at that time was absent. Sulaymān did not know if he was dead or still alive. Then, Sulaymān mentioned 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, who had merit and was the best candidate. Finally he made the decision to choose 'Umar on condition that Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik should be the successor after him in order to avoid *fīma*. Rajā' agreed and wrote the orders as follows: 'These are Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik the caliph's orders for 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. I appoint you as caliph succeeding me, and I also appoint Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik after you. You, the people must obey him.' Sulaymān ordered Ka'b b. Ḥāmid al-'Absī, the chief of police to gather together Sulaymān's family and read them the commission. They agreed and gave the oath of allegiance.¹ Soon after, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz came to Rajā' b. Ḥaywa asking him what was going on, but Rajā' refused to say even a single word about the orders. 'Umar was angry and went home. Rajā' did the same when Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik asked him who was to be successor these orders of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik.²

Sulaymān ordered his family to swear allegiance to his successor whose name was written in the letter, but because Raja' had hidden it from them they did not know exactly who he was.³ In the year 99/717, Sulaymān died in Dābiq, after ruling the caliphate three years.⁴

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 547/550-1/II, 1337/1341.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 550-1/II, 1342-3.

³ Yaqūbī, *Ta'rikh* III,37.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 546/II,1336.

As soon as Sulaymān's wife learned of his death, she ordered the chief of police to gather Sulaymān's family together in the mosque in order that they might swear allegiance a second time. There Rajā' announced the news publicly and read out the orders. Hearing 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's name, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik refused to swear allegiance, but Rajā' forced him to do so. Hishām then had no alternative.¹

In Barthold's opinion, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz became successor to Sulaymān on the persuasion of Rajā' b. Ḥaywa, the court advisor,² but according to the report mentioned above, Sulaymān himself suggested 'Umar as his successor and Rajā' did not play an important part in the appointment. As we have previously discussed, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān obliged Sulaymān to make his brother Yazīd his successor. In spite of that, he nominated his own son Ayyūb. He, Sulaymān expected something would happen to Yazīd and he hoped Yazīd would die shortly. It appeared that Sulaymān had reserved 'Umar to be his successor since he made big changes in the government of the provinces. These changes involved the dismissal of all al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsūf's relatives and followers who probably would have supported Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik in order to oppose 'Umar, a caliph outwith 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's line.

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 552/II, 1243-4.

² Barthold, W. W. 'Caliph 'Umar II and the Conflicting Reports on his Personality' *Islamic Quarterly* XV (1971), 70.

10. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz

'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was 37 years old in the year 99/717, when he became caliph succeeding Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik who had died in Dābiq. Son of Umm 'Āṣim bint 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb the caliph,¹ he was born in the year 62/681.²

According to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam, 'Umar spent most of his youth in Medina studying in religion after which he went to Egypt.³ As soon as his father 'Abd al-'Azīz died, in the year 84/703,⁴ 'Abd al-Malik invited him, 'Umar to Damascus and gave him his daughter Fāṭima in marriage.⁵

It is not clear how many sons he had when he became caliph. As mentioned above, his first marriage was to Fāṭima bint 'Abd al-Malik by whom he had Ishāq and Ya'qūb. Fifteen years later, when he came to power, he probably had more children and both Ishāq and Ya'qūb were under age, one being barely fifteen and the other barely thirteen years old.

According to Ya'qūbī, 'Umar had nine sons.⁶ They were 'Ubayd Allāh, 'Abd Allāh, 'Abd al-'Azīz, 'Āṣim, Zayd, Maslama, 'Uthmān, Sulaymān, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān. However,

¹ Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 362. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 566/II, 1362. Abū al-Faraj, *al-Aghānī* IX, 426.

² Historians provide conflicting reports about the date on which and the place where 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was born. According to Nawawī, he was born in Egypt but 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam states that it was in Medina. Nawawī says the great caliph's birth was in the year 61/680 but Ibn Sa'd and Ibn Ḥajar report that it was in the year 63/682. However, we know that in the year 87/705, al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik appointed 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz as governor of Medina. At that time he was 25 years old. It is therefore clear that he was born in the year 62/681. See Nawawī, Muḥyiddīn b. Sharaf, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā' wa al-Lughāt* II, No date, 19. Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* V, 423. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* V, 476. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz*, Damascus 1966, 24. See also Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 427/II, 1182.

³ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat 'Umar* 24. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom*, 267.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, 416/II, 1170-1.

⁵ Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom*, 267. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab* 165. Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn al-Akḥbār* I, 304.

⁶ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 44.

Ibn Sa'd reports differently that he had thirteen sons.¹ He, Ibn Sa'd agrees with Ya'qūbī on only four sons namely 'Ubayd Allāh, 'Abd Allāh, 'Abd al-'Azīz, 'Āṣim. He differs from Ya'qūbī who states nine sons namely Bakr, Ibrāhīm, Ishāq, Ya'qūb, Mūsā, 'Abd al-Malik, al-Walīd, Yazīd and Zabbān. Most of them were born to him, 'Umar, during his caliphate. Ibn Sa'd mentions that Ishāq, Ya'qūb and Mūsā were the sons of Fāṭima bint 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, that 'Abd Allāh and Bakr were the sons of Lamīs bint 'Alī, that Ibrāhīm was the son of Umm 'Uthmān bint Shu'ayb, and that 'Abd al-Malik, al-Walīd, 'Āṣim, Yazīd, 'Ubayd Allāh, 'Abd al-'Azīz and Zabbān were the sons of female slaves.² Ṭabarī records only three of them: 'Abd Allāh, 'Abd al-'Azīz and 'Āṣim. They were young boys who had been involved in politics during Yazīd b. al-Walīd's time.³

'Umar came to power by breaking the Marwanid procedure. Yazīd and Hishām, two sons of 'Abd al-Malik who strongly desired to succeed to the caliphate were still alive. Other members of the Umayyad family were 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Walīd, 'Abbās b. al-Walīd, Dāwūd b. Sulaymān and Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik.

Little is known about Yazīd's and Hishām's early life. In the year 87/709 al-Walīd charged Hishām to lead the army against the Byzantines.⁴ Ibn Sa'd states that Hishām, on behalf of the Marwanids, came to 'Umar and suggested that he sack all the previous employees and then fill the government positions with the Marwanids. However, 'Umar refused and preferred to use those who had priority according to the teaching of the Qur'ān.⁵ Yazīd, who had neither been involved in any invasion nor been prominent in politics, finally became successor after 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.⁶ Dāwūd b. Sulaymān was probably not

¹ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* V, 242-3.

² Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* V,

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 284/295/305/II, 1854/1869/1882.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 429/II, 1185.

⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* V, 282.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 550/II, 1341.

likely to play any part in 'Umar's government.

As we have mentioned earlier, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Walīd had been the commander of the army in the fight against the Byzantines and took part in pilgrimage leadership.¹ He was absent when Sulaymān made 'Umar his successor. What part he played was not clear. At that time he was probably on private duty in a far away place. Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik continued his service as commander of the army for 'Umar. Although 'Abbās b. al-Walīd's experience in leading invasions was greater than his brother 'Abd al-'Azīz's he was encharged with no further task since the caliph 'Umar changed the previous policy of invasion.

Al-Iṣbahānī states that 'Umar praised his dearly loved son 'Abd al-Malik, after 'Abd al-Malik's early death. Before this event 'Umar had worried that 'Abd al-Malik, who might have been his successor, could have caused the anger of the Marwanid family.² 'Abd al-Malik was among three important advisors whom 'Umar consulted for his, 'Abd al-Malik's opinion and advice. Two other advisors were Sahl, his brother, and Muzāhim, his client,³ whom he questioned, after al-Walīd had dismissed him, 'Umar, as governor of Medina, saying that he, Muzāhim would fear to be among people who had suffered misfortunes and were frustrated because had become unpleasant.⁴

As soon as 'Umar came to power, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Walīd claimed power as caliph for himself and summoned the people to support him. As mentioned above, he was absent when Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik died and had no idea about Sulaymān's successor. However, soon after he was informed that Sulaymān had made 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 454/482/II, 1227/1255.

² Al-Iṣbahānī, *Hilyat* V, 267.

³ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* V, 52.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 482/II, 1254.

successor, he came to 'Umar and told him that he had taken the cause of action in order to save the treasury. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz then offered to resign, but 'Abd al-'Azīz persuaded 'Umar otherwise, because he thought there was nobody more entitled to power than 'Umar, and he then swore allegiance to him. 'Abd al-'Azīz was the son of Umm al-Banīn bint 'Abd al-'Azīz, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's sister who had married the caliph al-Walīd, therefore 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Walīd was 'Umar's nephew.¹

In the year 99/717, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz made important changes in both his government and the provinces. When he came to power, he ordered Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik, the commander of the army fighting the Byzantines, to stop invading and to bring the Muslim army back.² He also sent the same order to his commander 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nu'aym, who was in Transoxiana. He said that, the Muslims' expansion was great in size.³ He preferred to reform the Muslim community rather than continue the expansion. He claimed that al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik in Syria, al-Ḥajjāj in 'Irāq, 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān in Ḥijāz and Qurra b. Sharīk in Egypt all ruled the people unjustly.⁴

'Umar put 'Adī b. Arṭāt al-Fazārī in charge of Baṣra and 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qurashī in charge of Kūfa. He also put al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abd Allāh in charge of Khurasān.⁵ Yazīd b. Muhallab, the corrupt governor under Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, escaped from the province taking with him everything he could. However, he was arrested by 'Umar's officer, 'Adī b. Arṭāt al-Fazārī and put in prison.⁶

'Umar hated Yazīd b. Muhallab and his family calling them tyrants.⁷ Al-Balādhurī states

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 553/II, 1345. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 165.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 553/II, 1346.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 568/II, 1365.

⁴ Al-Iṣbahānī, *Hilyat* V, 309.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 554/II, 1346.

⁶ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 38.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 557/II, 1350.

that Yazīd had huge sums of money after conquering Jurjān. He wrote to Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik informing him that he had twenty five million dirhams. On his way to visit Sulaymān, Yazīd lost the letter, which was discovered by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.¹ When later he came to power, 'Umar ordered him, Yazīd to send the money to the public treasury, but he refused.²

This was not the first action 'Umar took when he came to power. Abū al-Faraj reports that the first action was to take back from the Umayyads everything they had wrongfully seized and to refuse to grant them any privileges. Therefore, they came hurriedly to his aunt Fāṭima hint Marwān, who arranged a private meeting with him. He went to her house at night and explained his procedure to her. Among other things he said to her, 'the Prophet delivered one religion for all Muslims. The Umayyads used to follow their own practices neglecting the religion from which the people draw their satisfaction. For this reason religion has become ineffective. I come to power when the religion, which is like a river,³ has dried up. In order that the people's needs be satisfied, the river - the religion - must be brought back to its source.'⁴

Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik had granted 'Anbasa b. Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ a sum of twenty thousand dinars. Before he withdrew the money from the treasury, Sulaymān died, but he had told 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz about the sum granted to him, 'Anbasa and asked his permission. On hearing this, 'Umar said: 'That amount is enough fulfil the needs of four thousand families,' and he refused to approve it for personal purposes although 'Anbasa was his companion.⁵ Al-Ḥajjāj's son had a piece of land he had bought with government

¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* II, 414. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* VI, 299.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 557-8/II, 1350-2.

³ Barthold comments that 'Umar used the word 'river' as the comparison of Islam. See Barthold, *Islamic Quarterly*, XV (1971), 93-4.

⁴ Abū al-Faraj, *al-Aghānī* IX, 247-8.

⁵ Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Sīrat*, 58.

money. One of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik's sons demanded the land from 'Umar, who refused and returned it to treasury property.¹

Al-Iṣbahānī states that the Marwanids gathered outside the door of 'Umar. They complained that 'Umar had stopped their privileges with which the previous caliphs had favoured them. 'Umar told them that he had had to take this action because he feared punishment in the hereafter.² 'Umar found that most of the previous governors had subdued the people with their power, and their followers had copied the practice. They had thus exploited the weak people unjustly. 'Umar wanted to protect the weak people.³ According to Ibn Sa'd, the Marwanids went to 'Umar blaming him and protesting strongly against him. 'Umar was not weakened by that. On the contrary, he threatened them saying: 'If you come back with the same protest I will withdraw to Medina and surrender power to a shūra and someone namely U'aymish will replace me.' He meant Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, who was among his advisors when he was the governor of Medina.⁴

'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz seems to follow God's command when he changed his enjoyable life. In relation to this, God said: 'Do you order the people to do kindness while you forget yourself?'⁵ As soon as 'Umar came to power he sold his clothes, perfumes and all his luxury goods and spent the money on the cause of God.⁶ He took away from the people everything they had unlawfully possessed, from the moment he came to power until he died. He began with his wife, to whom he gave an ultimatum; either he divorced her or she put the diamond back into the treasury. 'Abd al-Malik had favoured her with a diamond belonging to the treasury as a valuable gift. However, Faṭīma chose 'Umar rather than the

¹ Al-Iṣbahānī, *Hilyat* V, 271-2.

² Al-Iṣbahānī, *Hilyat* V, 267.

³ Al-Iṣbahānī, *Hilyat* V, 282.

⁴ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* V, 254

⁵ Q: 2; 44.

⁶ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* V, 254.

diamond.¹ 'Umar judged cases on simple evidence because he was aware of the corruption and unjust actions of the governors.²

'Umar stopped cursing 'Ali b. Abī Tālib on the rostrum of the mosque, the previous procedure since the time of Mu'āwīya b. Abī Sulīyān, and wrote to the whole country ordering the people to do likewise.³ Ibn al-Athīr states that he knew the Umayyads launched a simultaneous attack on the use of propaganda to stop 'Ali's influence among the people. 'Umar thought the practice was a great sin, so when he came to power, he replaced it with the verse of the Qur'ān in which God said: 'God commands justice and kindness and help to kith and kin and forbids wrongdoing and rebellion.'⁴ However, he, 'Umar reformed the previous incorrect practice carefully. When his son 'Abd al-Malik urged him to bring the Sunna to life and to destroy the widespread incorrect new practices among the Umayyads, he, 'Umar told him that they had firmly strengthened their power. If he confiscated the things they had taken possession of illegally they would attack him and break the unity. He therefore had to treat them gently in order to avoid fitna.⁵ However, when the Ḥarūriyya, the Kharijites of Iraq asked him to blame his family, he refused to do this because he said some of them were good and some bad, some right and some wrong.⁶

Ṭabarī has two versions of the statement of the Kharijites, who rebelled against 'Umar. The first version says that the rebels were the Ḥarūriyya, the Kharijites of 'Irāq. 'Umar then wrote to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the governor of Iraq ordering him to call the Kharijites to act according to the Book of God and the practice of the Prophet. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, however, sent his army against the rebels. Unfortunately, the rebels defeated

¹ Al-Iṣbahānī, *Hilyat* V, 283.

² Al-Iṣbahānī, *Hilyat* V, 251-2.

³ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, 42.

⁴ Q: XVI; 90. See also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 154.

⁵ Al-Iṣbahānī, *Hilyat* V, 283.

⁶ Al-Iṣbahānī, *Hilyat* V, 310.

'Abd al-Ḥamīd's army. This event forced 'Umar to assist the army with Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik leading the Syrian army.¹

The second version says, the rebellion of eighty fighters most of whom belonged to the Rabī'a tribe, against 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the governor of Iraq for 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, burst out in Jūkhā. They were led by a Kharijite called Shawdhab also named Biṣṭām of the Yashkur tribe. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz questioned Biṣṭām as to his grounds for rebellion, when he was less entitled than himself ('Umar) to power. 'Umar offered to organize a debate on condition that he must concede if the truth was on 'Umar's side. Agreeing with the offer, Biṣṭām sent two representatives. Among other questions, they asked why 'Umar had confirmed Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, the sinner, as his successor and trusted him with the public money. 'Umar said that that was not his decision but had been taken by others. However, 'Umar postponed the answer for three days. Ṭabarī reports that the question made the Marwanids anxious that 'Umar might dismiss Yazīd and remove their power over the public money, so they poisoned 'Umar. Three days following the debate, death came to him.²

In fact, the Marwanids no longer trusted 'Umar since he had rapidly reformed his government. He had intended, if he had had more power, to make Maymūn b. Mihrān and Ismā'il b. 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq his successors. Ismā'il b. 'Amr was a god-fearing worshipper who, for the sake of God, isolated himself in A'waṣ, a place near Medina a few miles to the east.³ He had not been incorporated in the Umayyad power.⁴ Maymūn b. Mihrān was not among the members of the Umayyad family. He was the son of clients from Iṣṭakhr.

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* VI, 555/II, 1347-8.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* VI, 555-6/II, 1348-9.

³ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* V, 252. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḫ* III, 44. Al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* I, Tehran 1965, 317.

⁴ Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 182. Ismā'il was among the four sons of 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq, Sa'īd, Umayya and Muḥammad. See Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* VI, 795.

Some say, he was a client of the Hawāzin or the Azd.¹ However, he was among the religious scholars of the second generation² who had a close relationship to the Umayyads. He had administered the treasury in Ḥarrān for Muḥammad b. Marwān, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's governor of the province.³ When 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz came to power, he appointed Maymūn to head the judiciary and tax-collection in the Jazīra.⁴ This intention (to make Maymūn b. Mihrān and Ismā'il b. 'Amr his successors) shows clearly that 'Umar did not approve Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik as his successor. However, he was unable to implement his intention since he knew that the Umayyad members, on whose unity the Muslim community would rely were still powerful.

During his last illness, Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik came to visit 'Umar and advised him that he should make his last will and testament for his family. 'Umar knew that his words could in no way change the policy of the succession. Therefore, he simply said: 'My guardian is God who revealed the Qur'ān. He would look after the righteous.'⁵ In any case, in the year 101/719, death came to him at Dayr Sam'ān, after only two years and five months ruling the caliphate.⁶

¹ Donner, FM. 'Maymūn b. Mihrān', *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden 1991, VI, 916.

² Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb X*, 391.

³ Donner, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, VI, 917.

⁴ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb X*, 391.

⁵ Q:7,196. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt V*. 333.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh VI*, 565/II, 1361.

11. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik

Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, son of 'Ātika bint Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya¹ came to power in the year 101/723 succeeding 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. At that time he was 29 years old.²

As we have mentioned earlier, Yazīd was one of the Marwanid caliphs whom 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān obliged al-Walid and Sulaymān to make successor. Al-Walid and Sulaymān were also obliged to nominate as second successor Marwān b. 'Abd al-Malik, Yazīd's brother, the son of 'Atika. When Marwān b. 'Abd al-Malik died in the year 98/716, Sulaymān made Ayyūb, his son successor instead of Yazīd. Sulaymān wanted some misfortune to happen to Yazīd and hoped he would soon die. Unfortunately, Ayyūb died first and Yazīd was still alive.³

Yazīd had two wives, but our sources do not record the dates when he married them. They were Umm al-Ḥajjāj bint Muḥammad b. Yusūf b. al-Ḥakam, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yusūf's niece⁴ by whom he had two sons al-Walid and Yaḥyā, and Sa'da bint 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Alfān by whom he had a son 'Abd Allāh. He also had seven sons namely Ghamr, 'Abd al-Jabbār, Sulaymān, Abū Sulfān, Hishām, Dāwūd, and 'Awwām⁵ who were the sons of female slaves. However, Yazīd's first wife was Umm al-Ḥajjāj by whom he had al-Walid. When he became caliph, al-Walid was thirteen years old and was the oldest among his sons.⁶ Yaḥyā, al-Walid's brother was around ten or eleven years old. We have no record of the rest of his sons. Some were born to him before he became caliph and others were born during his reign as caliph.

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 420/II, 1174.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 574/II, 1372.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 532/II, 1317.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 564/II, 1360. VII, 253/II, 1810.

⁵ Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 115/166-7.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 434/564/II, 1192/1359.

At the time he became caliph, members of the Umayyad family who were still alive included 'Abbās b. al-Walīd, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Walīd, Yazīd b. al-Walīd and his brothers Hishām and Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik. Hishām, who had become Yazīd's heir apparent whose nomination will be discussed in the following pages, served as governor of Jazīra for him.¹ Maslama continued in command of the army for him. 'Abbās was his nephew, son of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, his brother, the former caliph. Yazīd placed him second in command of the army after Maslama. Yazīd b. al-Walīd at this time was a young boy of eight years old.² 'Abd al-'Azīz was another son of al-Walīd the former caliph who had experience in leadership and administration gained when he, 'Abd al-'Azīz had served as commander of the army for his father. As we have mentioned before, soon after Sulaymān died, he, 'Abd al-'Azīz had claimed the position of caliph for himself and summoned the people to support him. He was absent when Sulaymān nominated 'Umar as his successor. On realising that Sulaymān had already nominated a successor he immediately came to 'Umar to swear allegiance.³ However, what office he held under Yazīd the new caliph was not clear.

As soon as he came to power, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik immediately dismissed Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr al-Anṣārī as governor of Medina and put 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Fihri in the position. According to Ṭabarī, he accused Abū Bakr as unfaithful.⁴ However, there is no further information about the treachery. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī had served under the Marwanid caliphs since 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz governed Medina. In the year 87/705 'Umar made him judge for the town.⁵ In the year 96/714 Sulaymān appointed

¹ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 48.

² Yazīd b. al-Walīd was born in the year 93/719. See Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 476/II, 1247.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 553/II, 1345.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 574/II, 1372-4.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 433/II, 1191.

him as governor for the same town,¹ and in the year 99/717 'Umar retained him in the same position.²

It was clear that Sulaymān nominated Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik as successor after 'Umar, in favour of the Marwanids. However, 'Umar seems to have submitted to the decision unwillingly. Before death came to him, 'Umar, someone suggested to him to advise Yazīd. 'Umar had written to him warning him that he would be rejected in the case of neglect. If he neglected his duties he would not be reinstated.³

We know that 'Umar was not welcomed by all the Marwanid family. From the moment he came to power, he refused to give any privileges to any of their members and made radical changes in the government of the provinces. A few days before his death, the Kharijite representatives questioned him about Yazīd, whom they called the godless successor. He said that that was not his decision and promised to think about it. The members of the Marwanids were anxious about losing their power over the public money and that 'Umar might remove Yazīd, their successor. As soon as he held power, he made changes to his policies. Ya'qūbī claims that he replaced all the governors of the provinces who served for 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.⁴ The claim however is not true. According to Ṭabarī, among other governors who served under 'Umar were Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ḥazm, the governor of Medina, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the governor of Kūfa, 'Adī b. Arṭāt, the governor of Baṣra, Ismā'il b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Muḥājir, the governor of Ifrīqiyyā, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd Allāh, the governor of Mecca and al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥakamī, the governor of Khurasān. In fact, Yazīd dismissed only Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ḥazm, the governor of Medina and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd Allāh, the

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* VI, 522/II, 1305.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* VI, 554/II, 1346.

³ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 165-6.

⁴ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḥ* III, 45.

governor of Mecca replacing them with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, and Ismā‘il b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Muhājir, the governor of Ifrīqiyā and he confirmed Muḥammad b. Yazīd as the candidate chosen by the people of the province. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the governor of Kūfa, ‘Adī b. Arṭāt, the governor of Baṣra, al-Jarrāḥ b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥakamī, the governor of Khurasān continued their services for Yazīd.

Ṭabarī states that Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik replaced Ismā‘il b. ‘Abd Allāh as governor of Ifrīqiyā with Yazīd b. Abī Muslim, the client and secretary of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yusūf. Yazīd b. Abī Muslim was then killed by the Muslim inhabitants in the cities of the province. It was said that Yazīd b. Abī Muslim decided to rule the Muslim people according to al-Ḥajjāj b. Yusūf’s practice. They hated the practice very much, so they killed Yazīd b. Abī Muslim and made Muḥammad b. Yazīd, the client of the Anṣār their leader. However, Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik confirmed him, Muḥammad b. Yazīd as governor of Ifrīqiyā.¹

When Yazīd b. Muhallab rebelled against Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, conquered Baṣra and put ‘Adī b. Arṭāt al-Fazārī, the governor of Baṣra in prison,² Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik ordered Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik, and ‘Abbās b. al-Walīd to lead the Syrian army against the rebels.³ The two sides fought each other in ‘Aqar, a place near Karbalā’. Finally, Yazīd b. Muhallab was killed and Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik sent Yazīd’s head to the caliph.⁴ In return of the victory, he, Yazīd made Maslama governor of Kūfa, Baṣra and Khurasān who then, put Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba in charge of Kūfa, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Salīm al-Kalbī in charge of Baṣra and Sa‘īd Khuzayna b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz,

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 617/II, 1435/. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* I, 273-4.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 578/II, 1379.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 585/II, 1390.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 591-7/II, 1397-1405. Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Wafayāt al-A’yān* VI, 303.

Marwān b. al-Ḥakam's nephew,¹ who was married to Maslama's daughter in charge of Khurasān. This was in the year 102/720.²

When 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz died, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the governor of 'Iraq against whom the Kharijites rebelled during 'Umar's time, wanted to make good impression in the eyes of Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik. Thus he wrote to Muḥammad b. Jarīr, his chief commander, ordering him to fight against Shawdhab the Kharijite who had no idea of 'Umar's death, and whose representatives in 'Umar's debate had not yet returned. Hearing of Muḥammad b. Jarīr's preparation for battle, the Kharijites realised that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz the pious caliph must be dead.³ The two sides fought each other and the Kharijites were defeated. The people of Kūfa sought 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān's protection and Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik then confirmed him as governor of Kūfa.⁴

Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr report that when Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik ordered his army to fight against Yazid b. Muhallab, he made Maslama, his brother commander and his nephew, 'Abbās b. al-Walīd second in command.⁵ Someone advised him to make 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Walīd his successor.⁶ According to al-Balādhurī, the suggestion was made by 'Abbās himself.⁷ Hearing the news of the suggestion, Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik met him, arguing that Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik was more entitled than 'Abd al-'Azīz to be the successor. Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik said that he desired to make al-Walīd, his own son, his successor, but al-Walīd was too young. At that time, in the year 102/720, according to one of Ṭabarī's report, he was only eleven years old, but according to another report, he was

¹ Sa'īd Khudhayna b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam b. Abū al-'Āṣ. See Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 517/II, 1297.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 574/604-5/II, 1372/1417-8.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 575-6/II, 1375.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 576/II, 1376.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 585/II, 1390. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 177.

⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 177-8.

⁷ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* VIB, Jerusalem 1993, 5.

fourteen years old, three years older.¹ So, Maslama suggested that he made al-Walīd successor after Hishām. He agreed.²

Ya'qūbī reports that Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik had appointed Hishām as his successor. He later changed his mind, wanting to dismiss him and replace him with his own son al-Walīd. To implement this, he sent Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī to Jazīra ordering him to persuade Hishām to resign as successor. If Hishām agreed to this, he would govern Jazīra for life. Moreover, Ya'qūbī says that Hishām easily agreed to the offer, but Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī secretly advised him that he should not do this. Conversely, Hishām should hold the succession and entrust him, Khālid to tell Yazīd that he, Hishām refused to comply with his wishes. Khālid then reminded Yazīd of the thread of fitna if he changed the previous policy of succession and therefore suggested that he made al-Walīd successor after Hishām. Yazīd was eventually convinced and agreed.³

Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik was evidently the weakest of the Umayyad caliphs. His weakness was the cause of his death. It is reported that Ḥabāba, his female slave had accidentally choked on some pomegranate seeds which caused her to die. Yazīd was in terrible shock after her death. Numbed by grief, his mind became weak, and he did not want to bury Ḥabāba's body. His grief turned to physical illness which attacked his lungs, and fifteen days after Ḥabāba's fatal accident, in the year 105/723, death came to him in Balqā.⁴

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 434/II, 1192.

² Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 177-8. See also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* VI, 6.

³ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 48.

⁴ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 48.

12. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik

Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik succeeded Yazīd, his brother, as caliph in the year 105/723 when he was thirty four years old.¹

According to Ṭabarī, Hishām had desired to succeed his brother Sulaymān. At the time of Sulaymān’s last illness, he, Hishām asked Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa to notify him as to who was to be successor. When Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa refused to tell him, he became angry and disappointed. He was anxious that the caliphate would be removed from the Marwanid family.² As soon as Sulaymān’s commission was read, and ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was mentioned, Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik shouted: ‘I will never give him the oath of allegiance.’ However, he changed his mind when Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa warned him that he would be killed if he refused to swear allegiance.³

Little is known of his early life before succeeding his brother to the caliphate. According to Ṭabarī, he was born in the year 72/691 in which Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr was killed. When his mother ‘Ā’isha bint Hishām al-Makhzūmī gave birth to him, his father ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān was fighting Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr in Kūfa.⁴

We know neither how many sons Hishām had nor how old they were when he became caliph. Ṭabarī reports, in the year 119/737 that Hishām put his son Maslama, Abū Shākir in charge of leading the pilgrimage.⁵

According to Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, Hishām had ten sons from three wives and from

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 25/II, 1466.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 551/II, 1343.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 552/II, 1344.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 25/420/II, 1466/1174/ *Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb* VIB ed. Jerusalem 1993, 1.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 138/II, 1635.

female slaves. His first wife was Umm Ḥakīm bint Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-‘Āṣī by whom he had Abū Shākir, Yazīd and Muḥammad. His second wife was ‘Abda bint ‘Abd Allāh (al-Uswār) b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya by whom he had ‘Abd Allāh, and his third wife was Umm ‘Uthmān bint Sa‘īd, the descendant of ‘Uthmān the caliph, by whom he had Marwān. By female slaves, we know of the sons named Mu‘āwiya, Sa‘īd, Sulaymān, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and Quraysh.¹ Al-Balādhurī and Ṭabarī state that Abū Shākir was Maslama’s familiar name.²

Among other members of the Umayyad family who were still alive when Hishām became caliph were Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik, Marwān b. Muḥammad, al-Walīd b. Yazīd, ‘Abbās b. al-Walīd, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Walīd, Yazīd b. al-Walīd, Dāwūd b. Sulaymān and ‘Abd al-Waḥīd b. Sulaymān. Maslama was Hishām’s brother who continued playing the same role in the army. Marwān b. Muḥammad, Hishām’s cousin, was the son of a female slave, Rayya, a Kurdish woman. Al-Walīd b. Yazīd was his nephew and his successor whose nomination has been mentioned. ‘Abbās b. al-Walīd was a skilful leader of the army. He attained this position during his father’s time. However, his skills were not put to use in Hishām’s government. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Walīd whom al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik had previously attempted to make his successor and who had mistakenly claimed power for himself soon after ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz succeeded Sulaymān, did not play his part in public affairs during Hishām’s time. We have mentioned earlier about Dāwūd b. Sulaymān. We have no further information about him after his involvement in the Byzantine expedition in the year 98/716. Dāwūd’s brother, ‘Abd al-Waḥīd b. Sulaymān, according to Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, became prominent in politics later namely in Marwān b. Muḥammad’s time. ‘Abd al-Waḥīd was probably still a young boy when Hishām became caliph. Another member of the Umayyad family who was also a young boy like ‘Abd al-Waḥīd was Yazīd

¹ Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 167-8. Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma‘ārif*, 365. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* VIB, 104.

² Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* VIB, 2. Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 210/II, 1742.

b. al-Walid. He was twelve years old.

In the year 114/732,¹ Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik invaded the Khazar and Marwān b. Muḥammad joined him in this invasion. Marwān was a young man of thirty eight who thought that Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik was a weak commander and that the invasion was not effective enough. Maslama had merely crossed the border into Khazar and had entered only the first place he came to the aim of defending themselves rather than taking the town in victory. So, he, Marwān came to Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik secretly telling him about this and asked his permission to take over the task of invasion from Maslama. Agreeing with the suggestion, in the year 95/713 Hishām made him, Marwān governor of the Jazira, Armīniyya and Adhārbayjan. This high position, as mentioned earlier, had previously been won by his father Muḥammad b. Marwān who also governed over one of these provinces.²

Ṭabarī states that Hishām desired to make his son, Maslama Abū Shākir his successor. So he advised him and trained him and ordered him to modify his behaviour if he want to succeed the position. However, Maslama Abū Shākir decided to join al-Walid b. Yazid in his isolated life in order that he could enjoy drinking alcohol. As soon as Hishām realized Maslama’s isolated activities he ordered him to behave himself and to attend to the community. As mentioned above, in the year 119/737 Hishām put him in charge of the pilgrimage, and he, Maslama distributed a lot of money in Mecca and Medina.³ Hishām’s other sons who participated in public affairs were Mu‘āwiya, Sa‘id and Sulaymān. According to Ibn Ḥazm, Mu‘āwiya b. Hishām led the summer raid for ten consecutive years.⁴ Ṭabarī

¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 215-6.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 220/II, 887. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 43/215-6 . Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ* I, 237. Ya’qūbi, *Ta’rikh* III, 51. Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 371-3.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 210/II, 1742. Carole Hillenbrand, *The Waning of the Umayyad Caliphate*, XXVI, University of New York 1989. Note: 451, 89.

⁴ Ibn Ḥazm, ‘Alī b. Aḥmad, *Jamharat Ansāb al-‘Arab*, Cairo 1962, 91.

states however that he led the summer raid for only six years, in the year 107/725,¹ 111/729,² 112/730,³ 114/732,⁴ 116/734⁵ and 117/735.⁶ He also invaded the Byzantines in the year 109/727,⁷ 110/728,⁸ 113/731,⁹ 115/733¹⁰ and 118/736.¹¹ According to another of Ṭabarī’s report, it was Sulaymān b. Hishām led the pilgrimage seasons in the year 117/735,¹² in the years 120/742 and 124/746 he led the summer raid,¹³ and in the year 118/736 alone with his brother Mu‘āwiya, he invaded the Byzantines.¹⁴ Sa‘īd b. Hishām led the summer raid only once in the year 111/729.¹⁵

As soon as Hishām came to power he dismissed ‘Umar b. Hubayra who had previously been in favour of Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, as governor of ‘Irāq and replaced him with Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī. According to al-Balādhurī, Hishām also dismissed Muslim b. Sa‘īd as governor of Khurasān and put Asad b. ‘Abd Allāh, Khālid’s brother in charge of the area.¹⁶ Ṭabarī states that Asad came to the position through his brother Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī.¹⁷ Khālid dismissed Muslim b. Sa‘īd while he was away invading the Turks and put his brother in charge of the Khurasān area.¹⁸ However, fifteen years later,

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 40/II, 1487.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 67/II, 1526.70/II, 1530.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 70/II, 1530.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 90/II, 1561.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 93/II, 1564.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 97/II, 1573.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 46/II, 1495.

⁸ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 54/II, 1506.

⁹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 88/II, 1560.

¹⁰ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 92/II, 1562.

¹¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 109/II, 1588.

¹² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 99/II, 1573.

¹³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 139/199/II, 1635/1727.

¹⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 109/II, 1588.

¹⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 67/II, 1526.

¹⁶ Al-Balādhurī, *Futuḥ* II, 525.

¹⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 26/II, 1467-8.

¹⁸ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 32-3/37/II, 1477-8/1484.

Hishām dismissed him, Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī.¹ In the year 120/737, Hishām appointed Yusūf b. 'Umar al-Thaqaḥī,² the governor of Yemen, by letter as governor of 'Irāq replacing Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī.³

Ṭabarī states, the reason for the decision was that Hishām became jealous because Khālid earned a lot of money from his estates and from canals which he had developed during his service as governor of 'Irāq. The estates were Bājawa, Bārummāna, al-Mubāarak, al-Jāmi' and Nahr Khālid. He made canals for supplying water to facilitate irrigation and he thus obtained yearly revenue from the agricultural produce of Iraq.⁴ Ṭabarī states that he received twenty million dirhams from the canals and an annual income of five million dirhams from the Nahr Khālid estate alone.⁵ According to al-Jahshiyārī's statement, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik called Ḥassān, Khālid al-Qasrī's skilled labourer to examine Khālid al-Qasrī's earnings. Ḥassān told him that it was thirteen million dirhams. Hishām was impressed by this and eventually jealous of his success he sacked Khālid.⁶ However, Ṭabarī has another statement concerning Khālid's attitude towards Maslama Abū Shākir, whom Hishām had trained to be his successor. Hearing a verse of poetry recited by the poet called al-Kumayt that the caliph was in favour of Maslama Abū Shākir after al-Walīd, Khālid said that he would not be responsible for a caliph called Abū Shākir.⁷

More important than Khālid's case above was Hishām's nephew al-Walīd b. Yazīd who was about fifteen years old when Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, his father died. At the beginning

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 142-7/II, 1641-7.

² Yusūf b. 'Umar al-Thaqaḥī was Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yusūf al-Thaqaḥī's cousin. Ibn Khallikān, Ahmad b. Muḥammad, *Wafayāt al-A'yān* II, Beirut 1969, 229.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 149-50/II, 1652.

⁴ Abdul Bari, 'Economic aspects of the Muslim state during caliph Hishām,' *Islamic Culture* 46 (1972), 298-9.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 151-2/II, 1655.

⁶ Al-Jahshiyārī, Muḥammad b. 'Abdūs, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa-'l-Kuttāb*, Cairo 1938, 61-2.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 210/II, 1743.

of his rule, Hishām treated him with respect and honour as his successor.¹ In the year 116/734, he charged him to lead the people making pilgrimage,² and in the year 122/739, he ordered him to burn the head of Zayd b. ‘Alī who had been killed and whose head was sent to Damascus.³ However, this close relationship did not continue any longer. Shortly after, al-Walīd showed his lack of shame and his habit of being suddenly and frequently drunk.⁴

According to Ṭabarī, someone who rapidly changed al-Walīd’s character for the worse was ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-A‘lā al-Shabbānī, his tutor. Being aware of the psychological effect, Hishām took the responsibility for correcting him by breaking their friendship. In the year 119/737, he made him, al-Walīd leader of the pilgrimage, but he behaved very badly.⁵

We have mentioned that Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, the previous caliph, agreed to confirm him, Hishām as his successor on condition that his son al-Walīd would be a successor. Although Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik had tied the agreement firmly so that Hishām had no right to withdraw al-Walīd as successor,⁶ Hishām at this time, sought the possibility to change the policy. As soon as the people witnessed that al-Walīd had behaved badly, as mentioned above, Hishām took advantage of the situation. He urged al-Walīd to resign and give the oath of allegiance to his son, Maslama or at least to make Maslama successor after him. However, al-Walīd refused. Hishām met al-Walīd in a morose manner and harmed his feelings. He then appointed Maslama secretly as his successor. Only a number of the people agreed with him, among them Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm his maternal uncles,

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 209/II, 1741.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 98/II, 1512.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 188-9/II, 1713.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 209/II, 1741.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 209/II, 1741.

⁶ Muṣāb b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 163.

the sons of Hishām b. Ismā‘il al-Makhzūmī and his other special friends.¹

At this point, Hishām completely lost his respect for al-Walīd b. Yazīd. He had shamed him in public, taunted him and his friends and neglected him.² Among other things he spoke about his bad behaviour openly in his meeting, and he urged him to resign. However, Hishām’s attempts failed, so he cut al-Walīd’s allowance, withdrew his servants and called the people to dismiss him and replace him with Maslama.³

Ṭabarī states that Hishām addressed the question to al-Walīd directly, as to what was al-Walīd’s religion. Hishām said that al-Walīd would be abandoning his religion when he had openly committed the forbidden. Replying to the question, al-Walīd wrote a satirical poem to him mentioning that he followed the religion of Abū Shākir who participated in his drinking sessions. Hearing this, Hishām was angry Maslama who was also named Abū Shākir.⁴

Because Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik hated him, al-Walīd so much and put him under such pressure, al-Walīd stayed away with his companions and clients and took residence in Azraq,⁵ a place between the homelands of the two tribes, the Balqayn and the Fazāra, leaving his scribe ‘Iyād b. Muslim in the Ruṣāfa area to observe what happened and then to report it to him.⁶ However, Hishām discovered the purpose of ‘Iyād’s job, thus he punished him with severe flogging and threw him in prison.⁷

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh* VII, 209-10/II, 1741-2.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh* VII, 211/II, 1743.

³ Abū al-Faraj, *al-Aghānī* VII, 4-5.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh* VII, 210/II, 1742. Carole Hillenbrand, *The Waning of the Umayyad Caliphate*, XXVI, University of New York 1989. Note: 451, 89.

⁵ According to Abū al-Faraj, it was Abraq. Abū al-Faraj, *al-Aghānī* VII, 10.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh* VII, 211/II, 1743.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh* VII, 212/II, 1745.

Hishām was worried that the people would not approve al-Walīd to be their caliph.¹ Al-Balādhurī states that Hishām asked Abū al-Zubayr (Nasās), his advisor about this. Abū al-Zubayr said that they would approve al-Walīd because the oath of allegiance was an obligation upon them. Hishām said that al-Walīd would be punished in hell for his sins, therefore he, the wrongdoer, was not fit to be caliph. Hishām quoted that the Prophet had said, one who rules - even for three days - would not be punished in hell. If the people approved al-Walīd, the sinner, as Hishām claimed, as their ruler, the Prophet’s tradition which he quoted above then was not true.² However, in the year 125/742,³ death came to him, Hishām at Ruṣāfa.

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 215/II, 1747.

² Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* VIB, 23.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 200-1/II, 1729-30. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* VIB, 25.

13. Al-Walīd b. Yazīd

On the night on which Hishām died, al-Walīd b. Yazīd went out with his companion Abū al-Jubayr al-Mundhīr b. Abī ‘Amr for a walk. Two messengers came to him telling the news of Hishām’s death and delivering a letter from Salīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, the master of the chancellery.¹ The power for which he had long waited, had at last come to him. At that time he was 37 years old.

Al-Walīd b. Yazīd was the son of Umm al-Ḥajjāj bint Muḥammad, the daughter of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yusūf’s brother.² His father, Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik was the grandson of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya through ‘Ātika bint Yazīd whom ‘Abd al-Malik had married and by whom he had Yazīd, who was also called Yazīd the son of ‘Ātika.³

A young poet of the Umayyads, his religious faith was doubted. However, some said this was only an additional character trait invented by people who hated him.⁴ In relation to this, Abū al-Faraj states that one night, al-Mahdī the Abbasid caliph mentioned al-Walīd b. Yazīd who was, in his opinion, a charming literary man. When someone suggested to him that al-Walīd was an unbeliever, Al-Mahdī replied: ‘Shut up, because God never made caliph one who was an unbeliever.’⁵ Abū al-Faraj states that al-Walīd b. Yazīd was actually a believer. In spite of his bad character, he was a caliph who kept doing his prayer as well as he could.⁶ According to Ṭabarī, when al-Walīd came to power he invited Ibn Zakwān to see him. He had dinner with him, held conversation, and they performed the Maghrib and ‘Ishā’ prayers together, and then, he started to drink and continued until

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh* VII, 215/III, 1750-1.

² Abū al-Faraj, *al-Aghānī* VII, 3.

³ Wellhausen, J., *The Arab Kingdom*, 312.

⁴ Abū al-Faraj, *al-Aghānī* VII, 4.

⁵ Abū al-Faraj, *al-Aghānī* III, 81.

⁶ Abū al-Faraj, *al-Aghānī* 81.

dawn.¹

It is not clear how many sons he had when he became caliph. According to Ṭabarī, at that time he had al-Ḥakam and 'Uthmān; two young boys under age - less than fifteen years old.² Al-Ḥakam was the son of a female slave and 'Uthmān was the son of 'Ātika bint 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abū Sulaymān. He probably had two wives in addition to his female slaves. Firstly, 'Ātika bint 'Uthmān the above mentioned, and secondly Umm 'Abd al-Malik bint Sa'īd the descendent of 'Uthmān, the caliph, by whom he had Sa'īd. By female slaves he had Yazīd, al-'Abbās, Fihri, Lu'ayy, Mūsā and others, beside al-Ḥakam the above.³ According to Ya'qūbī, he had fourteen sons,⁴ and most of them were obviously born to him by female slaves.

At the time al-Walīd became caliph, some members of the Umayyad family, in particular the descendants of both al-Walīd and Hishām the former caliphs were alive. As we have mentioned earlier, they were 'Abbās b. al-Walīd, Yazīd b. al-Walīd, 'Umar b. al-Walīd, Sulaymān b. Hishām, Mu'āwiya b. Hishām and Marwān b. Muḥammad. 'Abbās b. al-Walīd had served as the commander of the army for his father, al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.⁵ In the year 95/713 in which al-Ḥajjāj b. Yusūf died, he had conquered Qinnasrīn.⁶ He continued his service in the same position for his uncle, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.⁷ Al-Walīd b. Yazīd entrusted him to go to the Ruṣāfa and count Ḥishām's and his sons' properties and to arrest and punish his officials.⁸

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 253-4/II, 1811-12.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 232/II, 1776.

³ Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 167.

⁴ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 63.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 434/II, 1191.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 493/II, 1268.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 590/II, 1395.

⁸ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 216/II, 1751.

Marwān b. Muḥammad was the grandson of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam the former caliph whom he, al-Walīd confirmed in his position as governor of Adhārbayjan and Arminiyya, the provinces he had governed since Hishām's time.¹ Yazīd b. al-Walīd was intelligent and pious and had a deep influence over the people.² Mu'āwiya and Sulaymān, two sons of Hishām, also had more experience in invasion since they had served as commanders of the army for their father. In spite of that, al-Walīd did not employ them. However, they were among the members of the Umayyad family who had grounds to claim the caliphate in the future.

When al-Walīd became caliph, his sons were young boys. However, he had to secure the caliphate in the future for his own line by making them his successors and he had to destroy Hishām's family whom he thought would thwart his ambition. With this intention in mind, as we have mentioned above, he ordered 'Abbās b. al-Walīd to transfer the properties of both Hishām and his family. 'Abbās then, reported to al-Walīd who recited a poem saying satirically that if Hishām were still alive, he would have seen that his wealth had become complete ! In fact, after his death Hishām's wealth was confiscated. However, al-Walīd excluded Maslama b. Hishām who had advised his father many times to treat al-Walīd gently and also to make him, Hishām refrain from harming him, al-Walīd.³

The moment Hishām was on his death bed, 'Iyād b. Muslim, al-Walīd's scribe of his own accord sent orders to the treasury officers to control all treasury property and to make sure that nobody would get anything.⁴ They did so and refused Hishām's requests for his own funeral. Hearing this, Hishām uttered his last words: 'I think we were the treasury officers

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 179/II, 1698.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 232/II, 1777. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 62.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 216/II, 1751.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 215/II, 1750-1.

for al-Walīd.¹

Al-Walīd had to make sure that each governor of the provinces was responsible to him and ready to put his new policy into practice. For this purpose, he confirmed the Qaysī Yusūf b. ‘Umar as governor of ‘Irāq,² and Naṣr b. Sayyār as governor of Khurasān.³ Both had served as governors of the provinces since Hishām’s time. He also appointed ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad, son of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yusūf al-Thaqafī, his cousin, as governor of Damascus.⁴ He had replaced Ibrahīm b. Hishām b. Ismā‘īl al-Makhzūmī, as governor of Medina, Mecca and Ṭā’if, with his, al-Walīd’s uncle, Yusūf b. Muḥammad b. Yusūf al-Thaqafī.⁵

He took his revenge aggressively against Hishām’s family. He punished Sulaymān b. Hishām, the previous commander of the army with flogging and by shaving his head and beard. Then, he exiled him to the prison of Amman. He also took a female slave who belonged to the family of al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik. ‘Umar b. al-Walīd mentioned the matter to him and warned him that if he did not stop he would be attacked by rebels on horse back who would besiege his camp.⁶ In other words, ‘Umar b. al-Walīd warned him that the third *fitna* would take place sooner or later.

As soon as Yusūf b. Muḥammad b. Yusūf al-Thaqafī replaced Ibrahīm b. Hishām, Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik’s maternal uncle as governor of Medina, Mecca and Ṭā’if, someone handed to him, Yusūf b. Muḥammad, Ibrahīm and Muḥammad, who were two sons of Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik. They were tied up in their cloaks and were brought to Medina. Yusūf b. ‘Umar then killed them. They had been charged with having taken large sums of

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 215/II, 1751.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 218/II, 1755.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 224/II, 1765.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 224/II, 1765.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 226-7/II, 1768.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 231-2/II, 1776.

money, thus al-Walīd had ordered him, Yūsūf b. Muḥammad to kill them.¹ In addition, al-Walīd also put Yazīd b. Hishām al-Afḡam b. ‘Abd al-Malik in prison.² The families of both Hishām and al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik branded al-Walīd the caliph an unbeliever. They also said that he had engraved the names of one hundred men among the Umayyads on one hundred linked iron chains which symbolised his intention to kill them.

Al-Walīd was cruel not only to Hishām’s and al-Walīd’s relatives but also to the people and especially to the Yemenites, who had served as the majority of the Syrian army.³ Among the Yemenites was Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, who was loyal to the Umayyads and had served as governor since al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik’s time. Although Hishām dismissed him from his position and put him in prison, he was still loyal to the Umayyads and offered his support to al-Walīd b. Yazīd. Eventually, al-Walīd ordered him to deliver immediately a sum of fifty million dirhams of his own money. However, he refused, so al-Walīd put him under the control of Yūsūf b. ‘Umar the Qaysī who had hated him since Hishām’s time and who punished him and caused him to die.⁴ According to Ṭabarī, al-Walīd wanted Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī to give the oath of allegiance to his two sons but Khālid refused. So al-Walīd became angry with him.⁵ Ṭabarī also reports that a group of Quḍā’a, especially the Yemenites of Damascus, united to kill al-Walīd. They came to Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh persuading him to join them, but he refused. However, he promised to keep quiet about their plans. Worrying that they would attack al-Walīd, who was already prepared for the pilgrimage, he advised him to delay it. Al-Walīd asked him the reason. Since he had given no answer, al-Walīd put him in prison and took his

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 226-7/II, 1768.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 232/II, 1776.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 231/II, 1775.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 258-60/II, 1819-22.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 232/II, 1776-7.

property in 'Irāq by force.'

As soon as al-Walīd became caliph, he made both his sons al-Ḥakam and 'Uthmān his successors and he wrote to the garrison towns mentioning their appointment. Among other governors whom he addressed was Yusūf b. 'Umar.² Before he made the decision, he consulted his advisor, Sā'id b. Bayhas b. Suhayb.³ Sa'id advised him, al-Walīd not to make them successors since they were too young and under age. Sā'id then suggested to him to make 'Ātiq b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik's nephew his successor. He became angry because of this, and put Sā'id b. Bayhas in prison, where he died.⁴

According to Ya'qūbī, al-Walīd b. Yazīd made al-Ḥakam his first successor and put him in charge of Damascus, and made 'Uthmān his second successor after al-Ḥakam and put him in charge of Ḥimṣ. Because 'Uthmān was too young, he appointed Rabi'a b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān the judge as 'Uthmān's assistant to administer the province.⁵ Abū al-Faraj states that al-Ḥakam and 'Uthmān were two sons of female slaves, and that al-Walīd b. Yazīd was the first caliph who made the sons of female slaves successors.⁶ However, our statement above shows that only al-Ḥakam was the son of a female slave.

After spending a short time acknowledging the caliph in Damascus, al-Walīd returned quickly to the free life of the desert and continuing to move from one place to another hunting and enjoying life, and avoiding inhabited places and the people. He was killed in the year 126/743 after ruling the caliphate for only a year and a few months. At that time he was thirty eight years old.⁷

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 232-3/II, 1777-8.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 218/II, 1755.

³ Little is known about Sa'id b. Bayhas b. Suhayb. Only Ṭabarī who reports his involvement in politics as al-Walīd's advisor. See Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 232/II, 1776.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 232/II, 1776.

⁵ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 61.

⁶ Abū al-Faraj, *al-Aghānī* VII, 70.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 252-3/II, 1810.

14. The Third Fitna

The third *fitna* began after al-Walīd b. Yazīd took aggressive revenge against Hishām's and al-Walīd's families. Yazīd b. al-Walīd was among those who played an important part in the plot to overthrow the new caliph.

The story of the *fitna* is as follows: as soon as the caliphal staff and seal were brought to al-Walīd in his desert residence, he came to Damascus for the purpose of receiving the oath of allegiance, arranging the administration of the provinces, taking revenge against Hishām's and al-Walīd's his uncles families and also for the purpose of nominating his two sons 'Uthmān and al-Ḥakam as successors.

As we have mentioned before, when al-Walīd came to power, he hated living close to the people, and clung to his enjoyable life, got severely drunk and spent his time with drinking companions. This was hard on the people, the army¹ and especially on the members of the Umayyad family. Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik was the harshest of the family members who blamed al-Walīd.

Hawting suggests that some members of the Umayyad family, in particular the descendants of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, felt very angry with al-Walīd b. Yazīd on account of his decision to make his own sons his successors even though they were too young.² In fact, they hated him not only for this reason but also because he, al-Walīd had destroyed the unity of the Umayyad family when he took his revenge upon Hishām's family. Sa'īd b. 'Uthmān had previously warned Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sul'yān since Mu'āwiya had driven 'Uthmān's family away as soon as he had seized power. By contrast, 'Uthmān had employed

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 231/II, 1776.

² Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 92.

Mu'āwiya and strengthened their relationship.¹ Sa'id had attempted to remind Mu'āwiya that he would become powerful only by strengthening the unity of the Umayyads. Similarly, as we have discussed earlier, 'Umar b. al-Walīd, Yazīd's brother had warned al-Walīd that he would be attacked by rebels if he kept destroying Hishām's and al-Walīd's families. It therefore seems that the unity of the entire Umayyad family was destroyed.

We have a tradition of the Prophet that the Muslims would be damaged by the power of young sons.² The tradition is related by 'Amr b. Yaḥya who heard it from his grandfather Sa'id b. 'Amr b. Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayya.³ This shows clearly that the tradition was already known among the members of the Umayyad family. When al-Walīd nominated his young sons as his successors, they thought that the future of the Marwanid power would be damaged. Yazīd b. al-Walīd alone took prompt action because al-Walīd was the Marwanid caliph whom the tradition of the Prophet had predicted. Furthermore, al-Walīd's conduct was as Kennedy states, increasingly irresponsible.⁴ This was what Hishām worried about, namely that the people would not approve of al-Walīd.⁵

Al-Walīd was the son of Umm al-Ḥajjāj bint Muḥammad, the niece of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yusuf al-Thaqafī.⁶ Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, his father, destroyed Yazīd b. Muhallab who, during the time that he governed 'Irāq for Sulaymān, punished the family of Abū 'Uqayl b. Mas'ūd.⁷ Yazīd b. Muhallab had many Yemenite followers who supported his rebellion

¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IV, 615.

² Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-Bārī bi Sharḥ al-Bukhārī* XI, Cairo 1959, 115-7.

³ In note 4, 105-6 of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz before, Sa'id b. 'Amr has been mentioned. According to Ibn Ḥajar statement, Sa'id and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam were sitting together with Abū Hurayra in the mosque of Medina. Abū Hurayra said that he heard the Prophet was saying, 'The Muslims would be damaged by power of young boys of the Qurayshs.' This was in the time of Mu'āwiya as caliph. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-Bārī* XI, 115.

⁴ Kennedy, *The Prophet*, 112.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 215/II, 1747.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 564/II, 1359. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 166-7.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 506/II, 1282-3.

against Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik.¹ Although Yazīd b. Muhallab was killed and his head was brought to the caliph,² his Yemenite supporters were still alive. As soon as al-Walīd confirmed the Qaysī Yusūf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqālī in his position as governor of ‘Irāq and ordered him to kill the Yemenī Khalīd al-Qasrī, they transferred their anger against Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik to his son al-Walīd

So, Yazīd b. al-Walīd sought the advice of ‘Amr b. Yazīd al-Ḥakamī³ who said that he, Yazīd would not come to power without someone who had influence among the people. He should consult ‘Abbās b. al-Walīd, his brother, the chief of the Marwanids, to whom the people were very submissive, and they would do what he did, or at least, he, Yazīd should proclaim publicly that ‘Abbās agreed with him and swore allegiance to him.⁴ Unfortunately, ‘Abbās did not agree with him and conversely warned him that rebellion against the caliph who had God’s covenant meant destroying the religion and the community.⁵

However, Yazīd made a secret move among the people, by concealing al-Aḥnaf al-Kalbī, Yazīd b. ‘Anbasa al-Saksakī and a group of the leadership and noblemen whom Yazīd b. ‘Anbasa trusted. They summoned the people, who agreed and secretly gave the oath of allegiance to Yazīd.⁶ Yazīd with his client, Qaṭan then returned to ‘Abbās renewing his request, but ‘Abbās warned him that he would bring him tied up to al-Walīd if he returned again with the same consultation. ‘Abbās sent his messenger to Qaṭan, a mountain area placed between the Rumma and the Asad,⁷ to prevent Yazīd, but Yazīd did not want to

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫ* VI, 585/II, 1390.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫ* VI, 591-7/II, 1397-1405. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt* VI, 303.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫ* V, 531-2/II, 469-71.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫ* VII, 237/II, 1784.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫ* VII, 237/II, 1784.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḫ* VII, 237/II, 1784.

⁷ Al-Ḥanawī, *Mu’jam* XVI, 374-5.

stop his campaign.¹ When Bishr b. al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik held conversation with ‘Abbās about the movement, ‘Abbās anxiously addressed his words to the Marwanids that God had allowed them to be destroyed. However, he wished God would protect them from the great *fitna* and that they would return to the pillars of Islam.²

The news of Yazīd b. al-Walīd exciting the people and calling them to depose al-Walīd b. Yazīd came to Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān who at the time was in Armīniya. Marwān wrote to Sā‘īd the son of the former caliph, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, asking him to stop the people from destroying their allegiance to al-Walīd. Among other things he said that Sa‘īd was a noble of his family upon whom they relied and from whom they sought protection. Marwān heard that a group of Sa‘īd’s family intended to break their allegiance to al-Walīd. Marwān thought the same as ‘Abbās, that the aim would cause *fitna* among themselves. If he, Marwān, had the free time to watch over the frontiers he would himself be able to stop the wrongdoing.³ Sa‘īd sent the letter to ‘Abbās, who called Yazīd and threatened him. However, Yazīd swore that he had not actually done anything wrong but, he, Yazīd suspected that their (Yazīd’s and ‘Abbās’s) enemies wished to create disorder between them. ‘Abbās seems to have agreed with Yazīd at this point.⁴

‘Abbās could not stop Yazīd from succeeding in his campaign. As soon as this matter was settled, he moved to Damascus accompanied by seven people. They entered the capital city at night, where most of the people swore allegiance to Yazīd secretly. The people of al-Mizza, a village of around one mile from Damascus and their chief, Mu‘āwiya b. Maṣād al-Kalbī, finally did the same. Yazīd lodged in the house of Thābit b. Sulaymān b. Sa’d

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 237/II, 1784-5.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 239/II, 1787-8.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 238/II, 1786-7.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 239/II, 1787.

al-Jushamī.¹

‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj b. Yusūf al-Thaqafī, was the governor of Damascus for al-Walīd b. Yazīd. At this time, he was at Qaṭan to escape from the plague, and had made his son his deputy. Kathīr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sulamī was the chief of police. Yazīd thought this was the right time for him to emerge publicly from hiding, so someone told ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad, the governor of Damascus, about the rebellion. However, he did not believe it,² and thus Yazīd carried out his rebellion easily. He sent a message to his followers to hide themselves until the time of the ‘Ishā’ prayer arrived. They planned to seize the mosque guards as soon as the people left, and their plan worked successfully, so Yazīd b. ‘Anbasa went to Yazīd telling him about this. Yazīd prayed, that if the action pleased God, He should give him help and guidance and that if not He should cause him to die.³

Yazīd gathered more than two hundred of his companions and captured the mosque, seized Kathīr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sulamī, the chief of police who was drunk, and seized the treasurers and the postmaster. Moreover, he ordered his followers to arrest all the people whom he feared, including Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayda, the client of Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ who was at Ba‘labakk and ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad, the governor. According to Ṭabarī, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad protected himself in his residence at Qaṭan. Yazīd made ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Maṣād leader of about two hundred fighters - horsemen - in order to seize the governor. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān then offered him a promise of safety and he permitted them to enter his house. There they found two saddlebags each containing thirty thousand dinars. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was given the chance to take half or all of the money for himself,

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 239-40/II, 1788-9.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 240/II, 1789.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 240/II, 1789-90.

but he refused in honesty and delivered it to Yazīd.¹ In any case, Yazīd plans worked smoothly and before midday, the people had already sworn allegiance.²

The news of the rebellion came to al-Walīd b. Yazīd who was dreadfully upset about it. He sent Abū Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwīya to Damascus to confirm that the event had certainly happened. However, Abū Muḥammad swore allegiance to Yazīd. He, al-Walīd consulted his advisors to discover the best way to fight against Yazīd, the rebel. He and two hundred of his followers³ finally settled at the fortress of al-Bakhrā’, a place at the border of the Hejaz,⁴ which had been built by the Persians.⁵

Yazīd b. al-Walīd called the people to fight against al-Walīd b. Yazīd, and two thousand of them joined ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj who led them to the fortress of al-Bakhrā’. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz attacked al-Walīd and sent Ziyād b. Ḥuṣayn al-Kalbī calling him to the book of God and the tradition of the Prophet, but al-Walīd killed him together with a number of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s fighters. Al-Walīd then waved the flag of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam which he had raised at the Battle of al-Jābiya (64/683).⁶ A messenger of ‘Abbās b. al-Walīd then came with his message that he was coming to join al-Walīd.

Ṭabarī reports that ‘Abbās made preparations with his sons and about one hundred and fifty of his clients. On his way to al-Bakhrā’, ‘Abbās became confused, and was unsure whom he should support, whether his cousin al-Walīd or his brother Yazīd. Manṣūr b. Jumhūr sent a warning to ‘Abbās that he would be killed if he supported al-Walīd,⁷ and urged him to join ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Yazīd’s commander of the army. According to Nuḥ b.

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 242/II, 1793-4.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 240-1/II, 1790-1/1792. Abū al-Faraj, *al-Aghāni* VII, 74-5.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 243-4/II, 1795-6.

⁴ Al-Ḥamawī, *Mu’jam* III, 356.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 244/II, 1796-7.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 244-5/II, 1797-8.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 248-9/II, 1803-4.

‘Amr b. Ḥuwayī al-Saksakī, it was Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Salīm al-Kalbī who forced ‘Abbās to join Yazīd’s side, and he finally agreed. So, they raised a flag in the name of ‘Abbās who had sworn allegiance to Yazīd, his brother. This caused a serious disagreement among al-Walīd’s followers, most of whom joined ‘Abbās and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. Al-Walīd appeared and fought forcefully, but after hearing a shout ordering the army to kill him, he quickly entered the castle and locked the door.¹

‘Abd al-‘Azīz besieged the fortress, into which al-Walīd had taken the Qur’ān and recited it in memory of the tragedy of ‘Uthmān.² Yazīd b. ‘Anbasa al-Saksakī climbed the wall and found the sword at al-Walīd’s side, but he said he did not want to fight. So, Yazīd b. ‘Anbasa then took his hand in order to put him in prison and to consider what he would do with him. Suddenly Yazīd b. ‘Anbasa’s friends came down from the wall and killed him, al-Walīd b. Yazīd. They took his head to Yazīd b. al-Walīd.

¹ Ṭabari, *Ta’rikh* VII, 245-6/II, 1798-9.

² Ṭabari, *Ta’rikh* VII, 246/II, 1799-1800.

15. Yazīd b. al-Walīd

Yazīd b. al-Walīd came to power in the year 126/743 by a coup d'état. At that time he was, according to one source, around forty six years old. Another source says he was around thirty seven years old and a third source reports, he was around thirty years old.¹

He was son of a female slave, Shāh Āfrīd bint Fayrūz b. Yazdigird b. Shahriyār b. Kisrā, the descendent of Sasanid king Yazdigird who was captured by the Muslim army when they conquered Khurasān.² They then sent her to Al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik as a gift. Al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik married her by whom he had Yazīd.³

The nickname of Yazīd was al-Nāqīṣ - the decreaser. It was because, according to al-Wāqidī, he cut back the increase of ten dirhams in the allowance which al-Walīd had decreed for certain groups of the people. Yazīd returned it to what it had been in the time of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. Ṭabarī also reports that Marwān b. Muḥammad abused him by calling him al-Nāqīṣ, meaning the Stupid One. Since that time the people called him al-Nāqīṣ.⁴

Yazīd b. al-Walīd was not the choice for the successor when his father al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik intended to replace Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik. The choice then was 'Abd al-'Azīz, his brother. However, 'Abd al-'Azīz's skills in administration and in leading the army had not been put to use by the caliphs who followed his father. As we have mentioned, he had mistakenly claimed power for himself soon after Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik was

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 298/II, 1874.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 476/II, 1247, *Ta'rikh* VII, 298/II, 1874.

³ Neither Ṭabarī nor Ibn Ḥazm mentions anything about this marriage. However, al-Walīd had married her by taking her in possession. In relation to this case al-Sarakhsī states that, in 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's time as caliph, a man had given 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥarr his daughter as a gift. The man confirmed this with two witnesses and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib approved it legally. This means that the way of possession authorised 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥarr having sexual intercourse with her. See Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 298/II, 1874 and Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 89. See also al-Sarakhsī, Shams al-Dīn, *al-Mabsūt*, Cairo 1946 (1324AH), V, 60.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 261-2/299/II, 1825/1874.

dead. Yazīd seems to have claimed proudly that he was a descendent of the king of Persia as well as of Marwān the caliph, from whom he claimed to have inherited leadership. According to Ṭabarī, he was not among the Sunnites, but tended to the doctrine of the Qadarites.¹

Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh reports that he, Yazīd b. al-Walīd married Umm Hishām bint Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, his cousin, soon after he became caliph, but he never had sexual intercourse with her.² Ibn Ḥazm states, he had married a Kalb woman by whom he had Abū Bakr, 'Alī and 'Abd al-Mu'min. Yazīd had other sons: Khālid, al-Walīd, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Muḥammad and al-Aṣbāgh, but he, Ibn Ḥazm does not mention who their mothers were. Khālid and al-Walīd were killed by Marwān b. Muḥammad. Yazīd had another son 'Abd Allāh, the son of a female slave.³ However, we have no further information about their age when Yazīd became caliph.

Earlier in the discussion of al-Walīd b. Yazīd, some members of the Umayyad family were mentioned. Shortly after al-Walīd had been overthrown, some newcomers appeared and served under Yazīd b. al-Walīd. 'Abbās, Ibrahim and 'Umar were Yazīd's brothers. 'Abbās at last became an important advisor to whom Yazīd referred regarding his affairs.⁴ Ibrahim served him as governor of al-Urdunn.⁵ According to Ya'qūbī, Yazīd b. al-Walīd made Ibrāhīm his successor as soon as he came to power.⁶ What office 'Umar held is not clear.⁷ Yazīd b. Sulaymān was not only the chief of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik's family in

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 498-9/II, 1274 and VII, 298/II, 1874.

² Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 167.

³ Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 90.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 282/II, 1851.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, VII, 268/II, 1833-4.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 295/II, 1869. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 63.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, VII, 268/II, 1833-4.

Palestine but also the Palestinian people's protection.¹ Sulaymān b. Hishām, the prisoner of al-Walīd in Amman escaped from prison as soon as al-Walīd was murdered, took the money from the treasury of the area by force, and came to Damascus blaming al-Walīd.² He came to Yazīd and served in the army.³

'Abd Allāh, 'Abd al-'Azīz and 'Āṣim, sons of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, were newcomers in Yazīd's time. 'Abd Allāh governed 'Irāq,⁴ 'Abd al-'Azīz governed Medina⁵ and 'Āṣim served as advisor for his brother 'Abd Allāh.⁶ Sa'īd (al-Khayr) b. 'Abd al-Malik the caliph had been the governor of Palestine for al-Walīd. After the murder of al-Walīd, Sa'īd b. Rawḥ b. Zinbā' the local leader, forced him, Sa'īd al-Khayr b. 'Abd al-Malik to step down, so he joined Yazīd b. al-Walīd's side.⁷ Finally Marwān b. Muḥammad, who had served as governor of Adhārbayjan and Arminiyya for Hishām⁸ and al-Walīd, finally agreed with Yazīd to govern the provinces for the third time.⁹ Apart from Marwān, they were sons of former caliphs who had the grounds for a claim to the caliphate in the future. However, Marwān was the strongest of them, the most skillful commander of the army and had long experience in administration of the provinces.

Although Yazīd's rebellion worked smoothly and he came to power successfully, his accession was the beginning of disasters among the Marwanid family which split their members into divisions. Sulaymān, the powerful former commander of the army for Hishām, made Yazīd anxious about his new position. The people of Ḥimṣ were severely affected by

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, VII, 266/II, 1831.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, VII, 261-2/II, 1825.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 263/II, 1827.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 284/II, 1854.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 295/II, 1869.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 2305/II, 1882.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 266/II, 1831.

⁸ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 179/II, 1698.

⁹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 283/II, 1853.

the murder of al-Walīd. They investigated the event immediately and when they knew that ‘Abbās b. al-Walīd had been involved in it, they attacked and destroyed ‘Abbās’s house, stripped his wives, arrested his sons and put them in prison, and sought ‘Abbās, who at this time went to Yazīd b. al-Walīd. Then, they rebelled against Yazīd and sent a letter to the army of Ḥimṣ summoning them to take part in the revenge for al-Walīd’s murder, and the army agreed to support them. They also drew up an agreement among themselves that they would either refuse Yazīd, and swear allegiance to al-Walīd’s sons and successors if they were still alive, or that they, the people of Ḥimṣ would give their allegiance to someone else whom they considered to be the best candidate for caliph, on condition that he would pay their and their children’s yearly allowance. They made Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd b. Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī¹ their leader. Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd then wrote to Marwān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik the governor of Ḥimṣ for al-Walīd b. Yazīd. The governor, Marwān submitted to the wishes of the people.²

The news of the rebellion came to Yazīd, who offered to solve their problem by negotiation. He encharged Ya‘qūb b. ‘Umayr b. Hānī,³ a Ghaylānī,⁴ to lead the messengers. However, they refused the offer and expelled the messengers. They had approved their successors, the sons of al-Walīd b. Yazīd.⁴ Thus, Yazīd had to take further action in order to break up their rebellion. He ordered Masrūr b. al-Walīd and al-Walīd b. Rawḥ to lead a large group of the army, most of whom belonged to the tribe of ‘Āmir of the Kalb.

Ṭabarī has another report that Yazīd ordered ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj to lead three thousand of the army,⁵ and Hishām b. Maṣād to lead a thousand and fifty of the army to

¹ Crone, *Slaves*, 97. As we have mentioned before, Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī was a commander of the Syrian army after Muslim b. ‘Uqba’s death. He fought against ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 262-3/II, 1826.

³ Ya‘qūb b. ‘Umayr was a Ghaylānī and was among the followers of Yazīd b. al-Walīd. See Crone, *Slaves*, 140.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 263/II, 1826-7.

fight against the rebellion.¹ Yazīd was lucky when in the critical situation Sulaymān b. Hishām came to him, delivered the money he had taken by force and gave the oath of allegiance. So, Yazīd asked him to join Masrūr b. al-Walīd and al-Walīd b. Rawḥ in Ḥimṣ.²

Although Yazīd's army defeated the rebel troops, they had come near to clashing among themselves. Sulaymān b. Hishām's men were on one side, the Dhakwān were grouped to another side and the tribe of 'Āmir of the Kalb were grouped against both divisions. As they were about to fight against each other, they finally agreed to stop their clashing on condition that they would all support and be loyal to Yazīd b. al-Walīd.³

There was another member of the Umayyad family in Palestine who summoned the people to rebel against Yazīd b. al-Walīd. He was Yazīd b. Sulaymān the former caliph, who did so because Sa'īd b. Rawḥ b. Zinbā' offered him the chance to be successor after al-Walīd b. Yazīd. Sa'īd b. Rawḥ united his tribe and wrote to Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik, who had been the governor of Palestine for al-Walīd b. Yazīd, asking him to resign from the position. Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Malik then went to Yazīd b. al-Walīd. The people of Palestine made Sa'īd b. Rawḥ and Ḍibān his brother their leaders in order to deal with their affairs. The people of al-Urdunn agreed to join the rebellion and made Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik the caliph their leader.

Yazīd b. al-Walīd immediately ordered Sulaymān b. Hishām to lead more than eighty thousand men of the Damascus and Ḥimṣ armies to deal with them.⁴ Ṭabarī reports that Muḥammad b. Rāshid al-Khuzā'i claimed that Sulaymān b. Hishām charged him to persuade

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 264/II, 1828.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 263/II, 1827.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 265-6/II, 1830.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 266/II, 1831.

Sa'īd and Ḍibān, two sons of Rawḥ b. Zinbā' and others to swear allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Walīd and that they agreed.¹ He also reports that Yazīd charged 'Uthmān b. Dāwūd al-Khawlānī, who was accompanied by Ḥudhayfa b. Sa'īd, to persuade Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik and Yazīd b. Sulaymān. Finally, they agreed to swear their allegiance.²

Marwān b. Muḥammad was the most powerful challenger to Yazīd's power. He had disagreed with Yazīd's radical action since the beginning of his movement. After Yazīd came to power, in the year 126/743, Marwān wrote to al-Ghamr b. Yazīd, al-Walīd's brother, urging him to take revenge. He, Marwān, was ready for help. He had with him a group of skillful troops who obeyed him wholeheartedly and who were daring enough to do their task. He stated proudly that he would not resemble either Muḥammad, his father, or Marwān, his grandfather, unless he fought against the Qadarīs who had caused the Syrian people to break their allegiance.³

However, there was no evidence that Yazīd based his movement on the Qadarite doctrine. In his speech in Damascus, he clearly said that he had rebelled against al-Walīd because he, al-Walīd, was a tyrant who had destroyed the religion of Islam when he made the forbidden allowable, committed evil and disbelieved in the Qur'ān and the hereafter. His death brought peace for the people and the Muslim community.⁴

'Abd al-Malik, the son of Marwān b. Muḥammad, with his companion al-Ghamr b. Yazīd were at Ḥarrān returning from the summer raid, when they received the news of the death of al-Walīd b. Yazīd. 'Abda b. Ribāḥ al-Ghassānī was governor of Jazīra for al-Walīd. Hearing the news of al-Walīd's death, he went to Syria. 'Abd al-Malik took advantage of

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 267/II, 1832.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 267-8/II, 1832-3.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 281-2/II, 1851-2.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 268-9/II, 1834-5.

his departure to conquer Ḥarrān and Jazīra and put Sulaymān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Uthmān in charge of the area. He wrote to Marwān, his father, telling him about this and asked him to come to Ḥarrān immediately.¹

Before leaving Armīniyya, Marwān b. Muḥammad made preparations and made out that he was seeking revenge for al-Walīd. He charged Iṣḥāq b. Muslim al-‘Uqaylī, the chief of Qays, and Thābit b. Nu‘aym al-Judhāmī, the Syrian chief of the Yemenites, to govern the frontier. Thābit b. Nu‘aym al-Judhāmī was a prisoner of Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik. Marwān b. Muḥammad had asked Hishām’s permission to take him as his friend and bring him to Armīniyya as his companion.² He was disloyal to Marwān and secretly asked the local commanders to leave their frontier post and go back to their area, making himself their leader. He also persuaded the Syrian people who were with him to separate from Marwān b. Muḥammad and join him. However, Marwān b. Muḥammad forced them to join his army until he came to Ḥarrān and permitted them to go back to their area, but he held Thābit b. Nu‘aym al-Judhāmī with him.³

According to Ṭabarī, Yazīd wrote to Marwān b. Muḥammad telling him that he needed four thousand dinars for an estate he had bought at the price of eighteen thousand dinars. He ordered his client, Muslim b. Dhakwān, to deliver the letter.⁴ At the meeting, Muslim b. Dhakwān mentioned that the people approved the Marwanid power, but that al-Walīd had destroyed them and Marwān agreed with him, Yazīd b. al-Walīd. Marwān then agreed to swear allegiance and promised to give strong support to him. Marwān also witnessed that al-Walīd b. Yazīd was a wrongdoer who disbelieved in the hereafter. He fulfilled

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 295-6/II, 1870-1.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 296/II, 1871.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 297/II, 1872-3.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 282/II, 1851-2.

Yazīd's request and paid off Yazid's debt.¹ However, in another statement, Ṭabarī says that as Marwān was about to march on Damascus, Yazīd's letter came to him offering that he should be the governor of Jazīra, Armīniyya and Ādharbayjān, if he swore allegiance. Marwān obviously agreed.²

The people of Damascus finally reached agreement and swore allegiance to Yazīd who then organised the government of the provinces. He appointed Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd b. Ḥuṣayn as governor of Ḥimṣ,³ Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd, his brother as governor of Urdunn, Dhib'ān b. Rawḥ as governor of Palestine, and Masrūr b. al-Walīd as governor of Qinnasrīn.⁴ Some said, when the Syrian people established their obedience to Yazīd b. al-Walīd, he urged 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Hārūn b. 'Abd Allāh b. Daḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī to govern 'Irāq, but he refused because he demanded an army to support him. Thus, Yazīd appointed Manṣūr b. Jumhūr to the position.⁵ Abū Mikhnaf said that Manṣūr b. Jumhūr had left al-Bakhrā' on the day in which al-Walīd b. Yazīd was killed. As soon as he came to 'Irāq, Yusūf b. 'Umar ran away. The following month, Manṣūr came to al-Ḥīra, seized the treasury and distributed allowances and rations to those who were entitled to them. He also arrested Muḥammad b. Nubāta the previous governor for al-Walīd, and put him in prison, and put Ḥurayth b. Abī al-Jahm in charge of Wāsiṭ. He put Jarīr b. Yazīd in charge of Baṣra and ordered the people of the various areas of 'Irāq to give the oath of allegiance to Yazīd.⁶

Manṣūr b. Jumhūr was a supporter of Ghaylān and joined Yazīd's cause only because of

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 283/II, 1852-3.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 295-8/II, 1870-3. Cremonesi, V., 'Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition III, London 1971, 990.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 266/II, 1831.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 268/II, 1833-4.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 270/II, 1836.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 270/II, 1836/II, 1836-7.

his Ghaylanī beliefs. He hated the murderer of Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, so he made sure he was present at the murder of al-Walīd. When Yazīd made him governor of ‘Irāq, he, Yazīd advised him to fear God and that he should not kill anybody.¹ He was probably the most important leader under Yazīd b. al-Walīd. Yazīd made him governor of ‘Irāq including Khurāsān, but Naṣr b. Sayyār refused to give up his post as governor of the area to Maṣṣūr’s agent. When the Azd tribe of Khurāsān frightened Naṣr b. Sayyār that Maṣṣūr himself would enter Khurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār said in his speech that if so, he would cut off Maṣṣūr’s hands and feet. Naṣr then put his agent in charge of Rabī‘a and Yemen, made Ya‘qūb b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥuḍayn governor of upper Tukhāristān, appointed Mas‘ada b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Yashkurī to rule over Khuwārazm and then replaced him with Abān b. al-Ḥakam al-Zahrānī and made al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba al-Jahdhamī governor of Qūhistān. He ordered them all to do their best for the people, and he called on them to swear allegiance to Yazīd.² Someone else whom, according to Ṭabarī, Naṣr b. Sayyār put in charge of Khuwārazm was ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sulamī who gave a speech saying that he was not a rough Bedoin and would use his power correctly.³

Ṭabarī states that Maṣṣūr sent a man from Balqayn to Khurāsān, but a client of Naṣr arrested the man and broke his nose. Naṣr b. Sayyār took responsibility for treating his injury.⁴ Yazīd b. al-Walīd then dismissed Maṣṣūr b. Jumhūr and replaced him with ‘Abd Allāh, the son of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, because he thought the people of ‘Irāq respected him.⁵

In the year 126/743 itself, Yazīd b. al-Walīd fell ill. Someone suggested to him to appoint a successor. Ṭabarī reports that the Qadarites strongly urged Yazīd b. al-Walīd to make

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 270-1/II, 1837.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 277-8/II, 1845-7.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 279/II, 1849.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 280/II, 1850.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 284/II, 1854.

Ibrāhīm, his brother, and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, his cousin, his successors.¹ It was not clear why the Qadarites suggested to Yazīd to make both Ibrāhīm and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz his successors. They were members of the Umayyad family. Ibrāhīm was a Qadarite but there is no evidence that ‘Abd al-‘Azīz also was among the Qadarites. Shortly after, Yazīd died in Damascus.²

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 295/II, 1869. Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 104.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 298/II, 1874.

16. Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd

Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd became caliph succeeding his brother Yazīd b. al-Walīd who died in the year 126/743. The sources are silent as to the age when he was born and as to how old he was when he died. Taking into account the fact that he was Yazīd's younger brother, his age was probably not much different from his brother's. His brother Yazīd was thirty three years old when death came to him. He, Ibrāhīm may have been around thirty years old when he came to power.

Ya'qūbī reports that his mother was Su'ād, but Ibn Khallikān reports that she was Ni'ma. Some say, she was Ḥashf.¹ Historians do not mention his wives. Ibn Ḥazm only reports that he had five sons. They were Ishāq, Ismā'il, Ya'qūb, Mūsā and 'Ubayd Allāh. He was, according to Ṭabarī, a weak caliph who, like his brother, tended to the doctrine of Qadarites.²

As soon as he became caliph, disagreement occurred among the Syrian people who split into three divisions. One swore allegiance to him as their caliph, the other made him their amir, while the third division did nothing until Marwān b. Muḥammad arrived.³

On the death of al-Walīd b. Yazīd, Marwān b. Muḥammad, the governor of Armīnyya and Ādharbayjān went with his troops into Jazīra where the people swore allegiance secretly to him. As we have mentioned before, he planned to rebel against Yazīd b. al-Walīd, but he eventually changed his mind after the rebel caliph confirmed him as governor of Jazīra in addition to Armīnyya and Ādharbayjān. However, as soon as Yazīd b. al-Walīd died and Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd succeeded him, Marwān b. Muḥammad renew his revenge. He made

¹ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 64. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, Beirut 1968, I, 443.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 295/II, 1869.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 299/II, 1875.

‘Abd al-Malik, his son, his deputy in Raqqā with an army of forty thousand. On the way towards Damascus, he attacked Bishr b. al-Walīd, Yazīd’s brother, the governor of Qinnasrīn, and then called the people to swear allegiance to him. Although Bishr b. al-Walīd surrendered to him, he threw him, Bishr in prison and went to the people of Ḥimṣ who refused to pay obedience to Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd and to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj.¹ Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd had ordered ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj to lead the Syrian army to besiege the town of Ḥimṣ. When Marwān b. Muḥammad approached, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj ran away. Thus the people of Ḥimṣ swore allegiance to Marwān b. Muḥammad and joined him.²

Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd sent an army under the command of his cousin Sulaymān b. Hishām to fight against Marwān. The two sides met at ‘Ayn al-Jarr, near Damascus. Marwān summoned them to stop fighting and release the two sons of al-Walīd: al-Ḥakam and ‘Uthmān, from the prison of Damascus. Marwān promised that the two boys would not take revenge against those who had put their father al-Walīd to death. However, they refused, and went on fighting. Marwān therefore had to use his experience of fighting and his skilful army in order to defeat Sulaymān’s side, and he won the victory. A great number of prisoners were brought to Marwān, who made them swear allegiance to the two boys, al-Ḥakam and ‘Uthmān, provided them with money, and released them. Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik along with a small company of supporters escaped.³

Before Marwān reached Damascus, Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd held a meeting with his advisors and his commanders of the army. They discussed the action they had to take in order to stop Marwān b. Muḥammad taking power by force. Their conclusion was to kill both al-Ḥakam and ‘Uthmān, the sons of al-Walīd b. Yazīd and Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī.

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 300/II, 1876-7.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 300/II, 1876-7.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 301/II, 1877-8. Cremonesi, ‘Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd,’ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* III, 990-1.

They entrusted Yazīd b. Khālīd al-Qasrī with the task. However, Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī hid in the prison. As they were about to set fire to the prison, Marwān b. Muḥammad entered Damascus. Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd then escaped. Sulaymān b. Hishām also escaped with the money of the treasury and divided it among the Syrian troops accompanying him.¹ Ṭabarī, in another report states that it was ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj, Ibrāhīm’s successor who took the public money and then escaped.²

The sources differ in their reports of Ibrāhīm’s action when Marwān b. Muḥammad arrived. Ya‘qūbī states that Ibrāhīm resigned and swore allegiance to Marwān, to whom the people of Damascus also paid obedience.³ Ṭabarī, in one statement, says that Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd and Sulaymān b. Hishām, as mentioned above escaped. He, in another statement, says that Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj fought against Marwān b. Muḥammad. Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd then escaped, but ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj fought until he was killed.⁴ Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd held power for only seventy days.⁵

Marwān b. Muḥammad pacified Damascus, and then returned home to Harrān. Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd and Sulaymān b. Hishām sought a promise of safety from him. Sulaymān b. Hishām, his family and clients who lived in Tadmur came to Marwān b. Muḥammad to give the oath of allegiance.”

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 301-2/II, 1878-9.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 311/II, 1890-1.

³ Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh* III, 64.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII,304/II, 1881.

⁵ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII,299/II, 1875.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 312/II, 1892.

17. Marwān b. Muḥammad

Marwān b. Muḥammad became caliph in the year 127/744 when he was 51 years old. Some say, he was born in the year 73/692, but Ṭabarī states that he was born in the year 76/695.¹

He came to power after defeating Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd, the weak caliph. When Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd succeeded his brother Yazīd b. al-Walīd, Marwān had probably continued delaying revenge in the name of the two sons of al-Walīd, Al-Ḥakam and ‘Uthmān, the legal successors who were in prison in Damascus. However, he, Marwān did not put himself forward as a candidate for the caliphate.²

As we have mentioned, Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd, Sulaymān b. Hishām and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj, Ibrāhīm’s successor ran away as soon as Marwān entered Damascus. Marwān lodged in ‘Āliya. Ṭabarī states that while ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj took the public money, the clients of al-Walīd b. Yazīd attacked him, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj and killed him. Then, they dug up Yazīd b. al-Walīd’s grave and put his dead body on a cross at the gate of Jābiya. The dead bodies of al-Ḥakam and ‘Uthmān, the two successors of al-Walīd b. Yazīd, were brought to Marwān, and Abū Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya al-Sufyānī³ the prisoner came to him, greeted him as a caliph and told him that the boys had made him caliph after them, and then he swore allegiance to him, Marwān b. Muḥammad.⁴ He, Abū Muḥammad proved the fact of the appointment with al-Ḥakam’s poem, in which he, al-Ḥakam expressed his feelings about how Yazīd had badly treated his brother ‘Uthmān and himself. If his brother ‘Uthmān and he were murdered, Marwān b. Muḥammad should

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VI, 256/II, 940. *Ta’rikh* VII, 442-3/III, 51. Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rikh* III, 65. Hawting, G.R., ‘Marwān II b. Muḥammad,’ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* VI, New Edition, Leiden 1991, 623.

² Hawting, ‘Marwān II b. Muḥammad,’ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* VI, 623-4.

³ Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Nasab* 131.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 311/II, 1890-1.

succeed them to power.¹ Abū Muḥammad's action of swearing allegiance to Marwān b. Muḥammad was followed by Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd, the grandson of Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr and also the chiefs of the Himṣ people.²

Little is known about Marwān's sons or how old they were when he became caliph. We also have no record of Marwān's wife. Ya'qūbī only states that he had four sons. They were 'Abd al-Malik, 'Abd Allāh, 'Ubayd Allāh and Muḥammad.³ Ṭabarī mentions three of them, 'Abd al-Malik, 'Abd Allāh and 'Ubayd Allāh.⁴ Ibn Ḥazm reports that Marwān had ten sons including four of the above. The names of these other sons were 'Abd al-Rahmān, 'Uthmān, 'Abd al-Ghaffār, Yazīd, Abū 'Uthmān and Abān. However, he, Ibn Ḥazm does not mention their mothers or how old they were.⁵

Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr report that when Marwān was murdered, 'Abd Allāh and 'Ubayd Allāh escaped and entered the land of Abyssinia. They were fought by the Abyssinian people and 'Ubayd Allāh was killed. 'Abd Allāh, with a few followers, escaped. He survived until the time of al-Mahdī. Finally, he was sent to the Abbasid caliph by Naṣr b. Muḥammad al-Ash'ath, the governor of Palestine.⁶ However, the coming of the Abbasid power signified the end of continued power for his line in the future.

When Marwān became caliph, the surviving members of the Umayyad family included Ibrahīm b. al-Walīd, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 'Abd al-Wahīd b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, Abān b. Yazīd b. Muḥammad b. Marwān, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and Sulaymān b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik.

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 311-12/II, 1891-2.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 312/II, 1892.

³ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 71.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 563/III, 204-5.

⁵ Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 107.

⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 332.

Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr report that ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was the son of former caliph, ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. He had governed Medina for Yazīd, and continued his service for Marwān as governor of Medina, Mecca and Ṭā’if.¹ We have mentioned earlier that ‘Abd al-Wahīd b. Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik played his part as governor of Medina and Mecca for Marwān.² According to Al-Balādhurī, the governor of Mecca and Medina for Marwān was not ‘Abd al-‘Azīz but ‘Abd al-Wahīd b. Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik.³ However, Ṭabarī also states that ‘Abd al-Wahīd b. Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik later held the position following ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Umar’s two year period as governor.⁴ Abān b. Yazīd b. Muḥammad b. Marwān was Marwān’s nephew. He served as governor of Ḥarrān for Marwān.⁵ Finally, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar had been governor of ‘Irāq for Yazīd b. al-Walīd. He opposed Marwān and joined al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays the Kharijite.

Marwān followed the practice of the Umayyad caliphs who desired to make the caliphate hereditary in order to secure power for their line. During his time as caliph he trained his sons in public affairs. According to Ṭabarī, in the year 126/743 he entrusted ‘Abd al-Malik to lead the summer raid.⁶ When he marched on Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd, he made ‘Abd al-Malik his representative over forty thousand of the army in Raqqā.⁷ He also made ‘Abd Allāh his representative over the Jazīra when he himself besieged Ḥimṣ.⁸

Soon after pacifying Damascus, Marwān arranged his government of the provinces. He used not only members of the Umayyad family but also the chiefs of various tribes to

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 329/II, 1917. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 291.

² Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 166.

³ Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 166.

⁴ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 375/II, 1981.

⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 330.

⁶ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 295-8/II, 1870-3.

⁷ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, VII, 300/II, 1876.

⁸ Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 345/II, 1939.

support his government. According to Ṭabarī, he appointed Al-Walīd b. Mu'āwīya, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's nephew, as governor of Urdunn.¹ 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz as mentioned above was governor of Mecca, Medina and Ṭā'if² and two years later, in the year 129/746 Marwān replaced him with 'Abd al-Wahīd b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.³ In the following year, in the year 130/747 'Abd al-Wahīd b. Sulaymān ran away into Syria as soon as Abū Ḥamza, Mukhtār b. 'Awf the Khārijite of the Ḥarūriyya entered Medina.⁴ Among other members of various tribes who held positions as governors of the provinces under Marwān were 'Umar b. Hubayra of the 'Abs tribe who was governor of Iraq,⁵ Al-Mughīra b. 'Abd Allāh of the same tribe as 'Umayr b. Hubayra, who was governor of Egypt,⁶ Zāmil b. 'Amr al-Jabrānī of the Yemenite who was governor of Damascus and al-Hudhayl b. Qays of the Tamīm tribe who was governor of Iṣbahān.⁷

Marwān seems to have moved the capital from Damascus to Ḥarrān, which he made his residence and the new capital of the Umayyad empire. Ya'qūbī mentions that he built his palace in the place called Dabāb al-Bayn and spent some 10 million dirhams on it.⁸ The new capital city was likely very important for him and for the future of his successors since Damascus had become a city of his enemies, the Yemenites, whereas Ḥarrān was the city of the Qaysīs, his supporters.

¹ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 313/III, 1894. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 286.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 329/II, 1917. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 291.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 375/II, 1981.

⁴ Abū Ḥamza had conquered Medina according to Wāqidi for three months. Marwān sent horsemen of the Syrian army led by 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. 'Aṭīyya. Abū Ḥamza with his followers went to Marwān b. Muḥammad. Ibn 'Aṭīyya met them at Wādī al-Qurā and fought them, then returned defeated to Medina. The Medinan people fought them and killed them. Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 394/398-9/II, 2008/2012/2014. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 66.

⁵ Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 255.

⁶ Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 257.

⁷ Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 208.

⁸ Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* III, 65. Fehervari, G., 'Ḥarrān,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* II, New Edition, London 1965, 228.

The decision of keeping the future succession within his own line was Marwān's special programme. As soon as Syria had settled down Marwān gathered all the members of the Umayyad family in Dayr Ayyūb, a village in the Ḥawrān area of Damascus.¹ He appointed 'Ubayd Allāh as first successor and 'Abd Allāh as second successor and gave them Umm Hishām and 'Ā'isha, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik's daughters in marriage.² Although 'Abd al-Malik was the oldest of Marwān's sons, Marwān thought that he was not fit to be successor. Thus, Marwān made 'Abd Allāh and 'Ubayd Allāh his successors for the future throne.³

¹ Al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam* VIII, 499.

² Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 314/II, 1895. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* IV, 287.

³ Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 563/III, 204-5.

Conclusion

This thesis has contributed to the history of the succession of the Umayyad dynasty starting with Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān and ending with Marwān b. Muḥammad. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān did not nominate any successors. Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān was the first among the Umayyads who appointed his own son, Yazīd as successor. However, Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya was not the first among the Arab Muslims who succeeded his father to power. The first was Ḥasan b. 'Alī who came to power as soon as his father 'Alī died on the decision of 'Alī's followers.

Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya continued his father's practice when he made his own son Mu'āwiya his successor. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam followed this practice with an additional successor. In other words, Marwān nominated his two sons 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-'Azīz as his successors. The second successor would hold power after the first successor died. However, when 'Abd al-Malik came to power he changed the policy. He attempted to secure power for his four sons and his policy clearly survived up to his son Hishām.

However, each caliph among 'Abd al-Malik's sons tried to change the previous policy of succession. For example, al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik desired to make his own son 'Abd al-'Azīz his successor rather than his brother Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik. When Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik became caliph he put 'Abd al-Malik's covenant upon him aside and made his own son Ayyūb his successor. Unfortunately, Ayyūb died young and Sulaymān had no more mature sons as replacements. Finally, he made 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz a candidate outside his own line his successor and made Yazīd, his brother second successor and this only for the purpose of keeping the unity of the Marwanid family.

Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik seems to pay his respect to his father who desired to empower his four sons when he, Yazīd made Hishām his successor. Soon after, he changed his mind

wanting to make his own son al-Walid his successor. When he was about to confirm this policy, Maslama, his brother, persuaded him to keep Hishām as his successor and make al-Walid successor after Hishām. In his turn, Hishām also worked hard to sack al-Walid and made his own son Maslama Abū Shākir his successor. However, his ambition failed and al-Walid finally came to power and made his two young sons ‘Uthmān and al-Ḥakam his successors. Al-Walid’s successors however were assassinated when Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid succeeded his brother, Yazid b. al-Walid the rebellious caliph. Finally Marwān b. Muḥammad who came to power by force nominated ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Ubayd Allāh his own sons as his successors.

The summary above shows clearly the trend of the whole picture of the Umayyad succession to the caliphate. Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān introduced the policy of succession within the family since he believed that the fact that ‘Uthmān died without any successor had caused a civil war among the people. The Umayyad caliphs who followed, continued the practice in order to secure power for their own family. Among them were caliphs who nominated their brothers as their successors and there were some caliphs who in particular tried to keep power within their narrow blood lines by making their own sons successors. This narrow line policy seems to result from time to time in a weak candidate, in the form of a young son or in the case of a candidate who died unexpectedly, a practice which was warned against by the Qur’ān. For these reasons, ‘Abd al-Malik’s pattern was better than Mu‘āwiya’s.

In fact, since the time of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān there is no evidence of special power or influence held by members of the Umayyad family over certain caliphs with regard to the nomination of a successor. Although the Umayyad members had played their parts in strengthening their power their influence was minimal. They merely advised as to the nomination of a successor. Only Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik in the case of Hishām b. ‘Abd

al-Malik, had persuaded Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik successfully to keep Hishām as his successor, and then made his, Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik’s son al-Walid successor after Hishām. However, Ya‘qūbī reports, that Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, a member outwith the Umayyad family, persuaded Yazīd to keep Hishām in his position of successor. In return, when Hishām came to power, he appointed Khālid as governor of ‘Irāq. There was in addition, another member outwith the Umayyad family whose advice had helped ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in his decision as to the successors. Muḥammad was ‘Abd al-Malik’s scribe who suggested that ‘Abd al-Malik made Sulaymān successor after al-Walid.

Appendix

The Members of The Umayyad Family

Abān b. ‘Uthmān b ‘Affān. He married Umm Kulthūm bint ‘Abd Allāh, Umm Sa‘īd bint ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥarīth (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IV, 618. *Ansāb* V, 120. Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Nasab Quraysh*, 119-210) and Zaynab bint ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir (Maṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Nasab*). The date of his birth is unknown. Zettersteen states that he died in the year 105/727 (Zettersteen, KV. ‘Abān b. ‘Uthmān’ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition I, London 1960, 2-3). In this case, Ibn Ḥajar has two versions of statements. Firstly he refers to Khalīfa who said that Abān died in the time of Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik who died in the year 105/727. Secondly he refers to al-Bukhārī who said that Abān died earlier. (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* I, Beirut 1968, 97. See also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* V, 120). Abān governed Medina for ‘Abd al-Malik in the year 76/698 (Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh* VI, 256/II, 940).

‘Abbās b. al-Walīd was the son of a Byzantian woman (Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh* VII, 592/II, 1398). Little of his background is recorded. Ṭabarī states that he died of the plague when he was in the prison of Ḥarrān in the year 132/754 (*Ta’rīkh* VII, 436/II, 43).

‘Abd Allāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd b. Abī al-‘Iṣ b. Umayya who took over the governorship of Kūfa after Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān died in the year 53/675. (Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh* V, 291/II, 162). Two years later, in the year 55/677, Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān dismissed him (Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh* V, 300/II, 172). According to Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh’s statement he married the daughter of Mukābir (*Nasab*, 188). Al-Balādhurī states that he married the daughter of Shayba b. ‘Uthmān al-‘Abdarī and that she was named Umm Ḥajar. In addition, al-Balādhurī states that he also married Umm Ḥabīb bint Jubayr b. Muṭ‘im (*Ansāb* IV, 458).

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-Āṣ b. Umayya. His date of birth and death are unknown and there is no record of any wives. According to

Ṭabarī's statement, he served as governor of Egypt for 'Abd al-Malik, his father on the death of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān in the year 85/707 (Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* VI, 413/II, 1165).

'Abd Allāh b. Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Umayya. The date of his birth is not recorded. According to Ṭabarī, he was among the Marwān b. Muḥammad's followers, against whom the Abyssinian people fought when they entered the land of Abyssinia in order to escape from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī. He himself escaped for the second time, but unfortunately, he fell into the hands of Naṣr b. Muḥammad, the governor of Palestine who then took him to al-Mahdī the 'Abbasid caliph. He married 'Ā'isha, the daughter of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. (Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* VII, 314/II, 1895 and 437/III, 46).

'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān. In the year 126/748, Yazīd b. al-Walid dismissed Mansūr b. Jumhur as governor of 'Irāq and appointed 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar to the position. (Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* VII, 284/ 1855). The date of his birth and names of any wives are not recorded. According to Ṭabarī's statement, he died in the prison of Marwān b. Muḥammad in Ḥarrān in the year 132/754 (Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* VII, 436/III, 43).

'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd. He married the daughter of al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd. (Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* VI, 169/II, 823). According to al-Balādhurī, she was Umm Ḥafṣ (*Ansāb* IV, 473). He served as governor of Mecca for Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik in the year 96/718 and then for 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz in the year 99/721. (Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* VI, 522/II, 1305). Later on, in the year 103/725, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik dismissed him. (Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* VI, 620/II, 1437). He died in Ruṣāfa, but no date has been found. (Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 191).

'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Abd al-Malik was the second successor of Yazīd b. al-Walid (Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḫ* VII, 295/II, 1869). The date of his birth and names of any wives

are not recorded. Ṭabarī states that he died in the year 126/748, murdered by Marwān b. Muḥammad. (Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* VII, 299/304/II, 1875/1881).

'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān the caliph. The date of his birth is not recorded. He was married to Umm 'Āṣim b. 'Āṣim, granddaughter of 'Umar b. al-Khṭṭāb the caliph, Umm 'Abd Allāh bint 'Abd Allāh, Laylā bint Suhayl, 'Ā'isha bint 'Abd Allāh and Amat al-Ḥamīd bint 'Abd Allāh (Maṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab* 169). He died in the year 84/703. (Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* VI, 416/II, 117. Howard, IKA, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, The Caliphate of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya*, XIX, New York 1990, 191. Note: 639).

'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. There is no record of the date of his birth and death. Nor do we have a record of any wives. In the year 126/748, Yazīd b. al-Walīd made him governor of Medina (Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* VII, 295/II, 1870), Mecca and Ṭāif (Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* VII, 299/II, 1875). In the year 127/749, Marwān b. Muḥammad confirmed him as governor of the regions (Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* VII, 329/II, 1917).

'Abd al-Malik b. Bishr b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. Little is known about his early life. In the year 102/724, Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik ordered him to govern Baṣra (Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* VI, 605/ 1417).

'Abd al-Malik b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. The date of his birth is unknown as are the names of any wives. Al-Iṣbahānī states generally that he died in 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's time. (Al-Iṣbahānī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh, *Ḥilyat* V, Cairo 1935. 627).

Abū Sufyān, Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb, born ten years before the Year of the Elephant. He was married to Hind bint 'Utba, Ṣafīyya bint Abī al-'Aṣ, Umm 'Amr bint Abī 'Amr, 'Ātika bint Abī 'Uzayhir al-Dawsī and 'Umayma bint al-Ashyam al-Kinānī. (al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥya, *Ansāb*, IV, 5-6). According to Watt, he died in the year 32/653. (Watt, WM. 'Abū Sufyān,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, I, London 1960, 151), whereas

Ṭabarī states that he died in the year 31/653. (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* IV, Cairo 1963, 292/I, 2871), while al-Balādhurī says that he died in the year 30/652, five years before the murder of 'Uthmān the caliph. (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IV 13).

'Amr b. Sa'id al-Ashdaq. He married Ramla al-Ṣughrā bint Abī Sufyān, Sa'id b. 'Uthmān's widow. (Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IV, 6). He died in the year 69/691 assassinated by 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. Ṭabarī, who refers to al-Wāqidī, states otherwise that it was in the year 70/692 (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 145/148/II, 791/796). However, Ibn Ḥajar's statement makes it clear when he reports that 'Abd al-Malik seized Damascus in which 'Amr fortified himself in the year 69/691 and killed him in the year 70/692. (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* VIII, Beirut 1968, 38).

Bishr b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. The date of his birth is unknown. However, Muṣ'ab b. Abd Allāh states that he married Umm Kulthūm bint Abī Salama, granddaughter of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, Hind bint Asmā' and Umm Ḥakīm bint Muḥammad. (Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab* 168). He died in the year 74/696 or 75/697 (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 202/II, 863. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* V, Jerusalem 1936, 178. Vaglieri, LV. 'Bishr b. Marwān,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition I, London 1960, 1242).

Hishām b. Ismā'il b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī b. Mughīra b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Umayya. He served as governor of Medina for 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in the year 82/704. (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 355/II, 1085). No record of details of his wife has been found. According to Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh's statement however he had female slaves by whom he had Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad. (*Nasab*, 329).

Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Ismā'il b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī b. Mughīra b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Umayya. He was the brother of Umm Hishām whom 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān married and by whom he had Hishām the caliph. (Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 328). In the year

106/728, Hishām made him governor of Medina. (Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* VII, 29/II, 1471). According to Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh on the orders of al-Walid b. Yazid, Yusuf b. 'Umar put him in prison for life, but Ṭabari states that he died in the year 126/748, murdered by Yusuf b. 'Umar (*Ta'rikh* VII, 227/260/II, 1768/1822). There are no records of his date of birth nor of any wives.

Khālid b. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Ḥarīth b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ. In the year 114/736 Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik made him governor of Medina. In order to appoint him, Hishām dismissed Ibrahim b. Hishām. (Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* VII, 90/II, 1561). His date of birth and death are not known neither is there any record of names of wives.

Khālid b. Yazid b. Mu'āwiya. The year of his birth is unknown, but M. Ullman guesses that he was probably born in the year 48/670. (Ullman, M. 'Khālid b. Yazid b. Mu'āwiya,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, IV, Leiden 1978, 929). He married twice, firstly to Āmina bint Sa'id b. al-'Āṣī (Maṣ'b b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab* 130) and secondly to Ramlah bint al-Zubayr, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr's sister. (Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb* IV, 364). According to Ibn Khallikān, he died in the year 85/725. (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, I-VIII, Beirut 1968-1972, 226).

Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik. According to Miles, he died in the year 75/697, but Ibn Ḥajar gives two reports as regards the year of his death. Firstly, he refers to Khalifa who said that it was in the year 120/742 and secondly, he refers to Muḥammad b. 'Ābid who said that it was in the year 121/743. (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* X, Beirut 1968, 144. See also Miles, GC, 'A Byzantine Bronze Weight in the Name of Bishr b. Marwān,' *Arabica* IX (1962), 113).

Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismā'il al-Makhzūmī b. Mughīra b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Umayya was governor of Mecca for Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik in the year 113/735 or 114/736.

(Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* VII, 90/II, 1561). According to Muṣ'ab he and his brother Ibrāhīm were imprisoned for life by Yusuf b. 'Umar, but Ṭabari states that he was killed by Yūsūf in the same time as Ibrāhīm's murder in the year 126/748. (Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab*, 326. Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* VII, 260/II, 1822).

Sa'id Khudhayna b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ. He was governor of Khurāsān after the murder of Yazīd b. Muhallab in the year 96/718. (Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* VI, 517/II, 1297). He married Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik's daughter whose name is unknown. (Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* VII, 605/II, 1418). The date of his birth and death are not known.

Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ. There is no record of his date of birth. According to al-Balādhuri's statement, when his father al-'Āṣ was killed in the Battle of Badr in the year 2/624, he was still a child. (Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb* IV, 434). Ibn Sa'd states that at the death of the Prophet in the year 10/632, he was about nine years old. (Ibn Sa'd, Muḥammad, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* V, Beirut 1957, 31). It can thus be assumed that, he was probably born in the second year of Hijrah (2/624), before the Battle of Badr took place. He married only once, to Umm al-Banīn bint al-Ḥakam, the daughter of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the caliph. (Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, *Nasab* 178). The sources provide conflicting reports on the date of his death. Zettersteen states that it was in 53/675, 57/679, 58/680 or 59/681 (Zettersteen, K. V., 'Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ,' *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, First Edition, IV, London 1924, 66). According to Al-Balādhuri and D. S. Powers, it was in 59 (678-9.) (Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb* IV, 434. Powers, DS. *The History of al-Ṭabari: The Empire in Transition*, XXIV, New York 1989, 46. Note: 171).

Sa'id b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, the caliph, governed Khurāsān in the year 56/678 (Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh* VI, 304/II, 177. Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb* IV, 116/616). The date of his birth is not recorded, He married Umayma bint al-Ashyam al-Kināniyya (Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb* IV,

6). Al-Balādhurī states that Sa'īd was murdered, but he does not mention the date of the event (Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IV, 616-617).

'Ubayd Allāh b. Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Umayya. The date of his birth is unknown. He died in the year 132/754 in the land of Abyssinia, murdered by the Abyssinians when he escaped from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 438/III, 46). He married Umm Hishām bint Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 314/II, 1895).

Umayya b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd. In the year 74-78/696-700, he governed Khurāsān for 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 199/II, 860). He married Āmina or Ramla, Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān's daughter. (Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* IV, 199/459). There is no record of his date of death. Al-Balādhurī mentions only that he died in 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's time. (*Ansāb* IV, 459).

'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya. Little is known about his early life. According to Ṭabarī's statement he was very young when Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya made him governor of Medina. In the year 63/685, when the people of the town rebelled against him and expelled all the Umayyads, he had no idea what action to take and quickly sought the support of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V, 482/II, 405-6).

Al-Walīd b. 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya. Little of his early life is known. His first involvement in politics was in the year 58/680 when Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān put him in charge, as governor of Medina (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V 309/II, 181). As soon as Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya came to power, he confirmed al-Walīd as governor of the town and ordered him to force 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr to give the oath of allegiance (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V 338/II, 216-7). In the year 60/682, Yazīd dismissed him, al-Walīd (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V 399/II, 295), but in the year 61/683, he restored him to the

position. It is likely that Yazīd was experiencing hard times during the beginning of his rule. In the year 62/684, he dismissed al-Walīd for second time (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V 479/II, 402) and replaced him with an inexperienced young man, 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* V 482/II, 405).

Yaḥya b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Umayya was Marwān the caliph's brother. The date of his birth and death are not recorded. According to al-Balādhurī, he married Zaynab bint 'Abd al-Raḥmān. (Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb* V, 163). Ibn Ḥazm states that he had eight sons. They were Marwān, Yūsūf, Sulaymān, 'Abd al-Salām, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, Salama and Ḥabīb. However, he does not mention their mother (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 109). In the year 75/697, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān appointed him as governor of Medina (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 202/II, 863), but later on, in the year 78/700 he dismissed him (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VI, 321/II, 1035). However, his daughter Umm Ḥakīm married Hishām, son of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 67/II, 1527).

Yazīd b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, was the chief among his brothers and sisters, the descendents of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik in Palestine. The date of his birth and death have not been found and the names of any wives are also unknown (Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* VII, 266/II, 1831).

Table 1

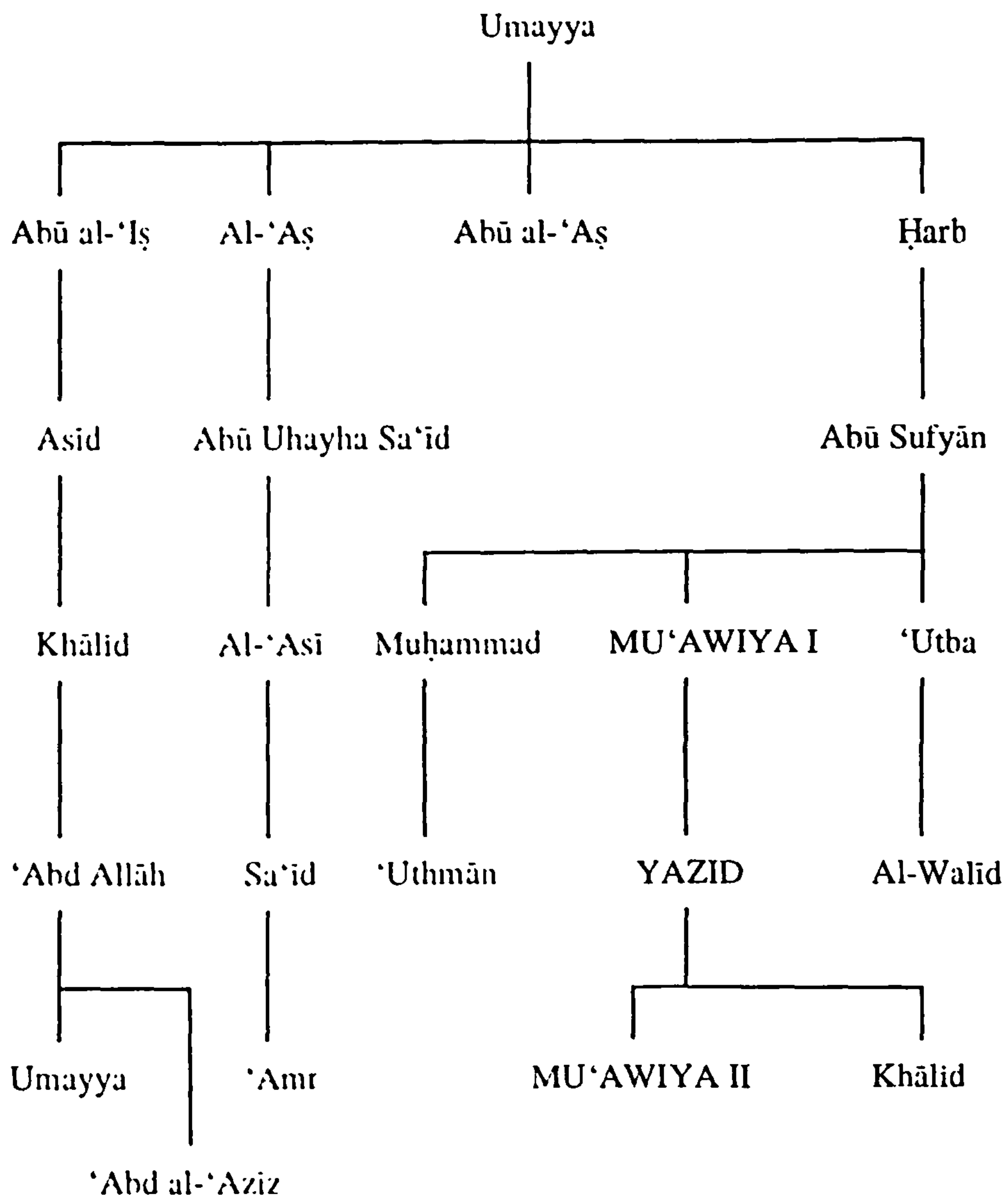


Table 2

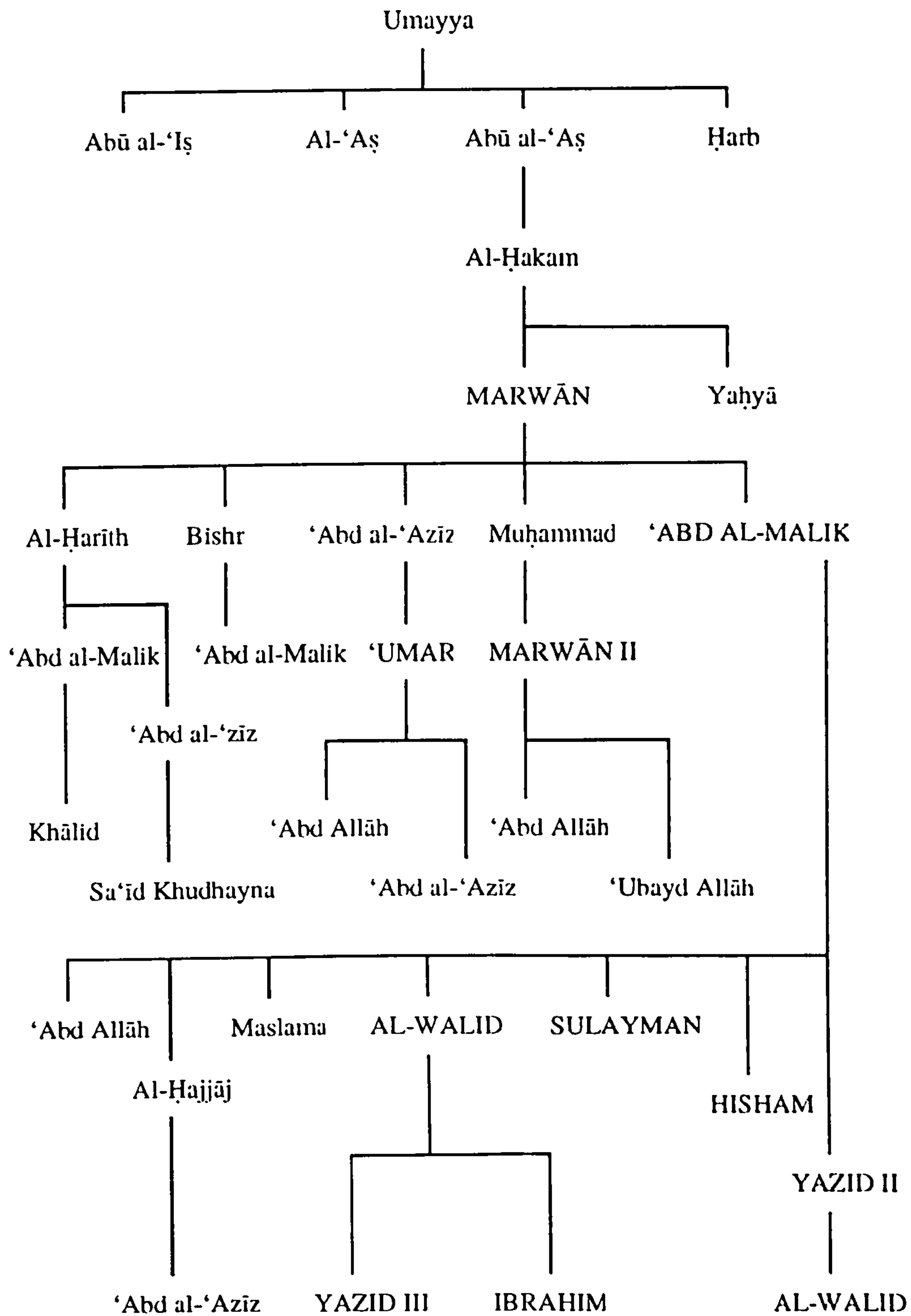


Table 3

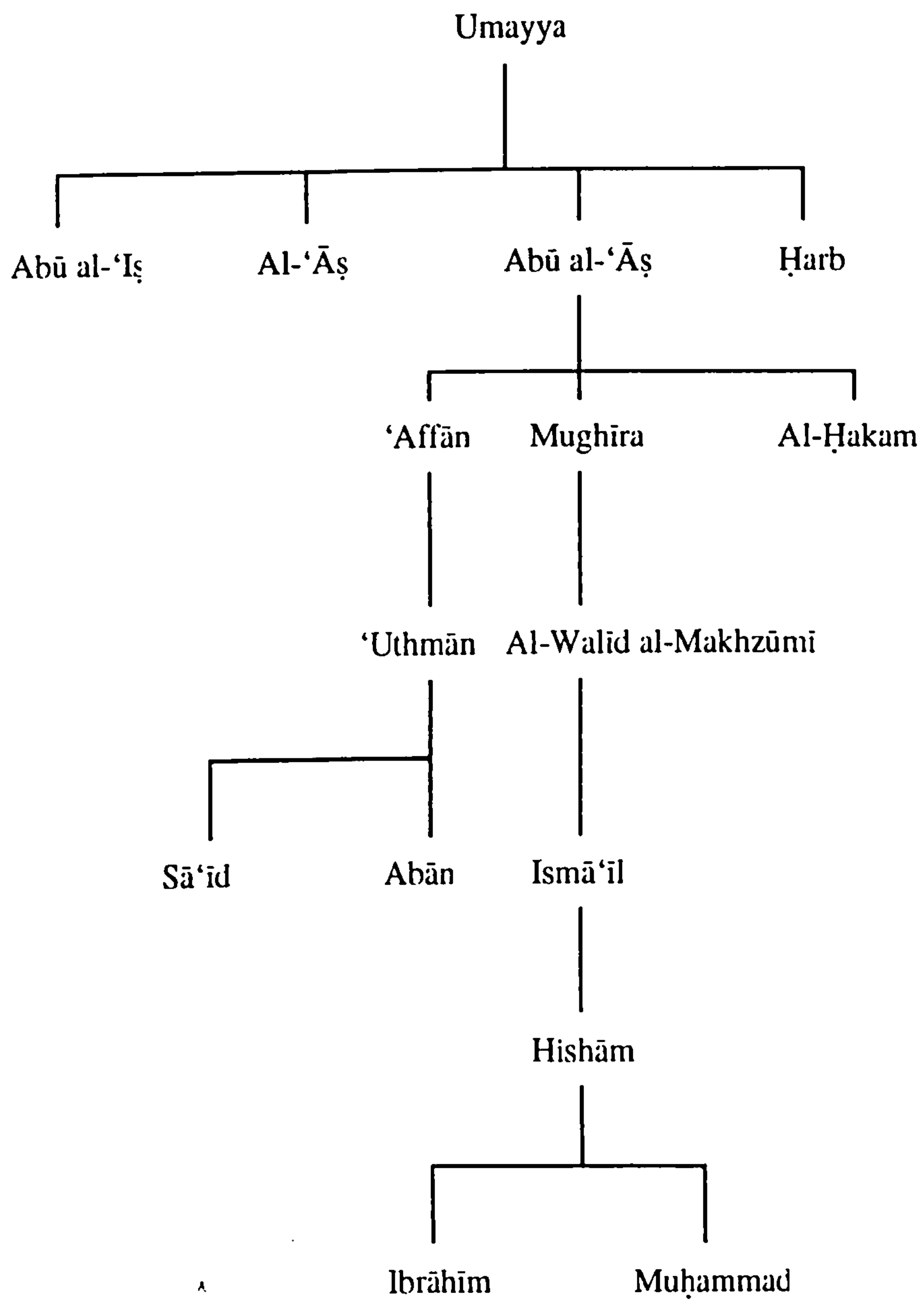
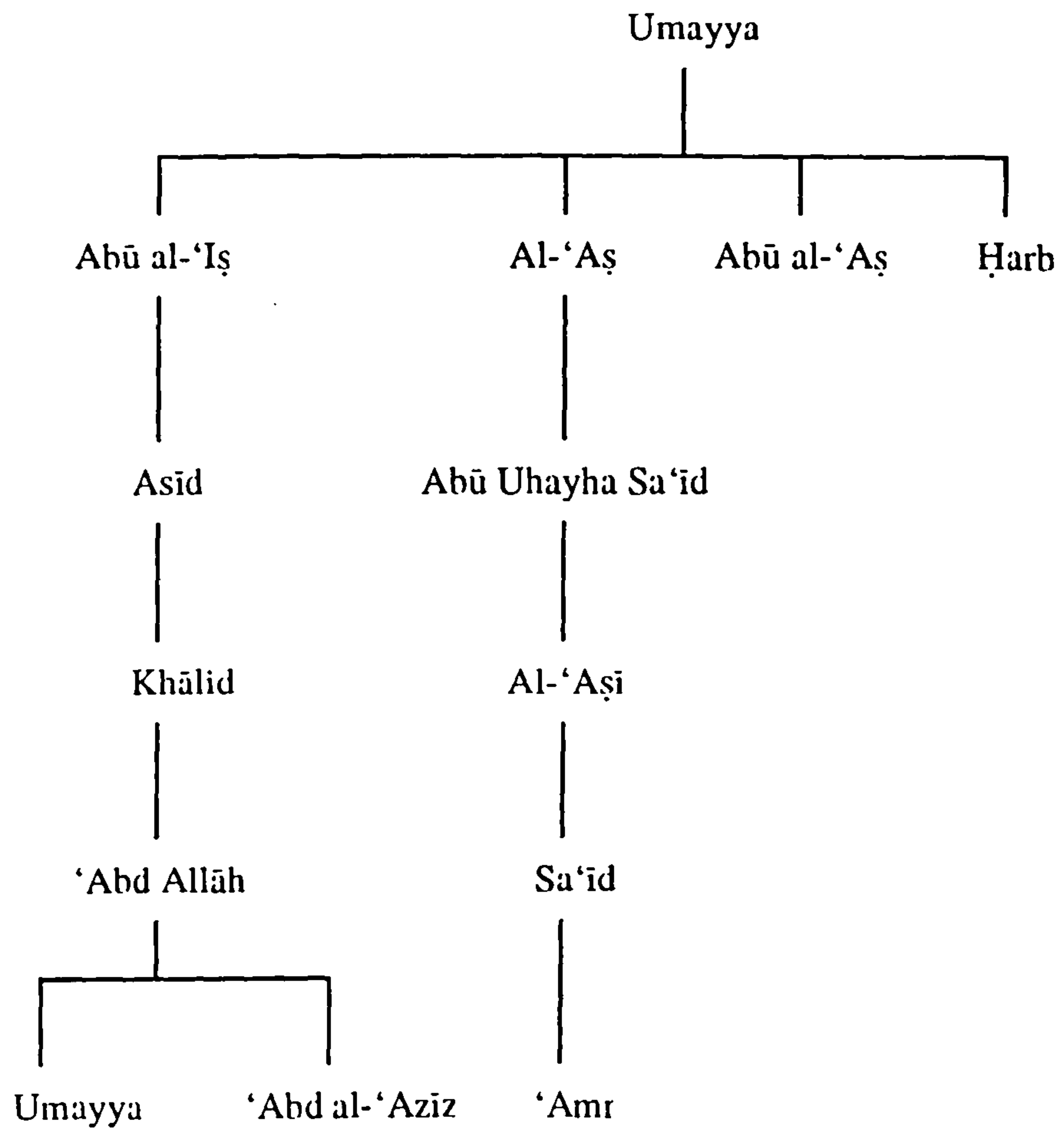


Table 4



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