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The Annals of Tabari: The Caliphate of al-Mu 'Tamid

Philip M. Kimmelfield
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Abstract
The need of critical and explanatory translations into Western languages of the more important works of Arabic historians has long been recognized; many such translations, indeed, have been published here and abroad during the past several decades. It is obvious that a translation makes a historical source accessible to a much wider range of readers and researchers than would otherwise be the case, and thus widens the horizons of our knowledge and opens new fields for further research.

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THE ANNALS OF TABARI: THE CALIPHATE OF AL-MU'TAMID

By

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THE ANNALS OF TABARI: THE CALIPHATE OF AL-MU'TAMID

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FOREWORD

The need of critical and explanatory translations into Western languages of the more important works of Arabic historians has long been recognized; many such translations, indeed, have been published here and abroad during the past several decades. It is obvious that a translation makes a historical source accessible to a much wider range of readers and researchers than would otherwise be the case, and thus widens the horizons of our knowledge and opens new fields for further research.

As far back as 1852 the Société Asiatique of Paris charged M. Derenburg with the task of editing Mas'ūdī's Murūj al-Dahāb, and later on during the years 1861–77, the entire text was rendered into French by C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, and published in 9 volumes. Under the auspices of the same Société Asiatique, B. Carra de Vaux made a French translation of Mas'ūdī's other extant book, Kitāb al-Tanbīh (Paris, 1896). A French annotated translation of al-Fakhrī's history, Histoire des Dynasties Musulmanes, appeared in Paris some years later, and in 1947, the same book was rendered into English by C. E. J. Whitting (London, 1947). In 1892 a volume entitled Yaman, its Early Medieval History, was published in London.
It contained a translation of *The History of Yaman* by Najin al-Dīn ʿUmāra al-Ḥakamī and *The Abridged History of Yaman's Dynasties* by Ibn Khaldūn.

A very important historical work of Muḥammad b. Yahiya al-Sulṭān, *The History of the Caliph al-Rāḍī*, was translated into French by Marius Conard in 1946, and published in Algiers. Outstanding among American translations are the two parts of al-Ṣalāḥī’s *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University in its Series of Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. The translation of the first part of this work, which served as Professor Philip K. Hitti’s doctoral dissertation, was published in 1916, and the second part by Dr. Francis C. Hurgotten appeared in 1924.

Early in the twenties, H. F. Ameloon and D. S. Margoliouth rendered into English the volumes of the Arab historian Mīnawāyih which treat of the history of the caliphate in the 4th Islamic century. This text, entitled *The Eclipse of the ‘Abbasid Caliphate*, starts exactly where Ṭabarī ends his chapters on al-Muʿtamīd, a translation of which is herein presented for the first time.

As mentioned in the Introduction, the greatness of Ṭabarī as a historian was recognized very early, but the tremendous size of his works and the technical conditions underlying the publication and preservation of books, were not such as to allow those numerous volumes to reach our times intact. The Persian epitome of the Annals, made in the 10th century, had a happier fate; a number of copies have come down to us, and during the years 1867-1874 a French
translation by Zotenberg appeared in 4 volumes in Paris. During the same period tireless and successful efforts were being made by the most outstanding Western orientalists to recover the original. In 1879 there was published in Leiden, Nöldeke's *Geschichte der Perser und Araber Zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, which contains a recapitulation of Ṭabarī's Annals for the period concerned.

Finally, in 1951, the American Oriental Society published an annotated translation by Elma Marin of the section of Ṭabarī dealing with the reign of al-Muṭāṣim. It is my endeavor here to present Ṭabarī's treatment of the last part of the Samnara period, i.e. the reign of al-Muṭamid. I might venture to say that a reading of Ṭabarī's Annals gives one the most direct insight into the character of the society and of the historical events reported by the annalist. Moreover, the translation may render considerable service as a rich source of information for researchers who are interested in different aspects of the history of the period concerned, but who are unable to read the Annals in the original Arabic. The Introduction presents an analysis of the circumstances leading up to the reign of al-Muṭamid and a description of the historical background. It is my hope that I have here made some new contributions to the understanding of this crucial period in the history of the Islamic State.

In conclusion I wish to express my deep gratitude to my teacher, Professor Moshe Perlmann, who originally suggested this topic to me and who has given me so much helpful guidance in overcoming the difficulties that Ṭabarī's style so abundantly presents. I am also grateful to my friend Dr. Norman Golb, who gave me considerable
advice concerning a number of Arabic passages and who was very helpful to me in matters of English style. I further wish to thank Professors M. Bravmann, P. K. Hitti, and F. Rosenthal for encouraging me in this work in various ways.
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INTRODUCTION

I. The Life of Ṭabarî

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Ṭabarî, one of the most highly esteemed scholars in Islam, was born in 224 in Amul, Ṭabaristān. In his life he was considered the highest authority (Mujtahid) in different branches of Muslim knowledge. He wrote books, mainly in the four fields of interpretation of the Qurān (Taṣfīr), Tradition (Ḥadīth), Law (Fiqh) and History (Ta'rikh). Among his variegated and prolific writings, furthermore is a treatise on the Reading of the Qurān, consisting of 18 volumes, where he is said to have described his own system of Qurān reading -- a vast field of knowledge in his time.

The most extensive treatise on Ṭabarî has been written by Yāqūt in his Irshād where we find preserved various traditions about the historian's life. One story is to the effect that in a conversation with his disciple Abū Bakr b. Kāmil, Ṭabarî revealed that at the age of 7 he knew the Qurān by heart; at 8 he was leading the congregational prayers and was already writing Ḥadīth. We further learn that when he was 9 years old, his father in a dream saw Ṭabarî standing in the presence of the Prophet and casting stones from a bag he held. When somebody interpreted the dream as an augury that Ṭabarî would be a fighter for the cause of the Prophet, his father started to encourage him to seek know-
Tabari learned tradition from all the authorities in his homeland; he then went to Rayy and, finally, to Baghdad. Here he wanted to attend the school of the great Ahmad b. Hanbal, but this founder of the famous school of law passed away even before Tabari reached the city. Then he went to Bagra, Wasit and Kufa. By this time, according to Yaqut, Tabari already knew 100,000 hadit. He returned to Baghdad to study law and Qur'an. He was said to be so competent in hadit that when a scholar, once wishing to probe his knowledge, mixed matus from one group of traditions with isnads of other traditions and presented them to Tabari, the latter was able to restore them to the correct composition.

When he was about thirty years of age, Tabari again made journeys to many seats of learning in 'Iraq, Syria and Egypt. At this time he was already famous as a scholar in the various branches of learning: Qur'an, Law, Tradition, Grammar and Poetry. He was well learned in the writings of the Malikites and Shafi'ites. After having belonged to the shafi'ite for ten years, he broke away from that school and founded his own madhab. He started it in Egypt and developed it in Baghdad where it came to be known as the Jaririyia School. It may be noted that be-

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1 The text of a story without
2 the chain of authorities handing it down.
3 Yaqut, 422.
fore the end of the 4th century many more schools of law were considered equally authoritative than was the case in a later period, and the Jarirîya School had the same opportunities for expansion as the others. However, Tabari's schools did not share the good fortune of those four which later became the official orthodox madhabs of Islam. His school was more a system of practices than a system of principles, and as soon as the practices lost ground, the school was forgotten.

Despite his great prestige as a scholar in law, and as founder of a School of Law, Tabari apparently met strong disapproval on the part of some orthodox elements. A quite violent demonstration against him took place in his mosque on Friday, when some Ḥanbalites pounced upon him with a question about Ḥanbal's attitude toward the controversy regarding the problem of "God's sitting on the throne." This controversy was connected with Ḥanbal's approach to the interpretation of the expressions in the Qurān conveying the idea mentioned above. Ḥanbal preached a literal understanding of such phrases which instigated his opponents to accuse him of "tajsim," i.e. ascribing to God attributes of a human body (anthropomorphism). But the "story tellers" went even further interpreting the relevant phrases in such a way as to convey the idea that God had reserved a place for Muhammad near Himself on the throne. This latter view Tabari felt compelled to repudiate as a heresy,

\[1\text{Ibid.}, 433, EI, IV, p. 625.\]
which however was spread among the populace of Baghda as an orthodox belief. Tabari then recited the verse which, it is said, he had inscribed on the door post of his own house:

"Subhan man laysa lahu Anis, wa la lahu ff arshihi Jalal."

("Praise to Him, who needs no partners and no one to share his throne with.")

Aroused by what they thought was his disregard for their teachers, Hanbal, and by his repudiation of the popular belief, they demonstrated against Tabari, hurling at him inkstands and stones. His house was also stoned, and a large heap of stones piled up in front of his door. The Prefect of Police had to intervene and employ a force of 10,000 men -- so Ya'qut tells us -- to protect the scholar and restore order.

After that incident Tabari no longer felt safe and he composed an apologetic work on the subject of Hanbal's teaching. However, after his death, a manuscript of a book was found in Tabari's home which criticized Hanbal. The book was published, but is now no longer extant.

As if to counterbalance Tabari's clash with the orthodox, there is a tradition about his trouble with the Shi'a. It is known that Tabari, as a pious Muslim, revered the memory of the first three caliphs as rightful and worthy successors of

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1 Irshad, p. 436.


3 Irshad, p. 437.
the Prophet. At the same time he also revered 'Alī, writing of
his virtues and supporting the views about his ('Alī's) being
a rightful and worthy successor to Muḥammad. Now, at the time
of Ṭabarī's last visit to Ṭabaristān, after 290, the atmosphere
in his homeland was already hostile toward orthodoxy; not only
the Khārijīs and Rāfiḍī elements, but the ruling groups as
well, were inclined to vilify Muḥammad's immediate successors
to the caliphate. But when an old man came to Ṭabarī and asked
him to write a treatise on the virtues of Abī Bakr and 'Umar,
he did so and thus drew upon himself the wrath of the local
authorities. He soon learned about the threatening danger and
hurriedly fled his homeland. His friend who did not succeed in
escaping, was seized and flogged.

In Baghdād Ṭabarī was also frequently offended by followers
of the founder of the Ḥijmatī school, Daud b. 'Alī al-Isbahānī. The Ḥijmatī system enjoyed a much greater success than the Jarīfīya.
Because of all these troubles Ṭabarī apparently wanted to avoid
controversial problems. He once stated that he was not a theolo-
gian, but only a traditionalist.

It was under these circumstances that Ṭabarī worked on his
two masterpieces which have been preserved until our own day:

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1 A collective name for Shia groupings. Rafāda, among other
meanings, has also the meaning, "be a heretic." Cf. Brown, I,
pp. 314, 360.

2 Irshād, p. 450.

3 Cf. IA, VIII, pp. 49 ff.

As a commentator, Ṭabarī is said to have absorbed the whole mass of tradition existing in his time; and his book, consisting of 30 volumes and the writing of which took 8 years (283-290), became a pattern for the later Qurān exegesis and one of its main sources. Yāqūt relates how this work came into being. According to him, Ṭabarī asked his friends whether they would be interested in having him write a book on the interpretation of the Qurān. When they asked him how long it would be, he replied, "30,000 leaves." To this his friends observed that a man's entire lifetime would not suffice him to study such a work. Then Ṭabarī reduced the size to one-tenth of what he had first estimated, and the ultimate product was a volume of 3000 leaves.

From Yāqūt's account of the life of Ṭabarī we learn that the great scholar led a quiet and modest life. During his years of travel "in search of knowledge" (fī ṣalābi al-ʿIlm), he virtually had no means of subsistence. Once he had even to go begging, but fortunately the governor of Egypt sent a messenger with a purse containing 50 dinars and a promise of more money. While in Baghdad, he was sent a yearly allowance by his father, but due to the hazardous conditions of transportation during these times, the money did not always arrive punctually. There is preserved

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Irshād, p. 428.
a personal account of the historian to the effect that once he had to sell the sleeves of his shirt in order to procure bread.

When he returned to Baghdad, the vizier al-Khaqān offered him a judgeship and other posts, but Tabarī, feeling that his destiny lay in further learning and teaching, declined the offer.¹

Beyond this Tabarī would never take gifts exceeding the amounts he himself could offer. Yāqūt relates some authentic reports to this effect; when, for example, the potentate Abū al-Hājār b. Hāmadān sent to Tabarī 3000 dinars, the latter returned the sum protesting that he himself could never offer such a gift.

There are two conflicting accounts concerning the circumstances of the burial of Tabarī, who died in 310 (923). Yāqūt relates the account of Abū Bakr al-Khatīb according to which the historian was buried on a Sunday morning at Raḥbat Yaʿqūb in Baghdad. The funeral rites were attended by countless numbers of mourners; thereafter, prayers were held for months at the burial place, and many visitors from 'Irāq, Syria, and Egypt would come to pay tribute to his memory.² E.G. Browne, as well as R.A. Nicholson, give the other version, according to which the fanatical followers of Ahmad b. Ḥanbal did not allow Tabarī to be given the ordinary rites of burial. In this view, the two authors follow the account of Ibn al-ʿAtīr, who writes as follows:

¹ Ibn Khaliqān.

"In this year (A.H. 310) d. at Baghdād Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, the historian, who was born in A.H. 224 (= A.D. 838-39) He was buried by night in his house, because the mob assembled and prevented him from being buried by day, declaring that he was a Rāfiḍī (Shī'ite) and even a heretic. And 'Alī b. 'Isā used to say, 'By Allāh, were these people to be questioned as to what was meant by a Rāfiḍī or a heretic, they would neither know nor be capable of understanding!' Thus, Ibn Miskawayh, the author Tajārib al-Umam, defends this great leader of thought (Imām). Now, as to what he says concerning the fanaticism of the mob, the matter was not so; only some of the Ḥanbalīs, inspired with a fanatical hatred of him, attacked him, and they were followed by others. And for this there was a reason, which was that Ṭabarī compiled a book, the like of which had never been compiled, wherein he mentioned the differences of opinion of the theologians but omitted all references to Ahmad b. Ḥanbal. And when he was taken to task about this, he said, 'He was not a theologian, but only a traditionalist;' and this annoyed the Ḥanbalīs, who were innumerable in Baghdād; so they stirred up mischief against him, and said what they pleased."¹

¹ Quoted from Browne, I, pp. 360 f.; cf. IA, VIII, pp. 49 f.
II. Tabarî the Historian

Concerning the writing of the Annals, Yâquût tells a story identical in all respects with that related about his great Tafsîr. Tabarî estimated that a complete history should contain 30,000 leaves, but he then reduced the number to 3,000. Even then his students were frightened by its size, and they refused to read the first edition, so that their teacher was moved to exclaim, "Enthusiasm for learning is dead!"

The Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulûk presents a comprehensive history of mankind from the creation of the world up to 302 (915 A.D.)—seven years before his death. Edited by a group of orientalists under the leadership of M. J. De Goeje during the years 1879-1901, the Annals were published in three series: the first contains the history of the patriarchs, prophets and early kings, the history of the Sassanids, the life of Muḥammad, and the account of the four righteous caliphs; the second treats of the history of the Umayyads; and the third deals with 'Abbasid times.

Tabarî's Annals were not preserved intact; some parts of it were incorporated into the writings of other authors, who quoted Tabarî verbatim, in the same way as Tabarî himself had incorporated into his own Annals writings of other historians, thus preserving these latter for our own day.

The scholars who followed Tabarî praised him profusely. Bâlîmî, the vizier to the Sassanid court, wrote that "Tabarî was

1 Nicholson, p. 351.
peerless amongst the Arabs and Persians." Ibn Khaliqān remarks that "his history is the most authentic and exact." ¹ His work was considered so fundamental that almost all later authors either copied or abbreviated Ẓabarī, and their original contributions started from the place where Ẓabarī stopped. Occasionally they introduced some changes and corrections in order to bring Ẓabarī's version into agreement with other sources available to them; this was done, for example, by Ibn al-Atīr, Miskawayh, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Katīr and others. Abū 'Alī Muḥammad, the son of the aforementioned Bal'amī, and vizier to Manṣūr I, made an abbreviated translation of the Annals into Persian at his master's command, and this work was preserved intact in many libraries in the east and in Europe. This translation was rendered into French by Zotenberg in 1867-74. Bal'amī, however, had altered the original to a very considerable extent; the chains of authorities which so considerably substantiate Ẓabarī's accounts were omitted, and parallel accounts of the same event were combined into one narrative. As a result, while the work of Bal'amī is very important from other points of view, it lost its value for later historians as an original source. ²

It was indeed primarily because Ẓabarī's chains of tradition, or as we would say his sources, were adjudged to be completely and reliable, that the Annals achieved such wide fame in his own day.

The authors of the great Sahīhs Bukhārī and Muslim died in 257

¹ Ibn Khaliqān, pp. 597 ff.
and 262 respectively: the authors of the sunan Abu Daud al-Sijistani (d. 276), Abu 'Isa Muhammad al-Tirmidhi (d. 279); Ibn Majah (d. 283); and al-Nasairi (d. 302) were all contemporaries of Tabari. In that time the view became accepted that any author's work was meritorious if substantiated by a chain of authorities who of necessity had to be brought in to substantiate the veracity of the issues at stake. Tabari's isnads were so fundamental that the Huffaz — who in the 4th century still retained a considerably high standing in society — learned by heart and recited to their audiences large portions of Tabari's Annals. From the Irshad it is known that Rawis also transmitted Tabari's historical works. Tabari's disciple Ibn Kamil transmitted the Annals to Miskawayh who used this acquired knowledge as a basis for his own historical work.

Tabari's world history is to a certain extent presented in the old Khabar form. The different Khabars, however, are classified chronologically, thus giving to the work its annalistic form. Every Khabar is a unit in itself, but sometimes different Khabars with different chains of tradition, indicating different sources, deal with the same event thus giving greater substantiation to it. Tabari has always been esteemed as a master of the annalistic style. To this effect, F. Rosenthal quotes al-Qifti, a historian of the 7th

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1 Nicholson, pp. 351 ff.

2 Lecturers on particular texts.

3 F. Rosenthal, p. 12.
Muslim century who said, "If you want continuous historical information well arranged, you must consult the work of Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī..."

It is remarkable that, despite Ṭabarī's enormous prestige as a historian, his annalistic method of reporting did not become predominant in the years following his death. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdī, the great Arab historian who was also of Baghdaḍ, died 33 years later than Ṭabarī. Reading his great universal history, Murūj al-Dahab, which begins with the Creation and ends with the caliphate of al-Muṭṭaḍī in 342, one cannot but ponder upon the enormous differences of interest in, and approach to the writing of history entertained by the two great historians.

The history of the caliphs is given by Mas'ūdī according to the reigns of individual rulers, and from this point of view it slightly resembles the annalistic form. However, whereas Ṭabarī cuts short the description of an event as soon as that part of it which took place in a given year is over and passes on to the description of another event of that same year, Mas'ūdī gives topical descriptions; Ṭabarī reports an event with absolute impartiality, even refraining from connecting related events. Mas'ūdī, on the other hand, tries to summarize events and to present the story from his point of view; he gives many poetical and literary illustrations, not only because they are connected with a certain event, but moreover, because they tend to prove a certain point of view. His presentation therefore is far more vivid and entertaining than is Ṭabarī's. In Ṭabarī, we may say, we learn about certain of the facts of history; in Mas'ūdī...
we get a feeling of the entire background and are made to understand the possible effects of those same events.

III. The Persian and Turkish Influence upon the Caliphate in the 3rd Century

Of the first fifteen 'Abbasid caliphs (131-279) only three ruled for 20 years or more; and, if one were to consider length of rule as a sign of stability and power, then those three -- Harūn al-Rashīd (169-193), al-Mamūn (198-218) and al-Mu'tamīd (256-279) -- were the most fortunate of the 'Abbasids within that period. Of the eight caliphs of the so-called Sāmarrā period (220-280), all but al-Mu'tasim and al-Wāqiq fell victims of assassination at the hands of their Turkish servants. Since al-Mu'tamīd, with whose reign we are here mainly concerned, was the last of the caliphs in Sāmarrā, a short survey of the rule of his immediate predecessors is necessary in order to have a clear picture of the conditions in his own reign.

The Persian problem was an inheritance from the days of al-Ma'mūn b. al-Rashīd, who in his fight against his brother al-Amīn, had spent many years in Persia. Establishing his seat in Merv, Khurasān, the future caliph himself unconsciously laid the groundwork for the splitting off of the east from the caliphate. His mother was Persian, his chief adviser and future vizier, Faḍl b. Sahl was a recent Persian convert to Islam, and his chief general, Tāhir, the head of the Tāhirīd house, was a descendant of a Persian slave, as were many other generals and troopers of al-Ma'mūn. As soon as
he entered Baghdād, al-Ma‘mūn carried out the promises given to his Persian servicemen, bestowing upon them high military and governmental posts. The Arabs were gradually pushed out from high positions, and their opposition to the new regime which took the form of revolts rose steadily; especially affected were the people of Baghdād, Syria and other western provinces. Ẓāhir was appointed governor of the east, and very soon he started to show signs of insubordination; he even put a stop to the practice of urging allegiance to the caliph in the Friday sermons. Al-Ma‘mūn was about to embark upon a punitive expedition against his refractory governor, when news arrived that Ẓāhir was dead, and that his sons had vowed loyalty to the caliph. Al-Ma‘mūn accepted their formal protestations of allegiance and, being preoccupied with his western affairs, he practically allowed developments in the east to run their own course. Thus, the Ẓāhrid family ruled Khurasān and other Persian provinces as independent rulers.

Ma‘mūn’s successors made efforts to re-establish their sway over Persia, but they were unable to cope with the various uprisings and heresies of the local rulers. To the Arab population the Persians in the governmental and military service were an object of hatred, however favorably they were received in the caliph’s court. Besides the numerous Persians who flocked to Baghdād as a result of al-Ma‘mūn’s policies, Turkish slaves in droves were coming from the eastern province, the governors of which, in their desire to show outward signs of loyalty to the caliph, had sent them as gifts. Many of these Turks became freedmen; they were assigned to different services in
the army and were allowed to attain high positions. Tuhūn, whose son Ahmad later became independent ruler of Egypt, was himself a freedman of Nuh b. Aṣad, governor of Bukhara, who had sent him as a present to al-Maʾmūn. Already in this caliph's time, the Turk Bughā al-Kabīr had won a name for himself in various campaigns against the Bedouins in the neighborhood of Medina. Another Turk, Bughā al-Sharabī, also called al-Ṣaghīr was a wilful general in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, in the middle of the century. The pages of the history of the caliphate during the period from al-Maʾmūn's successor and down to al-Muʿtamid are full of events, the main heroes of which were the two Bughās, Ashnās, Waṣīf, Itāk, Bayakbak, Mufliḥ and others. One might say that the history of the Sāmarrā period is the history of the rise of Turkish influence in the affairs of the caliphate. The following chart of succession may be helpful in understanding the background of the course of events, which led up to the situation that al-Muʿtamid faced when he became caliph.

1 Tab., III, pp. 1174 ff.
2 Ibid., pp. 1348 ff.
During the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, the Turkish slaves and freedmen had been concerned mainly with securing their own promotions and with the pursuit of their military careers, and they loyally served their masters throughout this time. They were the most faithful body-
guards and were zealous fighters against all refractory and disloyal movements. In the time of al-Mu'tasim, however, they already presented a problem that the caliph had difficulty in coping with. Al-Mu'tasim, unlike all his followers, had no difficulty in ascending the throne which had been bequeathed to him by his brother. The empire whose rule he assumed still continued to maintain a veneer of glory, and al-Mu'tasim tried to carry on the course charted by his predecessor. He continued to persecute the opponents of the Mu'tazilite doctrines even more fanatically than had his brother, despite the fact that this alienated him to a progressively greater extent from the population of Baghdad which continued to adhere to the doctrines of orthodox Islam. This opposition, perhaps, was an additional factor in the caliph's giving preference to the obedient servants from Iran and central Asia, which latter were naturally quite eager to enjoy some superiority over the native population.

According to Yāqūt, al-Mu'tasim's personal troops numbered 70,000 Turks. We find many dramatic episodes concerning the relationships between the Turks and the population of Baghdad in the works of Ta'bari, Mas'ūdī and Yāqūt. We read in Ta'bari's, for example, that "...they would gallop their horses and race together on the roads and streets of Baghdad, hurting men and women, and trampling children." This behavior of the Turks naturally aroused the people's resentment, and open clashes with the hated foreigners,

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1 Yāqūt, III, p. 16.

2 Ta'bari, III, p. 1181.
as well as raids on their quarters, became a matter of course. Tabari reports that once when al-Mu’taṣim was riding through the streets of his capital, an old man wanted to approach him. The guards struck him, but the caliph ordered them to let the man plead his cause. "You brought these foreigners," said the old man, "and had them settle among us; through them you made our children orphans and our women widows, and through them you killed our men." Such pleas became more and more incessant and, especially concerned by the fact that very often his Turkish servants were found slain in their lodgings, al-Mu’taṣim decided to escape the troubles of Bagh- dād by transferring his capital to a new place. The choice fell on Sāmarrā, which was established as his residence in the year 220.

Al-Ma’mūn’s successors sought to employ the Turks against both the Persian dissident movements -- which took the forms of sectarian heresies and of military revolts -- as well as against the various Arabic groups opposed to them. Very soon, however, the Turks rose from their position of servants of the caliphs to that of their masters.

\[1\] Ibid.

\[2\] For the description of Sāmarrā, see E. Herzfeld, Geschichte der Stadt Sāmarrā, Hamburg, 1948.
IV. Succession to the Throne and the Turks

In the year 235 the caliph al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh decreed his will in the matter of succession. He proclaimed his three sons heirs to the throne in order of seniority and divided the empire among them. His oldest son Muhamad, he designated as al-Muntaṣir Billāh and assigned to him the major part of the empire; the second son, al-Zubayr, was given the title al-Mu'tazz; and to the third, Ibrāhīm, who was designated as al-Mu'ayyad, he assigned only a few Syrian provinces. Since the heirs were still children, the caliph also appointed agents to govern their territories.

What motivated al-Mutawakkil to proclaim his will at this early stage in his career was a desire to avoid a struggle for succession such as had taken place after the death of al-Rashīd. By the same token, however, he introduced new elements of rivalry which, aggravated by intrigues, resulted in great disturbances, and finally led to his own assassination.

It is well known that al-Mutawakkil reversed the policy of al-Ma'mūn regarding the religious doctrines of the state. He decreed the concept of the Uncreated Qurān as a state dogma, branded the Mu'tazila as heretics, and restored the orthodox reaction; the Shi'ites were persecuted and special laws discriminating against Christians and Jews were passed. By these acts the caliph won the sympathy of the population of Baghdad and to a certain extent made the dependence upon the Turkish officers less expedient. He even had Itakh, the chief of his Turkish bodyguard, executed.
Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir was 13 years old at the time the caliph proclaimed his act of succession, and the youngster started early to participate in political life. He got involved in the court intrigues and became a tool of some Turkish officers, who were dissatisfied with his father. Al-Mutawakkil's suspicions and anger soon rose to the point where he could no longer restrain his feelings of discontent with, and resentment toward, his first heir. Moreover, he started publicly to show preference for al-Muʿtaṣim. These acts further inflamed the feelings of jealousy and hatred existing among the heirs and those between al-Muntaṣir and the caliph. When, finally in a fit of anger, al-Mutawakkil excluded al-Muntaṣir from succession, the latter plotted together with the Turkish generals Wasif and Bugha al-Ṣaghīr, and in the year 247 (861) al-Mutawakkil was assassinated by the conspirators. In connection with the account of the death of al-Mutawakkil, the annals for the first time mention a fourth son of al-Mutawakkil, namely, Abū Aḥmad Tāḥah, who was later named al-Muwaffaq and who played the most prominent role in the affairs of state during the reign of his other brother, al-Muʿtamid b. al-Mutawakkil. At this point Abū Aḥmad Tāḥah was about 18 years old. He was, so it is related, just leaving the Majlis (the Reception Hall) when he saw the murderers rushing toward his father's room with drawn swords. With a shout, "What are you up to, you rascals!", he rushed toward the assailants, but upon reaching the room he beheld the slain body of his father.

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1 Tab., III, p. 1459.
Al-Muntaṣir on the throne was a plaything in the hands of those who helped him to ascend it. They made him force his brothers to resign their rights of succession in favor of his own son ʿAbd al-Wahhāf. Al-Muntaṣir himself died only six months after his ascension.

The Turkish generals now put on the throne the son of Muḥammad b.ʿAl-Muʿtāṣim. This newcomer did not feel secure as long as his two nephews al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʿayyad -- the former heirs -- held any position of importance. He first forced them to sell all their properties, and then had them jailed and put in custody of Bughā al-Ṣaghīr, the sworn enemy of the house of al-Mutawwakil. But al-Mustaʿfīn soon got entangled in court intrigues which involved different factions of Turkish and other generals. Feeling that he was losing ground in Sāmarrā, he and two of his supporters, Bughā and Waṣīf, fled to Baghdad where they were received in a friendly manner by Muḥammad b.ʿAbd Allāh b.Ṭāhir, the governor. Another Turkish faction from Sāmarrā then demanded their return, but this being refused, they released al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʿayyad from prison, and marched against Baghdad. Through skillful negotiations, Muḥammad b.ʿAbd Allāh reached a settlement, according to which al-Muʿtazz was proclaimed caliph.

The reign of al-Muʿtazz was very dramatic. His suspicion aroused against his brother al-Muʿayyad, al-Muʿtazz had him officially resign from his rights to succession, and then had him imprisoned. When information reached him that some Turkish officers
were about to release his brother, al-Mu'tazz ordered the latter's death. His only concern became that of how to rid himself of the all-powerful Turks. He tried to raise a group of supporters from among the Farghanis and Magribis, who were greatly resented by the already well established Turks. To make the situation worse, the caliph had money to pay neither the Turks nor the Berbers and Farghanis. A delegation of the Turks in the name of all these military cliques came to the caliph to ask for their long-delayed payments, but their request could not be satisfied. They then decided to depose the caliph. His mother and ministers were said to have amassed enormous fortunes but they did not lift a finger to save al-Mu'tazz and he was put to death after prolonged tortures.

V. Tabari's Treatment of the Reign of Al-Mu'tamid

The reign of al-Mu'tamid lasted twenty-three years and six days, namely, from the 16th of Rajab 256 to the 19th of Rajab 279. In the Annals of Tabari this period occupies a volume of 294 pages. Tabari probably did not plan out his great work in such a way as to appropriate space in accordance with the importance of its various topics. Rather, he recorded whatever information he could get concerning the events of any year or period. It sometimes strikes the reader that Tabari has allotted far too much space to a description of happenings of minor importance, whereas he has often merely mentioned in passing facts of very serious consequence. A purely mechanical analysis of this portion of the annals may show the amount of attention the author
paid to the various events with which he dealt. On the average 13 pages are dedicated to every year; two years (264 and 266) occupy exactly 13 pages each; two years, namely 267 and 269 occupy 73 pages and 68 pages respectively; an average of 22 pages is given over to the events of the years 259, 262, 268 and 270; and the other 15 years are treated in from 1 to 9 pages. It is noteworthy that only on one occasion has Tabarî deviated from his course of strictly following the annalistic method; this occurs in the last portion of the chapter on al-Mu'tamid, where he writes on the origin of the Qarmatian movement. The greatest number of pages is occupied with the chronicles concerning the struggle with the Zenj and the Saffārīds. Here he describes different battles and engagements, very few of which were of any great importance.

It is likewise interesting to consider the years in the annals which have been allotted the least space. The year 256, for instance, is marked by al-Mu'tamid's ascension on the throne, the 'Alid revolt in Kūfā, a revolt in Fārs, the expansion of Ḥasan b.Zayd's power in the province of Rayy, 'Isā b.al-Shaykh's effort to seize Damascus -- and all this in scarcely 3 pages. The year 263 was marked by a very dramatic change of viziers after the death of 'Ubayd Allāh b.Yaḥyā b.al-Khaqān, the occupation of the fortress Lū'lu'a by the Byzantines, a conflict between the Zenj and Ya'qūb b.al-Layt -- events where detailed information would be of considerable interest from the point of view of the interrelationships between two anti-governmental movements -- yet all this is treated in less than 4 pages. In the year 273 Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaṭṭa had a falling out with Lū'lu' (who had so
loyally served him in the Zenj war) and he had him arrested, appropriating all his possessions; this is but briefly mentioned, no background information whatsoever being given. In the same year occurred the struggle between Muḥammad b. al-Sāj and Ishāq b. Kundāj, which was an important political event; but the entire year is accounted for in one page. Indeed, an analysis of Ṭabarī’s chronicles during these 23 years brings one to the conclusion that Ṭabarī was not at all concerned with political history, and that he made no efforts to present a study of history; his main concern was to record facts, and he broadened his discussions only where he was dealing with matters of a military nature. But with all these limitations and peculiarities, the fact remains that Ṭabarī does succeed in giving us, in these chapters on the reign of al-Muʿtamid -- and this holds true for his study as a whole -- a good picture of political history during the period under discussion.

Ṭabarī gradually veered away from the writing of universal history, and came more and more to deal with the area in which he lived and travelled. One may not, indeed, speak of his Annals as a history of the Muslim world, since Muslim Spain is in no place even mentioned; nothing is reported about Muslim North Africa, and Egypt is mentioned occasionally and only insofar as the relationships of the Egyptian ruler with the central government is concerned. In the chapters dealing with al-Muʿtamid, the Annals are history only of the Sawād portion of the empire; if one wants to learn the facts of the history of other areas of the Muslim world from Muslim sources, he must consult other historians, such as Ibn al-ʿAṯīr, Ibn Khaldūn, Abū al-
Matāsin Yūsuf b. Taghribirdī, Makriṣī, Ibn Katīr and others. The reason for such a limitation in the Annals may well be that the authority of the caliph and his government did not in practice reach far beyond that territory. Nevertheless, Tābarī’s recording of this period is the most valuable source of information about it. A close investigation of the writings of other authors concerning this period shows that they merely copied Tābarī, introducing modifications of certain parts of the account. It may be interesting to mention in this connection that parts of the contents of Tābarī not only have been transmitted by Rawḥ and Qusayr, but also have been rendered into practical form. 'Abd Allāh, the son of the past caliph al-Mu’tazz wrote an ode, for example, to al-Mu‘waffaq and his son, the caliph al-Mu’taṣid who succeeded al-Mu’tamid on the throne.1 In this ode it is easy to trace how Ibn al-Mu’tazz made use of Tābarī’s Annals from which he borrowed his terminology, chronological data, and even some descriptions.2

We have noted earlier that Tābarī’s Annals were highly esteemed in his time because his accounts were substantiated by authoritative sources. His volumes describing the period of the Rashidūn, the Umayyads and the early ‘Abbāsids abound with chains of tradition. But the closer Tābarī approaches to his own time, the shorter those chains become; this is, of course, quite natural since the past is always richer with traditions than is the present. It is impossible

1 After the death of the caliph Mūtāfīf he was set on the throne, but the same day the military deposed him and put the son of al-Mu’taṣid instead.

2 This ode was edited and translated by Carl Lang in ZDMG, vol. 40, pp. 536-611 (1886).
to ascertain whether Ṭabarī included works of other authors in the chapters dealing with al-Muʿtamid. He does, indeed, very frequently refer in his text to matters about which Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan had informed him. From Masʿūdī we learn that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ṣahl was a nephew of Faḍl b. Ṣahl, the vizier to al-Ḥaḍīn. According to Masʿūdī he was author of a history of the Mochaʿidite sect, and the first to write a history of the Zenj rebellion. ¹ In the chronicles of al-Ḥaḍīn's reign, namely in 210, Ṭabarī once mentioned him as being a member of the caliph's entourage. He speaks of him next only in the account of 255, when he already was in the camp of the Zenj leader. ² It appears from the Annals that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan was one of the last to desert the Rebel, and the circumstances of his going over to al-Muʿwafqaq's side are not described. Masʿūdī reports that in the reign of al-Muʿtaqid, some former Zenj deserters denounced Muḥammad as a plotter against the caliph. Muḥammad allegedly had been preparing a revolt in favor of a descendant of 'Alī in Baghdād. When seized and interrogated by the caliph in person, Muḥammad refused to reveal the name of the person to whom he had had many supporters swear allegiance. Al-Muʿtaqid then subjected him to a torturous death by having him slowly roasted alive. This matter has been described by both Masʿūdī and al-Tanukhī. ³ It is possible that when Ṭabarī, narrating the Zenj rebellion, writes "hadatami

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¹Murūj, VIII, pp. 32 f.
²Ṭab., III, p. 1770.
³Murūj, VIII, pp. 140 ff.; al-Tanukhī, pp. 79 f.
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan," he alludes not to a personal mouth-to-mouth report, but to an excerpt of the latter’s book.

All the other accounts of Ṭabarī concerning that period are based on what persons, now unidentifiable, had told him; in one place alone, namely in the account of the year 258, does the author tell a story which he recounts from his own memory of the event. The only other source to which Ṭabarī refers frequently by name is Muḥammad b. Sim‘ān, about whom we learn nothing beyond that he was a scribe and a Rāwi.

Ṭabarī’s method of presenting the circumstances of al-Muṭṭamīd’s succession to the throne well indicates that the author’s main concern was in objectively recording the history of the ‘Abbasids. Unlike many other historians, he was highly successful in this presentation — so much so, indeed, that in many places the picture is somewhat incomplete as a result. The following will serve to substantiate this view.

We have already seen how the Turks rose to a position of power, and how, since al-Muṭṭasim, their prominent leaders had become the most important factor in the continuous and rapid change of caliphs. In turning those pages of the Annals which deal with al-Muṭṭamīd’s reign, we notice that practically all of the Turks who had played key roles during the reign of al-Mutawakkil, and at the time of his overthrow, no longer appear on the scene. Itākh, the former slave of al-Muṭṭasim who rose to the position of Commander of Palace Troops

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1 Ṭab., III, p. 1862.

2 Ibid., Indices.
in Samarra, was executed on the order of al-Mutawakkil in 235.\(^1\)

Baghir al-Turkif was killed in 252 by two other Turkish generals, Waṣīf and Bughā al-Ṣaghīr. The latter two, who had conspired with al-Muntasir for the assassination of his (al-Muntasir's) father, continued to play the leading roles in the court intrigues, until they took sides with the wrong party in the fight between al-Mutaṣsim and al-Mu'tazz, supporting the former. When the ascension of al-Mu'tazz was finally agreed upon, the new caliph gave Waṣīf and Bughā very important appointments, but in the beginning of his reign, al-Mu'tazz succeeded in turning his Farghani and Maghrībi officers against the Turks, and as a result Waṣīf and Bughā were killed in 253 and 254 respectively.\(^3\) Earlier, in 249 the Turk Utamish who had been vizier to both al-Mutawakkil and al-Muntasir, fell victim to the greed of his partners, the two Bughās and Waṣīf.\(^4\)

After these most important Turkish leaders had disappeared from the scene, only two Turkish generals of great prominence occupied places in the mainstream of events. Mūsā, the son of Bughā (al-Kabīr) took over his father's offices after the latter died in 249.\(^5\) He enjoyed great prestige among the minor Turkish officers and loyally served al-Mu'tazz. Bāyakbāk (known also as Babkiyāl) had been assigned to the offices of Bughā al-Ṣaghīr after the latter was killed. There is a tradition reported by 'Aynī,\(^6\) according to which

\(^1\) Tab., III, pp. 1384 f.
\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 1535 f.
\(^3\) Ibid., pp. 1687 ff., 1694 ff.
\(^4\) Ibid., pp. 1512 ff.
\(^5\) Ibid., pp. 1506 f.
\(^6\) After Hassan, p. 28.
Bāyākbāk married the mother of Āḥmad b.Ṭūlūn. At all events, when al-Muʿtazz appointed Bāyākbāk governor of Egypt, the latter on his own authority sent Āḥmad b.Ṭūlūn to that province. Bāyākbāk also was loyal to his master and, together with Mūsā b.Bughā, he fought against the Ṭalibīs in Persia and the Kharijī forces of Musāwir al-Shārīf in the neighborhood of Mosul. When al-Muʿtazz was deposed and replaced by al-Muḥtaḍā, the two generals hurried to the capital despite the orders of the new caliph to stay at their posts. Mūsā organized a conspiracy which resulted in the defeat and assassination of al-Muḥtaḍā, but Bāyākbāk was seized and killed by the caliph's loyalists.

Thus, of all the outstanding Turkish generals who had held the caliphate in their sway from the times of al-Muʿtaḍām, only Mūsā b.Bughā remained in a position of power, and he gave his full support to the new occupant of the throne.

Loyal to his pattern of exposition, Ṭabarī gives a very concise report: "On Tuesday, the sixteenth of Rajab of this year, Āḥmad b.Jaʿfar, known as b.Fīṭyān, was acknowledged as caliph, and given the name of al-Muʿtamid 'Alāʾ Allāh." Ṭabarī gives no information about the circumstances of the emergence of Āḥmad b. Jaʿfar, or about his personality. Ibn al-ʿAtīr, however, relates that Āḥmad was taken out from the palace Jawṣaq, where he had been imprisoned. Moreover, Masʿūdī presents a thorough characterization of the new caliph, which

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1 Ṭab., III, pp. 1829 f.
2 Ibid., p. 1839.
3 IA, VII, p. 93.
later was adapted by other writers. According to Masʿūdī, al-
Muʿtamid neglected the affairs of state and gave himself over to
worldly pleasures, to the point that a danger threatened that he
would bring the empire to ruin. Then, his brother, Abū Aḥmad al-
Muwaffaq took over the rule of the empire and kept his brother as a
tool in his hand.¹

In the light of Masʿūdī's description, the brevity of Tābarī's
report is striking. There is not the slightest hint as to the
caliph's personality, his appearance, behaviour or efficiency as a
ruler. It is also impossible to determine from the Annals what the
author's attitude was to the actions of the Turks as foreigners or
what were the circumstances surrounding the seating of al-Muʿtamid
on the throne. Tābarī merely reports that allegiance was sworn to
al-Muʿtamid while Mūsā b. Būghā was in Khānqāh, and that the latter
arrived in the capital four days later. Yet from Tābarī's report
of the overthrow of al-Muhtadī, it is quite obvious that Mūsā was
the one who pulled the strings behind the entire drama.

VI. Al-Muʿtamid and Al-Muwaffaq:
A Presentation and a Misrepresentation

The same conciseness, in contrast to the reports of other his-
torians, Tābarī reveals in presenting the story of al-Muʿtamid's
efforts to flee to Aḥmad b. Tūlūn. Tābarī states: "In the middle
of Junādā I, al-Muʿtamid set out intending to reach Egypt, and he

¹ Tanbih, pp. 470 f.
stopped at al-Kuḥayl to hunt." ¹

Ibn al-Atfār, while in general preserving Ṭabari's style, gives some added details: "In this year al-Muʿtamid went to Egypt. The reason for this was that he was caliph in name only and that he could accomplish next to nothing with the help of his royal signet, all the authority being in the hands of al-Muwaffaq and all the taxes going to him. This filled al-Muʿtamid with grief and indignation, and he wrote to Ahmad b. Ṭūlūn, complaining about his situation."² Ibn Khaldūn also reports that al-Muwaffaq usurped his brother's authority and brought the caliph under his sway. He tells us that al-Muʿtamid complained bitterly to Ahmad b. Ṭūlūn; then with his attendants, he pretended to go off hunting, but instead went to the province of Mosul.³

It appears that the aforementioned historians had Masʿūdī as their source at this point. His description of the event concerned is quite different from that of Ṭabari. We read in Masʿūdī: "The caliph al-Muʿtamid thought only of pleasure and occupied himself only with frivolous amusements -- so much so, that his brother Abū Ahmad al-Muwaffaq usurped the authority and the government of the empire. Later on he took him into custody and imprisoned him. No other sovereign before him had been the object of such violence or had been thus kept in a dungeon in solitary confinement. He was detained in the town of Fām al-Qilh. Al-Muʿtamid had first fled and took refuge in the village of Hadīyat al-Mosūl, but al-Muwaffaq,

¹ Ṭab., III, p. 2037.
² IA, VII, p. 158.
³ Ībār, III, p. 330.
having sent his minister Sa'īd to Sāmarrā, wrote to Ishāq b.Kundāj, who took measures to return the caliph.\(^1\)

Al-Mu'tamid was proclaimed caliph in 256. Sixteen days after his ascension he appointed as vizier 'Ubayd Allāh b.Yaḥyā b.Khaqān (who had served in the same capacity to this caliph's father), and the latter faithfully carried on in this capacity until 263, when he died in an accident on the race course.\(^2\)

During these years, al-Mu'tamid with the help and cooperation of his brother al-Muwaffaq and of his vizier, established his administration and organized the fight against the anti-imperial forces. It was he, for example, who appointed Amajūr governor of Damascus and thus forced the powerful 'Isā b.al-Shaykh to leave Syria.\(^3\) As late as 272, that is to say, three years after al-Mu'tamid's attempt to flee to ʿAbdād b.Tūlūn, al-Mu'tamid undertook a diplomatic maneuver to bring Christian Armenia into closer ties with the caliphate and to eliminate the Byzantine influence there.\(^4\)

The dominating role of al-Mu'tamid manifested itself also in his brother's close cooperation with him especially in the organization of the fight against the Zenj and Ya'qūb the Coppersmith. In 258 al-Mu'tamid took measures to enable his government to direct all its efforts toward eliminating the most threatening danger -- the Zenj. He sent Isma'īl b.Ishāq the qaḍī to Ya'qūb al-Saffār to induce him to withdraw from Fārs and deeper into Persia. He sent al-

\(^1\)Munīq, VIII, p. 67.
\(^2\)Ṭab., III, p. 1915.
\(^3\)Ibid., p. 1840, nn. 6, 7 (this transl.).
\(^4\)Vasiliev, II, p. 83.
Muwaffaq and Mufliḥ to the Başra area, and in one of the battles, Mufliḥ, among the last of the Turks of Bughā's generation, was killed. Abū Āḥmad stayed there until 270, leaving the scenes of battle on only a few occasions. We find in the Annals of Ţabarī and of Ibn al-Atīr -- and this is true of Masʿūdī as well -- no indications of mistrust or disagreement between the caliph and his co-regent during the years 256-264.

In the chronicle of 264 Ţabarī does report in very obscure terms a misunderstanding between al-Muʿtamid and al-Muwaffaq relating to al-Muʿtamid's removal of the vizier al-Ḫasan b.Wahb, who at the time had been Abū Āḥmad's favorite. This misunderstanding was terminated by the removal of the vizier whom al-Muʿtamid subsequently appointed, namely al-Ḫasan b.Makhlad. However, it appears that this compromise was met with hostility by a group of officers of the Sāmarrā' garrison who withdrew to Takrit. A few months later a group of the most outstanding officers, among them the famous Mūsā b.Bīghā and Mūsā b.utmash, left Baghdad and set out in the direction of Mosul. Although Ţabarī's account is rather obscure, the matter being presented in complete isolation from other events, it is reasonable to suppose that they intended to join the former group in defiance of the change of the vizierate imposed by Abū Āḥmad. Finally, Abū Āḥmad appointed Saʿīd b.Makhlad as his own secretary and only then did the aforementioned officers return.

Abū Āḥmad had occasional difficulties with his army as well.

1 Ţab., III, pp. 1926 f.
2 Ibid., p. 1930.
He personally conducted the war against the Zenj, but the army, which had been the pride of the imperial forces, sustained heavy losses and was nearly destroyed. He retreated to Bādaward, but here the camp caught fire and was destroyed. Then he retreated to Wāṣīt, but when he reached this city, reports Ṭabarī, "all his remaining troops scattered." As a result of this failure of Abū Aḥmad, the Zenj troops occupied Ahwāz for a time.

In the year 262 Yaʿqūb al-Saffār decided that all concessions made to him by the caliph were not sufficient, and he decided to march against Sāmarra. Ṭabarī, and after him Masʿūdī and other authors, describe this campaign, leaving no doubt as to the leading part of al-Muʿtamid in it. Al-Muwaqqaf was the one who received the orders and who was the chief executor of his brother's battle plans. The report of this fight is, incidentally, one of the rare complete descriptions we have of the careful planning of a battle, and gives us a clear idea of the nature of war tactics in the second half of the 3rd century.

Thus, Ṭabarī presents to us a picture of cooperation and trust between the caliph and his co-regent during most of the 23 years of al-Muʿtamid's reign -- a relationship in which the caliph's superiority was incontestable. It was only after the suppression of the Zenj rebellion that a rift appeared. If one takes into account the situation in the family of al-Mutawakkil, and their sufferings at

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1 Ṭab., III, p. 1862.
2 Ibid., p. 1872.
3 Ibid., p. 1895.
the hands of the Turks during the decade 247-256, it becomes manifest that Ṭabari's presentation is most reliable, since only through mutual cooperation could the ruling brothers use to good advantage the evanescence of the powerful Turks and thus stabilise their position. But later, due to Abū Aḥmad's direct leadership in the warfare against the most dangerous enemies of the caliphate, his prestige rose and with it also the caliph's jealousy. Since, furthermore, the next caliph was Abū Aḥmad's son, it is not surprising that the later writers came to eulogize the caliph's father.

Be this as it may, al-Mu'tamid closed a period in the history of the caliphate — the Sāmarrā period. In 269, the same year that he made an attempt to leave for Egypt, he returned to Sāmarrā and then left for Wāsit. Of the next year, Ṭabari reports: "In the middle of Sha'bān, al-Mu'tamid entered Baghdad, then he left the city and, in full military array with Muḥammad b. Ṭahir marching in front of him with a spear, he stopped in front of Qaṭrabbul. Then he went to Sāmarrā." This, however, was his last visit there. Thenceforward, Sāmarrā was no longer mentioned as al-Mu'tamid's residence. No other caliph returned there and Baghdad was restored as the capital of the caliphate.

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1 Ṭab., III, p. 2039.
2 Ibid., p. 2068.
3 Herzfeld, p. 268.
4 Ibn Khaliqān.
The Reign of al-Mu'tamid 'Ala Allāh

On Tuesday, the sixteenth of Rajab² of this year, Ahmad b. Ja'far, known as Ibn Fityān,³ was acknowledged as Caliph and given the name of al-Mu'tamid 'Ala Allāh.

News of the death of Muḥammad b. al-Wāṭiq⁴ and of the recognition of al-Mu'tamid was forwarded to Mūsā b. Bughā,⁵ who was in Khāniqān.⁶ On the twentieth of Rajab Mūsā b. Bughā arrived in Sāmarra.⁷ On the second of Sha'bān, 'Abd'Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān⁸ was appointed vizier.

In this year 'Alī b. Zayd al-Ṭalib⁹ staged a revolt in Kūfa.¹⁰ Al-Shāh b. Mikāl¹¹ was sent out with a large force to oppose the revolt but 'Alī b. Zayd al-Ṭalib and his men fought and routed this force. Al-Shāh himself escaped, although his troops suffered heavy losses.

Muḥammad b. Wāṣil b. ʿIbrāhīm al-Tamīrī¹² from Fārs,¹³ and Ahmad b. al-Layt, a Kurd of the same province attacked al-Ḥārit b. Sīmā al-Sharābī, governor of Fārs. Al-Ḥārit was killed, and Muḥammad b. Wāṣil seized Fārs.

Muḍgil¹⁴ was sent to fight against Musāwir al-Shārī² ¹⁵

In Ramaqān, the troops of al-Ḥasan b.Zayd al-Ṭalib seized Rayy. On the eleventh of Shawwal, Mūsā b.Bughā left Samarrah, bound for Rayy; al-Muʿtamid went to see him off.

A battle between Amājūr and a son of ‘Isā b.al-Shaykh took place at the gates of Damascus. I once heard a certain person report that he had attended Amājūr, who on the day of the battle left the city of Damascus to look for a camp for himself. Meanwhile Ibn ‘Isā b.al-Shaykh and a captain of ‘Isā, Abū al-Ṣahbā’ by name, with a troop of theirs were stationed in the vicinity of Damascus. When news reached them that Amājūr had left with a scant detail of warriors, they felt emboldened and led their men against Amājūr, who was unaware of their move up to the very moment of the encounter. The two parties engaged in a battle in which Abū al-Ṣahbā’ was killed, and the troops which were with him and Ibn ‘Isā were routed. I have heard someone else report that on that day Ibn ‘Isā and Abū al-Ṣahbā’ had at their disposition some 20,000 men, while Amājūr had an estimated two to four hundred troops.

On Wednesday, the thirteenth of Dū al-Ḥijja, Abū Ahmad b.al-Mutawakkil arrived in Samarrah from Mecca. Isma‘īl b.ʿAbd’Allah-al Marwazi, known as Abū al-Naṣr, and Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Kurayzī, known as ‘Irq al-Maut, were sent to ‘Isā b.al-Shaykh to offer
him the governorship of Armenia, on the condition that he withdraw from Syria under safe conduct. He accepted the offer and left Syria for Armenia. The leader of the pilgrims in this year was Muḥammad b. ʾĀḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. ʾAbī Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr. ²

The Year 257. An Account of Its Outstanding Events

In this year Yaʿqūb b. al-Layṯ ³ marched against Fārs. Al-Muʿtamid sent a delegation, consisting of Ṭoghtā, ⁴ Ismāʿīl b. ʾĪshāq ⁵ and Abu Saʿīd al-ʾAnṣārī, ⁶ to him in the month of Shaʿbān. Abu ʾĀḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil sent a letter to Yaʿqūb offering to appoint him governor of Balkh, ⁷ Ṭūkhāristān ⁸ (up to the adjacent territories of Kirmān), Sijistān, ⁹ al-Sind ¹⁰ and other provinces, and to allot to him an annual pension. Yaʿqūb accepted this and withdrew.

In Rabiʿ II, an envoy of Yaʿqūb b. al-Layṯ returned with idols which, reportedly, he had seized in Kābul. ¹¹ On the twelfth of ʿ Ṣafar al-Muʿtamid put his brother in charge of Kūfa, the Mecca Road, the Two Holy Cities, ¹² and Yaman. ¹³ Subsequently, on the seventh of Ramaḍān, al-Muʿtamid also made him governor of Baghdād, al-Sawād, ¹⁴ Wāsīṭ, ¹⁵ the Tigris Districts, ¹⁶ Baṣra, ¹⁷ ʾAlwāz ¹⁸ and Fārs, and instructed him to appoint the previous prefect of Baghdād as governor over his districts. / He also ¹⁸h₂
ruled that Abū Ahmad appoint Yārjūkh as governor of Bṣāra, the Tigris Districts, Yamāma and Bāhrayn instead of Saʾīd b.Šāliḥ. Yārjūkh then appointed Manṣūr b. Jaʾfār b. Dīnār as prefect of Bṣāra and the Tigris Districts, as far as the territory of Ahwāz.

Bughrāj was ordered to urge Saʾīd al-Ḥājib to march to the Tigris and take up positions opposite the camp of the Zenj Chieftain. Bughrāj, reportedly, complied with the order, and, in the month of Rajab, Saʾīd al-Ḥājib set out for his destination.

It is reported that when Saʾīd arrived at the Maʾqil Canal, he came upon troops of the Zenj Chieftain stationed on the Murghāb Canal, which was one of the canals intersecting with Maʾqil. He attacked and routed these troops seizing from them both women and booty. In this battle Saʾīd received many wounds, one of them in his mouth.

Then Saʾīd marched on and arrived at ʿAskar Abī Jaʾfar al-Manṣūr, where he stayed over night. Next day he continued his march and reached a place, known as Haṭma, in the Euphrates area, where he stayed for a few days, arranging his troops in military formation, and preparing for the encounter with the Chieftain of the Zenj. During his stay there the news reached Saʾīd that a force of the Zenj Chieftain was located on the Euphrates. With a detachment of his troops, Saʾīd set out against this Zenj
force and put it to flight. Among the routed was 'Imrān, husband of the grandmother of Ankalāy, the son of the Zenj Chieftain. This 'Imrān surrendered to Bughrāj, and his troops dispersed. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said, "I saw the woman, an inhabitant of the Euphrates region, who found 'Imrān hiding in a thicket. She seized him in order to deliver him to Saʿīd's quarters and he offered her no resistance."

Now Saʿīd set out to fight against al-Khabīr, crossed to the western side of the Tigris, and, after several successive days of attacks, he returned to his camp in Ḥaṭma. From this base he fought against al-Khabīr during the rest of Rajab and throughout the month of Shaʿbān. Ibrahim b. Muḥammad al-Mudabbīr, who had been held captive by al-Khabīr, escaped. According to the report, this is how he managed to escape. He was imprisoned in a room of the house of Yahya b. Muḥammad al-Bahrānī. Since the place was too crowded, al-Bahrānī transferred him to another chamber in his residence, and put him in the custody of two men whose dwelling was adjacent to the quarters where Ibrahim was being held. Ibrahim gave them generous gifts and aroused their greed to the point that they allowed access to him through their quarters. Then, Ibrahim and a nephew of his, Abū Ghālib, and one of the Banū Hāshim, who was imprisoned with them, slipped out.

The forces of the Zenj Chieftain attacked Saʿīd and his
men and inflicted upon him a severe defeat.

An Account of This Battle

Al-Khabīṭ sent word to Yahyā b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī, who was stationed on the Maʿqil Canal with a strong force, and ordered him to send ahead at night 1000 men under the command of Sulayman b. Jāmi,⁴ and Abū al-Layt to the camp of Saʿīd, and to attack him at daybreak. Yahyā complied with this order and Sulayman b. Jāmi and Abū al-Layt arrived at the camp of the unsuspecting and unaware Saʿīd. They charged it and killed a great many of his men. On that day, the Zenj also burned down his camp.

Saʿīd and his men weakened. Their situation deteriorated because of the night attack which they had suffered and the cutting off of the supplies formerly provided from the revenue of Ahwāz. Maṣūr b. Jaʿfar al-Khayyāt, who was at this time involved in warfare in Ahwāz, delayed sending those supplies, although he had at his disposal sums from the Kharāj collection. When the situation of Saʿīd b. Ǧaʿlīḥ was thus reduced, he was ordered to retire to the seat of the government, and to hand over his army and the districts under his rule to Maṣūr b. Jaʿfar. For, after the night raid of the Zenj upon his troops and the razing of his camp, Saʿīd became sluggish.

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until he was removed from his offices. A battle between Mansûr b. Ja'far al-Khayyâf and the Zenj Chieftain took place. The troops of Mansûr b. Ja'far al-Khayyâf suffered heavy losses.

An Account of This Battle

After Sa'id al-Hājib was recalled from Baṣra, Bughrâj remained there to protect the population. Meanwhile, Mansûr busied himself with collecting ships to transport provisions to the city, conveying them there under the protection of shadas. The Zenj also at this time were having difficulties with regard to their supplies. Mansûr arrayed his troops, amassed, in addition to the shadas which he had had Jamā'-biya shadas and transport ships, and set out for the camp of the Zenj Chieftain. On his route he came upon a fortress on the Tigris and burned it to the ground together with its environs, thus penetrating the territory of al-Khabîf from this direction. The Zenj discovered his presence and ambushed him killing a great many of his men. The rest were thrown back into the water, where many of them drowned. Some 500 heads of the slain were said to have been delivered to the camp of Yaḥyâ b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānî on the Ma'qil Canal where they were displayed.

A strangler was apprehended in a place, known as Birkat
Zalzal, in Baghdad. He had slain a great many women and buried them in the house he inhabited. I have heard that when he was brought before al-Mu'tamid, the Caliph ordered him flogged. One thousand whip lashes and four hundred blows with a stick could not kill him. It was only when the executioners hit at his testis with two flag poles that he expired. His corpse was returned to Baghdad, where it was displayed on a cross and subsequently burned.

Shāhīn b. Bistān was killed, and Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā routed.

An Account of the Circumstances of the Slaying of Shāhīn and the Defeat of Ibrāhīm

It is reported that al-Bahrānī wrote to al-Khabīr, advising him to send troops to Ahwāz to be stationed there, and urging him to cut off, first of all, the vaulted passage of Arbuk, so that cavalry would be prevented from joining the imperial troops. Al-Bahrānī further advised him to direct 'Ali b. Abān to seize the passage. Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā, who was on his way from Fārs encountered 'Ali. Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā and al-Ḥarīt b. Sīmā were stationed there in the wasteland, known as Dast Arbuk, a desert between Ahwāz and the passage. As 'Ali b. Abān approached the passage, Ibrāhīm kept himself and his troops concealed until the enemy had advanced fairly far into the desert. Then, he caught the Zenj by surprise
and inflicted heavy losses upon them. 'Alī fled and the imperial horsemen pursued him to Fandam. Wounded by a lance thrust in his foot, he abandoned his advance to Ahwāz, and rushed headlong to Jubbā. 1

Meanwhile, Sa'īd b. Yaksīn 2 had been dismissed from his post. He was replaced by Ibrāhīm b. Si̇mā, whose secretary was Shāhīn, and together they proceeded to attack 'Alī b. Abān, who was now in al-Khayzurānīya. 3 Ibrāhīm b. Si̇mā advanced along the Euphrates, aiming toward the mouth of Jubbā Canal, and Shāhīn b. Ristām along the Mūsā Canal, intending to join Ibrāhīm at his destination at Jubbā. They were planning to attack 'Alī b. Abān.

Shāhīn happened to be the first to arrive, and his march was reported to 'Alī b. Abān by an inhabitant of the Mūsā Canal region. 'Alī set out against him and, in the afternoon, the two parties came upon each other on the waterway, Abū al-'Abbās, between the Mūsā and Jubbā Canals. They fought a battle in which Shāhīn's men displayed great steadfastness and spirit; the Zenj, however, struck back forcefully and put Shāhīn to flight. Among the first to be killed on that day were Shāhīn and a cousin of his, Ḥayyān by name, for both had been in the vanguard of their troops. Many warriors perished together with them.

No sooner had 'Alī b. Abān disposed of Shāhīn than an informant arrived and brought word about the advance of
Ibrahim b.Sinā. He immediately set out for the Jubbā Canal, where Ibrahim, unaware of Shahīn's fate, was camping. 'Alī surprised him there late in the evening, and inflicted upon Ibrahim a crushing blow; the losses were heavy.

So it was that the death of Shahīn and the attack on Ibrahim both took place sometime between the afternoon and the late evening prayers. Muḥammad b.al-Ḥasan said, "I have heard 'Alī b. Abān / telling his story on account of this event. He said: 'On that day I was seized with an attack of chronic recurrent fever. When the incident with Shahīn was completed, my troops scattered, and only about fifty men went with me to the camp of Ibrahim b.Sinā. We approached it, and I moved close enough to hear the bustle and talk of the people. When their commotion subsided, I arose and assailed them.'"

After the death of Shahīn and the defeat of Ibrahim, 'Alī b. Abān departed from Jubbā in response to a command from al-Khabīt to set out to fight the people of Baṣra. In this year the troops of al-Khabīt entered Baṣra.

An Account of Their Occupation of Baṣra

It is reported that when Sa'īd b.Ṣāliḥ left Baṣra, the government transferred all of his offices to Mansūr b.Jaʿfār al-Khayyāṭ, whose clash with the troops of al-Khabīt we have
already described. Mansūr became too weak to resume the attack on the camp of al-Khabīr, and he restricted himself entirely to safeguarding the food convoys to Baṣra. The flow of food to the city brought great relief to the population, which formerly had been hard pressed by the disruption in the supply line. Al-Khabīr was greatly disturbed when he learned that conditions in Baṣra had improved, and he directed 'Alī b. Abān to the Jubbā area. 'Alī camped at al-Khayzurāniya. Mansūr b. Ja'far was diverted from safeguarding the cargoes to Baṣra.

Once again / the people of Baṣra found themselves in dire straits. Al-Khabīr, in addition, tormented them with raids by day and night. In the month of Shawwal of this year, when al-Khabīr saw how weak the city was, how divided its population, and how injurious were the effects of the blockade and of the devastation of the surrounding villages, he decided to mass his men for an assault on Baṣra in an effort to destroy the city. By means of star reading he learned that an eclipse of the moon was expected on the night of Tuesday, the fourteenth of the month.

It is recorded that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Sahl said that he had heard al-Khabīr say, "In my prayers I importuned God to fulfill my curse against the people of Baṣra, and begged him to destroy the city speedily. Then (in my vision), I was addressed and told: 'Baṣra is a loaf of bread unto

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you, which you will eat from its both ends; when one half of the loaf is gone, Baṣra will be destroyed.' I interpreted the broken half of the loaf to mean the expected eclipse of the moon and how befitting it was that Baṣra should meet its fate after it." Muḥammad said, "He (al-Khabīr) kept on recounting the story to his men and referring to it so often, that they, in turn retold it exaggeratedly."

Then, on behalf of al-Khabīr, Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Dārīmī, one of those who had joined him in Baḥrayn, went out to the Bedouins and recruited a great many of them; they camped at al-Qandal. ¹ Al-Khabīr sent Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Shaʿrānī to them and ordered the Bedouins to move closer to Baṣra and storm it. He had instructed Sulaymān b. Mūsā to train the Bedouins for their task.

On the night of the eclipse, al-Khabīr aroused /ʿAlī b. Abān, reinforced his troops with a band of Bedouins, and ordered him to enter Baṣra at the Bānū Saʿd Section. ¹ The rest of the Bedouins he assigned to Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al- Baḥrānī, who at that time was besieging the people of Baṣra, and ordered him to enter the city in the ʿAdī Canal section. ²

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said on the authority of Shibl, ³ "ʿAlī b. Abān was the first to attack the people of Baṣra. At that time Bughrāj was in the city with a detachment of troops. He enjoyed full support of the population and he
fought back for two days. Yahyā and his men pressed forward in the neighborhood of Qaṣr Anas, aiming at the bridge. On Friday, the sixteenth of Shawwal, at the time of Friday services, ‘Alī b. Abān al-Muhallabī penetrated the city and began killing and burning all about him; this continued through all of Friday, that evening and the day of Saturday. Early Sunday morning, Yahyā entered Baṣra, but, when he was opposed by the men of Bughrāj and Burayh, he had to withdraw. That day he stayed away from the city, but early Monday morning he returned just after the defence force had dispersed. Burayh ran away, and Bughrāj with his men fled too. No one remained to offer resistance to Yahyā. Ibrāhīm b. Yahyā al-Muhallabī approached Yahyā seeking safety for the people of Baṣra, and his request was granted. The criers of Ibrāhīm b. Yahyā announced: whosoever seeks safety should present himself at Ibrāhīm's residence. The entire populace of the city appeared and filled the court.

Seeing this assembly, Yahyā seized the opportunity and ordered the troops to seize all streets, roads and alleys, so that the people could not disperse. Then he treacherously ordered his troops to kill them. All those present at this scene of martyrdom, with rare exceptions, perished. That same day, Yahyā retired to the castle of / 'Isā b. Ja'far in al-Khurayba. 1

Muḥammad said that al-Faḍl b. 'Adī al-Dārimī 2 had re-
lated to him: "When the Traitor set out to fight against Baṣra, I was among its people, staying in the Banū Saʿd section. At night, a man came to us and reported that he had seen cavalry marching toward Qaṣr Ḥusayn in al-Khurayba. My friends asked me to go and find out about this cavalry. I left and came upon a group of Banū-Tamim and Banū Asad. 4 I asked them who they were, and they claimed to be troops of the 'Alid 5 assigned to 'Alī b. Abān, who was to reach Baṣra in early morning, his destination being the neighborhood of Banū Saʿd. Further they told me that Yāḥyā b. Muḥammad was proceeding with his troops toward the section of the clan of al-Muḥallab. 6 They said: 'Tell your friends in Banū Saʿd: If you care for your women's honour, you had better quickly take them out of the city before the army surrounds you.'"

Said al-Faḍl, "When I returned to my friends and brought them the words of the Bedouins, they went to Burayh to tell him the news. Burayh, together with his remaining servants and with a detachment of troops, joined them at dawn, and they marched out together until they reached the Banū Ḥimmān moat, where they were also joined by Banū Tamīm and Saʿdiya warriors. Before long 'Alī b. Abān with a body of Zenj and Bedouins on horseback appeared. Burayh, before confronting them, had to return to his home. Now, a defeat resulted, and the Banū Tamīm who had joined the group scattered away, and
no one remained to repel ‘Alī, who arrived at the moat and drove on, aiming at Mirbad. Burayh turned to the Banū Tamīm with a cry for help, and indeed some of them rallied to him.

The battle took place in Mirbad in the front of Burayh's place, but Burayh himself fled and this caused the people to disperse. The Zenj stripped the house of all that was in it and set it on fire. Some fighting continued to the end of the day, until the Zenj overpowered the weakened Baṣrians.

When ‘Alī b. Abūn entered the Friday Mosque and put it to the torch, he was overtaken by Fath, the page of Abū Shāyṭ, and a group of Baṣrians, but he escaped together with his men. A number of Zenj were slain.

‘Alī b. Abūn retired to the place, known as Maqbarat Banī Shayban. The people of Baṣra were looking for a commander to lead them in battle, but they found none; they sought Burayh and found that he had fled. During Saturday ‘Alī did not appear in Baṣra, but Sunday morning he came back and took the city without any resistance."

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said that Muḥammad b. Sim‘ān had told him, "I was staying in Baṣra when the Zenj entered the city. I used to come to the office of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl, known as Burayh. On Friday, the tenth of Shawwal of the year 257, when I was visiting him, there was also present Shihāb b. al-‘Alī al-‘Anbarī. I heard Shihāb tell that the Traitor had gone to the desert with funds to offer
the Bedouins, and that he had thus recruited a great many
horsemen to ride against Baṣra together with his Zenj in-
fantry. The imperial troops in Baṣra consisted of little
more than fifty horsemen under the command of Baghrāj.
Burayh said to Shihāb: 'The Bedouins would not march
against me with evil intent!' And, indeed, they always
obeyed Burayh / and loved him." 1852

Ibn Simān said, "When I left the office of Burayh, I
came upon Āḥmad b. Ayyūb al-Kātib, and I heard him saying
that Ḥārūn b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Shi’i, who at the time was in
charge of the mail-post of Baṣra, knew for a certainty that
on the third of Shawwāl, the Traitor was in the company of
nine people. The notables of Baṣra and the local authori-
ties, however, were unaware of the truth of the information
presented by me." The blockade hit the people of Baṣra hard,
epidemics were spreading and internecine strife between the
two parties, known as al-Bilāliya and al-Sā‘diya2 flared up.

On the morning of Friday the sixteenth of Shawwāl of
this year, the Traitor's cavalry raided Baṣra from three
directions: from the neighborhood of Banū Sa‘d, Mirbad and
Khurayba. ‘Alī b. Abān formed the troops under his command
into two columns. He put Raffiq, the page of Yahyā b. ‘Ābd
al-Rahmān b. Khāqān, in charge of one with the task of pro-
ceeding against Banū Sa‘d, while he in person led the second
one toward Mirbad. Yahyā b. Muḥammad al-Azraq al-Haḍrānī led
his cavalry in one column in the direction of Khurayba. Against each of these columns marched a few Banūs weakened by hunger and siege. The cavalry, previously under Bughrāj, split into two detachments. One went toward Mirbad, the other toward Khurayba.

A group of al-Sa'diya warriors under the command of Fath the page of Abū Shīṭ and his associates fought those who had penetrated to the area of the Banū Sa'd, but the few Banūs who went out to fight off the multitudes of al-Khāhirī could do nothing against the onslaught of the cavalry and infantry of the foe.

Ibn Simān said, "At that time, which was the dawn of Friday, I was in the Friday Mosque, when, behold, fire struck simultaneously from the three directions: Zahrān, Mirbad and Banū Ḥimmān, as if the incendiaries had acted upon one signal. In the face of this portentous event, the people of Baṣra fully believed that their end had come. All those who were at the Mosque rushed to their homes. I too hurried to my dwelling, which at the time was on the Mirbad avenue, and came upon Baṣrians fleeing back toward the Mosque. Behind them was al-Qāsim b. Ja'far b. Sulaymān al-Ḥāshimi mounted on his mule, armed with a sword, who was shouting and upbraiding the people: 'Are you going to surrender your city and women? This is your enemy that has broken into the city!' But no one turned nor listened to him. As he passed on through Mirbad
avenue, the streets were empty between the fleeing Bagrians and the oncoming Zenj."

Muḥammad said, "When I saw all this, I retired to my home and began watching from behind my locked gate. Bedouin horsemen and Zenj footmen appeared; in front of them was a man on a dark grey horse, with a yellow streamer on the spear which he was holding in his hand. When I was taken to the infidel's quarters, I inquired about that man and was told that this was 'Alī b. Abān, and that the yellow streamer was his banner. They kept on passing along Mirbad avenue, until they reached the 'Uṯmān Gate, and disappeared from view when the day was already fairly well advanced.

They left, and the low and ignorant among the Bagrians believed that they / had gone to the Friday service. But what really made them retire was fear lest troops of the Sa'diya and Bilāliya should attack them from the Murabba', for they suspected an ambush in that place.

Those who were in the neighborhood of Zahraḥ and Banū Ḫišn also withdrew, but only after they had gained complete control over the quarter, and had looted and burned there, and had become convinced that there was no further obstacle in their way. Saturday and Sunday they did not return to Baṣrā, but early on Monday, they reentered the city meeting with no resistance. The people were brought together to the mansion of Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā al-Muḥallabī, and granted safety."
Muḥammad b. Simʿān said, "Al-Ḥasan b. ʿUṭman al-Ẓaḥllabī, surnamed Mundaliqa, who was one of the companions of Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, told me this: 'On that day early in the morning, Yaḥyā ordered me to proceed to Maqbarat Banū Yashkur to fetch the stoves which were there. I did this, and I had more than twenty people each carrying a stove on his head. When I came back to the house of Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā, the people, terribly exhausted by the siege, hunger and fatigue, believed that the porters were making preparations to cook food for them. The crowd around the quarter of Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā grew and filled all the space, milling around until late in the morning. On that day,' he continued, 'I moved from my dwelling on the Mirbad avenue to the house of my mother's grandfather Hishām, known as al-Dāff, which was in the Banū Tamīm section. I did this because of the rumors which had spread about, that Banū Tamīm had concluded peace with the Traitor. Thus I happened to be there when informants came with news about the slaughter in the vicinity of the mansion of Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā. They reported that Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī had ordered the Zenj to encircle the crowd, then said: 'All belonging to the clan of al-Ẓaḥllabī, enter the house of Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā!' A small group did so and the door was locked behind them. Then the Zenj were told: 'The people are yours; kill them without exception.' Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, known as Abū al-Layth al-Iṣbahānī, stepped out and said to the Zenj
KILU, which they knew was the signal to kill those who were to be done away with. So the people were put to the sword.

Al-Hasan b. 'Utman said, "I heard them reciting the Tashahhud and wailing during the slaughter; their voices in reciting the creed rose so high that they were heard at al-Ţafawa, which was fairly distant from the scene. After the entire assembly was slain," he continued, "the Zenj proceeded to kill all who fell into their hands."

On that day, 'Ali b. Aban entered the city, set the great mosque on fire, and then went to the docks, which he burned from the embankment to the horses' station; the flames consumed everything they reached including people, animals, household and wares. Then, from the early morning until late in the evening they marched everyone they could find to Yahya b. Muhammad, who by now, had established residence in Sayyân. The latter would compel the rich to surrender their money, and then kill them; whereas he would kill the destitute (without delay). It is reported that Shibli said, "On that Tuesday morning, after the slaughter at the mansion of Ibrāhīm b. Yahya, Yahya (al-Bahrani) came to Basra and started summoning the people, offering them safe conduct. Nobody appeared."

This reached al-Khabīt, who then recalled 'Ali b. Aban from Basra and left the city to the sole disposition of Yahya. Al-Khabīt approved of the slaughter which Yahya had perpe-
trated there, and thus came to admire him, while, on the other hand, he was dissatisfied with 'Ali b. Abān, for the latter had shown reluctance about engaging in foul play in the Banū Sa'd section, and had allowed a delegation therefrom to proceed to al-Khabīt. This delegation had been not at all successful, and had retired to 'Abbādān.

Yaḥyā stayed in Baṣra. Al-Khabīt instructed him to proclaim Shībl as governor of the city in order to calm the inhabitants and induce people to come out of hiding, especially those who were known to be wealthy. The latter were to be seized and forced to reveal where they had buried or concealed their money. Yaḥyā acted upon these instructions, and not a day would pass without a number of people brought before him. He would extort money from those who were known as well-to-do and then kill them; the others, whose destitution was evident, he would kill without delay. No one of those who appeared was spared, but they were all killed. So the people of Baṣra fled wherever they could. After this al-Khabīt recalled his troops from Baṣra.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said, "When news of the devastation of Baṣra and of the ominous deed which his troops had performed reached the Traitor, he said in my presence: 'In the early morning of that day, when my troops entered Baṣra, I appealed to God for aid against her population,
prayed fervently and prostrated myself. Then (in my vision) Baṣra appeared before my eyes. I saw the city and my troops fighting in her midst. I have also seen a man in the image of Jaʿfar al-Maʿluf who had been in charge of tax-collection on behalf of the tax department in Samarra, poised in the air between heaven and earth, his left hand lowered / and his right hand lifted and pointing to the people in the center of the city. Then I realized that it was rather the angels who stood behind my troops who were in charge of devastation of the city. If that momentous deed about which stories are being told, had been consigned to my troops alone, verily they would never had been able to execute it; but the angels help and assist me in my fight, and strengthen the hearts of the weak among my soldiers."

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said, "After the devastation of Baṣra, al-Khabīṭ claimed descent from Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. ‘Alī. The reason for this was that a group of ‘Alids from Baṣra came to him, among them ‘Alī b. Ṭāmād b. ‘Isa b. Zayd and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī accompanied by their wives and women. When they arrived, he no longer claimed descent from Ṭāmād b. ‘Isa but claimed his descent from Yaḥyā b. Zayd." [1]

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said that he heard during a visit paid by a group of Naufalis to al-Khabīṭ how al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan al-Naufalī said, "It reached us that you were from the children of Ṭāmād b. ‘Isa b. Zayd." To this al-
Khabīt retorted, "I am not from the children of ‘Isa, I am from the children of Yaḥyā b. Zayd." But this was a lie since it is commonly known that Yaḥyā after his death left no children except a daughter who died in her infancy.

In this year the government despatched Muḥammad al-Muwallad to Baṣra to fight the Zenj Chieftain. He left Sa‐mārāʾ on Friday the first of Dū al-Qa’dā.

The Affairs of al-Muwallad in Baṣra

It was reported that Muḥammad, known as al-Muwallad, on the way to carry out his mission, stopped at Uballa. At this time Burayh returned to Baṣra and a great many of fugitive Baṣrians rallied to him. Yaḥyā, after he had withdrawn from Baṣra, encamped on the al-Ghawṭī Canal.

Muḥammad reported that Shibl said, "When al-Muwallad was on his way, al-Khabīt ordered Yaḥyā to proceed to the canal Awwa. Yaḥyā set out with his troops against al-Muwallad and fought him for ten days. The latter became sluggish in battle; he sought an advantageous position and settled down. Al-Khabīt then wrote to Yaḥyā ordering him to raid al-Muwallad by night, and sent shadas under the command of Abu al-Layt al-Igbahānī.

When attacked by night, al-Muwallad aroused his troops and fought back throughout the rest of that day and until the
afternoon of the following day. Then he retreated and the Zenj entered his camp and plundered it.

Yaḥyā reported to al-Khabīr and was ordered to pursue al-Muwallad to al-Ḥawānīt. Then Yaḥyā returned, and passing al-Jāmīda, he raided its people shedding as much blood as he could, and plundering whatever there was in those villages. He then camped in al-Jāla, and shortly returned to the Maʿqīl Canal.

In this year Muḥammad al-Muwallad captured Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd b. Salm al-Bāhīlī, who, together with a band of Bāhila, seized the Batiha and harried the road. In this year Muḥammad b. Wāgil fell out with the ruler of Fārs and captured the province. The leader of the pilgrims in this year was al-Faḍl b. Ṣāḥib b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿIsāʾil b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās.

This was the year when Basil, a member of the royal house, known as The Slavonian, (he was called so / because his mother was of Slavonian origin) fell upon Michael the Son of Theophile, the emperor of Byzantium, and killed him. He became sovereign of the empire after twenty-four years of Michael's unrestricted reign.

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Year 258. The Outstanding Events

Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd b. Salm was delivered to the
seat of the government and there he was ordered flogged. It is said that in the month of Rabi' I, he received seven hundred lashes and died; his corpse was displayed on a cross.

A qādi, who had been in service of the Zenj Chieftain in ‘Abbadān, and fourteen Zenj prisoners captured in the vicinity of Başra, were beheaded before the Public Gate in Samarrā. Muflih raided heavily Bedouins of Takrit, reported because of their cooperation with Musawir al-Sharī. Masrūr al-Balkhī attacked the Ya‘qubite Kurds, forced them into flight and inflicted upon them heavy losses. Muḥammad b.Wāṣil pledged allegiance to the government and surrendered the kharaj and the domains of Fārs to Muḥammad b.al-Ṣusayn b.al-Fayyāq.

On Monday the twentieth of Rabi’ I, al-Mu‘tamid appointed Abū ‘Alīmad, his brother, governor of Diyār Muḍar, Qinnesrīn and al-‘Awāṣim. On Thursday the first of Rabi’ I, he gave an audience at which he bestowed upon both, Abū ‘Alīmad and Muflih robes of honor. Thereupon the two departed bound for Başra. Al-Mu‘tamid rode together with them accompanying his brother up to Bazkuwār, and returned.

In this year Maṣūr b.Ja‘far b.Dinār al-Khayyāṭ was killed.
The Circumstances of His Death

It is reported that al-Khabīr, after his troops finished Başra, ordered 'Alī b. Abān al-Muḥallabi to proceed to Jubbā to fight against Mansūr b. Ja'far, who was at the time in Ahwaz. 'Alī set out and took up a position opposite Mansūr at al-Khayzuranīya where he stayed for a whole month. Mansūr, although he had only a few troops at his disposal at that time, harassed 'Alī's camp. Al-Khabīr sent to 'Alī b. Abān twelve shādas carrying the best of his troops under the command of Abū al-Layt al-Isbahānī, who was instructed to serve under 'Alī b. Abān. However, after his arrival, Abū al-Layt became disobedient and of an independent mind. When Mansūr marched out with his shādas, as he used to, Abū al-Layt lost his shādas sustaining heavy losses in white and Zenj soldiers. Abū al-Layt escaped and fled to al-Khabīr, while 'Alī b. Abān with his troops retreated and avoided fighting for a month.

When 'Alī and his men returned to combat, he established his positions and sent out skirmishers to obtain information concerning Mansūr and his troops. A captain of Mansūr's was stationed as governor in / the town Karnabā. In one of his night raids 'Alī attacked and killed that officer and all his men, seized as booty his horses, and set fire to what remained in the camp. The same night he withdrew and marched to the mouth of the Jubbā Canal.
When this news reached Maşûr he marched out and arrived at al-Khayzuranfiyā where he was encountered by 'Alī and a party of his troops. They engaged in a battle which lasted from morning to noon; Maşûr was defeated and cut off from his troops. A band of Zenj pursued him and fought him all the way to the canal 'Umar b.Mihrān. Maşûr continued fighting back until all his spears were broken, and his arrows gone. Having no more arms at his disposal, he threw himself into the canal intending to cross it. His horse, spurred on, jumped but was drowning in the water.

Shibli said, "The reason for the failure of the horse to carry Maşûr across the canal was that one of the Zenj, taking notice of Maşûr's dash to the canal, jumped into the water first; as Maşûr's horse jumped, the Negro grasped the horse and they dived together. When Maşûr raised his head, a Negro youngster, one of Muşlih's sergeants, 3 Abrûn by name, fell upon him, cut off his head and carried it away." A great many of Maşûr's men were killed, including his brother Khalaf b.Ja'far. All the districts which had until now been under Maşûr, Yarjûkh turned over to Asghajîn. 4

On Tuesday the eighteenth of Jumâda I, Muşlih was hit by a soft-headed arrow 1 on his temple, and at dawn of the next day he died. His body was transported to Samârrâ and buried there.
An Account of the Circumstances of His Death

Still fresh in my memory is how Abū Aḥmad b. al-Muwāwakkil marched from Samarrā to Basra to fight against the Accursed, as news of the terrible acts the latter had perpetrated upon the Muslims of Basra and adjacent Muslim territory reached him and al-Mu‘tamid. Personally I observed the army which Abū Aḥmad and Muflīḥ led through Baghdād, since they passed Bab al-Taq, where I was dwelling at the time.

I have heard a number of elders of Baghdad saying, "We have seen big armies of the caliphs but we have never seen an army such as this with its fine equipment, perfect arms and implements, multitudes and provisions. Traders from among the people of Baghdad accompanied that army in great numbers."

It is reported on the authority of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan that before the arrival of Abū Aḥmad to the location of al-Khabīṭ, Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Bahrānī, who was stationed at the Ma‘qil Canal, asked his master for permission to go to al-‘Abbās Canal. The latter disapproved fearing that the imperial army might come forth while his troops were dispersed. Yaḥyā harassed him with his request, however, until permission was finally granted, and he departed followed by most of the troops of al-Khabīṭ. ‘Alī b. Abān with a large Zenj force was then stationed at Jubbā. In those days Basra was an object of pillage for the
troops of al-Khabīt, who were raiding the city by morning and evening, carrying off whatever came within their reach. Thus during this period only a few troops were within the camp. Such were the circumstances in which al-Khabīt found himself when Abū Aḥmad and Mufliḥ with their troops arrived. When this army, mighty and terrifying, the like of which had never campaigned against al-Khabīt, reached the Ma‘qīl Canal, all his troops in that area fled to his camp and flocked to him in great fear.

Alarmed at this al-Khabīt summoned two of the captains of his troops who had been at Ma‘qīl, and questioned them as to why they had left their positions. They reported that when they saw the might of the approaching army, its great numbers and fine equipment, they felt that they were not in a position to withstand it with the forces they had at hand.

When asked whether they knew who was commanding this army they replied, "No, despite our efforts to learn this, we could find no one to give us reliable information." Then al-Khabīt sent out his skirmishers with samīfīyas to gather this information, but they too returned with words of the army's might and glory; but no one learned who was leading and commanding it. This increased his fears and apprehensions, and he hastily despatched to ‘Alī b. Abān a message concerning the oncoming army and ordered him to join him with his men. Meanwhile, the imperial army arrived and was stationed oppo-
On Wednesday, the day of the battle, al-Khabīṭ went out to make the rounds of his camp on foot and to consider both his own and the enemy's positions. It rained lightly that day, and the ground was wet and slippery. After spending some time of the early morning in making the rounds, he returned and asked for ink and qirtās to write a letter to 'Alī b. Abān about what he had seen of the threatening army, and to order him to advance as many troops as possible.

Just then one of the Negro captains, surnamed Abū Dulaf, entered and reported that the foe had set out and put the Zenj to flight, and that meeting no force to drive them back, they reached the fourth line (of defence). Al-Khabīṭ shouted and scolded him, "Get out, what you say is a lie! It was the large army you have seen that frightened and disheartened you, so that you do not know what you are talking about!" As soon as Abū Dulaf was gone, al-Khabīṭ sent for his secretary who had already ordered Ja'far b. Ibrāhīm al-Sujjān to arouse the Zenj to take the battle ground. Now al-Sujjān came with a report that he had already sent the Zenj and that they had set out and seized two samīrīyas. Al-Khabīṭ ordered him to go back and move up the infantry, which he did. Shortly after this a stray arrow, whose sender remains unknown, struck Muḥīṭ. Panic grew in the imperial army which was overpowered by the Zenj and sustained heavy
losses. The Zenj came to meet al-Khabīṭ carrying the heads of the slain by their teeth, and piled them before him. There were so many heads that they filled the entire space. Then, they shared in the flesh of the slain and exchanged presents.

A prisoner, one of the men from Ferghana, was brought before al-Khabīṭ. When questioned about the leader of the army, this man mentioned the names of Abū Ḍām and Mufliḥ. Mention of the name of Abū Ḍām terrified al-Khabīṭ and, as he was wont to refute a thing he feared, he said, "Only Mufliḥ is with the army since I have heard only his name mentioned. For if there were with the army the one whom this captive has mentioned, verily, the talk about him would be louder and the name of Mufliḥ would be mentioned only in association with and next to the name of his master." 1865

The people in al-Khabīṭ's camp were very frightened when the troops of Abū Ḍām set out against them; they fled from their houses and ran to the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal which at the time had no bridge. A great many women and children were drowned. Shortly after this battle 'Alī b. Abān with his men arrived but al-Khabīṭ already had no need for him. Mufliḥ died shortly afterwards and Abū Ḍām retired to Ubulla to gather his troops, dispersed during the flight, and restore them to battle readiness; then he moved to the Abū al-Asad Canal. 2
Muhammad b. al-Hasan said, "Al-Khabīṭ did not know how Mufliḥ was killed, but since he had heard that the latter was struck by a stray arrow and that no one claimed to be the shooter, he declared himself to be the one." Muhammad continued, "I have heard him saying 'An arrow fell before me which Wāḥ my servant picked up and passed on to me. With this arrow I shot and hit Mufliḥ.' But this was a lie since I witnessed the scene and did not see him dismount from his horse until a messenger came with the news about the rout, the heads were brought, and the fight was over."

In this year an epidemic struck the people of the Tigris Districts. Large numbers of the inhabitants of the City of Peace, Samarra, Wasit and other cities perished in this plague.

In this year Khrysokhirus and a great many of his men were killed on the territory of the Greeks.

In this year Yaḥyā b. Muhammad al-Bahrānī, the lieutenant of the Zenj leader, was captured and killed.

An Account of His Capture and Death

It is reported that Muhammad b. Sim‘ān al-Kātib said, "When Yaḥyā b. Muhammad reached the al-‘Abbās Canal, he was encountered at its mouth by three hundred and seventy horsemen who had been organized and were maintained there by
Asghajôn, then governor of Ahwâz. Yahyâ paid but little attention to them because of his confidence in his large army. Therefore he let his troops march against the horsemen without taking steps to protect themselves from enemy action.

Asghajôn's troops showered them with arrows, and many fell wounded.

Perceiving this Yahyâ (al-Bahrânî) transferred one hundred and twenty horsemen and many footmen who now put Asghajôn to flight. (In their pursuit) al-Bahrânî and his men penetrated the al-Abbâs Canal. It was the time of low tide, and so fleets of ships were stuck in the mud. The crews, noticing the Zenj, abandoned their ships which the Zenj then seized and stripped of everything thus carrying off rich spoils.

They left the well-trodden road and passed in the direction of the marshland known as Bâti'at al-Šabāna. The reason for this was that ill-will prevailed between al-Bahrânî and 'Alî b. Abân at Muhallabî, and so Yahyâ's friends advised him to avoid the road which would lead him by the camp of 'Alî. Yahyâ took his friends' advice, and embarked on the route leading to the Bâti'â. He travelled along this road and when he had advanced far in the Bâti'â, he sent off Abû al-Layt al-Igbâhânî in charge of his horsemen with the objective of reaching the camp of the Zenj Chieftain.

Meanwhile, al-Khabîr sent information to Yahyâ al-
Baḥrānī concerning the approaching army, and ordered him to be on guard against a surprise encounter with its units while he was in movement. Al-Baḥrānī sent out skirmishers who set out for the Tigris.

Now, the troops of Abu Ḥamad left Ubulla and were on their way to the Abu al-Asad Canal. The reason for his army's return to this canal was that Rafi' b. Bistām and other dwellers on the banks of the al-ʿAbbās Canal and the Batīḥāt al-Ṣaḥānāh had written to Abu Ḥamad informing him about Yaḥyā al-Baḥrānī, the number of his troops and his intention to leave the al-ʿAbbās Canal for the Tigris, so as to advance and camp at the Abu al-Asad Canal where he might hinder the flow of supplies to Abu Ḥamad and break off his communications.

Hearing the news of Abu Ḥamad's movements from the returned skirmishers, Yaḥyā was anxious and fearful of the imperial army's might. He managed to return the same way which he came only with enormous difficulties, which nearly exhausted him and his troops. In addition, the stay in the marshland brought on a plague and many fell ill. As they were approaching the al-ʿAbbās Canal, Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad put Sulaymān b. Jāmi' in charge of the vanguard. Sulaymān then advanced with the vanguard of the Zenj dragging the ships with the aim to get out of the al-ʿAbbās Canal.

Imperial shadās and samīryās with horsemen and footmen under the command of Asghajōn were stationed in the canal with
the task of protecting the mouth of the canal. These so
frightened Sulaymān and his men that they abandoned their
ships and rushed to the western bank of the al-‘Abbās Canal,
where they set out / by way of al-Zaydan. Thus they made
their way toward the camp of al-Khabîr, giving no notice to
Yaḥyā and leaving him completely unaware of what was happen-
ing.

At this time Yaḥyā was in the midst of his troops,
standing on the vaulted passage Qūraj al-‘Abbās, at a nar-
row point where the current was tumultuous. He was watch-
ing his Zenj soldiers dragging their ships. Some of the
ships were sunk, while the others were spared."

Muḥammad b. Sim‘ān said, "At this juncture I was stand-
ing with him; he turned to me with an expression of amazement
at the sight of the wild current and the difficulties his men
were having getting their ships through. He said, 'If the
enemy should strike under such conditions, who do you think
would be in a position worse than ours?' No sooner did he
utter these words than Tashtimur al-Turkī with the troops
that Abū Ḥmad had despatched against them upon his return
from Ubullā to the Abū al-Asad Canal appeared. Confusion
seized Yaḥyā’s camp. I took a stand on an elevated spot," he
continued, "to watch from it, and behold, red flags drew
nearer from the western side of the al-‘Abbās Canal in the
midst of which was Yaḥyā. When the Zenj perceived this, they

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threw themselves into the water and crossed to the eastern side leaving bare the place around Yahyā with whom only some ten persons remained. Yahyā then arose, seized his shield and his sword, put on his mandil, and with his small band faced the enemy. Tāshtimur's troops launched against him a shower of arrows wounding many. Al-Baḥrānī was hit by three arrows in his fore-arms and left leg.

When his men saw that he was wounded, they scattered and he, as he was neither recognized nor pursued, withdrew to one of the ships in/which he crossed to the eastern side of the canal. It was late morning, and his wounds caused him severe pains. When the Zenj saw what befell him, their fear waxed, and their hearts weakened. Their only concern became escape, and they fled the battle-field in disorder.

The imperial troops seized and despoiled the vessels situated on the western side of the canal; in some of them they set up artillery men with naphta-throwing machines. They transferred these to the eastern side and burned the ships which the Zenj held there.

The Zenj who had scattered from Yahyā were fleeing secretly throughout the rest of the day. Many were killed and captured. As night fell, under the cover of darkness, they rushed into headlong flight. Abandoned by his troops, Yahyā rode in a samārīya of one of the white warriors, in which he had placed a medical man, called 'Ubbād, and also known as
Abū Jaysh, to attend his wounds. He attempted to cut through to the camp of the Zenj Chieftain, but just when he was close to the mouth of the canal, sailors of his samīrya noticed the shadās and samīryas posted across the canal. Certain that they would be seized and, therefore, fearing to continue their route, they mounted the western bank and put Yaḥyā and his men amidst a field. Yaḥyā started to walk, but overcome by pain, he threw himself to the ground and remained there throughout the night. Next morning 'Ubbād, his medical man, rose and started to walk, trying to find someone. Having noticed some of the imperial soldiers, he waved to them and indicated Yaḥyā's place, thus delivering him into their hands.

Others say that some people passing by and noticing Yaḥyā directed the soldiers to him and thus he was captured.

The news of Yaḥyā's capture reached the Chieftain of the Zenj and filled his heart with grief and fear. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Azraq al-Bahrānî was delivered to Abū Ahmad who then forwarded him to al-Muʿtamid in Samarrā. The caliph ordered that a stone bench be erected in the enclosure which was in the vicinity of the racing field, and when this was done, Yaḥyā was lifted up and publicly flogged. It is said that he was brought into Samarrā on a camel on Wednesday the ninth of Rajab. The next day, in front of al-Muʿtamid he was given two hundred lashes with a knotted whip. Then his left arm and right leg were cut off, and his right arm and left leg; then
he was struck with swords, slaughtered and burned."

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said, "When the news of the death of Yaḥyā reached the Zenj Chieftain, he said, 'His death distressed and grieved me greatly, but (in my vision) I was addressed and I was told -- "It is better for thee that he is dead, because he was greedy."' Thereupon he approached the group where I was among and said, 'Here is a case of his greed. Included in the booty which we have taken from people we had raided, there were two necklaces which fell into the hands of Yaḥyā. He concealed the one of greater value from me, and producing the cheaper one, asked for it as a gift. This I granted him. Later, when I learned of the hidden necklace, I demanded that he produce it, but he brought me the same necklace which I had given him and denied having taken any other. Since the necklace was reported to me, and I described it as if I saw it, he was amazed and brought it to me. However, he begged me to present it to him as a gift. I agreed to do this but ordered him to / apologize.'"

It is reported that Muḥammad b. Simʿān told this to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, "The Zenj Chieftain told me one day, 'I have been offered prophethood but I refused to accept.' To my question, 'Why?', he replied, 'Because I was afraid lest this entail burdens I could not bear.'"

In this year Abū Almāḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil withdrew from his position in the vicinity of the camp of the Zenj Chieftain to Wāṣīṭ.
An Account of His Withdrawal

It is reported that when Abū Al}mad went to the Abū al-Asad Canal and encamped there, disease spread among his troops and others taking a heavy toll. He remained there until those who had escaped death recovered from their sickness, and only then he withdrew to Bādāward. There he pitched camp and ordered that the equipment be refurbished, soldiers' pay distributed, the shadās, samʿāfīyas and ferries repaired. Later he loaded the vessels with his mawāli and ghulām troops, and advanced to the camp of al-Khaṣib. He divided his troops detailing part to the Abū al-Khaṣib Canal and other places, and retaining a detachment of troops to fight alongside of himself.

When the parties met in combat, the line of battle tended toward the Abū al-Khaṣib Canal. Abū Al}mad, remaining with the smaller part of his troops, did not move from his position lest this embolden the Zenj to press against himself and his troops, who were holding ground in front of the foe, on the swampy ground of the Munkā Canal. 1

The Zenj conceived of a plan to isolate Abū Al}mad from his troops and, identifying his location, they pressed upon him. In the raging battle which ensued, both parties suffered heavy losses in dead and wounded. Abū Al}mad's force set fire to castles and houses of the Zenj, and seized many women from them. The Zenj, in the meantime, rallied their troops to the spot where Abū Al}mad was. Al-Muwaffaq, from the deck of his
ship in the midst of the battle, was urging his troops until
he was beset by such a mass of the Zenj, that he realized that
they no longer could be resisted with the troops he had.
Then, he accepted the decision to retreat and instructed his
troops gradually and inconspicuously to return to their ves-
sels. He himself returned to his shadās after most of his men
were already settled in their ships. One group, which was iso-
lated from the rest of his troops remained behind and fled to
the thickets and glens. These were attacked by Zenj ambushers
who split them into smaller parties and crushed them. They de-
fended themselves and fought back violently, killing a great
number of the Zenj before meeting with final defeat. This en-
tire group was killed, and one hundred and ten of their heads
were delivered to the Zenj Chieftain, which further increased
his haughtiness.

After this battle, Abū Almād and his troops withdrew to
Bādāward, where once again he started preparations to engage
the Zenj. But a fire broke out in a quarter of his camp. It
was a windy day and the fire spread, and his entire camp went
up in flames. In the month of Sha‘bān, Abū Almād went to
Wāṣiḥ, but on arriving there, all his troops abandoned him.
On the tenth of Sha‘bān a dreadful earthquake shook Şaymara.¹
On the next day, which was Sunday, another quake, even stron-
ger than the preceding one, demolished most of the city; walls
crumbled and, according to reports, about twenty thousand of
the inhabitants perished.

On Thursday, the seventh of Ramaḍān, a man called Abū Faqʿ as was flogged. As reports say, evidence was brought against him that he had slandered (the memory of) the early authorities. In front of the Public Gate he received one thousand and twenty lashes from which he died.

On Friday, the eighth of Ramaḍān, Yārjūk passed away. The funeral service was held by Abū ʿĪsā b. al-Mutawakkil in the presence of Jaʿfar b. al-Muʿtāmid.


Māsrūr al-Balkhī withdrew from (his positions against) Musāwir al-Shārī to Samarrā, taking along Kharijī captives. He left behind Juʿlān as his deputy in his camp at al-Ḥadīta. Thereafter, Māsrūr al-Balkhī went to the district of Bawāzīj where he encountered Musāwir. They skirmished and Māsrūr captured a number of Musāwir's men. During the night of the twenty-eighth of Dū al-Hijja, he withdrew.

In this year, a disease spread throughout Baghḍād. The inhabitants called it by the name al-Quffā. During the same year most of the pilgrims returned from al-Qarāf fearing thirst. However, all those who travelled to Mecca fared well. The leader of the pilgrims in this year was al-Faḍl b. Isḥāq b. al-Ḥasan.
The Year 259. The Events of This Year

In this year, Abū Ḥamd b. al-Mutawakkil departed from Wāṣīṭ and on Friday, the twenty-sixth of Rabi' I, he arrived in Samarrā. He left Muḥammad al-Muwallad in Wāṣīṭ as his deputy in charge of the warfare against al-Khabīṭ in this area.

The death of Kanjūr took place in this year.

An Account of the Circumstances of His Death

As governor of Kūfa, he left his city bound for Samarrā without permission. He defied an order to return. It is said that money was sent to him to pay his troops, but even with this he was not satisfied, and continued his march. In Rabi' 1, he reached 'Ukbara. Then a number of captains including Sātakīn, Ṭakin, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muflīḥ, Mūsā b. Ūtāmish and others were sent out against him from Samarrā, and they slew him. On the twenty-seventh of Rabi' 1, Kanjūr's head was delivered to Samarrā. Over 40,000 dinars were found in his possession. Also from a secretary of his, a Christian, a sum of money was exacted. In the month of Rabi' I, this scribe was flogged before the Public Gate; after he had received one thousand lashes he died.

In this year, Sharkab al-Jamāl gained mastery over Merv and the vicinity, putting it to plunder.
In this year Ya'qūb b. al-Layt departed from Balkh. After a stay in Quhistan, he appointed his governors in Herāt, Būshanj and Bādaghish, then he left for Sijistān.

In this year 'Abd Allāh al-Sijisi fell out with Ya'qūb b. al-Layt and deserted him and besieged Naysābur. Muḥammad b. Tāhir sent to 'Abd Allāh envoys and legists, but they came to no terms. Then Muḥammad b. Tāhir appointed 'Abd Allāh al-Sijisi governor of Tabasayn and Quhistan.

On the sixth of Rajab, al-Muhallabi and Yaḥyā b. Khalaf al-Nahrabaṭṭi invaded Sūq al-Ahwāz and killed many people, among them the chief of the police.

An Account of this Skirmish and of the Circumstances of the Death of the Government’s Chief of the Police

It is reported that the Zenj Chieftain was unaware of the fire which struck the camp of Abū Aḥmad at Bādaward until three days after the event, two men from 'Abbādān came to him with this news. Then he returned to his acts of subversion and he cut off the supplies to Abū Aḥmad. He despatched 'Alī b. Abān al-Muhallabi and reinforced his troops with the major part of his army. This included Sulaymān b. Jami'a with the troops of Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Bahrānī, which were turned under his (Sulaymān’s) command. Also Sulaymān b. Muṣā al-Sha‘rānī who was put in charge of the cavalry and other forces also went with
The governor of Ahwāz at the time was an officer called Asghajon, who had with him Nayzak with a detachment of troops. Asghajon was warned that 'Alī b. Abān and his Zenj army were marching against him, and he took the field to meet them. The two parties came upon each other in the waste known as Dastmārān. This time Asghajon suffered defeat; Nayzak with a number of his troops was killed, Asghajon drowned and al-Ḥasan b. Ḥartama, known as al-Shār and al-Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar known as Žawshār, were taken prisoners.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said that al-Ḥasan b. al-Shār had told him this, "On that day, together with Asghajon, we set out to encounter the Zenj. Before long our troops were routed. Nayzak was killed and Asghajon lost. When I saw this, I dismounted from my horse which was wounded, and attempted to grasp the side horse, which I had with me, in order to push it into the canal so that I could flee to safety. My page outstripped me and fled abandoning me. Then, I repaired to Mūṣa b. Jaʿfar with the intention of fleeing together with him, but he bypassed me with his boat. Then, noticing a skiff, I climbed upon it but it was turned over by the many people who clamoring to get in clung to it. Now the people left me alone, but no sooner did I climb on it than the Zenj overtook me and showered me with arrows. Fearing that my end was near, I called to them, 'Stop shooting, stretch out something to me which I can hold and I give myself
up to you.' They stretched out a spear which I grasped and through which I passed into their hands. As for al-Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar, his brother carried him on a horse and arranged that he travel between himself and the commander of the army. When the flight started, al-Ḥasan rushed away to seek salvation but his horse stumbled and so he was captured."

‘Alī b. Abān reported the outcome of the battle to the Zenj Chieftain, and delivered to him numerous heads and flags. He sent also al-Ḥasan b. Shār, al-Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar and Ahmad b. Rūḥ to him, and they were jailed. ‘Alī himself entered Ahwāz and established there the rule of violence and fury which lasted until the government despatched Mūsā b. Bughā to fight against al-Khabīt.

On the seventieth of Duʿāl Hijjah, Mūsā b. Bughā departed from Samārāra to the area of the fighting. Al-Muʿtamid accompanied him until they passed the city walls, and there, he clothed him with robes of honor.

In the same year ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muṭliḥ arrived in Ahwāz, Ishāq b. Kundoš in Bagra and ʿĪbrāhīm b. Sīmā in Bāδāward. They were all sent by Mūsā b. Bughā to fight against the Zenj Chieftain.
How They Fared in Their Respective
Districts in Fighting against the Zenj Chieftain

It is reported that when Ibn Mufliḥ arrived in the province of Ahwāz, he camped at Qantarat Arbuk. After a stay of ten days there, he advanced against al-Muhallabī and attacked him, but suffering defeat he retired and resumed preparations for a new battle. Again Ibn Mufliḥ attacked him, vigorously this time inflicting heavy losses and taking many prisoners. ‘Alī b. Abān and a group of Zenj who fled together with him, escaped to Bayān.2 Al-Khabīt wanted to send them back to battle, but they did not go back because they were very frightened. Al-Khabīt, realizing their condition, permitted them residence in his camp / and they all entered his city to remain there.

‘Abd al-Rahmān arrived in Ḫiṣn Mahdi1 and there set up his camp. Al-Khabīt sent against him ‘Alī b. Abān. The latter attacked him unsuccessfully and retreated in the direction of Dakr.2 Ibrāhīm b. Sāma, who at the time was stationed at Bada-ward, attacked ‘Alī and routed him. Then Ibrāhīm attacked him a second time and routed him again.

‘Alī took guides and retreated by night through rugged terrain and thickets up to Nahr Yaḥyā. ‘Abd al-Rahmān got wind of it and directed Tashtimur with a body of mawālī troops against him. The ruggedness of the terrain with its reeds and alpha bushes prevented Tashtimur from contacting ‘Alī and his
men. Ţāshtimur therefore set the brush on fire and forced 'Alī's troops into the open. Then he took many captives and returned with them and with much booty to 'Abd al-ppardān b.Muflih. 'Alī b.ʿAbān crossed to Nasūkh where he stayed with the remainder of his troops. Upon getting information about 'Alī's position, 'Abd al-ppardān b.Muflih directed himself thereto. Meanwhile, 'Alī passed on to the al-Sidra Canal ans wrote to the Zenj Chieftain, requesting reinforcements and shādās. Al-Khabīt sent to him thirteen shādās and a large detachment of troops with them. Now, 'Alī with the shādās set out against 'Abd al-ppardān b.Muflih, but, although both parties had taken up positions against each other, no battle took place during the day. When night fell, 'Alī b.ʿAbān took with him a few men selected for their courage and endurance, Sulaymān b.Mūsā known as al-Shaʿrānī among them, and they moved to the rear of 'Abd al-ppardān. In order to mask his intentions, the rest of his troops remained in position. At night he surprised 'Abd al-ppardān and his troops and inflicted upon them heavy losses. 'Abd al-ppardān fled leaving behind four of his shādās which 'Alī seized.

In his headlong flight, 'Abd al-ppardān reached al-Dūlāb where he remained to re-equip some of his men; then he put them under the command of Ţāshtimur, and sent them off against 'Alī b.ʿAbān. They came upon 'Alī in the vicinity of Bayab Āzar where they gave battle, and routed and chased him to the
al-Sidra Canal. Tāshtīmur wrote about 'Alī's defeat to 'Abd al-Rahmān who set out with his army for 'Alī's base. 'Abd al-Rahmān took up a position and prepared his troops for combat; he also arranged his šadās which he put under the command of Tāshtīmur. The latter went down to the mouth of the al-Sidra Canal and dealt upon 'Alī a crushing blow seizing ten of his šadās. 'Alī was utterly routed and ran to al-Khabīt, while 'Abd al-Rahmān, on the spur of the moment, retired to Bayān where he pitched his camp.

Now, he and Ibrāhīm b.Šimā would alternately raid the camp of al-Khabīt, attacking and terrorizing his people, while Ishāq b.Kundāj, from his base in Baṣra, was cutting off the supplies for the camp of al-Khabīt. The latter would concentrate his troops on the days when he expected the raids of 'Abd al-Rahmān b.Muflīḥ and Ibrāhīm b.Šimā. After the fight, he would despatch / a detachment to the area of Baṣra to attack Ishāq b.Kundāj. This went on for over ten months until news reached al-Khabīt that Mūsā b.Bughā was recalled and that Masrūr al-Balkhī was appointed in his place.

Al-Ḥasan b.Zayd captured and occupied Qūmis with his troops.

A skirmish between Muḥammad b.al-Ṭaqī b.Sinān al-Qazwīnī and Wahsūdān b.Justān al-Daylāmī took place, the former putting his opponent to flight.

Kayghalagh fell upon Takīn and killed him. Then Mūsā
b. Bugha appointed al-Salabi governor of Rayy and al-Salabi set out for his city.

The Byzantine emperor seized Sumaysat, then descended upon Malaṭiya and besieged the city. The Malaṭians fought back and put him to flight. Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Qābūs killed Naṣr al-Iṣrīṣī, the commander-in-chief of the Christian army. A party of captive Zenj was forwarded from Ahwāz to Samarra. In the capital the mob fell upon them and violently seizing them from the hands of the guards, killed most of them.

This was the year when Yaʿqūb b. al-Layt entered Naysābūr.

Report on His Exploits There

It is reported that Yaʿqūb b. al-Layt went to Herat and from there to Naysābūr. When he was near the city and wanted to enter, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir sent to him to ask for an audience. This was refused, so Muḥammad sent to him a delegation consisting of his kinsmen and members of his household; they were admitted. In the evening of the fourth of Shawwal, Yaʿqūb entered Naysābūr and stationed his troops in the Dāudābad quarter. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir rode to him, and went up to his pavilion. Yaʿqūb inquired how he was, but then started to blame and censure him for neglecting the adminis-
tration of his provinces, and as he was leaving, Ya‘qūb ordered ‘Uzayz b. al-Surf to replace Muḥammad. He removed Muḥammad and appointed ‘Uzayz governor of Naysābūr; thereupon, he put in jail Muḥammad b. Tāhir and all the members of his household.¹

When news of this reached the capital, the government sent Ḥātim b. Zīrak b. Salām to Ya‘qūb, and on the twentieth of Dū al-Qa‘da, Ya‘qūb’s messages reached the government.

It is reported that Ja‘far b. al-Mu‘tamid and Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil gave an audience in the Arched Hall of the Jawṣaq palace.² In the presence of the high-ranking officers, Ya‘qūb’s envoys were given a hearing. They spoke about the information on the situation of the people of Khurāsān that had reached Ya‘qūb, that schismatics and insurgents had seized the province while Muḥammad b. Tāhir proved to be weak. They further mentioned about the correspondence of the people of Khurāsān with Ya‘qūb in which they requested him to come and help them; how he then went there and how, when he was ten parasangs distant from Naysābūr, the population of the city came out to him and surrendered the city to him, and that it was only then that he entered it.

Abū Aḥmad and ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Yahyā³ spoke up and said to the messengers, "The Commander of the Faithful does not approve of Ya‘qūb’s deeds and orders him to withdraw to the
province which had been granted him. Further, it did not behoove him to do what he had done without being ordered, and therefore he must withdraw; if he complies, he will be considered as a friend, but if not he will be treated as an insurgent." With this Ya‘qūb’s messengers were sent back to him, though they had been accorded a friendly reception and each of them was clothed with a three-piece robe of honor. When they arrived (to the seat of the government) they brought along a head planted on a spear with this caption: "This is the head of the enemy of God ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Khārijī from Herāt, who for thirty years had been claiming the title of caliph. He was killed by Ya‘qūb b. al-Layt."

An Account of This Battle and of Ya‘qūb’s March to Ṭabāristān

A group of people well informed about Ya‘qūb told me this. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sijīzī vied for supremacy in Sijistān; he was overpowered by Ya‘qūb but managed to escape and join Muḥḥammad b. Ṭāhir in Naysābūr. When Ya‘qūb reached that city, ‘Abd Allāh fled and joined al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. After that happened between Ya‘qūb and Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, which I have reported above, Ya‘qūb followed on the heels of ‘Abd Allāh and, on his way to Ṭabāristān, passed Asfarāyim and its environs. A man, called Badīl al-Kushshi, lived there, whom I used to know as a seeker of ḥadīth, who displayed piety and exhorted men to do the good. Thence he became popular with the masses of the area. Ya‘qūb, arriving in this province, corresponded with Badīl and sought to impress upon him that he, Ya‘qūb, also was pious and was his ally; he continued to woo him until Badīl went to him. No sooner did Badīl come within his reach than Ya‘qūb put him in shackles and took him to Ṭabāristān.

When Ya‘qūb arrived near Sāriya, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd met
him. I was told that Yaʿqūb had sent a message to al-Ḥasan b. Zayd requesting that ʿAbd Allāh al-Sijīzī be delivered to him so that he could withdraw, since the sole purpose of his march to Ṭabaristan was to seize him not to fight al-Ḥasan. It was only when al-Ḥasan b. Zayd refused extradition that Yaʿqūb declared war. The parties came upon each other and in the beginning the outcome was uncertain. Then al-Ḥasan was routed and retreated toward al-Shirriz and the land of Daylām. Yaʿqūb entered Sāriya, then proceeded to ʿAmul where he exacted the annual tax. Then, in pursuit of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, he proceeded in the direction of al-Shirriz until he reached the hills of Ṭabaristan. Here, he was caught in rains which tormented him ceaselessly, as I was told, for forty days. Only with enormous hardships did he succeed in getting out of that place. I was told that when he once had ascended a mountain and then wanted to descend from it he could do this only by being carried on the backs of his men, all the saddle-beasts having perished. He was thus eager to enter al-Shirriz and to get al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. Some of the inhabitants of that area told me that when he reached the road along which he wanted to follow to his destination, he halted his troops and he himself advanced in front of them to survey the road. Then he turned back to his troops and ordered them to return, saying, "If there is no road to him (al-Ḥasan) other than this, then there is no way at all."
The same person also told me that the women of that region declared to their husbands, "Just let him take this road. If he does, we shall arrange everything to your satisfaction; we take upon ourselves to capture him for you."

When he withdrew and crossed the border of Ṭabāristān, he reviewed his troops and found, so I was told, forty thousand troops missing; most of his horses, camels and baggage were also gone.

It is reported that he wrote to the government about his campaign against al-Ḥasan b.Zayd. He reported that he had marched from Jurjān to Tamīs[^3] and conquered the town; that he advanced to Sāriya upon the road along which al-Ḥasan b.Zayd had ruined by destroying the bridges and lifting the fords; that al-Ḥasan b.Zayd himself placed his troops on the approaches to Sāriya, entrenching them in enormous valleys; that Khurshād b.Jīlāw, governor of Daylām, had conspired with him (al-Ḥasan) and marched out with a force which he had raised from among the people of Ṭabāristān, Daylām, Khurasān, Qūm, Jībāl, Syria and Jazīra. "I routed him," he wrote, "and killed so many of them that it was impossible for me to count them. I also captured seventy Ṭalibites. This happened in Rajab. Following this, al-Ḥasan b.Zayd and the governor of Daylām withdrew to al-Shirriz."

In this year prices soared in all the lands of Islam.
According to reports, this caused the departure of all out-of-towners from Mecca to Medina and other cities. Also Burayh, the governor of the city at the time departed. In Baghdad, the prices rose so that a kurr of barley cost up to one hundred and twenty dinár and a kurr of wheat one hundred and fifty dinár. This situation lasted for months.

In this year Manjūr, governor of Homs, was killed by the Bedouins. Boktimur was appointed in his place.

After his departure from Tabāristān, Ya'qūb went to the district of Rayy. The reason for his march there was, as I was told, the arrival of 'Abd Allāh al-Sijīzī to al-Salābī. 'Abd Allāh turned to him for protection from Ya'qūb after his victory over al-Ḥasan b. Zayd. When Ya'qūb arrived in the neighborhood of Rayy, he wrote to al-Salābī, giving him a choice between extraditing 'Abd Allāh al-Sijīzī, in which case he would leave him and his province, and declaration of war. Al-Salābī chose, / as I was told, extradition of 'Abd Allāh. 'Abd Allāh was delivered to Ya'qūb, who killed him. Thereupon, Ya'qūb withdrew from the province of al-Salābī.

In this year al-'Ala' b. Ahmad al-Asdī was killed.
The Cause of His Death

It is reported that al-ʿAlaʾ b.ʿAlāʾ became disabled, half of his body was paralyzed. The government transferred the governorship of Ardabil from al-ʿAlaʾ to Abū al-Rudaynī ʿUmar b.ʿAli b. Muḥarrar, who arrived to take over the province. In the month of Ramadān, al-ʿAlaʾ, carried in a tent went out to fight Abū al-Rudaynī, who was in command of a group of heretics and others. Al-ʿAlaʾ was killed. It is reported that al-Rudaynī sent a number of persons to transport what al-ʿAlaʾ had left behind. They brought from his fortress the worth of 2,700,000 dirhams.

In this year the Byzantines wrested Luʾluʿ from the Moslems. The leader of the pilgrims in this year was Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿIsāʾil b. Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, known as al-Burayh.

Year 261. Report of Its Events

In this year al-Ḥasan b. Zayd withdrew from the land of Daylān to Tabaristān. He burned down Shālūs, the rulers of which cooperated with Yaʿqūb, and divided up their estates between people of Daylān.

The government ordered ʿUbayd Allāh b.ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir to assemble all pilgrims from Khurāsān, Rayy, Tabaristān and Jurjān, who were in Baghdād. In the month of

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Safar he assembled them, and a letter was read to them to the effect that the government did not recognize Ya'qūb as governor of Khurāsān and instructed them not to give allegiance to him because the government disapproved of his occupation of Khurāsān and the arrest of Muḥammad b.Ṭahir.

Also 'Abd Allāh b. al-Wātīq died in the camp of Ya'qūb, the coppersmith.

In Jumāda II at Karkh Juddān, Musāwir al-Shārīf killed Yaḥyā b. Ḥafs, who was in charge of the road to Khurāsān. Masrūr al-Balkhī set out to pursue him and was later joined by Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil, but Musāwir slipped away and they could not overtake him.

In Jumāda I, Abū Hāshim Daud b. Sulaymān al-Ja'far perished.

At Rāmhurmuz, a battle took place between the forces of Muḥammad b. Wāgīl and the troops of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muṭliḥ and Ṭāshtimur. Ibn Wāgīl killed Ṭāshtimur and captured Ibn Muṭliḥ.

Report on This Battle and Its Causes

According to my information, the cause of this battle was that Ibn Wāgīl killed al-Ḥārit b. Sīmā, who had been governor of Fārs on the authority of the government, and seized this province. Now, Fārs as well as the province of
Ahwāz, Baṣra, Bahrayn and Yamāma was assigned to Mūsā b. Bughā in addition to the Eastern Provinces of which he had already been in charge. Mūsā sent 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muftiḥ to govern Ahwāz and Fārs, and assigned to him Tāshtimur (and his forces). Ibn Wāšil had been stationed in Ahwāz from where he conducted warfare against the Zenj rebel in the area of Baṣra. When he heard about the appointment made by Mūsā and that Ibn Muftiḥ had set out for Fārs, he himself took the field. The two parties came upon each other at Rāmhrum and Ibn Wāšil, who was joined and assisted by Abū Daud al-Suʿluk, overpowered Ibn Muftiḥ, captured him, slew Tāshtimur, and uprooted Ibn Muftiḥ's camp. The government sent Ismāʿīl b. Ishaq to Ibn Wāšil to effect the release of Ibn Muftiḥ, but Ibn Wāšil refused. He held him captive for a time, then killed him.

After he rid himself of Ibn Muftiḥ, Ibn Wāšil set out with the apparent intention of going to Wāṣit to fight against Mūsā b. Bughā, and reached Ahwāz, where Ibrāhīm b. Sīnā was stationed with a large army. When Mūsā b. Bughā saw how grave the situation was and how numerous were the contenders for the Eastern Provinces where he had no substantial support, he asked to be relieved of his command there. His request was granted and these provinces were transferred to Abū Ahmad b. al-Mutawakkil, who was appointed
governor. Subsequently, Mūsā b. Bughā with his subgovernors of the Eastern Provinces withdrew from Wāsīt and proceeded to the seat of the government.

In this year Abū al-Sāj³ was appointed governor of Ahwāz with the duty of conducting the war against the Zenj Chieftain. He arrived there after 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muflīḥ had departed for the province of Fārs.

In the neighborhood of Dūlāb a battle took place between 'Abd al-Rahmān, brother-in-law of Abū al-Sāj, and 'Alī b. Abān / al-Muḥallabī. 'Abd al-Rahmān was killed and Abū al-Sāj fled to 'Askar Mukrām.¹ The Zenj entered Ahwāz, killed and captured inhabitants of the city, looted and burned their houses. Subsequently, Abū al-Sāj was dismissed from his cantons in Ahwāz and from leadership in the war against the Zenj. He was replaced by Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā, who later resigned from this office when Mūsā b. Bughā gave up the Eastern Provinces. In this year Muḥammad b. Aus al-Balkhī² was put in charge of the road to Khurasān.

In Shaʿbān of this year, after he was appointed governor of the Eastern Provinces, Abū Aḥmad entrusted Masrūr al-Balkhī with the districts of Ahwāz, Baṣra, the Tigris Districts, Yamāma and Bahrayn and with the conduct of the war against the Zenj Chieftain.

In the month of Ramadān, Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. Asad al-Sāmānī³ was appointed governor of the provinces behind the Balkh.
River, and the appropriate document of appointment was sent to him.

In Shawwāl, Ya‘qūb b. al-Layt advanced toward Fārs. Ibn Wāsīl, who at the time stayed in Ahwāz, departed bound for Fārs, too. In the month of Dār al-Qā‘da he encountered Ya‘qūb and was defeated. Ya‘qūb routed his army and sent his men to Ibn Wāsīl’s fortress Khurrama. His men seized all that was there. It is said that the value of what was taken there by Ya‘qūb amounted to 40,000,000 dirhams. They also captured Mardas, the paternal uncle of Ibn Wāsīl.

In this year the troops of Ya‘qūb b. al-Layt attacked the people of the Zimm of Musa b. Mihrān al-Kurdi because of their cooperation with Muḥammad b. Wāsīl. Ya‘qūb dealt upon them a heavy blow, but Musa b. Mihrān escaped.

On the twelfth of Shawwāl, al-Mu‘tamīd gave an audience in the Audience Hall during which he proclaimed his son Ja‘far Heir-Apparent, gave him the name of al-Mufawwād ila-llah and appointed him governor of the Maghrib. He assigned to him Mūsā b. Bughā, whom he also entrusted with the governorship of Ifriqiya, Egypt, Syria, the Jazīrā, Mosul, Armenia, the road to Khurasān, Mīhrjānadhā and Hulwān. He also appointed his brother Abū ʿAbdAllah heir to the throne after Ja‘far, and appointed him governor of the East. To him he assigned Masrūr al-Balkhī, and entrusted him with the governorship of Baghdād, ʿIrāq, Kūfa, the road to Meccā and Medina, Yaman, Kaskar, 11
the Tigris District, Ahwāz, Fārs, Isbahān, Karaj, Dinawar, Rayy, Zajan, Qazwīn, Khurasān, Tabaristan, Jurjān, Kirman, Sijistan, and Sind. To each of them he gave two flags, one white and one black, and stipulated that if the caliph happened to die before Ja'far was old enough for his office, the throne should be given to Abū Aḥmad and then to Ja'far. Accordingly, the people were asked to take an oath of loyalty and copies of the document were distributed. Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Abī Shurābī was sent with a copy which was to be attached to the Ka'ba.

In Shawwāl, Ja'far al-Mufawwīd entrusted Mūsā b. Abī Hāghā with the government of the Maghrib and despatched to him Muḥammad al-Muwallad with the official document of appointment.

Muḥammad b. Zaydawayh left Ya'qūb b. al-Layḥ and with thousands of his troops deserted the army. He joined Abū al-Sāj who welcomed him and who stayed with him in Ahwāz. Robes of honor were sent to him from Samarrā. Later, Ibn Zaydawayh requested the government to send him to Khurasān with al-Ḥusayn b. Tāhir b. 'Abd Allāh.

On the seventh of Dā al-Ḥijja, Masrūr al-Balkhī departed from Samarrā leading the vanguard of Abū Aḥmad's forces. According to reports, he and thirty-four of his lieutenants were clothed with robes of honor and both heirs to the throne went to see him off. On the twentieth of Dā
al-Ŷijja, al-Muwaqqaf left Samarrâ to follow Masrûr.


Al-Ŷasan b. Muḥammad b. Abî al-Shawârib passed away in Mecca after he had performed the pilgrimage.

Year 262. Events of The Year

In Muḥarram of this year Ya’qûb b. al-Layt arrived in Râmhurmuz. The government sent Isma’il b. Ishaq and Baqhrâj to him, and released from detention the friends of Ya’qûb b. al-Layt. These had been held since Ya’qûb’s action against Muḥammad b. Tuḥîr. It was then that the government had put the page Waṣîf and other supporters of his in jail. They were all released on the fifth of the month / of Rabi’ 1, 1892 after Ya’qûb had arrived in Râmhurmuz.

Thereafter, Isma’il b. Ishaq returned to Samarrâ with a message from Ya’qûb. In Baghdaḍ Abû Ḥîmad held a council to which he invited a group of merchants and in the presence of Dirḥam b. Naṣr, a companion of Ya’qûb, he announced that the Commander of the Faithful had ordered the appointment of Ya’qûb b. al-Layt as governor of Khurasân, Ṭabaristân, Jurjân, Rayy and Fârs, and also had put him in charge of the police of the City of Peace.
This Dirham had been sent by al-Mu'tamid from Samarra with a reply to Ya'qub, in which all of Ya'qub's requests were granted. He also sent 'Umar b. Sîma and Muhammâd b. Tarkasha with Dirham.

In the month of Rabi' I of this year, messengers from Ibn Zaydawayh arrived in Baghdad, and Abû Ālmâd sent robes of honor to their master.

The government's messengers to Ya'qûb b. al-Layt returned and brought back word from Ya'qûb that all that had been granted him by letter could bring no satisfaction to him unless he himself could go to the seat of the government. Indeed, Ya'qûb departed from 'Askar Mukram. At this time Abû al-Sâj made his way to Ya'qûb and he was accepted with kindness and given generous gifts.

On Saturday, the third of Jumada II, the messengers bearing Ya'qûb's reply returned to the camp of al-Mu'tamid at al-Qâ'im, Samarra. The caliph left his son Ja'far as his deputy, reinforced him with Muhammâd al-Muwallad (and his troops) and, on Tuesday, the sixth of Jumada II, he left the capital. On Wednesday, the fifteenth of Jumada II, he reached Baghdad, and changing his course, he by-passed the city and went on to Za'faraniya. There he stopped, but sent his brother Abû Ālmâd further on.

Ya'qûb and his army marched from 'Askar Mukram and, while within a parasang of Wâsit he was stopped by an over-
flow of water which Masrūr al-Balkhī had brought about by
breaking a dam on the Tigris to frustrate Ya‘qūb’s crossing.
Ya‘qūb stayed there until he damned the flow and on the
twenty-third of Jumādā II he marched to Sādīkīn.1 Muhammad
b. Kāfr, on behalf of Ya‘qūb, reached the camp of Masrūr
al-Balkhī and maneuvered so that he was in front of al-
Balkhī’s camp. Then, Masrūr with his army turned away to
Nu‘māniya.

Ya‘qūb went to Wāsīt and entered the city on the twenty-
third of Jumādā II. On Thursday, the twenty-eighth of Ju-
mādā II, al-Mu‘tamid left al-Za‘farāniya and went to Sīb Bani
Kūmā.2 Here he was joined by Masrūr al-Balkhī, who tra-
velled along the western bank of the Tigris and later crossed
to the side where the camp of al-Mu‘tamid was pitched. Al-
Mu‘tamid stayed at Sīb Bani Kūmā for several days until his
troops had assembled. Meanwhile Ya‘qūb moved from Wāsīt to
Dayr al-‘Aqūl3 and from there began moving towards the camp
of the imperial troops.

Meanwhile, al-Mu‘tamid was staying at Sīb with ‘Ubayd
Allāh b. Yaḥyā. He spurred his brother Abū Aḥmad to fight
Ya‘qūb. Abū Aḥmad put Mūsā b. Bughā on his right wing and
Masrūr al-Balkhī on his left wing, while he himself, with
his special officers and choicest men, took the center.
The two parties came upon each other on the first Sunday of
Rajab, in a place called Aḍtarabad, between Sīb Bani Kūmā

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and Dayr al-'Aqūl. Ya'qūb's left wing overwhelmed and routed Abū Aḥmad's right and killed a great many of his troops, among them such high-ranking officers as Ibrāhīm b. Sūmā al-Turkī, Tabāghwā al-Turkī, Muḥammad Toghtā al-Turkī, al-Mubārqa' al-Maghribī and others. But later the routed flank recovered. Abū Aḥmad's other troops stood steady, and charged Ya'qūb and his troops, and fought him resolutely and violently. Many of Ya'qūb's troops were killed, among them men of valor, such as al-Ḥasan al-Dirḥāmī, Muḥammad b. Kāthīr, who was in command of Ya'qūb's vanguard, and the one known as Labāda. Ya'qūb himself was hit by three arrows in the throat and hands. It was said that the battle between the two parties lasted until the end of the time of afternoon prayer. Then al-Dayrānī and Muḥammad b. Aus arrived and all the troops rallied around Abū Aḥmad. Many of Ya'qūb's men then were made aware of the fact that Ya'qūb was fighting against the government and they felt a repugnance to fight for his cause. The imperial troops charged Ya'qūb and those of his men who stood their ground. Ya'qūb's troops ran, but he still held the field with a group of his retinue until they too withdrew and left the battle-ground. A report has it that over 10,000 heads of horses and mules were seized from Ya'qūb's camp, and so many dinārs, dirhams and bags of musk were taken that the victors were exhausted transporting the
booty. Then, Muhammad b. Tahir b. 'Abd Allān, who was being held in chains, was freed by the very same man who had been charged with his custody. He was presented (to al-Mu'awwafq) and clothed with robes of honor according to his high rank. A proclamation was spread among the people / which read in part as follows:

"The cursed heretic, named Ya'qūb b. al-Layt the copper-smith, did not cease claiming to be loyal while he was perpetrating unprecedented offences against the law. He marched against the governor of Khurasān, seized his province and usurped leadership in worship and other affairs there. Then, time after time, he marched into Fārs to expropriate its treasury, advanced toward the seat of the Commander of the Faithful, pretending to plead his case in various matters.

"The Commander of the Faithful, for the sake of peace and making the best of the situation, favored him in some cases beyond what he was entitled to. He satisfied his demands and appointed him governor of Khurasān, Rayy, Fārs, Qazwīn, Senjān, made him Prefect of the Police of the City of Peace, bestowed upon him titles of honor and valuable estates. But all this only whetted his greed and increased his arrogance. The Caliph ordered him to withdraw, but he refused. Then, the Commander of the Faithful moved to repel the Accursed rebel midway between the City of Peace and Wāsīt. Ya'qūb displayed flags with crosses on some of them."
The Commander of the Faithful sent forward his brother Abū Ahmad al-Muwaffaq billah, the heir to the throne of the Muslims, to be in the center, with Abū 'Ivrān Mūsā b. Bughā on his right, and Ibrāhīm b. Sīmā flanking the right wing. Abū Hāshim al-Masrūr al-Balkhī, he put on his left, and al-Dayrānī, on the extreme left. 2 When Ya'qūb with his accomplices rushed to fight, Abū Ahmad fought back and beat him unmercifully. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir was snatched from their hands safe and sound. The rebel was routed and left behind everything he had. 3

Given Tuesday, the 11 of Rajab. 4

Then al-Mu'tamid returned to his camp and sent a letter of appointment as governor of Fārs to Ibn Wāṣil who had already gone to that province and gathered an army there.

Al-Mu’tamid went back to al-Madā’in 1 while Abū Ahmad, with Masrūr, Sātakīn and a body of troops, went to seize the property of Abū al-Sāj which consisted of houses and estates. 2 He gave them in fief to Masrūr al-Balkhī. On Monday, the sixteenth of Rajab, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. 'Abd Allāh arrived in Baghdād. He was reinstated in his office, clothed with robes of honor in al-Ruṣāfa, 3 and stayed in the house of 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir. Even before he dismissed anyone or appointed anyone to office, he
was granted 500,000 dirham.

The battle between the government forces and the Coppersmith occurred on Yaum al-Sha'tānīn.⁴

Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Fayd al-Ṭāʾī, speaking of the matter of al-Ṣaffār, eulogized Abū Ṭāmād and said this:

1. The raven croaked - 0, had I but not heard him!
2. For then did my heart brood longingly for friends of old;
3. Yea, they were summoned to depart; and as their tents were uprooted
5. They left behind their beloved maidens -
6. Maidens like crystal statues - round-breasted, slender-waisted!
7. O, those fair damsels! How they enchanted me
8. With their fine straight figures, with their slender brows and streaming locks.

9. The heir-apparent of the Muslims is of noble descent
10. Whose light illuminates people of nobility and rank
11. Shining from height impossible to attain.
12. Pay tribute to it, O people of nobility and rank!
13. Al-Ṣaffār came out with goodly hosts;
14. But dire Fate struck him with calamities -
15. Yea, destiny brought sudden doom for him!
16. Food and drink was he for all-consuming Fate.
17. Foul Iblīs allured him with his cunning,
18. Deceived him as to his true self with false pledges;
19. So that when they exchanged vows
20. al-Ṣaffār deemed his troops superior to all others.

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21. A glorious army set out against him
22. And marched to the encounter carrying the banner of victory;
23. Among their clamorous hosts could be seen
24. The heroes of arrow, lance and shield.
25. The chief appeared with the victorious banner
26. Of Muhammad The striking Sword of Allah;
27. Yea, the prince of the Muslims Muwaffaq billāh
28. Is more efficacious than the sharpest arrows!
29. Among the people he was like a rising full moon
30. Shining with lustre among the stars.

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31. When they came upon each other with swords and spears,
32. Fighter against fighter dealing blows and thrusts -
33. The dust rose high. And above that, white clouds
34. Poured forth a heavy, bountiful rain.
35. With the resolution of his penetrating mind, he
   routed the foe
36. Leaving not two of their fighters clinging to each
   other.
37. How bounteous is the elegance of Muwaffaq,
38. How steadfast he is in defence, how aggressive
   when attacking!
39. O, Lion of the Arabs, like unto whom there is none
   among men!
40. Anyone but he knows of the biting treacheries of
   time,
41. Anyone but he knows of the blows
42. Inflicted by the armies of the master of treason,
   obduracy and rage.

In this year the leader of the Zenj directed his troops
   to the area of the Baṭīna and Dastumaysan.¹

An Account of This Campaign

A report has it that the circumstances were as follows.
When al-Muṭtamid dismissed Muṣā b. Buḥārā from the Eastern Pro-
vinces and the adjacent territories, and assigned them to his
brother Abū Almad, the latter turned over the governorship of the Tigris Districts to Masrūr al-Balkhī. / Yaʿqūb b.al-Layḥ set out against Abū Almad and reached Wāṣīṯ at a time when there were no imperial troops in the Tigris Districts. These remained only in the city of al-Madāʾin and above it. Earlier Masrūr al-Balkhī had sent Juʿlān al-Turkī to Bādaward to replace Mūsā b.ʿUtāmīsh al-Turkī, who had been confronted by a Zenj force under Sulaymān b.ʿJāmī. Before Mūsā b.ʿUtāmīsh had been recalled from Bādaward, Sulaymān b.ʿJāmī often had raided his camp. Now, that Sulaymān b.ʿUtāmīsh was dismissed and Juʿlān was appointed in his place, Sulaymān sent out Taʿlāb b.Ḥafṣ, a Bahraynian, who attacked Juʿlān and seized horses and men.

For his part, the leader of the Zenj sent Almahdī, an inhabitant of Jubbā, with samīrīyas and lancers from his own troops for the task of reaching al-Maʿrā Canal. 1 Al-Jubbaʾi, they say, used to raid the towns in the area of al-Mudar, pillage them and return to the al-Maʿrā Canal, where he was stationed. Now, al-Jubbaʾi (Almahdī b.Mahdī) wrote to the leader of the Zenj, informing him that the Bāṭina was free of imperial troops since Masrūr and his troops had withdrawn upon the arrival of Yaʿqūb b.al-Layḥ to Wāṣīṯ. Then, the Zenj leader ordered Sulaymān b.ʿJāmī with a body of his troops to proceed to al-Ḥawānīf, and he also directed ʿUmār b.ʿAmmār, a Bāhilī, who knew the ins and outs of the roads...
and paths of the Baṭṭaḥa, to go along with al-Jubbā’i until he is entrenched in Ḥawānīf.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported that Muḥammad b. ʿUṭmān al-ʿAbbādārī said, "When the Zenj Chieftain made the decision to send troops to the area of the Baṭṭaḥa and Dastumaysan, he ordered Sulaymān b. Ǧāmiʿ to camp in al-Muṭṭawwi’, and Sulaymān b. Mūsā to camp at the mouth of al-Yahūdī Canal. This they did, and they stayed there until ordered to move. Then, Sulaymān b. Mūsā journeyed toward the village Qādisīya, and Sulaymān b. Ǧāmiʿ went to al-Hawānīf. Al-Jubbā’i with his samīriyas advanced with the vanguard of the force of Sulaymān b. Ǧāmiʿ. At this time Abbā al-Turkī arrived on the Tigris with thirty shadās and was proceeding with the aim of reaching the camp of the Zenj leader. On his way he passed a town which was part of the area loyal to al-Khabīt, and pillaged and burned it. Then al-Khabīt instructed Sulaymān b. Mūsā to hinder his return. Sulaymān placed the road under his control and for a month he stayed and fought until Abbā al-Turkī escaped and went to the Baṭṭaḥa.

Muḥammad b. ʿUṭmān reports that Jabbāsh al-Khādīm asserted that Abbā al-Turkī did not march to the Tigris at that time and that it was Nuṣayr, known as Abū Ḥamza, who was stationed there. Others report that when Sulaymān b. Ǧāmiʿ departed and went toward al-Hawānīf, he reached
a place known as Nahr al-ʿAtiq. In the meantime, al-Jubbāʾī marched on the al-Mādiyān road where he came upon Rumays, attacked him and seized 24 of his samīriyas and over 30 1 salghas. Rumays escaped into the thickets in search of safety and stayed there until hostile inhabitants of Jūkhā came upon him and expelled him. Then he fled to a place known as Barr Musāwir. The routed troops of Rumays came upon Sulaymān just when he had left Nahr al-ʿAtiq. Again Sulaymān attacked them and they sustained heavy losses.

A group of prominent and courageous Bilālīs with 150 samīriyas fled to Sulaymān and when asked about the road, they told Sulaymān, "there is no imperial governor or prefect between you and Wāsit." Thoughtlessly, Sulaymān relied on that information and moved on until he reached al-Jāzira, where he was encountered and attacked by a man called Abū Muād al-Qurayshī. Sulaymān fled but Abū Muād killed a number of his troops and captured a Zenj captain, called Rīyān al-Qindālī. When Sulaymān retired to his encampment, two men of the Bilālī came to him and told him that in Wāsit there was no one to defend the city except Abū Muād, the same one who had attacked him with his five shadās.

Sulaymān made preparations, rallied his troops, dispatched to al-Khabīt a message sending it by the Bilālī (tribesmen) who had asked for protection. He sent away
most of them (of the Bilālis) leaving only a small group with 10 samāriyas, which he selected to remain with him. The two who had given him the information about Wāsit, he retained with him, and set out for the Abān Canal.³

On the way Sulaymān met with Abū Muād and a battle broke out between them. A strong wind arose and caused the shadās of Abū Muād to crash against each other. Sulaymān and his troops overpowered him and Muād retreated in disorder. Sulaymān passed on until he reached the Abān Canal, raided the area, burned, took booty and captured women and children.

This news reached some managers of estates belonging to Abū Aḥmad, who were staying at Nahr Sindād.¹ With a detachment of troops they set out against Sulaymān, vigorously attacked him and killed a great many of the Zenj. Sulaymān and Aḥmad b. Mahdī and their men fled to their camp.

Said Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan on the authority of Muḥammad b. ᾱUtān, "When Sulaymān b. Jāmi established himself at Hawānīt and descended upon the Yaʿqūb b. al-Naḍr Canal, he sent out a man to gather information about Wāsit and find out which of the imperial troops were there. This was after Masrūr al-Balkhī and his troops had left the city because of the arrival of Yaʿqūb. The man returned and informed him that Yaʿqūb was advancing toward the seat

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of the government. Before he left Wâsiṭ for al-Sîb, Masrûr had sent a man, called Waṣîf al-Rahhâl, with shâdâs against Sulaymân. Sulaymân attacked and killed him, seized seven shâdâs and killed the people in them, and piled their bodies at Hawânit to strike terror into the imperial troops passing there. Now, when Sulaymân learned about Masrûr's departure from Wâsiṭ, he summoned his deputy 'Umayr b. 'Ammâr and Ahmâd b. Sharîk, one of the Bâhilî chiefs. He consulted with them about withdrawing from the usual place where the horses and shâdâs arrived, and seeking a position which was near a road along which he could pass, if he wished to flee, to the camp of al-Khabît. They advised him to go to 'Akr Mâwir and entrench himself in the fortification and thickets of Tâhîta. The Bâhilîs disliked the idea of Sulaymân b. Jâmi' leaving their midst since they had joined hands with him and feared reprisals on the part of the government. Sulaymân moved his troops along the Burûr Canal to Tâhîta and despatched al-Jubbâ'î with samîrîyas to the al-'Atîq Canal. Sulaymân instructed him to forward to him all information which he might obtain concerning the movement of imperial vessels and troops. He left behind a detachment of Negro troops to direct those of his men who were not at hand at the time of departure. He himself went to 'Aqr Mâwir and stopped in a village known as Qaryat Marwân, on the eastern side of the Tâhîta Canal, on an island there, and assembled the Bâhilî
chiefs and the bank dwellers, and despatched to al-Khabīb a report on what he had done. Al-Khabīb wrote to him, approving of his plans, and ordered him to send to him as much provision - wheat and sheep - as possible. Sulaymān sent to him provision as ordered.

Meanwhile, Masrūr reached Sulaymān’s former position and found next to nothing there. He discovered that the enemy had carried away everything from the camp before his arrival. Abbā al-Turkī, in search of Sulaymān, penetrated into the Baḥrā, and thought Sulaymān had evacuated the area and retired to the city of al-Khabīb. He went on and did not come upon a trace of Sulaymān. It was on his way back that he discovered that Sulaymān had despatched a troop to Ḫawārit to trap isolated groups of Masrūr’s army. He turned aside from the route, which he feared might bring him upon Sulaymān, and went along another road, until he reached Masrūr and reported that he had no information about Sulaymān.

Meanwhile, Sulaymān’s troops returned with the food they had procured and Sulaymān remained there for a while. He sent al-Jubba’ī with sanīfīyas to find out where to obtain food and provisions and how to transport them. Now, as soon as al-Jubba’ī arrived in a district where he found some provisions, he burned them. This disturbed Sulaymān and he forbade him to do so, but al-Jubba’ī disobeyed, arguing that
these provisions would be a help to the enemy, and that it made no sense to leave anything. Then Sulaymān wrote to al-Khabīr, complaining against these actions of al-Jubbā'ī. A note of al-Khabīr to al-Jubbā'ī followed, ordering him to submit to Sulaymān's command and follow all his instructions.

Word reached Sulaymān that Aghartmish and Khushaysh, with cavalry, footmen, šadās and samīrīyas had set out in his direction with the aim of fighting him. At this he was very much alarmed, and he sent out al-Jubbā'ī to gather information concerning these two, while he himself engaged in preparation for an encounter. Before long al-Jubbā'ī returned beaten and he informed Sulaymān that the two enemy leaders had reached Bāb Tunj, which was within half a parasang of Sulaymān's camp. Sulaymān ordered him to return and to take up a position in front of the opposing army, warding it off the course to his camp, until he, Sulaymān, would join him. Immediately after he had despatched al-Jubbā'ī, Sulaymān ascended a roof in order to observe and noticed the advancing army. Hurriedly, he descended, crossed the Tahīta Canal, and marched on foot, followed by a troop of Negro officers and soldiers, until he reached Bāb Tunj. But Aghartmish turned away and ignoring them, pressed his march to Sulaymān's camp. Sulaymān's order to his deputy in charge of his troops was that he shall not allow any of the Negro soldiers to betray their
presence to the army of Aghartmish, but that they ought to do their utmost to conceal themselves and let the foe advance into the canal. They were to rush to attack Aghartmish only when they heard the sound of striking drums.

Thus, Aghartmish and his troops advanced so far that only the Ṣārūrāt Bānī Marwān Canal, a branch of Tahīta, separated them from the camp. Al-Jubba'i with his samīryas fled to Tahīta, left his vessels there, and returned on foot to Sulaymān's camp where the anxiety had grown so great that people were fleeing helter-skelter. One detachment under the command of Abū Nida', a Negro captain, arose, encountered and attacked the enemy, preventing them from entering the camp. Meanwhile, Sulaymān attacked Aghartmish's troops in the rear, and the Zenj struck their drums, jumped into the water to cross over against the enemy. The troops of Aghartmish started to flee and the Negro troops who were in Tahīta fell upon them, and put them to the sword.

Khushaysh, riding a grey horse, rushed backward toward his camp, but he came upon the Negroes, who knocked him off the horse and struck him with their swords. He was killed and his head delivered to Sulaymān. While he was seized, Khushaysh called to them, "I am Khushaysh. Do not kill me. Lead me to your master," but they did not listen to him.

Aghartmish, who was towards the rear of his army, fled; he rushed to the bank, mounted a horse and rode away. The
Zenj chased after the enemy until they reached their camp, plundered it to their heart’s content, and seized shadās which had been under Khushaysh. Those who pursued the Mawāli troops took hold of Aghartmish’s shadās carrying money, but when Aghartmish learned about this, he returned and rescued these vessels from their hands.

Sulaymān returned to his camp with the booty and horses he had seized and wrote a report to the Zenj leader about the battle and its outcome. He sent to him the head and seal of Khushaysh. The shadās which he had seized he retained in his camp. When Sulaymān’s report and the head of Khushaysh arrived, then he displayed it for a day. Subsequently, he transferred it to ʿAlī b. Abān, who was at that time staying in the area of Ahwāz, and ordered him to display it there.

Sulaymān and al-Jubbaṭi and a detachment of Negro troops went out along the banks toward the neighborhood of al-Jawārīt, and there they came upon 13 shadās under the command of Abū Tamīm, the brother of Abū ʿAur, companion of Wāsiṭ al-Turki. They attacked and killed Abū Tamīm, threw his body into the water and seized eleven of his shadās.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said, "Such was the account of Muḥammad b. ʿUtman al-ʿAbbāḍānī. Jabbāsh, however, asserted that Abū Tamīm had had only eight shadās, of which two, being in the rear, escaped with all the people in them."
Sulaymān obtained arms and booty; massacred most of
the troopers who were in these shadās, returned to his
camp and wrote to al-Khabīr about how Abu Tamīm and his
men had been slain. The shadās he retained in his camp.

In this year Ibn Zaydawayh seized by surprise the
city of Tib and plundered it.

‘Alī b.Muḥammad b.‘Abd al-Shawārib was appointed judge.
Two days before the end of the year al-Ḥusayn b.‘Ṭāhir b.‘Abd
Allāh b.‘Ṭāhir left Baghdād and took the road to Jībāl.

Al-Salāmīr died and Kayghalagh was appointed governor
of Rayy.

On Rabi‘al-‘Awwal, Sulaymān b.‘Ali b.Ya‘qūb b.al-Manṣūr
passed away. Ismā‘īl b.‘Īshāq was appointed judge of the
eastern side of Baghdād and thus became judge of the two
sides.

Muḥammad b.‘Uttāb b.‘Uttāb was appointed governor of
Sibayn, but upon his arrival, he was killed by the Bedouins.

In the middle of Ramaḍān Mūsā b.Bughā went to Anbār on
his way to Raqqā. Al-Qattān, companion of Muḥliḥ, who was
in charge of the Kharāj collection in Mosul, was killed; he
had left the city and was slain on the road.

In the month of Ramaḍān Kuftimur ‘Alī b.al-Ḥusayn
b.Daud, the scribe of Aḥmad b.Sahl al-Luṭfī, was appointed
governor of the Mecca road.

In Mecca, the day before Yaum al-Tarwiya, a battle

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broke out between the Hannâšs and Žazzârs. People feared it might impede the pilgrimage rite, but after 17 people were killed on both sides, they abstained from fighting until the pilgrimage was over.

Ya'qûb b. al-Layt seized Fârs, and Ibn Wâsil fled.

Also in this year a battle between Ibn Laytawayh and the Zenj took place. Aḥmad Ibn Laytawayh inflicted upon them heavy losses and captured Abû Daud al-Su'lûk, who had cooperated with the Zenj.

Report of This Battle and the Capture of Al-Su'lûk

It is reported that Nasrûr al-Balkhî directed Aḥmad b.Laytawayh to the districts of the Ahwâz province. Aḥmad reached the province and stopped at Sus. Al-Ṣaffâr in the meantime had entrusted the governorship of the Ahwâz districts to Muḥammad b. Ubayd Allâh b.Azârmand al-Kurdi. Muḥammad wrote to the Zenj leader, with whom he had corresponded from the very beginning of the revolt, trying to gain his support. Muḥammad tried to impress upon him the idea that he, Muḥammad, would rule the province for him, and would only pretend to honor al-Ṣaffâr until his position was firmly established there. To this al-Khabî replied that 'Alî b. Abân would be the governor of the province / and Muḥammad b. Ubayd Allâh his
deputy there. Muḥammad agreed to this.

‘Alī b. Abān sent his brother al-Khalīl b. Abān with a large force of Negroes and others. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh reinforced him with a detachment led by Abū Daud al-Su‘lūk. They went toward Sus but before they reached the city, Ibn Laytawayh and the imperial troops under his command repelled them. They retreated completely routed, very many of them were killed and a part of them captured.

Aḥmad b. Laytawayh marched on and descended upon Junđāsābūr, while 'Alī b. Abān left Aḥwāz to lend assistance to Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh against Aḥmad b. Laytawayh. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh with his Kurdish and Sa‘ālīk troops approached 'Alī and, when they came fairly close to each other, they marched along together on the opposite sides of the Masruqān Canal. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh assigned one of his officers with 300 horsemen to 'Alī b. Abān and thus they both proceeded until they reached 'Askar Mukram. Then Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh personally went to 'Alī b. Abān and, after a meeting and discussion, retired to his camp and sent to him al-Qāsim b. 'Alī and one of the Kurdish chiefs, called Ḥāzīm, and the Shaykh al-Ṭalaqānī, one of al-Saffār's companions - all of whom came to pay their respects to 'Alī.

This friendship between Muḥammad and 'Alī lasted until 'Alī reached Qantarat Fārs, and Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh entered Tustar.
When Ahmad b. Laytawayh learned about the cooperation between 'Alī b. Abān and Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh to fight against him, he left Jundāsābur and went to Sus.

'Alī reached Qantarat Fārs on Friday, when, according to Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh’s promise, the preacher in his sermon from the pulpit of Tustor was to call the people to allegiance to the Zenj leader and to 'Alī. So 'Alī, expecting the fulfillment of this arrangement, directed Bahbūd b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb to attend the Friday service and report to him on the procedure of it. But during the service the preacher rose and called for allegiance to al-Muṭtamid, al-Saffār and Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh. When Bahbūd returned with this news, 'Alī instantly arose, mounted his horse and ordered his troops to retire to Ahwāz. He sent them ahead under the command of his nephew Muḥammad b. Sāhiḥ and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Kirmanī, his secretary and deputy. He himself stayed until all had passed, and he destroyed the bridge there to prevent cavalry from pursuing them.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said, “I was with the advanced group of the retiring troops of 'Alī. On that night the troops moved so swiftly that by dawn they reached 'Askar Mukram, which was part of the area loyal to al-Khabīt. Disregarding this, they attacked the city and took booty. When, following the same route, 'Alī arrived in the city and learned what his troops had done, he could not do any-
thing about it and marched on to Ahwāz."

When the news that ‘Alī had retreated reached Aḥmad b. Laytawayh, he went back until he came to Tustar and attacked Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh and his men. Muḥammad himself fled, but Abū Daud al-Su‘lūk, fell into the hands of Ibn Laytawayh who delivered him to the seat of the government of al-Mu‘tāmid. Aḥmad b. Laytawayh remained in Tustar.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said / al-Faḍl b. ‘Adī al-Dārīmi,1 when Aḥmad b. Laytawayh established himself in Tustar, ‘Alī b. Abān set out against him with his troops and descended upon a village called Bīrinjān, and sent out skirmishers to bring information about Ibn Laytawayh. They returned with word that Ibn Laytawayh had set out against him and that his advanced horsemen had already reached the village of the Bāhilīs. ‘Alī b. Abān moved out against him, cheering his troops on and, in the name of al-Khabīr, promising them spoils of victory. Upon reaching the Bāhilīs Ibn Laytawayh with his cavalry, which consisted of some 400 horsemen, encountered ‘Alī. Before long another cavalry reinforcement came to him, so that the imperial cavalry grew into a formidable force. A detachment of Bedouins which was with ‘Alī b. Abān surrendered to Ibn Laytawayh, and the rest of his horsemen were routed. Also, most of the detachment of footmen which had remained

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with 'Ali, scattered. In the thick of the battle between the parties 'Alī b. Abān dismounted from his horse and, on foot, personally directed the fight, assisted by his page Fath, who was also known as Ghulām Abī Ḥadīd. As they started to fight together, Abū Naṣr Salhab and Badr al-Rumf, known as al-Sha'rānī, took notice of 'Alī, recognized him and alerted the men. Now, 'Alī turned to flee and escaping to the Masruqān, jumped into it. He was followed by Fath, who also jumped in but was drowned. Now Naṣr, known as al-Rumf, rushed to 'Alī b. Abān, pulled him out of the water and put him in a samīrīya. 'Alī was hit by an arrow and wounded in his thigh. He escaped, but a great many of his vigorous and courageous Negro troops were killed.

Leader of the pilgrims in this year was al-Faḍl b. Ishāq b. al-ʿHasan b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad.

Year 263. Report on the Events of This Year

In this year ʿUzayr b. al-Sirrī, an officer of Yaʿqūb b. al-Layṭ, defeated Muḥammad b. Wāṣil and captured him.

In the area of Anbār, a battle took place between Mūsā Dāljawayh and the Bedouins. The Bedouins routed him and put him to flight. Abū ʿAlīmad sent his son ʿAlīmad with a body of troops to pursue the Bedouins who had routed Mūsā Dāljawayh.
Al-Dayrānī rebelled against Ibn Aus, attacked him by night, dispersed his people, and plundered his camp. Ibn Aus escaped and went toward Wāsīt.

A man from Farghāna engaged in highway robbery on the Mosul road. He was defeated and killed.

Ya‘qūb b. al-Layt advanced from Fārs. When he reached al-Nūbandajān, Ahmad b. Laytawayh withdrew from Tustar, and Ya‘qūb went to Ahwāz. Before his withdrawal from Tustar, Ibn Laytawayh had had a skirmish with the brother of ‘Alī b. Abān in which the Zenj were defeated.

Report on This Battle

It was reported that after the defeat and the losses which he had sustained in the fight with Ibn Laytawayh at the Bāhilis, ‘Alī b. Abān reached Ahwāz. However, he did not stay there. He went to the camp of his master, the Zenj leader, and had his wounds treated until he recovered. Subsequently, he returned to Ahwāz and sent his brother al-Khalīl b. Abān and his nephew Muḥammad b. Sāliḥ, known as Abū Sahl, with a large army against Ibn Laytawayh, who at this time was stationed at ‘Askar Mukram.

The two forces set out with their men, but also Ibn Laytawayh took the field and he encountered them within a parasang of ‘Askar Mukram. Ibn Laytawayh had prepared an
ambush and, when the battle was at its height, he feigned retreat. The Zenj ventured to pursue the retreating Ibn Laytawayh and when these passed the place of the ambush, the ambushers attacked them from the rear. The Zenj fled in confusion and Ibn Laytawayh with his men turned around to face the fleeing Zenj and struck them heavily. The Zenj retreated completely routed, and Ibn Laytawayh returned to Tustar with the heads he had cut off.

Now, 'Alī b. Abān sent Anklaway with a garrison to watch Ibn Laytawayh on the Masruqān; Ibn Laytawayh directed against them thirty of his most courageous horsemen. When the news of the movement of Ibn Laytawayh and his force towards the garrison reached al-Khalīf b. Abān, he and his men prepared an ambush and, as the horsemen approached, he charged upon them so heavily that not one of them escaped. All of them were killed, and their heads were delivered to 'Alī b. Abān in Ahwāz. 'Alī sent them on to al-Khabīt.

It was at this juncture that al-Ṣaffār arrived in the province of Ahwāz and Ibn Laytawayh took to flight from there.

Al-Ṣaffār in Ahwāz

It is said that when Ya&qūb b. al-Layt went to Junday-sābūr and stayed there, all the state authorities left that
district. Ya’qūb sent a man called al-Ḥisn b. al-‘Anbar to Ahwāz. As this man was approaching the city, ‘Alī b. Abān, the lieutenant of the Zenj leader, departed from there and went to Nahr al-Sidra.

Ḥisn entered Ahwāz and while he was staying there, antagonism developed between his troops and those of ‘Alī b. Abān until hostilities broke out. Finally, ‘Alī b. Abān, his preparations completed, marched to Ahwāz, and inflicted upon Ḥisn and his men a vigorous blow, killing a great many of Ya’qūb’s men and capturing horses and other rich spoils. Al-Ḥisn with his men fled to ‘Askar Mukram and ‘Alī remained in Ahwāz until he stripped the city of everything. Then he returned to Nahr Sidra and wrote to Bahbūd, instructing him to attack a Kurdish lieutenant of al-Ṣaffār. Bahbūd attacked this officer, who was stationed in Dawraq, took him captive and slew his men. Later, however, Bahbūd conferred his mercy upon his captive and set him free.

After this ‘Alī was expecting Ya’qūb to march against him, but Ya’qūb did not bother. He reinforced al-Ḥisn b. ‘Anbar by sending to him Ḥisn’s brother al-Faṣl b. ‘Anbar, and ordered them to abstain from fighting the troops of al-Khālid and limit themselves to staying in Ahwāz. Ya’qūb also wrote to ‘Alī b. Abān asking for a truce and for the recognition of his troops’ rights to stay in Ahwāz. ‘Alī refused this under the pretext that they would carry off the
food from there. Then al-Ṣaffār and 'Alī made an agreement with the condition that al-Ṣaffār would refrain from taking the food and 'Alī would not take the fodder which was in Ahwāz. Thus, 'Alī transported the food and left the fodder and both sides, the troops of 'Alī and the troops of al-Ṣaffār, avoided a battle.

In this year Musāwir b. 'Abd al-Hamīd al-Shārī died.

The death of 'Ubayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khaqān occurred in this year. On Friday, the tenth of Du al-Qa‘da, he fell from his horse on the racetrack after colliding with his servant Rashīq. Blood started to run from his nostrils and ears, and three hours later he was dead. Abū Almad b. al-Mutawakkil conducted the funeral service and marched with the cortege. The next day, al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad was appointed vizier. Later, on the twenty-seventh of Du al-Qa‘da, Mūsā b. Bughā arrived in Samarrā, al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad fled to Baghdād, and on the sixth of Du al-Hijja Sulaymān b. Wahb was appointed in his place. Thereupon, ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Sulaymān, the superintendent of the scribes of Mūsā b. Bughā, was appointed to superintend the scribes of al-Mufawwād and al-Muwaqqaf also. The mansion of ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Yaḥyā was handed over to Kayghalagh.

Akhū Sharkab drove al-Ḥusayn b. Tāhir out of Naysābūr, seized the city and extorted from its populace one-third of their money. Al-Ḥusayn went to Merv, where the brother of
Khwārizm shah maintained loyalty to Muḥammad b.Ṭāhir.

In this year the Selavonians surrendered Lu’lu’a to the emperor of Byzantium.

The leader of the pilgrims in this year was al-Faḍl b. Ishāq b. al-Ḥasan b. Ismā’īl.

Year 264. An Account of Its Events

In this year Yaʿqūb al-Ṣaffār sent an army to al-Ṣaymara and it advanced toward the city. They seized Sayghūn and sent him to Yaʿqūb. Sayghūn died as Yaʿqūb’s prisoner.

On the eleventh of al-Muharram, Abū ʿAḥmad and Mūsā b. Bughā camped at al-Qāṭim, Samārра. Al-Muʿtamid accompanied them; on the second of Safar they both departed. Upon arrival in Baghdaḍ, Mūsā b. Bughā passed away. His body was taken to Samārра and buried there.

On Rabiʾ I, Qabīḥa, the mother of al-Muʿtazz passed away.

Ibn al-Dīyrānī went to Dinawar. Ibn ʿIyāḍ and Dulaf b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf conspired against him, routed him, and seized his possessions and estates. Defeated, he withdrew to Hulwān.

In this year the Byzantines captured ʿAbd Allāh b. Rashīd b. Kaus.
An Account of His Capture

It is reported that with a force of 4000 men from the Syrian frontier towns, he invaded Byzantine territory, and went as far as Hīsrayn and Maskanayn. The Muslims took booty and journeyed back. When they departed from Badandun, the patricians of /Saluqiya, 1 Qadaydiya, 2 Qurra, 3 Kawkab 4 and Kharshana 5 attacked and surrounded them. The Muslims dismounted from their horses, hamstrung them and fought back but all were slain except five or six hundred. These survivors (who had not hamstrung their horses) 6 lashed the backs of their animals with whips and fought their way out. The Byzantines killed as many as they could, captured 'Abd Allāh b.Rāshid, who had received several wounds, and brought him to Lu‘lu‘a. He was sent out by post to the Byzantine emperor.

Muḥammad al-Muwallad was appointed governor of Wāsīt. Sulaymān b.Jāmī‘, who was appointed over the city and the surroundings by the Zenj leader, fought against him, ousted him and occupied the city.

The Story of This Battle

Reportedly, these were the circumstances of the battle. Sulaymān b.Jāmī‘ had been sent previously on behalf of the Zenj leader to the area of Hawānīt and the marshes. He de-
feated Ju‘lān al-Turkī, governor on behalf of the government, attacked Aghartmish, routing his army, killing Khushaysh, and taking everything they had. He wrote to his master, the Zenj leader, and asked his permission to come to him in order to renew their friendship and to attend to some of his private affairs.

After he despatched this letter, ʿAḥmad b. Mahdī al-Jubbāʾi advised him to draw near to the camp of al-Bukhārī, who at that time was staying in Bardūdā. Sulaymān agreed, went to Bardūdā and reached Akarmihr, within five parasangs of the camp of Takīn. Upon reaching this place, al-Jubbāʾi said to Sulaymān, "It would be best for you to stay here while I go with the samirīyas and lure them towards your position. I will weary them so that they will be exhausted when they reach you, and you can defeat them decisively.” Sulaymān acted upon his advice. He re-formed his horsemen and footmen at his position. At the break of dawn, ʿAḥmad b. Mahdī departed with the samirīyas. He reached the camp of Takīn and fought him for a time. When Takīn brought his cavalry and horsemen into military formation, al-Jubbāʾi feigned retreat, and he despatched a page to Sulaymān to let him know that Takīn’s cavalry was on its way.

The messenger found out that Sulaymān, because of delay of any report, had already set out to follow in the track of al-Jubbāʾi. So, he urged Sulaymān to return to his camp. A second messenger from al-Jubbāʾi arrived with a similar message.
No sooner did Sulaymān return to his camp than he directed Tha‘lab b. Hifs al-Bahrānī and one of the Zenj captains, called Manīnā, with a Zenj detachment to lie in ambush in the wasteland close to the left of Takīn’s cavalry. He ordered that when Takīn’s horsemen passed them, they should attack from the rear.

When al-Jubba‘ī learned that Sulaymān had his cavalry well prepared and had ordered an ambush, he raised his voice and spoke to his men so loudly that Takīn’s troops could hear. "You have led me astray and ruined me. I had warned you not to come into this place, but you insisted on getting yourselves and me into this trap from which I see no escape for us."

Upon hearing these words, Takīn’s troops eagerly pressed in pursuit and began shouting, "bird in / cage, bird cage." Al-Jubba‘ī returned rapidly and they pursued him, showering him with arrows. As they passed the place of the ambush and were approaching the camp of Sulaymān, who with his cavalry and troops was lying in wait behind a fence, Sulaymān rushed to attack them. The troops from the ambush also appeared behind the imperial cavalry while al-Jubba‘ī was directing his samīriyas toward those who were in the canal. Thus, utter defeat was planned from every direction. The Zenj now chased more than three parasangs after their prey, killing and plundering.
Then Sulaymān stopped and said to al-Jubbā'ī, "Let us turn back. We have enough booty and we are safe; let us put safety above all." To this al-Jubbā'ī retorted, "By no means. We tore their hearts with fear, our trick worked. Now, the thing to do is to surround them tonight and take them by surprise; may be, we shall dislodge them from their camp and smash them altogether."

Again, Sulaymān followed the advice of al-Jubbā'ī and went to Takīn's camp. He arrived there at the time of evening prayer and attacked it. Takīn and all his men arose and fought back so violently that Sulaymān and his troops fled.

Then Sulaymān paused, re-formed his troops and sent Shibl with some cavalry and a detachment of infantry to the wasteland. He ordered al-Jubbā'ī to go with his samīrīyas along the canal. Sulaymān himself marched with his cavalry and footmen. Thus the troops proceeded until they reached Takīn's camp. They met no resistance, all having fled, abandoning the camp. Sulaymān stripped the camp of everything, burned it down, and returned to his camp with all the booty obtained. Upon his arrival at his camp, he found a letter from al-Khabīt, waiting for him with permission to go home. He appointed al-Jubbā'ī as his deputy, carried the banners which he had taken in Takīn's camp; the shadās, which he had seized from Ābu Tamīm, Khushaysh and Takīn, and proceeded to the camp of al-Khabīt where he arrived in

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An Account of the Zenj Occupation of Wāsiṭ and of Other Outstanding Events of the Year 264

They say that when Sulaymān b. Jāmi', after he had defeated Takīn, departed from his camp to go to the Zenj Chieftain, al-Jubbā'ī Yaḥyā b. Khalar left for Mazarwān in quest of food with the samīriyas and troops left under his command by Sulaymān. He took along with him a detachment of Negro troops. He met with strong opposition from Ju'lān's troops, who seized some of his vessels and put him to flight. Routed, al-Jubbā'ī retreated and reached Ṭahīta.

Upon his arrival there, letters from the people of al-Qarya reached him to the effect that Manjur, the client of the Commander of the Faithful, and Muḥammad b. 'All b. Ḥabīb al-Yashkarf, having heard of Sulaymān's absence from Ṭahīta, had agreed about joining forces. Then, they repaired to Qarya, subjected it to fire and sword, and then had withdrawn. Those of the inhabitants who escaped destruction fled to the township al-Hajjājiya and remained there.

Al-Jubbā'ī reported to Sulaymān about the message of the Qarya people and about his own defeat at the hands of the troops of Ju'lān. Promptly despatched by the Zenj leader, Sulaymān reached Ṭahīta and made it clear that he intended to fight.
Ju‘lān. He arranged his troops in military formation, set al-Jubbā’i with the samīryas in front, assigned to him horse- and footmen and instructed him to reach Māzarwān and to take up a position opposite Ju‘lān’s troops. He further instructed him to let his horses be seen by grazing them on ground from which they could be observed but not attacked by the troops of Ju‘lān.

Sulaymān, leaving only a small detachment back in his camp, rode out with all his troops in the direction of Ahwāz, and penetrated the area of the lakes. He came to the two lakes, Rubba and ‘Umrāqa, and advanced further toward Muḥammad b.‘Alī b.‘Abī, who at the time was in a place called Tallfakhkhār. Sulaymān attacked him vigorously, killed many of his men, seized many horses, took rich booty, and killed a brother of Muḥammad b.‘Alī. Muḥammad himself escaped.

On his return, while proceeding through a wasteland between Bazzāq and Qaryā, Sulaymān met some horsemen of Banū Shaybān. Now, among those who had suffered from Sulaymān’s attack at Tallfakhkhār was one of the Banū Shaybān chieftains, who was killed and whose small son was taken prisoner, and whose horse was seized. When this news reached the tribesmen of this chieftain, they, with a force of 400 horsemen, gave battle to Sulaymān in this wasteland.

When Sulaymān marched against Ibn Ḥabīb, he sent for ‘Umayr b.‘Ammār, his deputy in Tuff, and when the latter ar-
rived, he made him guide because of his familiarity with these roads. When Sulaymān noticed the horsemen of the Banū Shaybān, he advanced with all his troops except ʿUmayr b.ʿAbdār, who was set apart. The Banū Shaybān seized and killed ʿUmayr and departed carrying off his head. When this news reached al-Khabīt, he was very grieved by the death of ʿUmayr.

Sulaymān transported to al-Khabīt everything he had obtained in the town of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥabīb. This happened toward the end of Rajab. Before the month of Shābān arrived, Sulaymān with all his troops set out for Qaryat Hassān where, at that time, Jaysh b. Ḥamartakīn, an officer of the government's forces, was stationed. He attacked this officer, who ran in panic, seized the town, robbed and burned it, seized horses, and returned to his camp. Then on the tenth of Shābān he set out for al-Hawānīt.

He sent al-Jabbāʾi with the samīryas to Barr Musāwir where al-Jabbāʾi came upon a ṣalgha carrying horsemen of Juʿlān. The latter was in his way to the Abān Canal and, in the meanwhile, had gone hunting. Al-Jabbāʾi attacked this ṣalgha, killed those in it and seized the horses, twelve in number, then returned to Tahīta.

On the twenty-sixth of Shābān, Sulaymān set out for Tall Ramānā, attacked the town, expelled its inhabitants, stripped it of everything, and returned to his camp.

On the tenth of Ramadān, he set out for al-Jāmira. At
this time Abbā was there, while Ju‘lān was in Māzarwān.

Earlier, Sulaymān wrote to al-Khabīr, asking him for shadas. Al-Khabīr despatched to him ten shadas under the command of a man from ‘Abbādān, called al-Saqr b.al-Jusayn. As soon as al-Saqr with the shadas reached him, Sulaymān made known that he wanted to fight Ju‘lān. Soon it reached Ju‘lān that Sulaymān was going to fight and that his goal was to seize his camp. Sulaymān neared the camp of Abbā and attacked him at a time when Abbā did not expect his arrival. He took his revenge upon him and seized six shadas.

Muḥammad b.al-Ḥasan said that according to Jabbāsh there were eight shadas in his camp; two of them were on the bank, and these he burned; he seized horses, arms and other booty and withdrew to his camp.

Then he made known he was going to fight Takīn al-Bukharī. He prepared ships under the command of al-Jubbā‘i and Ja‘far b.‘Abmād, maternal uncle of Ankalāy, the son of the accursed al-Khabīr. But, as these ships were passing by his camp, Ju‘lān rushed against them, attacked and seized them. Then Sulaymān attacked Ju‘lān from land and routed him. He chased him to Ruṣālā, recovered his ships and seized also 27 of Ju‘lān’s horses, 2 colts and 3 mules. He obtained much booty and arms and returned to Tahīţa.

Muḥammad said that Jabbāsh denied that the name of Takīn was in any way connected with this reported event; nor did he
admit any connection between the man from ‘Abbāda and Takīn. He asserted that Sulaymān only had gone to fight Ju‘lān. Since the people at his camp had no news about him (Sulaymān) alarming rumors spread that both he and al–Jubbā‘i had been killed. The people became panicky. Soon, however, news about him and his attack upon Ju‘lān was received, and people felt relieved and they regained their composure. Then Sulaymān arrived and wrote to al–Khabīt about what had occurred to him, and delivered the / flags and arms to him.

Thereupon, on Dū al–Qa‘da, Sulaymān arrived in Rūṣāfa and attacked Matar b. Jāmī who, at that time was stationed there, took much booty, and burned and pillaged the city. The flags he carried to al–Khabīt.

On the fifth of Dū al–Hijja of the year 264, Sulaymān arrived in the city of al–Khabīt and stayed there during the holidays at his own mansion. Then, Matar b. Jāmī went to the town al–Hajjājiya, attacked it and captured many of its inhabitants. The qaḍī there, Sa‘īd b. al–Sayyid al–‘Adawī, an appointee of Sulaymān, was a local man. He, together with Ta‘lāb b. Hifs and four captains who were with him were arrested and transported to Wāṣiṭ. Matar and his men went to Ḥarjaliya, two and a half parasangs from Tahrīta. When al–Jubbā‘i with his horse- and footmen repaired to the place to resist Matar, he arrived after Matar had completed his attack and withdrawn. He informed Sulaymān of this and the latter arrived on Tuesday, the twenty-seventh of Dū al–Hijja.
Ju'lan was dismissed and Ḥamad b. Laytawayh arrived in Shadidiya. Sulaymān moved to Nahr Abān where he found Turnāj, one of Ibn Laytawayh's lieutenants; he attacked and killed him. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said that according to Jabbaš it was Bīnāk who was killed at this place, and that Turnāj was killed at Māwarwān.

Thereupon, Sulaymān arrived in Rušīfa where, at this time, Matar b. Jāmi' had pitched his camp. Sulaymān attacked him, destroyed his camp, seized seven of his shadās and burned two others. This occurred in the month of Rabī' II of the year 264. Muḥammad said that according to Jabbaš this battle took place in al-Shadidiya and only six shadās were seized on that day.

Now, Sulaymān moved on and put the best of his officers and troops on five shadās. In al-Shadidiya, from which at the time Ibn Laytawayh was absent, since he had left for Kūfa and Junbala', Taḵīn al-Bukhārī attacked and defeated Sulaymān and seized some shadās of his together with them warriors, equipment, and arms. In this battle, Sulaymān's best lieutenants were killed. Ibn Laytawayh then returned to al-Shadidiya and administered this area up to the time that Abū ʿ Ḥamad appointed Muḥammad al-Muwallad governor of Wāṣīf.

Muḥammad quoted Jabbaš as saying, "When Ibn Laytawayh arrived in al-Shadidiya, Sulaymān marched there and fought against him for two days. On the third day, Sulaymān feigned
retreat, and Ibn Laytawayh pursued him with some of his fighters who rushed ahead. Then Sulaymān turned about and pushed him in to the Bardūdā. Ibn Laytawayh, after almost being drowned, escaped, but he lost 17 of his horses to Sulaymān. Sulaymān wrote asking for reinforcements from al-Khabīt, who sent al-Khalīf b. Abān to him with some 1500 horsemen, and al-Mudawwab. As soon as this reinforcement arrived, Sulaymān set out to fight against al-Muwallad and attacked him. Al-Muwallad fled and the Zenj entered Wāsīt, killed a great many people, robbed and burned. At that time, Kanjūr al-Bukhārī was there and defended the city until the afternoon, when he was killed.

On that day, the cavalry of Sulaymān b. Jāmi' was under the command of al-Khalīf b. Abān and 'Abd Allāh, al-Mudawwab. Al-Jubba'i was in charge of the samīrīyas; al-Zinjī b. Mihrbān was in charge of the shadās. Sulaymān b. Jāmi' was with his Negro captains and footmen. He also had with him Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Shā'rānī with his two brothers and their horses and footmen. All these people fought together in full cooperation.

Later Sulaymān b. Jāmi' withdrew from Wāsīt and, with all the troops, he turned towards Junbalā' to cause destruction and havoc there. But dissension arose between him and al-Khalīf b. Abān. Al-Khalīf brought the matter before his brother 'Alī b. Abān, who requested the leader of the Zenj
to relieve him from staying longer with Sulaymān. Al-
Khalīl was allowed to return to the city of al-Khabīr
together with the troops and freedmen of 'Alī b. Abān,
while al-Mudawwab with the Bedouins stayed on with Su-
laymān.

Sulaymān remained for several days in his camp. Then he marched to the al-Amīr Canal to camp there,
while he sent al-Jubbā'ī and al-Mudawwab to Junbalā'.
These two stayed there for 90 days while Sulaymān was
encamped on the al-Amīr Canal.

Muḥammad said that according to the assertion of
Jabbāš, Sulaymān's camp was in al-Shaddiyya.

In this year Sulaymān b. Wahb went from Baghdad to
Samārā, and al-Ḥasan b. Wahb went with him. Alḥād
b. al-Muwaffaq, Masrūr al-Balkhī and all the high rank-
ing officers went to see him off. But when he arrived
in Samārā he incurred the anger of al-Mu'tamid. The
caliph had him detained, put him in chains, dispos-
sessed him and his two sons Wahb and Ibrāhīm of their
houses, and appointed al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad as vizier.
This was on the twenty-seventh of Du' al-Qa‘ida.

Then, al-Muwaffaq and 'Ubayd Allāh b. Sulaymān
departed from Baghdad. When Abū Alḥād neared Samārā,
al-Mu'tamid moved to the western bank and camped there.
Abū Alḥād and his men descended upon Jazirat al-
Mu'ayyad. An exchange of messages between the two followed and, sometime during the early part of Dū al-Ḥijja, al-Mu'tamid went aboard a Ḥarrāqa in the Tigris, and his brother arrived to meet him in a zallāl. Here, Abū Ahmad, Masrūr al-Balkhī, Kayghalagh and Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Bughā were invested with robes of honor, and on Tuesday, the eighth of Dū al-Ḥijja, which was the Tarwiya day, the people of the camp of Abū Ahmad went to the camp of al-Mu'tamid. Sulaymān b. Waḥb was released and al-Mu'tamid returned to the Jawṣaq. Al-Ḥasan b. Makhlab and Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Shīrzdī fled, and an order was issued to confiscate their property and that of their relatives. Aḥmad b. Abī al-Asbagh was arrested and the officers of the Ṣamārrah garrison fled to Takrit.

Abū Mūsā b. al-Mutawakkil went into hiding for a while.

The officers who had gone to Takrit, later departed for Mosul and there seized the tax money.

The leader of the pilgrims in this year was Harūn b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Mūsā b. ʿIsa al-Ḥāshimi al-Kūfī.

Year 265. The Events of This Year

Among these events was a battle in the region of Jun-balā between Aḥmad b. Laytawayh and Sulaymān b. Jāmi', the lieutenant of the Zenj Chieftain.
They say that Sulaymān b. Jāmī' wrote to the Zenj Chief-tain, informing him of the state of the Zahārī Canal, and asked his permission to spend money on digging it up to the suburbs and area of Kūfa. He advised him that the distance was short and, if carried out, this canal would enable the transportation of all provisions to him from the area of Junbalā' and the suburbs of Kūfa.

Al-Khabīt sent Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Bāṣrī to carry this out and ordered Sulaymān to release all the funds he needs and to let al-Bāṣrī stay with him and the army until this assignment had been completed. Sulaymān with all his troops went to al-Šarīfiyya, where he stayed for about a month, and put the workers to digging the canal. During all that time, Sulaymān did not bother the people of the neighborhood of Khusrusābur but drew his supplies from the district of Sin and its surroundings. This lasted until Ibn Laytawayh, Abū Aḥmad's governor of Junbalā', attacked him and killed 14 of his captains. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said, "He killed 47 captains and innumerable people, destroyed his camp, burned the ships which were anchored in the canal under construction." After being routed, Sulaymān went to Tahīta, and remained there until soon after this event al-Jubbā'ī arrived. Thereupon, he passed to the place known as Barrtumartā leaving behind his lieutenant al-Zinjī b. Mihrbān, as his deputy in charge of the shādas.
The government had directed Nuṣayr to apprehend Shāmarj, deliver him to the capital, and to take over his functions. While carrying Shāmarj in chains along the Barrutumartā Canal, Nuṣayr came upon al-Zinzī b. Mihrbān and seized nine of his shadās, six of which al-Zinzī later recovered. Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan said, Jabbāsh denied that al-Zinzī had recovered any of the shadās and asserted that Nuṣayr went away with all of them. Al-Zinzī retired to Ṭahfīta, despatched a report to Sulaymān, who now came to Ṭahfīta and stayed there until news reached him that al-Muwaffaq was approaching.

Ahmad b. Ṭulūn 1 attacked Sīmā al-Tawīl 2 in Anṭākiya. In the month of al-Muharram Ibn Ṭulūn besieged him and did not move away until he had conquered the city and slew Sīmā.

In Ḥabān, al-Qāsim b. Māmah rebelled against Dulafl b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abl Dulafl and killed him. Thereupon, a group of Dulafl's troops rebelled against al-Qāsim and killed him, and chose Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz 3 as their chief.

In al-Muharram, Muhammad al-Muwallad deserted to Yaʿqūb b. al-Layt and arrived to join him. The government ordered all his property and estates confiscated.

In Jumādā I of this year, the Bedouins killed Juʿlān, known as al-ʿAyyār in Dimimma. 4 They killed him as he went out to protect a caravan. The government sent out a detachment of mawālib troops to pursue his killers, but the Bedouins ran away. / Those sent in pursuit returned to Baghdad after 1930.
having reached ‘Ayn Tamr. ¹ Some of them died from the cold, which was very strong during these days and lasted for quite a while. Snow fell in Baghdād.

Abū Aḥmad ordered the arrest of Sulaymān b. Wahb and his son ‘Abd Allāh. Both of them, as well as a number of their relatives, were detained in the house of Abū Aḥmad. In addition, the houses of many of their relatives were confiscated. The houses of Sulaymān and his son ‘Abd Allāh were entrusted to the care of custodians. The possessions and estates of the two and of their relatives, except those of Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, were ordered confiscated. Subsequently, upon the payment of 900,000 dinār, Sulaymān and his son ‘Abd Allāh had their condition improved and they were transferred to a place where anyone they wanted to see was admitted.

Mūsā b. Uṣūnish, Iṣḥāq b. Kundājīq, Yanghajūr b. Urkhūṭ and al- Faḍl b. Mūsā b. Bughā camped at Bāb al-Shamāsiya. ² They passed the Baghdād Bridge and went to al-Saffinatayn. Though followed by Aḥmad b. al-Muwaffaq, they did not return but went to Sarsar. ³

On the seventeenth of Jumādā II, Abū Aḥmad appointed Saʿīd b. Makhlad as his secretary. After he was invested with robes of honor, Saʿīd went to the military leaders in Sarsar. Then, Abū Aḥmad sent his son Aḥmad to them. Aḥmad discussed with them their matter; then they returned with him and were invested with robes of honor.
It is said that five of the Byzantine patricians with 30,000 Byzantines went out to Adana, then proceeded to al-Musalla and captured Urkhuṣ, who had been governor of the border fortress. Though he had been dismissed from his post, Urkhuṣ stayed on in the borderland. He was taken together with some 400 men. The Byzantines killed about 1400 men who rushed against them, and on the fourth day they withdrew. This occurred in Jumādā I.

In Rajab of this year, Mūsā b. Utāmish, Isḥāq b. Koundājīq and Yanghujūr b. Urkhuṣ camped on the river Dayālā.

In this year Ḍayyād b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Khujustānī seized Naysābūr. Al-Ḥusayn b. Ẓāhir, governor of Muḥammad b. Ẓāhir, went to Merv and stayed there, while Akhū Sharkab al-Jamāʾ stationed himself between al-Ḥusayn and al-Ḥujustānī Ḍayyād b. ‘Abd Allāh.

In this year Ṭūs was devastated.

Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul was appointed vizier.


On the Mecca road, near Mughīṭa, a band of Bedouins of Banū Asad killed ‘Alī b. Masrūr al-Balkhī. It was Muḥammad b. Masrūr al-Balkhī whom Abū Ḍayyād had put in charge of the Mecca road, but Muḥammad had delegated the office to his
brother 'Alī b. Masrūr.

As a gesture of good will to Āḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, the Byzantine emperor sent to him 'Abd Allāh b. Rashīd b. Kaus, the captive former governor of the frontier region, as well as a number of Muslim prisoners and copies of the Qurān.

A band of Zenj in 30 samīrīyas arrived in Jabbūl, seized four vessels with food, and withdrew.

Al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. Ṭūlūn with his followers, in defiance of his father Āḥmad, reached Barqa. According to reports, Āḥmad the father, setting out for Syria, had left him as deputy in the province of Egypt. Now, when Āḥmad withdrew from Syria and was on his way back to Egypt, al-ʿAbbās carried off the money and the valuables which his father had in the treasury of Egypt, and went to Barqa. Āḥmad despatched an army which captured al-ʿAbbās and returned him home. Āḥmad put him in jail, and killed many of those who had conspired with his son.

The Zenj entered Nuʿmāniyya, burned its market place and most of the people's houses, took captives and went to Jarjarāyā. The people of the countryside sought refuge in Baghdād.

Abū Āḥmad appointed 'Amr b. al-Layt governor of Khurāsān, Fārs, Iṣbahān, Sijistān, Kirmān and Sind. In confirmation of that he sent to him with Āḥmad b. Abī al-Asbāgh a letter of appointment, the official diploma, and the other
attributes of investiture. 2

In Du al-Hijja of this year, Masrūr al-Balkhī went to Mīl. 3 ‘Abd Allāh b. Lāyawayh with his brother’s troops had shown defiance of the government. He left the town and went with his men to Ahmādābad. When Masrūr al-Balkhī pursued him, ‘Abd Allāh and his men / hurriedly dismounted from their horses and met Masrūr with an offer of obedience and loyalty. ‘Abd Allāh b. Lāyawayh removed his sword and belt and, with both suspended from his neck, 1 apologized to Masrūr and swore that he had been incited to do what he had done. His apologies were accepted and he and a number of his captains were clothed with robes of honor.

In this year Takīn al-Bukhārī went to Ahwāz in the vanguard of the troops of Masrūr al-Balkhī.

Report on Takīn’s Affairs in Ahwāz

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported that Masrūr al-Balkhī, after being appointed by Abū Aḥmad governor of the districts of Ahwāz, delegated these districts to Takīn al-Bukhārī who immediately proceeded there. He reached the province just after ‘Alī b. Abān al-Muhallabī had arrived there and gone to Tustar which he besieged with a large body of Zenj and other troops. Takīn arrived there when the population was in such a state of terror that they were on the point
of surrendering their city. Before even changing from his travelling clothes, he charged against 'Alī b. Abān and his troops and put the Zenj to flight. The Zenj were slain or scattered. 'Alī and those who remained with him retired, hunted and pursued. This was the famous battle of Bab Kudak. 2

Takīn al-Bukhārī returned and stopped in Tustar, where a large number of Ṣu‘lūk tribesmen and others joined him. 'Alī b. Abān with a great number of troops set out against him and stopped on the eastern side of Masruqān. He placed his brother with a detachment of horsemen and an added detachment of Zenj footmen on the western side. A number of Zenj captains, among them Anklawayh, Ḫusayn / al-Hammāmī, and others, he sent forward with the task of occupying Qantarat Fārs. 1

Now news reached Takīn of the plans of 'Alī b. Abān against him. Wāsīf al-Rumī, a page from the camp of 'Alī b. Abān, fled to Takīn and informed him about the location of the above mentioned forces at Qantarat Fārs. He also informed him that they indulged in drinking nabid 2 and that their soldiers were scattered in stockpiling food. Then, by night, Takīn rose with a body of his troops, attacked them and killed the Zenj captains Anklawayh, al-Ḫusayn al-Hammāmī and Mufarraj surnamed Abū Sāliḥ, and Andarūn. The rest ran to al-Khalīf b. Abān, and reported to him what

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had happened. Meanwhile, Takîn crossed to the eastern side of Masruqân and came upon ‘Alî b. Abân and his troops; ‘Alî, without even making a stand, fled. A freedman of ‘Alî’s, one of his horsemen, called Ja‘farawayh, fell into the hands of Takîn. After that ‘Alî and al-Khalîl with their troops returned to Ahwâz and Takîn returned to Tustar. ‘Alî b. Abân wrote to Takîn requesting him to abstain from killing Ja‘farawayh and, indeed, Takîn kept him in prison. This occasioned an exchange of messages and compliments between Takîn and ‘Alî b. Abân. When the news of this correspondence reached Masrûr, he found fault with Takîn, since it had also reached him that the latter’s loyalty had weakened and that he tended to side and cooperate with ‘Alî b. Abân.

Muhammad b. al-Hasan said that he had heard from Muhammad b. Dînâr that Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah b. al-Hasan b. ‘Alî al-Ma‘mûnî al-Bâdaghîsî, who was one of the friends of Takîn al-Bukhârî, had told him that when the news reached Masrûr / that Takîn was involved against him, he had taken time to investigate the truth of the report. Then, pretending to be content with Takîn and to admire him, he set out on his way to the districts of Ahwâz, laying his course to Shâbarzân and from there to Sûs. Takîn became aware of what had been reported to Masrûr regarding him, and this, as well as the great number of the officers and troops following Masrûr on his march, aroused his apprehension.
But an exchange of messages between Masrūr and Takīn made the latter feel secure and, when Masrūr reached the valley of Tustar and sent for him, Takīn submissively came to him. Then Masrūr gave an order that he be disarmed and taken into custody. When this came to the knowledge of Takīn's troops, they immediately split, one part going to the area of the Zenj Chieftain, the other to Muḥammad b.ʿUbayd Allāh al-Kurdi. Masrūr took notice of the situation and offered his protection to the rest of Takīn's troops; they joined him.

Muḥammad b.ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Maʿmūn said, "I was one of those who went to the camp of Masrūr. Masrūr handed over Takīn to Ibrāhīm b. Juʿlān in whose custody he remained to the end of his life."

Part of what occurred between Masrūr and Takīn, which is described above, took place in the year 265, and part in the year 266.

The leader of the pilgrims in this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. ʿIshaq b. Muḥammad b. ʿIsā al-Hashimi.

In this year, Abū al-Mughira b. ʿIsā b. Muḥammad al-Makhzuʿi, with a group of Zenj, successfully arrived in Mecca.
Year 266. Its Events

In Safar, 'Amr b. al-Layt appointed 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Tahir as his Deputy-Prefect of Police in Baghdad and Samarra. Abu Ahmad invested him with robes of honor. Then, 'Ubayd Allah b. 'Abd Allah arrived at his house and there 'Amr b. al-Layt invested him with robes of honor. 'Amr also sent him a bar of gold.

In Safar, Asatakin seized Rayy and ousted from there Talmajur, the governor of the city. Then he and his son Adukutakin went to Qaswin, whose governor was Abrun, the brother of Kayghalaghi. As a result of peaceful negotiations, they entered the city, seized Muhammad b. al-Faqil b. Sinan al-'Ijli, and went back to Rayy. Its inhabitants fought against him, but he overpowered them and entered the city.

A detachment of Byzantines arrived in Tall Basma, and killed or captured about 250 Muslims. The people of Nasibin and Mosul fled, and the Byzantines withdrew.

In Rabi' II of this year, while in Jundisabur, on his way from the camp of 'Amr b. al-Layt back to Baghdad, Abu al-Saj passed away. Earlier in the month of al-Muharram, Sulayman b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Tahir passed away.

'Amr b. al-Layt appointed Ahmad b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Abu Dulaf governor of Ispahan. Muhammad, the son of Abu al-
Sāj, was appointed governor of the two holy cities and of the road to Mecca.

Aghartmish was appointed governor of the Ahwāz districts which, until now, were under Takīn al-Bukhārī. He arrived there in the month of Ramadān.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported that Masrūr ordered Aghartmish, Abbā and Matar b. Jami‘ to fight 'Alī b. Abān. They marched until they reached Tustar, where they stopped and took from the jail and killed all those who had been detained by Takīn, among them Ja‘farawayh and a group of followers of the Zenj leader. It was Matar b. Jami‘ who was responsible for killing them. They marched on and arrived in ‘Askar Mukram.

Meanwhile, 'Alī b. Abān set out against them sending forward his brother al-Khalīf with the vanguard of his troops. Al-Khalīf proceeded towards them with his cavalry and occupied positions in front of them. 'Alī followed him. As the Zenj outnumbered the imperial troops, the latter destroyed the bridge and abstained from fighting. In the dark of night, 'Alī b. Abān and his troops withdrew to Ahwāz, and al-Khalīf with his men remained in Masruqān.

Now, news reached al-Khalīf that Aghartmish, Abbā and Matar b. Jami‘ were approaching and had landed on the eastern side of Qantarat Arībūk, intending to cross the bridge and reach him. Al-Khalīf reported this to his brother
'Ali b. Abān who set out to Qantarat, ordering al-Khalīf to join him there. This he did. In the meanwhile, those of 'Ali's troops, who were left in Ahwāz, were terror-stricken and they removed their camp retreating to Nahr al-Sidra.

The battle between 'Ali and the imperial troops took place and 'Ali suffered a defeat. The parties abstained from further engagements, and 'Ali returned to Ahwāz where, however, he found none of his men. Having learned about their removal to Nahr al-Sidra, he sent to bring them back, and, as this failed, 'Ali himself followed them and remained in Nahr al-Sidra.

The imperial troops stationed themselves at 'Askar Mukram.

'Ali b. Abān resumed preparations to new fighting and summoned Bahbūd b. Abd al-Wahhāb who arrived with his troops. When Aghartmish heard about 'Ali's warlike preparations to fight his troops, he and his army took the field against the Zenj. 'Ali put his brother, al-Khalīf b. Abān in command of his vanguard, assigned to him Bahbūd and Aḥmad b. al-Zaranjī and also instructed al-Khalīf to place Bahbūd in an ambush.

The two parties came upon each other at Dūlāb. Al-Khalīf marched up to the enemy and the battle flared up. During the early part of the day the imperial troops were successful, but while maneuvering on the battlefield, they were suddenly attacked by the men from the ambush,
overthrown and put to flight. Matar b. Jami' fell from his horse; he was seized by Bahbud and brought a captive to 'Alī. Sima, known as Ṣaghrāj, was killed with a group of captains. When brought before 'Alī by Bahbud, Matar begged him to spare his life, but 'Alī refused saying, "Had you spared the life of Ja'farawayh, I would spare yours." Then he ordered him brought nearer and personally beheaded him. / Now, 'Alī b. Abān entered Ahwāz, and Aghartmish, Abbā, and those of their men who had escaped death retreated to Tustar. 'Alī delivered the heads to al-Khabīṭ who ordered them displayed on the walls of his city.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said that later on, from time to time, 'Alī b. Abān made raids against Aghartmish and his troops and that the battles continued with varying success until al-Khabīṭ sent most of his troops to 'Alī b. Abān who then outnumbered the troops of Aghartmish. Now, Aghartmish was inclined to reconciliation and, since 'Alī b. Abān also wished for the same, they concluded a truce.

'Alī b. Abān started to raid the countryside. One of his raids brought him to the township known as Bayrud, which he subdued, and where he took much booty. He gave al-Khabīṭ an account of his actions, sent him the booty, and established himself in Bayrud.

In this year Ishāq b. Kundājīq deserted the camp of Ahmad b. Mūsā b. Bughā because the latter, arriving in al-
Jazira, had appointed Musa b. Utamish governor of Diyar Rabi', which displeased Ishaq b. Kundajf. He left his army and went to Balad, where he attacked the Jacobite Kurds, routed them and seized their property. This victory greatly increased his strength. Thereupon he encountered the son of Musawir al-Shari and killed him.

In Shawwal, the people of Homs killed their governor 'Isa al-Kharkhi.

In this year Lu'lu', the freedman of Ahmad b. Tulun, took Musa b. Utamish prisoner. The former was staying in the hill country of the Banu Tamim, Musa b. Utamish at Ras al-'Ayn. One night, while intoxicated, Musa set out to attack Lu'lu' by surprise, but he fell into the hands of men who were lying in ambush. They captured him and delivered him to Raqqa.

In Shawwal Lu'lu' encountered Ahmad b. Musa with his troops and Bedouins, but he was defeated, and a great many of his troops were killed. Ibn Safwan al-'Uqayl, and the Bedouins made for Ahmad b. Musa's camp to loot the baggage, but the troops of Lu'lu' returned and routed them. Those of the routed who escaped reached Qarqisfya, and subsequently, in Dū al-Qa'da, they reached Baghdad and Samarra. Ibn Safwan fled to the desert.

In Shawwal a battle took place between Ahmad b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Abi Dulaf and Boktumur. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-
Aziz routed Boktimur and the latter went to Baghdad.

Al-Khujustânî attacked al-Hasan b. Zayd in Jurjân, taking him by surprise. Al-Hasan b. Zayd fled and reached Amul, while al-Khujustânî seized Jurjân and some of the districts of Tabaristân. This took place in Jumâdâ II and Rajab of this year.

Al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. 'Abd Allah b. Hasan al-Asghar al-'Uqayqî summoned the people of Tabaristân to pledge allegiance to him on the ground that al-Hasan b. Zayd, before his departure to Jurjân, had left him as deputy in Sâriya. After the attack of al-Khujustânî on al-Hasan in Jurjân, and the flight of al-Hasan from there, al-'Uqayqî announced that al-Hasan had been captured, and he called upon his followers to give their allegiance to him. This, some people did. However, al-Hasan b. Zayd returned and fought him. Finally, al-Hasan employed a ruse against him, overpowered and killed him. / Al-Khujustânî looted the possessions of the merchants of Jurjân and set fire to the city.

A battle between al-Khujustânî and 'Amr b. al-Layt took place. Al-Khujustânî gained the upper hand and routed 'Amr; he entered Naysâbûr, ousted 'Amr's governor therefrom and slew many who had sympathized with 'Amr.

In Medina and her surroundings hostilities broke out between the Ja'farîs and 'Alîds.
On the Cause of These Hostilities

According to reports, Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. ʿUṣuf al-Jaʿfarī, guardian of Medina, Wādī al-Qurā and surroundings sent on his behalf an agent to Wādī al-Qurā. The population of that city rebelled against this agent and killed him and two of Ishāq’s brothers. Ishāq went to Wādī al-Qurā, but fell sick and died there. His brother Mūsā b. Muḥammad took over his office in Medina. Al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar rebelled against him, but he (Mūsā) was bought off with 800 dinars.


At this time the prices in the city rose very much. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad went to the customs and, guaranteeing the merchants their money, he ordered the duties abolished. Then the prices declined and the city calmed down. The government appointed the Ḥasanite governor of Medina until Ibn Abī al-Sāj arrived there.

The Bedouins seized the carpet covering the Kaʿba and carried it off. Some of them went to the Zenj Chieftain. This calamity shocked the pilgrims.

In this year the Byzantines invaded Diyar Rabiʿ. The
population was summoned to take the field and they set out at a time, when, due to the cold weather, it was impossible to enter the mountain-passes.

Sima, 1 Ahmad b. Tulun's deputy and three hundred men from Tarasus, 2 raided the Syrian border belt. In the area of Hiraqla, 3 they were met by the enemy, about 4,000 men, and a fierce battle took place. The Muslims inflicted upon the enemy heavy losses, but they themselves, also sustained numerous casualties.

A battle took place between Ishâq b. Kundâjiq and Ishâq b. Ayyûb. 4 Ibn Kundâjiq defeated Ishâq b. Ayyûb, pushed him to Naṣibin, took away everything there was in his camp, and killed a great many of his men. Ibn Kundâjiq chased after him up to Naṣibin and entered the city. Ishâq b. Ayyûb fled and appealed for help to 'Isâ b. al-Shaykh, who was in Amid, 5 and Abî al-Maghra' b. Mûsâ b. Zurara, who was in Arzan. 6 They joined hands against Ibn Kundâjiq. But then the government sent Yusuf b. Ya'qûb 8 to Ibn Kundâjiq with the insignias of governorship of Mosul, Diyar Rabi, 9 and Armenia. Yusuf clothed Ibn Kundâjiq with robes of honor and the rebels sued for peace, paying 200,000 dinârs so that he might recognize them in their districts.

Muhammad b. Abî al-Sâj arrived in Mecca. Ibn al-Makhzûmı offered resistance, but Ibn Abî al-Sâj routed him and seized all his possessions. This happened on the Tarwiya.
Day of this year.

Kayghalagh departed for Jibal, and Boktimur returned to Dinawar.

The troops of the Zenj Chieftain entered Ramhurmuz.

Why They Took Ramhurmuz

We have mentioned above how Muhammad b. Ubayd Allah al-Kurdi and 'Ali b. Aban, the lieutenant of al-Khabif, agreed upon reconciliation. It has also been reported that because of what happened 'Ali bore rancor in his heart against Muhammad and was looking for a chance to wrong him. Muhammad b. Ubayd Allah knew this very well, and he sought ways of evading him. He corresponded with Ankalay, son of al-Khabif, asking him to plead with his father to assign his, Muhammad b. Ubayd Allah's district, directly to him so that to remove the authority of 'Ali over Muhammad. This request was granted, but it only increased the rage and rancor of 'Ali, and he wrote to al-Khabif informing him that Muhammad, he was certain, was plotting treachery. He asked permission to attack him, and in order to create a pretext, asked that Muhammad be ordered to deliver the Kharaj collection from his district to him. This was granted and 'Ali wrote to Muhammad b. Ubayd Allah to transfer the money to him. Since
the latter dodged and delayed the execution of this order, 'Alī set out for Rāmhurmuz, where Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh was then stationed, and attacked him. Muḥammad had nothing to stop him with, and fled to the farthest strongholds of Arbaq and al-Bīlam. 1 'Alī entered Rāmhurmuz, ransacked the city and withdrew with the booty. Muḥammad was very frightened by this action of 'Alī, and he wrote to him asking for a reconciliation. 'Alī transmitted this request to al-Khabīr, and the latter instructed 'Alī to accept the offer, making sure that Muḥammad promptly delivers the money. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh delivered 200,000 dirhams to 'Alī. The latter transferred the money to al-Khabīr and kept away from Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh and his district.

A battle took place between the Kurds of al-Dārībān 1 and the Zenj of al-Khabīr. The Kurds were routed.

The Battle

After Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Azarmard had surrendered the funds mentioned above, and after he had been left undisturbed in his districts, he wrote to 'Alī b. Abān asking for his assistance against a group of Kurds from a place called al-Dārībān. He suggested that the booty should go to 'Alī and his troops.

'Alī wrote to al-Khabīr asking permission to set out to
do that, and the reply was, "Send al-Khalif b. Aban and Bahbud b. 'Abd al-Wahhab, but you stay, and do not despatch your troops until you get from Muhammad b. 'Ubayd Allah hostages who would remain in your power and give you security against his treachery. You have irritated him, and you cannot be sure he is not seeking revenge."

In accordance with the instruction he received from al-Khabif, 'Alf wrote to Muhammad b. 'Ubayd Allah asking for hostages. Muhammad b. 'Ubayd Allah gave him assurances and oaths, but evaded sending hostages. However, greed for the spoils which Muhammad b. 'Ubayd Allah excited in him, induced him to despatch his troops alongside with the men of Muhammad b. 'Ubayd Allah. When the joined forces arrived at their destination, the local population set out to fight and a battle ensued. At first, the Zenj had the upper hand, but later the Kurds gallantly counter-attacked, and the men of Muhammad b. 'Ubayd Allah treacherously deserted the field and fled. The Zenj troops retreated in utter disorder.

Before that Muhammad b. 'Ubayd Allah had prepared a group who were specially instructed to intercept the people in flight. This group caught the fugitives, attacked them and took spoils from them; they forced some to dismount and took away their horses. The men returned to 'Alf in terrible condition.

When al-Mu'allabif wrote to his master about what had
happened to his men, al-Khabīt replied reproachfully, "I had instructed you not to rely on Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, and to have him send you hostages; now that you have disregarded my instructions and followed your own whim, you have ruined yourself and destroyed your troops."

Al-Khabīt also wrote to Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, "Your plot against the troops of ‘Alī b. Abān is no secret to me and the punishment you deserve will not fail to come." This message frightened Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, and he wrote to al-Khabīt a letter full of humbleness and submission, sending also the horses which his men had taken from ‘Alī’s troops during their flight; and he said, "With all my troops I went against those who attacked al-Khalīl and Bahbūd, threatened and intimidated them until I made them return these horses which I am sending to you."

When al-Khabīt showed his anger, writing to him in threatening words that he would throw a huge army against him, Muḥammad again sent a letter of humility and self-effacement to al-Khabīt. He also sent to Bahbūd a message guaranteeing him money; likewise he wrote to Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Kirmānī, who at the time exerted the greatest influence upon ‘Alī, and whose judgment was always accepted by him.

Bahbūd, with the support of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Kirmānī, went to ‘Alī b. Abān to change his opinions in favor of Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh. They both softened his rage and rancor.
Then they went to al-Khabīṭ and happened to reach him just when he got the letter from Muḥammad b.‘Ubayd Allāh. After lengthy discussions, al-Khabīṭ seemed to concede to their opinion and agreed to give a favorable reply to Muḥammad b.‘Ubayd Allāh. Al-Khabīṭ said, "After all that has happened I am not going to accept less than vowing allegiance to me in the sermons from all the pulpipts of his districts."

With this Bahbūd and al-Kirmānī left al-Khabīṭ and they transmitted the result of their audience with al-Khabīṭ to Muḥammad b.‘Ubayd Allāh. The latter answered that he would comply with all the demands of al-Khabīṭ but he acted evasively on the issue of vowing allegiance to al-Khabīṭ from the pulpipts.

After all this, ‘Alī rested for a time, then prepared himself against Mattuṭ and marched there. He eagerly desired to take the city but he could not because of its fortifications and the numerous local defenders. Frustrated he returned and assembled ladders and implements for mounting walls, gathered his troops and made himself ready.

Masrūr al-Balkhī, who was at the time stationed in the districts of Ahwāz, knew that ‘Alī was going to Mattuṭ and, when ‘Alī marched there for the second time, Masrūr also marched out and overtook him before sunset just near the city. When ‘Alī's men saw the advanced horsemen of Masrūr's cavalry, they fled in a most shameful matter, leaving all
the implements which they had brought along. Humiliated, 'Alî retreated, suffering heavy losses. Soon the news followed that Abu al-`Aţmad was advancing. After his retreat from Mattut, 'Alî had engaged in no more fights until Sūq al-Khamis and Tahfîta fell to Abu al-`Aţmad. Then, receiving a letter from al-Khabif urgently summoning him, 'Alî went to his camp.

Leader of the pilgrims this year was Hârûn b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Mūsâ b. 'Isâ al-Hashîmî al-Kûfî.

Year 267. Events of the Year

The government jailed Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. 'Abd Allâh and some of the members of his household. Soon after the rout affected by Alîmad b. 'Abd Allâh al-Khujustâni upon 'Amr b. al-Layt, the latter brought accusations against Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir. He accused him of engaging in correspondence with al-Khujustâni and al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir. He also accused al-Ḥusayn and al-Khujustâni of exhorting the people from the pulpits of Khurasân to give allegiance to Muḥammad b. Ṭâhir.

Abû al-`Abbâs b. al-Muwaffaq seized all the towns of the Tigris Districts, including 'Abdâsî and others, which Sulaymân b. Jâmi', the companion of the Zenj leader, had conquered.
The Victory of Abū Al-'Abbās and
His Actions Against the Zenj in This Area

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported that he was told by Muḥammad b. Ḥammād that when the Zenj had entered Wāṣiṭ and acted there as reported above, and when this news reached Abū Ālmaid b. al-Mutawakkil, he urged his son Abū al-'Abbās, to go out to the area of Wāṣiṭ to fight against the Zenj. Abū al-'Abbās was prompt to carry out this command.

In the month of Rabi‘ / II of the year 266, when the time of Abū al-'Abbās' departure arrived, Abū Ālmaid rode to Bustān Mūsā al-Hāḍi to inspect the troops of Abū al-'Abbās and their equipment. There were altogether 10,000 horse-and footmen, all in the most beautiful uniforms, elegant outfits, with perfect equipment. They were provided with shadās, samīrīyas and pontoons to transfer the infantry. Everything was of the most skilled construction.

Abū al-'Abbās left Bustān al-Hāḍi and, accompanied by Abū Ālmaid, descended upon Firk. Here Abū Ālmaid left his son and Abū al-'Abbās stayed for several days to put the final touches to his preparations and to rally his troops. Thereupon, he departed to al-Madā'in, where he stayed for a time, and from there he went to Dayr al-'Aqūl.

Muḥammad b. Ḥammād said, "My brother Iṣḥāq b. Ḥammād and Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad b. Iṣmā‘īl al-Hāšimī, known as Burayḥ and Muḥammad b. Shu‘ayb al-Ishtiyām and a large group of people
who had accompanied Abū al-‘Abbās in his march, told me stories which agreed well with each other. According to these, upon his arrival in Dayr al-‘Aqūl, Abū al-‘Abbās received from Nuṣayr Abū Hamza, commander of the shadās and samīrīyas who had been sent with the vanguard, a letter informing him that Sulaymān b. Jāmi‘ with horse-, footmen, shadās and samīrīyas and with al-Jubba‘i in the vanguard, had already reached al-Jazīra, in the vicinity of Bardūdā; and that Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Sha‘rānī with his foot-, horsemen and samīrīyas, had reached Nahr Abān. Abū al-‘Abbās departed for Jarjarayā and, from there to Fan al-Ṣīlḥ, whence he sailed along al-Ṣīlḥ. From there he sent out skirmishers to gather information and these brought him word / that the enemy’s armies were approaching, and that their advance parties were in al-Ṣīlḥ, while their rearguard was in Bustān Mūsā b. Bughā, below Wāsīt.

Upon getting this report, Abū al-‘Abbās turned from the highway, and swerved from his route. His troops came upon the enemy’s vanguard, feigned retreat and provoked the enemy into a headlong pursuit. The enemy soldiers started shouting, "Look for a general to lead you in battle. Yours is busy with hunting." As soon as they came close to Abū al-‘Abbās at al-Ṣīlḥ, he attacked them with his horse- and footmen. At his command it was shouted to Nuṣayr: "How long will you run from these dogs? Get them!" Then Nuṣayr turned to face them. Abū
al-‘Abbās, Muḥammad b. Shu‘ayb al-İshtiyam with him, boarded a samrīya while the troops encircled the enemy from all directions, inflicting upon him a crushing defeat. God put the enemy to flight before Abū al-‘Abbās and his troops, and they killed and chased the Zenj up to the village ‘Abd Allah, which was within six parasangs from the place where the clash had started. They seized five shadās and a number of samrīyas. Many of the enemy surrendered, others were taken prisoners; the seized ships were sunk.

This was the first victory of Abū al-‘Abbās, the son of Abū Ṭabnād.

After the battle of that day was over, his captains and friends, fearful of the proximity of the enemy, advised Abū al-‘Abbās to set up his camp at the place which he had reached on al-‘Gilb, but he insisted on stopping only in Wāsīt.

After that rout of Sulaymān b. Jāmī‘ and his troops in which God had struck them severely, Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Sha‘rānī retreated from Nahr Abān to Sūq al-Khamis, while Sulaymān b. Jāmī‘ went to Nahr al-Amīr. Before they encountered Abū al-‘Abbās the opinion about him, circulating among the enemy, was: "This is an immature youngster without much of experience and training in warfare. The right thing for us to do is to fall upon him with all our strength, and to try to eliminate him in the very first encounter so that, perhaps, he will be so terrified that he will withdraw altogether."
And this they did. They rallied all their troops, and concentrated their efforts, but God smote them with His power and vengeance. The day after the battle, Abū al-‘Abbās, amid splendour, entered Wāsīṭ. This being Friday, he remained there to attend the Friday service and a great many people put themselves under his protection. Then he marched on to ‘Umr, within one parasang of Wāsīṭ, and accommodated his troops there, saying, "I will establish my camp below Wāsīṭ so that those who are above the camp will be safe from the Zenj." It was Nuṣayr Abū Hamza, and Shāh b. Mikal, who advised him to establish his residence above Wāsīṭ, but he declined this, saying, "I am not stopping except at ‘Umr, and both of you, go down to the mouth of the Bardūdā." Thus Abū al-‘Abbās shunning the counsel of his companions, refusing to listen to any of their views, he stopped at ‘Umr and started constructing shadās.

Thereafter he began raiding the enemy incessantly. He assigned his special ghulāms to samīrīyas, placing two to each. Now, Sulaymān too made ready and rallied his troops. He divided them into three columns: one coming from Nahr Abān, another from Barrtumartā, and still another from Bardūdā. Abū al-‘Abbās met them and before long, they were put to flight. One band of them remained behind at Sūq al-Khamīs, and another at Māzarwān.

Some of Abū al-‘Abbās' men started (to chase the foe) from Barrtumartā, while others took hold of al-Madiyān. Abū Ahmad
did not desist until he reached Nahr Bar Musawir. Thereupon, with the help of guides, he began inspecting the villages and roads until he returned to his camp and remained there to rest himself and his troops.

While there, an informant came with a report that the Zenj had assembled their forces and had prepared themselves to take his army by surprise, and that they were approaching from three directions. He further reported that they had said that Abū al-'Abbās was a heedless youngster who would rush headlong into peril and that therefore they had decided to set up an ambush and to proceed towards him from three directions as mentioned above. Abū Almad took necessary precautionary measures and prepared himself accordingly.

Indeed, the Zenj had marched out towards him, after having placed some 10,000 men at Barrtumartā and about the same number at Quss Ḥata. They advanced twenty samīriyas to the camp to lure the people past the positions of the ambushes.

But Abū al-'Abbās prevented his men from chasing after them. When the foe perceived that their ruse failed, al-Jubbā'ī and Sulaymān came into the open with their shadās and samīriyas. Abū al-'Abbās, however, had his troops re-aligned superbly; then he instructed Nuṣayr Abū Ḥamza to set forth with his shadās against the enemy. Abū al-'Abbās himself dismounted from his horse and summoned one of his shadās, which he named al-Ghazāl. He instructed the captain Muḥammad
b.Shu‘ayb to select oarsmen for this shadā which he boarded. He also selected from among his special troops and freedmen, a detachment which he armed with spears. Then he ordered the commanders of the cavalry to march before him along the bank of the river and warned them, as far as possible not to slow down their march until / waterways obstructed their passage. He also ordered the transfer of some of the horses which were in Bardūdā.

The battle between the parties flared up. The front ran from the limits of the township al-Raml to al-Ruṣāfa. The Zenj were defeated and the troops of Abū al-‘Abbās seized 14 shadās. Sulaymān and al-Jubbā‘i had a narrow escape, their horses with all their ornaments and harness were seized and the masters fled on foot. The entire army, without losing even one soldier, and preserving all the equipment and outfit intact, reached Ṭahītā. Abū al-‘Abbās returned to his camp in al-‘Umār and remained there, and ordered that all the seized shadās and samīriyas be repaired and manned. For twenty days after that none of the Zenj appeared. Every three days al-Jubbā‘i would go out with his skirmishers and return. Above the canal Sindād he dug pits and at the bottom of them he planted iron rods and covered them up with rush-mats, thus concealing their positions. These pits, intentionally scattered along the habitual route for riders were to trap by-passers. Then he would approach the flanks of the camp of
Abū al-‘Abbās, exposing himself to the people there so that their horsemen would go out to pursue him.

When on one of the days he came and the horsemen started to pursue him as usual, the horse of an officer from Ferghana tumbled into one of those pits. Thus, the men of Abū al-‘Abbās became aware of the ruse al-Jubbā’i had conceived, and took precautions to avoid passing along that road. The Zenj harassed the camp in the early morning every day to provoke an engagement; they even camped at Nahr al-Amīr in force, but all this was of no avail. They abstained from fighting for about / a month.

Now, Sulaymān wrote to the Zenj Chieftain requesting him to reinforce him with samīrfyas of forty oarsmen each. And, indeed, within some twenty days, forty samīrfyas arrived each carrying two warriors, all the sailors also being provided with swords, spears and shields. Al-Jubbā’i established his position in front of the army of Abū al-‘Abbās and thus resumed daily fighting contact. But whenever the troops of Abū al-‘Abbās set out against Jubbā’i’s forces, the latter, instead of holding fast to their positions, would retreat, while their skirmishers would destroy bridges, shoot at horsemen appearing within the range of their arrows, or set fire to vessels of Nuṣayr which they would find standing on guard. This was going on for about two months, after which Abū al-‘Abbās saw to it that an ambush was placed at the township Raml and several samīrfyas were advanced ahead of the soldiers.
to serve as a bait. Abu al-'Abbas also ordered two samfrfya\textsuperscript{a}s for himself and Zirak, and selected for these vessels a number of ghulāms whom he knew to be gallant fighters. Then he assigned Badr and Mū'nis to one samfrfya, Rashīq al-Hajjājī and Yumma to another, Khaffīf and Yusra to a third, and Nadīr and Wasīf to a fourth. He prepared 15 samfrfya\textsuperscript{a}s, two fighters in each, and sent them ahead of the army.

Muhammad b. Shu'ayb al-Ishtiyām said, “On that day, I was among those who were sent with the vanguard. The Zenj seized a number of the most advanced samfrfya\textsuperscript{a}s and took prisoners. Hurriedly, I called out in a loud voice, ‘The enemy have seized our samfrfya\textsuperscript{a}s.’ Upon hearing this, Abu al-'Abbas, who was taking his breakfast, rushed towards his samfrfya\textsuperscript{a}s, which had been prepared for him. The army moved, but waiting for his men to join him, Abu al-'Abbas rushed to the vanguard followed only by those who were ready. We reached the Zenj and when they saw us, God filled their hearts with terror, they jumped into the water and fled. We rescued our troops and captured 31 of the Zenj samfrfya\textsuperscript{a}s. Al-Jubbā'ī escaped with 3 samfrfya\textsuperscript{a}s. That day Abu al-'Abbas fired so many shots from his bow that his thumbs started bleeding, and he withdrew. I think, had we persisted and exerted ourselves in pursuing al-Jubbā'ī on that cay, we could have seized him, but we refrained from doing so because of extreme fatigue.

Abu al-'Abbas and most of his troops returned to their

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places at the mouth of Bardūdā, without having lost even one of their number. Upon his arrival at his camp, he bestowed upon all those who had gone with him neck chains, robes of honor and rings and gave instructions that the samīrīyās seized from the Zenj be repaired. Abū Ḥamza, his men and shadās were ordered to take up a position on the Tigris in front of Khusrusābūr.

Thereupon, Abū al-'Abbās decided to penetrate along the Māzarwān Canal as far as the town al-Ḥajjājiya and further on to Nahr al-Amīr to reconnoiter on all these places and find out about the routes followed by the Zenj samīrīyās. Nuṣayr was ordered to advance with his vessels and he proceeded with his men, shadās and samīrīyās to carry out the order. When he left the road of Māzarwān bound for the area of Nahr al-Amīr, Abū al-'Abbās summoned his samīrīya and with Muḥammad b. Shu‘ayb boarded it and entered Māzarwān. Believing that Nuṣayr was in front of him, he said to Muḥammad, 'Proceed ahead of me on the river and find out what is the matter with Nuṣayr.' The vessels were instructed to follow behind Muḥammad.'

Muḥammad b. Shu‘ayb said, We proceeded until, close to al-Ḥajjājiya we came upon a salgha with ten Zenj. As we rushed toward it, the Zenj threw themselves into the water leaving their salgha in our hands; it was full of barley. We also seized there one Zenj whom we questioned about Nuṣayr and his shadās, but he told us 'no shadā or samīrīya whatever had en-
tered this waterway.' We were confused now. Meanwhile, the Zenj who escaped from us informed their comrades of our whereabouts. Our sailors noticed some sheep and they went ashore to carry them off, while I alone remained with Abū al-‘Abbās. Before long a Zenj captain named Muntāb appeared with his men, on one side of the canal, ten of the Zenj on the other side. Seeing this, we rushed out, Abū al-‘Abbās with his bow and arrows and I with my spear. I covered him while he was shooting arrows at the Zenj, of whom two were wounded. But they pressed on tenaciously and their numbers increased. By the time Zīrak and his shādās with the ghulāms joined us, some 2000 Zenj were around us on both sides of Māzarwān. But God meted out their due and drove the Zenj back, utterly humiliated. Abū al-‘Abbās returned to his camp, his troops bringing back a great number of sheep, cows and buffaloes. He ordered beheaded the sailors who had left him to seize the cattle; those who had stayed on duty were given a month's pay. Abū al-‘Abbās also issued a warning to all sailors not to leave their samārīyas in time of battle and that the death penalty would be imposed upon those who violated this order. The defeated Zenj all fled to Ṭahīṭa, and Abū al-‘Abbās stayed in his camp at ‘Umr, his skirmishers roving all over the surrounding area. This situation lasted for some time.

Meanwhile, Sulaymān b. Jāmi gathered his troops and officers and entrenched himself at Ṭahīṭa, while al-Sha‘rānī...
did the same at Suq al-Khamfs. Also at Sinfiya they had a huge army under the command of Naṣr al-Sindf. They all engaged in ransacking everything within their reach, carrying off whatever they could of the crops and fortifying the places where they were stationed.

Abū al-'Abbās sent out some of his officers, among them al-Shāh, Kumushjūr, al-Faḍl b. Mūsā b. Bughā and his brother Muḥammad, on horses to the neighborhood of Sinfiya. Abū al-'Abbās himself, with Nuṣayr and Zīrak, boarded war vessels. He ordered that the cavalry be transferred from Bar Musāwir to the road of Zuhr. When the troops reached Hurūf, Abū al-'Abbās ordered the beasts sent there, and as they were on the western side of the Tigris, he instructed the army to march along the road to Dayr al-'Ummal.

When the Zenj noticed the imperial cavalry, they were seized with terror and they fled to the water and their ships. Before long they were overtaken by the imperial war vessels, and seeing there was no escape, the Zenj surrendered. Some of them were killed, others captured, and some jumped into the water. The troops of Abū al-'Abbās seized their vessels which were full of rice. With these also fell into their hands the samāfīyā of their leader, Naṣr al-Sindf. The rest of the Zenj fled, one band to Tahīta, another to Sūq al-Khamfs. Abū al-'Abbās thus conquered Sinfiya, and expelled the Zenj from there and then returned to his camp with booty.
Muḥammad b. al-Shu‘ayb said, "While we were in the midst of the battle of Šīnīya, Ābu l-‘Abbās noticed a Numidian crane in flight. He aimed at it and pierced it with his arrow. The crane fell to the ground in front of the Zenj, who picked it up and perceived, examining the hole of the wound, that it was caused by the arrow of Ābu l-‘Abbās. This augmented their fear and was the reason of their flight."

Some reliable people are reported to believe that the shooting of the arrow at the crane by Ābu l-‘Abbās took place on another occasion.

It reached Ābu l-‘Abbās that a huge force under two Zenj, Ṭābit b. Ābī Dulaf and Lu‘lu‘, was stationed at ‘Abdasf. With a detachment of horsemen selected from his most valiant ghulāms and courageous officers he marched to ‘Abdasf to engage the enemy. At dawn he reached the spot where they were located, dealt them a crushing blow, killing a great many of their men of courage and bravery. The Zenj army was routed. Ābu l-‘Abbās captured its leader, Ṭābit b. Ābī Dulaf and, sparing his life, he assigned him to one of the captains. Lu‘lu‘, struck by an arrow, died. A great many women who were in the hands of the Zenj were rescued on that day, and the order of Ābu l-‘Abbās was to set them free and have them returned / to their families. Everything the Zenj had hoarded up was taken away.

Returning to his camp, Ābu l-‘Abbās ordered his troops
to take a rest in preparation for marching against Suq al-Khamis; then he summoned Nuṣayr and instructed him to get his men ready to march. Nuṣayr said to him: "Nahr Suq al-Khamis is narrow, therefore, you stay here and allow me to go there to inspect it." But Abū al-'Abbās refused to permit this inspection for the gathering of necessary information, because he was expecting the arrival of his father, Abū Ahmad from whom he had received a letter saying that he had decided to come.

Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb said, "Abū al-'Abbās called me and said, 'I must take Suq al-Khamis.' To this I retorted, 'If, as you say, it is absolutely necessary for you to do this, do not take along a great number of people in the shadā, at any rate no more than 13 ghulāms, 10 archers and 3 spear bearers, since I would hate to have the shadā overcrowded in this narrow canal.'"

"Abū al-'Abbās made himself ready and marched out accompanied by Nuṣayr. When they reached the mouth of Bar Musāwr, Nuṣayr said, "Send me ahead." This was accepted, and Nuṣayr proceeded with fifteen shadās. One of the mawāli officers, Mūsā Daljawayh, who had asked permission to go forward was allowed to do so, and he went too.

Abū al-'Abbās advanced until he reached Basāmi; from there he went to the mouth of Barāṭiq, then to the water course Raqq, and finally to the waterway crossing Rawata.
and 'Abdasf. These three waterways led to three divergent roads. Nuṣayr set out on the road along the Barāṭiq Canal leading to the city of Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Shaʿrānī, which he named al-Manṣa bi-Suq al-Khamīs. Abū al-ʿAbbās stayed at the mouth of this canal and Nuṣayr moved on until he disappeared from sight, and nothing further was heard of him. Now a great many of the Zenj appeared, and hindered our entrance into the canal; they made a stand between us and the approaches to the walls, the distance between the spot which we had reached and the walls surrounding the city of al-Shaʿrānī being about two parasangs. From that spot they waged war against us. The battle between us -- they fighting on land, and we aboard ships -- raged from the beginning of the day to noon, by which time we still had no word from Nuṣayr. Then the Zenj shouting, "We caught Nuṣayr, and what are you going to do? We shall hound you wherever you go!"

Abū al-ʿAbbās was very worried when he heard this, and Muḥammad b. al-Shuʿayb asked to be allowed to go and find out what had happened to Nuṣayr. This being granted, he went in a samirīya with twenty oarsmen and reached Nuṣayr Aba Ḥamza near the dam which the villains had set up. He had just set fire to the dam and to their city, and was fighting desperately against them with great success. The Zenj had initially some of Abū Ḥamza's shadās, but he succeeded in recovering them.

Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb returned to Abū al-ʿAbbās with the good
news of the safety of Nuṣayr and his men, and a report of their exploits. Abū Aḥmad rejoiced at this. On that day Nuṣayr captured a great many Zenj, and returned to the spot where Abū al-ʿAbbās was stationed.

Upon Nuṣayr's return, Abū al-ʿAbbās said, "I am not going to quit this spot until I fight them again tonight!", and this he did. He instructed his men to expose one of his shādas to the view of the Zenj, concealing the rest. At the sight of the vessel the Zenj, seized with greed, started to pursue it. Now the crew of that shāda kept it to a slow course so that the Zenj overtook it and held fast to the rudder. Then the sailors started to race so as to reach the positions of the ambushing shādas.

Now, Abū al-ʿAbbās, wearing a felt vest above his coat of mail, was aboard a samārīya with his shāda behind him. When he noticed the shāda which the Zenj clung to, he rushed toward it just as the Zenj were grasping its rudders and surrounding it from all sides, showering it with arrows and stones."

Muḥammad said, "On that day we extracted twenty-five arrows from the felt vest of Abū al-ʿAbbās. I extracted from the felt-cap I had on forty arrows, and from the rest of the sailors' felt-caps twenty-five to thirty arrows. God rendered into the hands of Abū al-ʿAbbās six Zenj samārīyas; the shāda was rescued and the Zenj ran. Abū al-ʿAbbās and his
men repaired to the bank and charged upon the Zenj warriors with their swords and shields. The enemy fled in panic without looking back. Safely and with booty, Abū al-‘Abbās returned. He clothed his sailors with robes of honor and bestowed gifts upon them. Then he returned to his camp at ‘Umr and remained there until the arrival of al-Muwaffaq.

On the eleventh of Șafar, Abū Aḥmad b. / al-Mutawakkil camped at Firk, then he departed from the City of Peace heading towards the camp of the Zenj Chieftain, with the purpose of fighting against him. The reason for this was, according to reports, that it had reached him that the Zenj Chieftain had written to his lieutenant ‘Alī b. Abān al-Muhallabi instructing him to march with all his troops to the location of Sulaymān b. Jāmi‘ to join forces with him in fighting al-‘Abbās b. Abī Aḥmad.

Abū Aḥmad remained in Firk for several days to permit all his troops and any others who wanted to proceed with him to join him. He had prepared the shadās, samfriyās, pontoons and boots, and on Tuesday, the second of the month of Rabī‘ I, according to reports, he, with his mawālis, ghulāms, horse-footmen, left Firk bound for Rūmiyat al-Madā‘īn; then they journeyed on and stopped at al-Sīb, Dayr al-‘Aqūl, Jarjarāyā, Qunnā, Jabbul, Šīlḥ and in a place one parasang from Wāṣīṭ. Here he remained for one day and one night and was met by his son Abū al-‘Abbās and a squadron of horsemen which included
his leading officers and soldiers. Abū Aḥmad inquired about the state of his men and getting from his son a picture of their gallantry and devotion in fighting, he ordered that robes of honor be bestowed upon Abū al-‘Abbās and his men. Thereupon, the son returned to his camp at ‘Umr. In the early morning of the next day Abū Aḥmad sailed down the waterway where he was met by his son Abū al-‘Abbās and all his troops in military formation and as fully equipped as they would be when confronting the Traitor's forces. Abū Aḥmad sailed on until he reached his camp on the waterway Shiŕzād, where he stopped. On Thursday, the twenty-eighth of Rabi‘ I, he departed from there and stopped on the Sindad Canal, opposite the township ‘Abd Allāh, instructing his son Abū al-‘Abbās to halt on the eastern side of the Tigris, opposite the mouth of Bardūdā, and putting him in charge of his vanguard. Then he allotted the soldiers allowances and paid them out, and instructed his son with his men and war equipment to march ahead toward the mouth of the Barr Musawir Canal.

Abū al-‘Abbās set out with the best of his officers and troops, including Zīrak al-Turkī, commander of his vanguard, and Nuṣayr Abū Ḫamza, commander of his fleet. After this Abū Aḥmad set out with his selected horse- and footmen, leaving the bulk of his army and many of his horse- and footmen behind in his place of encampment.

His son Abū al-‘Abbās met him with a show of captives,
heads and bodies of slain enemies from among the troops of al-Sha'rānī. For, on that same day, before the arrival of his father Abu Aḥmad, Abu al-'Abbās had been attacked by al-Sha'rānī who came upon his camp. Abu al-'Abbās dealt him a severe blow, killing a great many of his men and taking captives. Abu Aḥmad ordered that the captives be beheaded, which was done. Then Abu Aḥmad descended to the mouth of Barr Musāwir, where he stayed for two days. From there, on Tuesday, the eighth of the month of Rabī' II, he departed from Sūq al-Khamīs with all his men and war equipment bound for the city which the Zenj Chieftain had named Al-Manī' bi Sūq al-Khamīs. He proceeded with his ships along Barr Musāwir having the cavalry march before him along the eastern side of Barr Musāwir until they reached the waterway Barāṭiq, which led to the city of al-Sha'rānī. Abu Aḥmad preferred to begin fighting against Mūsā al-Sha'rānī before he fought Sulaymān b. Jāmi' because he feared that al-Sha'rānī, who was in his rear, might attack him from behind and thus divert him from the adversary in front of him. That is why he set out against al-Sha'rānī. The cavalry was ordered to cross and proceed along both banks of the Barāṭiq waterway. Abu Aḥmad also instructed his son Abu al-'Abbās to advance with a flotilla and he himself followed with naval units and the bulk of his army.
When Sulaymān and his Zenj and non-Zenj troops noticed the cavalry and infantry proceeding on both banks of the canal and the ships advancing along the canal -- this was after Abū al-'Abbās had met them and engaged in a slight skirmish with them -- they fled and scattered. The troops of Abū al-'Abbās climbed the walls and put those who were in their way to the point of the sword. When the Zenj and their supporters scattered, Abū al-'Abbās and his forces entered the city, killed a great many of its people, took many prisoners and laid hold of whatever was there. Al-Sha'ranī and others who escaped with him fled, and were pursued by the men of Abū Aḥmad up to the marshes where many drowned, the rest having fled into the thickets.

Thereupon, Abū Aḥmad instructed his troops to return to their camp before sunset of that Tuesday, and he withdrew. About 5000 Muslim women and some Zenj women who were in Suq al-Khamīs were taken from them. Abū Aḥmad gave instructions to take care of all the women, to transfer them to Wāsiṭ and return them to their families.

Abū Aḥmad spent that night / opposite the Barāṭiq Canal and in the early morning of the next day, he entered the city and gave the people permission to take over all the Zenj possessions there. Everything there was in the city was taken. Abū Aḥmad ordered the walls razed, trenches filled and the remaining ships burned. He left for his
camp at Barr Musawir with the booty he had taken in the hamlets and villages which had been in the hands of al-Sha'ran and his men, such as the crops of wheat, barley and rice. He ordered that the crops be sold and the money realized be spent to pay his mawāf and ghulām soldiers and other people of his camp.

Sulaymān al-Sha'ran with his two brothers and others escaped, but he lost his children and money. Upon reaching Madār he reported to the Traitor about what had befallen him and that he had taken refuge in Madār.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported that Muḥammad b. Ḥishām, known as Abu Watila al-Kirmānī, had said, "I was in the presence of the Traitor as he was conducting a discussion just when the letter from Sulaymān al-Sha'ran arrived with the news of the battle, its outcome, and his flight to Madār. As soon as he had the letter unsealed and his eye fell on the line describing the defeat, the muscles of his stomach loosened and he got up to go and relieve himself; then he returned. As his Assembly came to order, he took the letter and began reading it again, and when he reached the passage which had disturbed him the first time, he left once more. This repeated itself several times. There remained no doubt that the calamity was great, and I refrained from asking him questions. After some time had elapsed I ventured to say: 'Was not that letter from Sulaymān b. Mūsā?'"
Said he, 'Yes, and a piece of heartbreaking news, too. Indeed, those who fell upon him dealt upon him such a crushing blow that it has annihilated him. He has written the letter from Madâr, and he has barely saved his own skin.'

"I deemed this news momentous and only God knows what a joy filled my heart, but I concealed it and refrained from rejoicing at the prospect of the approaching relief. However, the Traitor regained self-control in face of vicissitude, and showed firmness. He wrote to Sulaymân b. Jâmi' cautioning him against al-Shâ'râni's fate and instructing him to be vigilant and watchful concerning what might lie before him."

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥammâd had said, "Al-Muwaffaq stayed in his camp at Barr Musâwir for two days to gather information about al-Shâ'râni and Sulaymân b. Jâmi' and to find out about their base. When some of those sent out for this purpose brought him information that Sulaymân b. Jâmi' was encamped in the township al-Hawânît, he immediately ordered the cavalry to cross to the Kaskar area, on the western bank of the Tigris. He himself journeyed by ship and ordered the warships and infantry transports to proceed down to Katîta. The bulk of his army, including a large troop of footmen and horses he left behind at the mouth of Barr Musâwir. He instructed Bughraj to stay there. Upon his arrival in Šînîyah, Abu Ḥamad instructed
Abū al-'Abbās to advance promptly with ṣadās and samīrīyas to Ḥawānīṭ in order to verify the information about the location of Sulaymān b. Jāmī. If the enemy were to display neglect, Abū al-'Abbās was to attack him. That same evening Abū al-'Abbās arrived in al-Ḥawānīṭ and, instead of Sulaymān, he found the Negro captains, Shībl and Abū al-Nīdā' --- two of the earliest companions of the Rebel, both famous for their courage and bravery, / who associated with him from the very beginning of his revolt. They had been left there by Sulaymān b. Jāmī to guard the rich crops in the area. In fighting against them, Abū al-'Abbās moved his ships into a narrow spot in the waterway and killed many of their people, injuring others with arrows. This force of Sulaymān consisting of his most valorous, select and reliable men, the battle between the parties lasted until night intervened."

Muḥammad b. Ḥammad said that it was this battle in which the incident of Abū al-'Abbās' shooting the crane took place and to which Muḥammad b. Shu‘ayb referred to as the Battle of Ṣīnfiya. The bird passed on his right side.

On that day a man surrendered to Abū al-'Abbās. When Abū al-'Abbās asked him about the location of Sulaymān b. Jāmī, he reported that Sulaymān was stationed at Ṭahīṭa. Immediately Abū al-'Abbās returned to his father with the news about Sulaymān's true location in his city, which he named Manṣūra and which was in the place known as Ṭahīṭa.
He further told his father that Sulaymān had there all his captains except Shībl and Abū al-Nīdā, as these two had been left under orders to guard Hawānīt. As soon as he learned this, Abū Ahmad gave the order to set out for Bardūdā, since from there the road led to Ṭahīta. Abū al-'Abbās with the flotilla went ahead and instructed all those left behind at Barr Musāwir to march to Bardūdā. On the day after he had given instructions to Abū al-'Abbās, Abū Ahmad left for Bardūdā and, after two days' march, on Friday the seventeenth of Rabī' II of the year 267, he arrived there. He remained to make whatever repairs were needed for his army, to effect the payment of the soldiers, and to renovate the pontoon-transports / to be taken along. He also picked up numerous workers and tools needed to block canals and to repair roads for the horses. He left Bughrāj al-Turkī behind in Bardūdā.

When the time came that Abū Ahmad decided to go to Bardūdā, he ordered his page Ju‘lān, who had been left with Bughrāj in his camp, to take down his tents and forward them and the armaments to Bardūdā with the animals which had been left at his camp. At the time of the late evening prayer, when the people did not expect it, Ju‘lān disclosed the order he had received. This made the people suspect that the order was caused by a defeat and they ran headlong from the camp abandoning their tents and provisions. Fearful that the enemy was very close, they scattered so that no two remained to-
gether and, in the dark of the night, they all fled towards their camp in Bardūdā. Subsequently, they learned the true state of affairs, calmed down and regained composure.

In the month of Ṣafar, in the vicinity of Qarmāsīn, the troops of Kayghalagh al-Turkī and those of Ḥāmād b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd Dūlāf engaged in a battle. Kayghalagh gained the victory and proceeded to Hamadān. But in the same month ‘Abd al-‘Azīz with the troops which he had rallied came upon him, attacked and defeated him; Kayghalagh now fled to Shaymara.

On the twenty-sixth of Rabi‘ II, Abū ‘Abdāl马 and his troops entered Tahīta and ousted Sulaymān b. Jāmī from there. In this battle Ḥāmād b. Maḥdī al-Jubba‘i was killed.

How Abū ‘AbdālMa and His Troops Occupied Tahīta and How al-Jubba‘i Was Killed

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported that Muḥammad b. Ḥammād told him this, "In Bardūdā Abū ‘AbdālMa effected the payment of his soldiers, brought in good repair the equipment of those going to fight against the leader of the rebellion, and set out in the direction of Tahīta. This was on Sunday, the eighteenth of Rabi‘ II, 267. He proceeded on horseback with his cavalry. The vessels he forwarded with the footmen, arms and equipment; also the pontoons, war ships and boats were sent on until they
reached the Mahrūd Waterway\(^1\) in the vicinity of the township Qaryat al-Jauziya.\(^1\) Here Abū Aḥmad stopped, ordered that the above mentioned waterway be spanned with a bridge, and he remained there for a day and night. On the next day he passed the horses and equipment over the bridge; then he crossed too and gave the order to his captains and troops to march to Ṭahītā. They advanced to a place which Abū Aḥmad chose as quarters for himself, within two miles from the city of Sulaymān b. Jāmi'. Here, facing the troops of the Traitor, they stayed during Monday and Tuesday, the twenty-first of Rabi'\(^i\) II. Then a heavy downpour began, and an intense cold afflicted his force during the days of his stay there. Rain and cold prevented him from fighting and they did not engage in battle until the end of the week. It was only on the evening of Friday that Abū Aḥmad with a small group of his captains and clients set out in search of a place to deploy his cavalry, and he advanced close to the walls of (the city) of Sulaymān / b. Jāmi'. Here they were encountered by numerous warriors of Sulaymān b. Jāmi', also ambushers attacked them from different positions, and an engagement broke out and grew more and more violent. A detachment of horsemen dismounted from their horses and fought back until he escaped from the straits into which they had gotten themselves. One of Abū Aḥmad's pages and captains, Wasff 'Alamdār by name, and a number of Zīrak's captains fell into captivity. Abū al-'Abbās fired an arrow
which hit Aḥmad b. Mahdī al-Jubbaʾi in one of his nostrils and pierced him to the brain. Hit, al-Jubbaʾi fell from his horse and was carried back on his final journey to the camp of the Traitor. The Traitor was very distressed by this calamity because al-Jubbaʾi had been his most steadfast and indispensable lieutenant, the most clear-seeing among his followers. After a few days of treatments, al-Jubbaʾi died. Griefstricken, the Traitor attended his ablutions, shrouding and funeral service, and stood by his grave until he was buried. Thereupon he addressed his troops with a sermon in which he spoke on the death of al-Jubbaʾi. This death occurred in a night of thunders and lightnings, and the Traitor was reported as having said, 'I knew the time of his soul's ascent before word of his death came to me because I heard the chant of the angels praying for him and pleading for mercy for him.'

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said, "Abū Wātīla, who was among those present at the sermon, came to me and amazed me with the stories he had heard; then, Muḥammad b. Simʿān came to me and told me stories similar to those of Muḥammad b. Ḥishām."

The Traitor left the funeral of al-Jubbaʾi grieved and broken-hearted.

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said that Muḥammad b. Ḥammād told him this: "When Abū Aḥmad returned from the engagement
which took place Friday night, the twenty-fifth of Rabi' II, news of it had already reached his camp. All of his army rose to meet him on his way back. It was already the time of sunset, and Abū Aḥmad led them back to their quarters.

When all the people of his camp were together, he instructed them to be on the alert that night in alternate shifts and to get ready for action. Early in the morning of Saturday the twenty-sixty of Rabi' II, Abū Aḥmad put his troops into military formations in such a way that squadrons of cavalry alternated with infantry men. He instructed the warships and boats to proceed with him along the waterway Mundīr, which runs through the city of Ṭahīta.

Thus he advanced toward the Zenj until he reached the walls of the city; there he assigned mawāḥif troops to the places he feared the Zenj might attack. He advanced infantry men in front of the horsemen and assigned them to positions from which he feared ambushers might strike. Then he stopped and performed four rak'as and implored God to extend his help to him and the Muslims. Then he called for his arms, put them on, ordered his son Abū al-'Abbās to advance to the walls and arouse the ghulāms to fight; this was done.

Sulaymān b. Jāmi' had a moat prepared before the walls of his city which he named Manṣūra. When they reached this moat, the ghulāms were startled and hesitated to cross
but the captains urged them on, and along with them dismounted from their horses, daringly rushed into the moat, and crossed it. They came upon the Zenj who were on the top of the walls of their city and put them to the sword. A party of horsemen also waded through the moat. When the Zenj saw these people who (once) encountered them, coming again, they turned about and took to flight. Abū Aḥmad's men chased after them and entered the city from its sides. The Zenj had fortified it with five moats, with a wall erected before each of them to make them inaccessible. The Zenj made a stand behind each wall and moat which the imperial troops reached, but the men of Abū Aḥmad drove them away from all positions. The flotilla penetrated the city by the waterway traversing it, after the Zenj had run and started to sink all the warships and boats which came within their reach. They chased after the people on both sides of the canal, killing and capturing until they ousted the enemy from the city and from about one parasang of the adjacent territory, all of which area was occupied by Abū Aḥmad.

Sulaymān b. Jāmi' escaped with only a small group of his men, losing the rest to death and captivity in this violent fight. About ten thousand women and children from the people of Wāṣiṭ and adjacent villages as well as from surroundings of Kūfa were rescued by Abū Aḥmad,
who ordered them placed under protection and care. They were transferred to Wasiṭ and delivered to their families. Abū Aḥmad and his men took hold of all stores, money, food and cattle in the city, which amounted to a high sum; the crops and other things obtained he ordered sold, and the proceeds of the sale transferred to his treasury to have it disbursed as pay to his mawāls and soldiers. They carried away everything transportable, and captured a number of Sulaymān's wives and children. On that day, Wāṣīf 'Alamdar and others who were captured with him on the eve of that Friday were rescued and taken out from the prison thus preventing their death at the hands of the Zenj.

A great many of the Zenj who escaped fled into the thickets around the city. On Abū Aḥmad's order, the Mūndir Canal was spanned with a bridge and the people passed over it to the western side. Abū Aḥmad remained in Tahīta for 17 days, directed that the walls be razed and the moats filled. This being done, he ordered a search for the fugitives in the thickets and established a prize for everyone bringing in a prisoner. This made the people vie with one another in searching for them. Now, if one was brought in, Abū Aḥmad would pardon him, bestow upon him robes of honor, and assign him to the mawāl forces. By this he won their affection and deflected them from loyalty to their master.
Now, Abū Alṣamad directed Nuṣayr with his flotilla to pursue Sulaymān b. Jāmī' and the fugitives, Zenj and others, who were with him. He urged Nuṣayr to pursue them all over the marshes up to the Blind Tigris. Then he proceeded to open up the dams which the Rebel built in the section between himself and Abū Alṣamad, in order to cut off the warships on the Tigris from access to his position on the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. He commanded Zīrak to stay in Ṭahīṭa so that her inhabitants, earlier driven away by the Rebel, might gradually return, and instructed him also to search after and apprehend the rest of the Zenj who still remained in the thickets.

In the month of Rabī’ II, Umm Jabīb, daughter of al-Rashīd passed away.

Having accomplished what he wanted, Abū Alṣamad returned to his camp in Bardūdā, having his mind set to proceed to Ahwāz and put the affairs of that province in order. For a long time he had been concerned with the actions of al-Muhallabī, who by his attacks harassed the imperial troops stationed there and established his domination over most of the districts of Ahwāz. Abū al-ʿAbbās had already gone there before him.

When Abū Alṣamad arrived in Bardūdā where he remained for several days, he issued instructions to prepare everything he needed for a cavalry march to the districts of Ahwāz, and sent people ahead to repair the roads and houses, and store
up provision for his men. Just before his departure from Wāsiṭ, Zīrak arrived on his way back from Ṭahīṭa, where the population of the once Zenj occupied districts was back and now lived in security. Abū Ḫaḍrim instructed him to get ready and to bring his best and most valiant men, as well as the flotilla down to the Blind Tigris, to join forces with Abū Ḫamza in order to reconnoiter the Tigris, pursue the Zenj fugitives and attack such troops of the Rebel whom they might come upon along the route to his city on the Abū al-Khaṣib Canal. If they consider circumstances proper, they were to fight the Rebel in his city and to report to Abū Ḫaḍrim, so that he might further instruct them as to how to proceed. Abū Ḫaḍrim appointed his son Ḥarūn as his deputy over the people he left behind in Wāsiṭ, and decided to depart with a mobile group of his officers and soldiers. After he had forwarded to his son Ḥarūn the order to have the troops and ships which he left with him go to the base on the Tigris as soon as the proper message to this effect is received, Abū Ḫaḍrim departed.

It was the first of Jumādā II of / the year 267 when Abū Ḫaḍrim left Wāsiṭ bound for Ahwāz and its districts. He made stops at Bādibūn, Jūkhā, 1 Ṭīb, 2 Qurqūb, 3 and Darustān. 4 Next he stopped at the river Sūs where he stayed from morning till late afternoon, when he had the river spanned with a bridge and all his men crossed. Then he continued his...
march until he arrived at Sus and stopped there. Before that he had sent an order to Masrūr, his governor in Ahwāz, to come up to him. Masrūr arrived on the day after Abū Al'āmad with his soldiers and officers stopped at Sus. There Abū Al'āmad clothed them all with robes of honor, and stayed for three days.

Among the accomplices of the Rebel seized at Tahīta was Al'āmad b. Mūsā b. Sa'īd al-Baṣrī, known as al-Qalūs, who was one of his adjutants and earliest followers. He was captured after being so severely injured that he died of his wounds. Abū Al'āmad ordered his head cut off and displayed on the bridge of Wāsit.

Another prisoner was 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Kirmānī who, having fallen into disgrace with al-Khabīt, was sent to Tahīta to administer justice and worship there. In addition, many reliable, valiant and courageous Negro troops were captured. When al-Khabīt learned about their fate, his control over things failed, he lost his sound judgment, and in a fit of anxiety, he sent a letter by an attendant of his to al-Muhallabī, who at the time was staying in Ahwāz with some 30,000 men. The letter contained an order to abandon all provision and equipment 'Alī had and to proceed to him (al-Khabīt).

Al-Muhallabī received the letter after he had already learned about the march of Abū Al'āmad on Ahwāz and its districts, news of which drove him mad with anxiety. He set
out leaving everything he had at his disposal to Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Karnabāʾi, whom he appointed as his deputy. But before long, Muḥammad seized with fear, abandoned all and followed after al-Muhallabī. Large quantities of various kinds of grain, dates and livestock were stored up in Jubbā and Ahwāz and in their surroundings at the time. All this they gave up.

The Rebel wrote also to Bahbūd b. Ṭāhir b. Ḥarbit b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who was at the time his governor of Fandām and al-Bāṣyān with the surrounding townships between Ahwāz and Fārs, and who was stationed in Fandām. The Rebel ordered him to come. Bahbūd abandoned wheat and dates which he had had there in large quantities. All this fell into the hands of Abū ʿAḥmad making his power superior to that of the Rebel and weakening the latter.

When al-Muhallabī departed from Ahwāz, his men scattered about the townships between this city and the camp of al-Khabī, plundering them and banishing their inhabitants, even though the latter were loyal to the rebels. Many horse- and footmen of al-Muhallabī failed to join him and remained behind in the districts of Ahwāz. Having heard about the pardon granted to those of al-Khabī's men who had fallen into captivity in the region of Tahfīta, they wrote to Abū ʿAḥmad requesting him to take them under his protection. Meanwhile, al-Muhallabī and those of his troops who followed him reached the Abū al-Khaṣfī Canal.
Now that which had induced al-Khaṣib to order al-Muhallabī and Bahbūd to march to him hastily was his apprehension lest Abu Ἀḥmad and his troops reach him at a time when his own men were stricken with terror and weariness, while the two captains and their troops were cut off from him. But things did not turn out as he had expected.

Abū Ἀḥmad stayed as long as it was necessary to take over everything left by al-Muhallabī and Bahbūd; to open the dams which al-Khabīr had erected on the Tigris and to repair the paths and roads. Then he left Sus and went to Jundaysābūr, where he stayed for three days. Since he was short of provisions for the people of his army, he sent out men to look for food and bring it. Thereupon he departed from Jundaysābūr and went to Tustar where he ordered the taxes from the Ahwāz districts collected, sending to every district a captain to speed the delivery of the money. He sent Muḥammad b. Abī al-Asbagh to Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Kurdi—al-Kurdi was afraid that the troops of al-Khabīr might reach him before Abū Ἀḥmad reached the territory of Ahwāz—and instructed him to treat Muḥammad al-Kurdi kindly, and to let him know that Abū Ἀḥmad was determined to forgive him and to exonerate him from his errors. Al-Kurdi was to be prompted to deliver the money and to proceed to Sūq al-Ahwāz. To Masmūr al-Balkhī, his governor of Ahwāz, Abū Ἀḥmad sent a command that he present
to him all his mawāfī, ghulām and regular troops so that he might inspect them, effect their payment, and inspirit them to fight against al-Khabīr. This Masrūr did and his troops were inspected one by one and given their pay. Abū Aḥmad left for 'Askar Mukram, where he set up his temporary quarters, and from there went to Ahwāz being sure that the provisions which his troops were transporting would reach Ahwāz before his arrival. But he miscalculated this time, and his men were immensely agitated. He spent three days in expectation of the arrival of the food and still it did not come. The situation grew so bad that disorder broke out among the troops. Then, Abū Aḥmad made an inquiry into the reasons for the delay of the supplies, and found that the troops had ruined the ancient Persia bridge, Qantarat Arbuk, which was between Sūq al-Ahwāz and Rāmahmuz, and that this had blocked the way for the merchants and those who were transporting the food, preventing them from going further. Abū Aḥmad set out for that bridge which was at a distance of two parasangs from Sūq al-Ahwāz, gathered the Negro soldiers who remained in his camp and ordered them to carry rocks and stones to repair the bridge. He paid them generously and did not leave the spot until the bridge was repaired and restored completely that same day. Then the people passed over it, the caravans with the food arrived, and this improved the condition of the army and cheered its personnel.
Then Abū Āḥmad ordered that ships be assembled and put together so as to span the river Dujayl.\(^1\) The ships were gathered from the districts of Ahwāz and the bridge\(^2\) building began.

Abū Āḥmad remained in Ahwāz several days until his troops put their affairs in order, repaired the necessary equipment, brought their animals into good shape, thus making up for the sufferings caused by the delay in the supply of provision. Meanwhile, messages from al-Muhallabi's men who had deserted him and stayed back in the area of Sūq al-Ahwāz reached al-Muwaffaq. They requested his mercy, and this being granted, about 1000 men arrived. Abū Āḥmad treated them kindly, assigned them to his ghulām forces and allotted to them soldiers' pay.

Now, when the Dujayl bridge was built, Abū Āḥmad passed his troops over, then he himself followed them and established his camp on the western bank of the river in Qaṣr al-Maʾmūn,\(^3\) where he remained for three days. On one night the people were visited there by a terrible earthquake, Keep us God away from its evil and save us from its adversity! Before he crossed the bridge over the Dujayl, Abū Āḥmad sent his son Abū al-ʿAbbās to the place where he (Abū Āḥmad) planned to follow. This was / the Mubārak Canal of Furat al-Baṣra,\(^1\) in the Blind Tigris area. He also ordered his son Hārūn to go there with all the troops left with him.
so that the armies would rally there.

Abū Ḥamād departed from Qaṣr al-Ma’in and, when he stopped at Qurāj al-‘Abbās, he was met by Ḥamād b. Ḥadī al-Asbagh, who brought him word about the reconciliation of Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, as well as presents, such as animals and beasts trained for the hunt and other things, which Muḥammad had offered him. Thereupon, he departed from al-Qurāj and next stopped at Ja‘fariya, in which township there was no water except in the wells which Abū Ḥamād and his troops had dug in advance. It was Sa‘d al-Aswad, servant of ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ammar from Qurāj al-‘Abbās who had been sent to do the job. Abū Ḥamād stayed there a full day, found there stored-up food which the people found more than sufficient for their needs. From there they went to Bushīr, where they found a pool of rainwater; he stayed there for a day and a night. Late in the night they departed bound for Nahr al-Mubārak -- a rather long and strenuous march -- and arrived there after the midday prayer. On the way, Abū Ḥamād was met and welcomed by his two sons, Abū al-‘Abbās and Hārūn, and they marched on together until, on Saturday, in the middle of Rajab 267, they arrived at Nahr al-Mubārak.

Meanwhile, in the time between the departure of Abū Ḥamād from Wāṣif and his arrival at Nahr al-Mubārak, Zīrak, Nuṣayr and their men carried out an impressive action, fulfilling their task of pursuing the Zenj fugitives from Ṭa-
This is what Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan had to say on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ḥammād. "When Zīrak and Nuṣayr met on the Hind Tigris / they marched together to Ubulla, where one of al-Khabīṭ's men surrendered and informed them that al-Khabīṭ had sent out a great number of samīrīyās, sauraqās and salghās loaded with Zenj under the command of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, surnamed Abū 'Isā, one of his lieutenants. This Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm hailed from Baṣra, had been brought to al-Khabīṭ at the time of the devastation of Baṣra by a Zenj officer named Yasār, who had been in charge of the Rebel's body guard. This Baṣrī served Yasār as chief scribe until he (Yasār) died. Meanwhile, the prestige of Almād b. Mahdī al-Jubbā'ī rose high in the eyes of al-Khabīṭ, who appointed him governor over most of his districts, and also this Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm got assigned to him. Muḥammad now served al-Jubbā'ī as scribe until the latter perished.

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm coveted the rank of al-Jubbā'ī and desired that al-Khabīṭ appoint him to al-Jubbā'ī's position. He forsook the ink and the pen, and took to arms instead, applying himself exclusively to military affairs.

At this juncture al-Khabīṭ sent him out with troops, with the task of taking up his position across the Tigris and repelling any troops which might come there. Muḥammad divided his time staying partly on the Tigris and partly...
going out with his troops to the Yazid Canal. Among these troops of his were Shibli b. Salim and ‘Amr, known as Ghulām Būdā, and the hardiest of his Negro and white troopers. One man from this army surrendered to Zirak and Nuṣayr and informed them that Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm was aiming for the area of the camp of Nuṣayr, who was at the time stationed on the al-Mar’a Canal, and that they (Muḥammad and his troops) were about to pass along the waterways which cross the Ma‘qil and Baṭq Shīrīn Canals in order to reach Shurṭa so as to emerge from behind and flank Nuṣayr’s army. No sooner did this news reach Nuṣayr than he hurriedly left Ubulla for his camp. At the same time, Zirak betook himself to Baṭq Shīrīn and appeared from behind him at Mīshān, estimating that Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm and his men would go to Nuṣayr’s camp from this direction. As he surmised, he encountered them on the way and, after he had suffered somewhat at their hands in a violent fight, God granted him superiority over them and he routed them. They ran to the Yazid Canal where an ambush of theirs had been laid. However, Zirak was guided there, and his flotilla penetrated deeply into their positions. Some of the enemy were killed, some captured. Among the captured were Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, surnamed Abū ‘Isā, and ‘Amr, surnamed Ghulām Būdā, who were taken along with some 30 samīriyyas. Shibli and the others who escaped fled to the camp of al-Khabīt. Victorious,
Zfrak left Batq Shirîn taking along the captives, the heads of the killed, the various ships and boats he had seized, and took his way from the Blind Tigris to Wâsiṭ. He reported to Abu Aḥmad about the fight, God's help and the victory.

As a result of this action of Zfrak, fear filled the hearts of al-Khabêt's partisans in the districts along the Tigris. Reportedly, about 2000 men surrendered to the mercy of Abu Ḥamza, who was stationed on the al-Mar'a Canal. When Abu Aḥmad received the report about the men who had surrendered, he instructed Zfrak to receive them and accept their surrender, and further to grant them soldiers' payment. The instruction was further to mix them among his own troops and send them against the enemy.

Zfrak remained in Wâsiṭ up to the time that Abu Aḥmad ordered his son Hārūn to march to Nahr al-Mubârak with the troops remaining with him; Zfrak then went with him. Then Abu Aḥmad wrote to Nuṣayr, who was stationed on Nahr al-Mar'a, ordering him also to advance to Nahr al-Mubârak and join him there.

Abū al-ʿAbbâs advanced with his flotilla to the camp of al-Khabêt and attacked him in his city on the Abū al-Khaṣîb Canal. The battle raged from early morning to late afternoon. During the battle, one of the captains of al-Khabêt, called Muntāb, who had been subordinated to Sulaymān b. Jamī', surrendered with all his men to Abū al-ʿAbbâs.
This defection impaired the might of al-Khabīt's army.

Abū al-'Abbās withdrew with booty. He clothed Muntāb with robes of honor and treated him with friendship and generosity. When Abū al-'Abbās reached his father and told him about Muntāb and his appeal for protection, Abū Al'lad ordered robes of honor, presents and presented bearing animals for Muntāb. Muntāb was the first of the Zenj commanders to surrender. Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, on the authority of Muhammad b. Ḥammād b. Ḥamīd b. Zayd said this: "When Abū Al'lad reached Nahr al-Mubārak on a Saturday in the middle of Rajab 267, the first thing he did concerning al-Khabīt was to write a letter to him in which he summoned him to repent and return to God the Almighty, and to desist from bloodshed and crimes, from devastation of cities and villages, rape and robbery, and to stop boasting that he was prophet or apostle -- an honor which God had not bestowed upon him. In addition, he informed him that he would extend to him forgiveness and protection if he would desist from those actions which God abhors, and if he joined the community of the Muslims, all his past immense crimes would be forgotten and he would earn for himself a life of abundance.

This letter he forwarded to al-Khabīt by a messenger who tried to deliver it, but he was prevented from doing so by al-Khabīt's men. So, the messenger threw the letter
to them and they presented it to their master who read it; but the warning contained in the message did nothing but augment his hatred and obstinacy. He gave no reply, and persisted in his errors. The messenger returned to Abū Aḥmad, reported his action and al-Khabīt's refusal to give a reply.

Now, from Saturday through Wednesday, Abū Aḥmad was busy inspecting the warships and boats, assigning them to his captains, mawālīs and ghulāms, and selecting archers for them. On Thursday, Abū Aḥmad and his men, with his son Abū al-'Abbās, set out by the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal for the city of al-Khabīt, which its master had named al-Mukhtāra. Abū Aḥmad observed the city, studied its defences and fortifications in the way of walls and surrounding moats, barricaded roads leading to it, the array of ballistas, catapults, Naūkiya arches¹ and other implements on the city walls, the like of which he had never seen in any previous revolt against the government. Seeing the multitudes / of the enemy warriors and hosts, he realized how difficult his task was. When al-Khabīt's troops saw Abū Aḥmad, they raised their voices so that the earth trembled.

Then, Abū Aḥmad instructed his son, Abū al-'Abbās to proceed to the walls of the city and pelt these walls with arrows; and this was done. He moved so close to the city
that his warships struck the mounds of the Traitor's castle. The rebels rushed to the spot which was threatened by the *shāḏās*, banded together and hurled a succession of arrows and stones from their ballistas, catapults and slings, while the Zenj, rank and file, threw stones with their hands. There was no spot at which an observer from the warships would glance without seeing an arrow or a stone. Abū al-'Abbās endured all this, and the Traitor and his companions saw the imperial force displaying perseverance, zeal and patience, such as no one fighting against them had ever done.

Then Abū Aḥmad ordered Abū al-'Abbās and his men to return to their quarters to take some rest and to attend to their wounds; and this was done.

At this point, two of the *samīriya* warriors surrendered to Abū Aḥmad and brought to him their boat with its equipment and sailors. Abū Aḥmad ordered that brocade robes of honor and jewel-bedecked belts and other gifts be bestowed upon them. Their sailors were ordered given robes of red silk and white garments; all were given generous gifts. In this way Abū Aḥmad won their sympathy; then he posted them in a place from which they could be seen by their former fellows. This was the most humiliating stratagem ever employed upon al-Khabīt. For, when other Zenj became aware of the pardon and kindness granted to their fellows, they
also wished to surrender and they rushed towards Abū Aḥmad, outrunning one another, desiring to obtain what had been warranted to them. On that day, many samīrīya troops went over to Abū Aḥmad, and upon his order, they all received the same treatment as their predecessors. When al-Khabīt saw that his samīrīya troops were inclined to surrender and were seizing every opportunity to do so, he ordered all of them to return from the Tigris to the Abū al-Khashīb Canal and at the exit of this canal, he placed men to prevent their leaving. Now, he had the shadās brought forward, for which purpose he summoned Bahbūd b. 'Abd al-Wahhab, one of his most loyal champions who had under his command the largest and the best equipped warships. Bahbūd and his men responded to this call. It happened to be full tide and the shadās of Abū Aḥmad were dispersed. Abū Ḥamza with his ships kept alongside the eastern bank of the Tigris and felt that the fight was over and he was no longer needed. But when Bahbūd and his shadās appeared, Abū Aḥmad ordered Abū Ḥamza to advance with his vessels; he also ordered Abū al-‘Abbās to attack Bahbūd and his ships, and the captains and ghulāms to remain with him. Twelve shadās, manned by the captains and ghulāms who were with Abū al-‘Abbās and Zīrak, bore the brunt of the battle. As the battle flared, al-Khabīt’s men pounced upon the troops of Abū al-‘Abbās, for these had only a few shadās. However, the Zenj were
severely counterattacked and put to flight. Abū al-‘Abbās and his men turned to chase after Bahbūd, who was driven to an enclosure near the castle of al-Khaṣīb. Bahbūd suffered two lance thrusts, received many arrow wounds, his limbs were badly injured by stones, and he lost control over his men. He fled to the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, narrowly escaping death. Among his captains who were with him and were slain in that battle was one called ‘Amīra, a man brave and valiant, who always used to be in the forefront of the battle. The men of Abū al-‘Abbās seized one of Bahbūd’s shadās whose men were slain or drowned. The ship was taken, and in accordance with the instruction from Abū Ahmad, Abū al-‘Abbās and his men set their ships toward the eastern bank of the Tigris, and the force withdrew.

But when the Rebel perceived that the army of Abū Ahmad was withdrawing, he ordered those who had escaped with his shadās to the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, to come forward so as to allay his men’s fear by creating an impression of an orderly retreat and not a flight in defeat. Then, Abū Ahmad quickly instructed some of his ghulāms to turn the fore of their ships toward them in pursuit. But no sooner did the Zenj see this than they fled in great panic. One of their ships remained behind and the people in it surrendered to Abū Ahmad, displaying a white flag and driving in his direction. They were granted safety and were received with sympathy, given
presents and clothes. This induced al-Khabīṭ to order the shaḍās brought back into the canal and to bar their exit from it. Since the day was near an end, Abū Alḥāmad ordered his men to return to their base on the al-Mubarak Canal. On that day, during his withdrawal, a great many of the Zenj and others surrendered to Abū Alḥāmad. He welcomed them and had them transported in his ships; then he ordered for them robes of honor, presents, and kind treatment. Their names were inscribed in the registers of Abū al-ʿAbbās' troops.

Abū Alḥāmad went to his camp, which he reached at the late evening / prayer, and he stayed there during Friday, Saturday and Sunday. Then he decided to transfer his camp to a place which would be nearer for conducting warfare against al-Khabīṭ. On Monday, the twenty-fourth of Rajab 267, Abū Alḥāmad with Abū al-ʿAbbās and his mawālis and ghulāms, captains -- among them Zīrak and Nuṣayr -- boarded warships and sailed to the Jaṭṭā Canal, east of the Tigris opposite the al-Yahudī Canal, where he stopped and made whatever arrangements he felt were necessary. Leaving there Abū al-ʿAbbās, Nuṣayr and Zīrak, Abū Alḥāmad returned to his camp, and upon his order it was announced to the men that they were going to leave for the place he had chosen on the Jaṭṭā Canal. After the paths were repaired and the pontoons on the canals set, he had the animals led ahead, and early on the morning of Tuesday, the twenty-fifth of Rajab, he and all
his troops went out to Nahr Jaṭṭā and set up camp there.

Up to Saturday, the fourteenth of Sha‘bān 267, they engaged in no fighting, and it was only on that day that Abū Aḥmad set out with his infantry and cavalry—he took along all his horsemen. He put the infantry men and the volunteers every one of them in breastplate and uniform—aboard transports and samiriyas, and went to the Euphrates, reaching a place opposite the camp of al-Khabīṭ. At the time Abū Aḥmad had 50,000 or more troops and auxiliaries, while the Rebel had some 300,000, all of whom were active warriors or defenders, such as swordmen, lancers, archers, sling-shooters / and shooters from catapults and ballistae. Even the weakest were charged with flinging stones by hand, and as congregated onlookers they added to the commotion with screaming and shouting; nor did the women forego their share.

Abū Aḥmad remained in front of the camp of the Rebel and late in the morning, he ordered that criers announce that pardon was offered to all the people without discrimination, al-Khabīṭ excluded. He further ordered that the same offer as announced orally, and a promise of kind treatment to the people, be written on notes attached to arrows and shot into the camp of al-Khabīṭ. Now, the hearts of the heretics were swerving towards Abū Aḥmad out of awe and eagerness for the good-will and pardon promised to them. A great many of them came to him on that day, carried by warships. They were ac-
cepted in a friendly and kindly manner. Abū ʿAḍmad then turned to his encampment on the Jaṭṭā Canal and no fighting took place that day. Two captains of his mawālīs, one of them Ṣaktīmūr and the other Jaʿfar b. Yaghlaʿuz, arrived with all their troops which further increased the might of Abū ʿAḍmad. Abū ʿAḍmad departed from the Jaṭṭā Canal to an encampment which he had prepared in advance. There he had the canals spanned with bridges and had the river spanned so that the camp could expand to Ṣurāt al-Baṣra, opposite the city of the Rebel. It was on a Sunday of Shaʿbān 267, that Abū ʿAḍmad settled at this encampment, established himself and remained there, assigning his captains and commanders to their various positions. Nuṣayr, the commander of the flotilla, with his troops was put in the first range of the camp. Just / behind himself directly opposite the Juy Kur Canal, Zīrak al-Turkī, the commander of the vanguard of Abū al-ʿAbbās, was assigned with his troops to a position opposite the area between the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, which is also known as Nahr al-ʿAṭrāk, and the al-Mughfira Canal. Zīrak was followed by Abū ʿAḍmad's chamberlaine, Yaʿlā b. Juhistār, with his troops. The tents of Abū ʿAḍmad and his two sons were in front of Dayr Jābīla. Abū ʿAḍmad sent his client Rāṣhid at the head of the mawālīs and ghulāms -- Turks, Khazars, men from Byzantine, Daylam, ʿTabaristān, Maghrib and Zanzibār -- down to the Hāṭma Canal. His vizier Sāʿid b. Makkāl with a force of mawālīs and ghulāms was placed above the troops of Rāṣhid.
Masrūr al-Balkhī was sent with his troops down to the waterway Sindadan. Al-Faḍl and Muḥammad, the sons of Mūsā b. Bughā, with their armies were sent down to the Ḥāla Canal. These two were followed by Mūsā Dājawayh with his soldiers and officers. Bughrāj al-Turkī was assigned to the rearguard at the Ḥajṭā Canal. In this way they settled down in the camp and stayed there.

Now, observing the position of al-Khabīt, his fortifications and the large number of his troops, Abū Āḥmad realized that he must wear him out in a long siege and bring about a split among his troops by offering good-will to those who would turn away from their master, and by treating harshly those who stuck to their errors. He further realized that he needed more shādās and implements for riverain fighting. He therefore sent agents to collect provisions and let them flow by land and sea to his camp in the city which he named al-Muwaffaqiya. He wrote to the governors of all his districts to send in the money to his treasury in this city. He sent a messenger to Siraf and Jannāba about building the numerous shādās which he needed in order to post them where they could cut off the flow of provisions to the Infidel and his accomplices. He also instructed the governors under his control to despatch to him anyone fit and willing to work in his offices. Then he spent a month or so waiting. Provisions kept on arriving regularly, transport after transport; the
merchants provided various kinds of wares and produce for the city al-Muwaffaqiya. Markets sprang up in that city, and the number of merchants and contractors from every land was growing. After more than ten years of brigandage on the water-lanes by the Rebel and his men, sea ships again began to come in.

Abū Aḥmad built a Friday Mosque and ordered the people to worship there; then he established mints that issued dinars and dirhams. Various resources and amenities were concentrated in Abū Aḥmad's city, and its inhabitants missed nothing that was available in the older cities. Money flowed into it and pay was distributed on time; as the situation improved, people lived in comfort, and everyone was eager to travel to the city al-Muwaffaqiya and stay there.

Two days after Abū Aḥmad's arrival in al-Muwaffaqiya, al-Khabīt instructed Bahlūd b. ‘Abd al-Wahhab with his boats to proceed to the fringe of the camp of Abū Ḥamza in a surprise attack. Bahlūd charged upon Abū Ḥamza, killed many of his men and captured many; he set fire to the reed huts they had put up before buildings were erected there. Then Abū Aḥmad instructed Nūṣayr to rally all his men and to grant no one leave from the camp, also to patrol the flanks of his camp up to and beyond Māyān Rūdān, Qandal and Abrūsān, with his fleet and infantry, and to attack the Rebel's
forces there.

Now, the Rebel had in Mayān Rūdān one of his captains Ibrāhīm b. Ja’far al-Hamdānī with 4000 Zenj; and in al-Qandāl, Muḥammad b. Abān, known as Abū al-Ḥasān, brother of ‘Alī b. Abān, with 3000; and in Abrusan, the one known as al-Dūr, with 1500 Zenj and inhabitants of al-Jubbā.

Abū al-‘Abbās opened operations with an attack on al-Hamdānī. In a series of battles, al-Hamdānī lost many men who were killed or captured. He himself escaped in a samirīya he had held ready and reached the brother of al-Muhallabī, surnamed Abū al-Ḥasān. The troops of Abū al-‘Abbās took hold of everything the Zenj had in their possession, and transported it to their camp. The instruction of Abū Aḥmad to his son was to extend pardon to everyone appealing for it and to treat benevolently all coming out to him. Thus, when a band of Zenj deserted ‘Alī b. Abān, Abū al-‘Abbās granted them safety and sent them to his father, who ordered for everyone of them robes of honor and gifts according to their personal merits. He also ordered that they be placed opposite the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal so that their fellows could see them. Thus, Abū Aḥmad continued to trap the Infidel, granting pardon to all Zenj and others deserting to him, and besieging and blockading the rest by cutting off their supplies and resources.

From the regions of Ahwāz food and various merchandise
used to come along the Bayān Canal. Now, Bahbūd once got wind of a caravan with a variety of merchandise and food, so with a select team he set out one night to a palm grove and lay there in wait. As the caravan, completely unaware of the ambush, was passing, Bahbūd fell upon it, killing some and capturing others and seized goods to his heart’s content. Abū Ahmad had despatched with the caravan an officer with a convoy of troops to guard it, but they were too weak to resist, and the terrain was unfavorable for the horsemen’s action.

When Abū Ahmad learned about this, he was shocked by the losses in money, men and goods, and he gave instructions to compensate the men in full. He further ordered that shādās be built and sent to him. These were to be posted at the mouth of the Bayān and other canals, places which could not be reached by horsemen. A goodly number of them arrived. He manned them and put them under the command of his son, Abū al-‘Abbās, instructing him to take care of every spot through which provisions could flow to the rebels. For this purpose Abū al-‘Abbās with his ships sailed to the seacoast, placed troops on all the roads and acquitted himself of this task.

In Ramaḍān, a battle took place between Ishāq b. Kundāj, and Ishāq / b. Ayyūb, ‘Isā b. al-Shaykh, Abū al-Maghra‘ī, Hamdan al-Shārīf and the tribes of Rabi‘a, Taghlib, Bakr and al-
Yaman which were connected with them. Ibn Kundāj routed them and chased them to Nasibin and further to the vicinity of Āmid. He seized their money and descended upon Āmid. Further engagements ensued.

In Ramaqān, Sandal al-Zinji was killed. It happened this way. On the second of Ramaqān, troops of al-Khabīr made their way toward the camps of Nuṣayr and Zīrak with the intention of attacking them, but warned by people, Nuṣayr and Zīrak gave battle, drove the Zenj back and took Sandal prisoner. They say, this Sandal used to unveil the faces and heads of free-born Muslim women and treat them as if they were handmaidens. And if one would resist, he would strike her in the face and pass her to some savage Zenj for a very low price. When he was delivered to Abū Aḥmad, the latter ordered him tied and in his (Abū Aḥmad's) presence, the man was ordered pierced with arrows and killed.

In Ramaqān, a great many of the Zenj surrendered to Abū Aḥmad.

On the Mass Surrender

The reason for this surrender was, according to reports, that Muhaddab, one of the most prominent, leading and courageous captains of al-Khabīr, surrendered to Abū Aḥmad. A shadā brought him to Abū Aḥmad at his (Abū Aḥmad's) breakfast
Al-Muhaddab reported that he came to surrender and to give important information, namely, that at that very moment the Zenj were on their way to his camp in order to attack Abū Āḥmad by night and that for this purpose the Rebel had summoned his most valiant men. Immediately Abū Āḥmad gave an order to send ships with a force to combat the Zenj and prevent their passage. When the Zenj perceived that their plan was disclosed, they withdrew in panic and scores of Zenj and others surrendered. Till the end of Ramadān 267, the number of people, white and black, who arrived at the camp of Abū Āḥmad reached five thousand.

In Shawwāl, news arrived that al-Khujūstānī had entered Naysābūr and ousted Ṭāmr b. al-Layt and his men from there. He had treated the people there harshly. He demolished the houses of the Muʿad b. Muslim's clan, and slew those of its members who fell into his hands. Their estates were given to others as fiefs. He eliminated the name of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir from the sermons from the pulpits of the Khurasān cities which he seized, and had the people called to allegiance only to himself and to al-Muʿtamid, leaving out all others.

In Shawwāl, Abū al-ʿAbbās engaged in a fight with the Zenj, and inflicted upon them heavy losses.
On This Battle

According to information which reached me, the Rebel selected from all his troops men of courage and valor, and instructed al-Muḥallabī to cross with them / for a night raid on the camp of Abū ʿAlīmad, which he did.

The number of the Zenj and others who went with him was about 5000, mostly Negroes, among them some 200 officers. After they had crossed to the eastern side of the Tigris, they decided that some of their forces should go behind the palm grove near the lagoon, so as to be in the rear of Abū ʿAlamad's army; a large detachment of theirs was to pass with shadās, samīfīyas and pontoons in front of the camp of Abū Āḥmad. Should fighting break out, al-Khābiṭ's forces which reached the lagoon were to attack vigorously the camp of Abū ʿAlīmad al-Muwaqqaf, surprising him and his men in the midst of battle.

The rebels counted on the success of this scheme. Their troops stayed all the night on the Euphrates in order to attack the army at the break of day.

But a young sailor from their ranks surrendered to Abū ʿAlīmad and disclosed to him the plan which the rebels had conceived against him. Abū ʿAlīmad instructed Abū al-ʿAbbās, the captains and pages to set out toward the region of the Rebel's troops. He despatched a detachment of ghulāms with horses to the lagoon behind the palm grove.
on the Euphrates, to cut off their retreat to the lagoon. The flotilla was instructed to block the Tigris, while the infantry men were ordered to move toward the enemy from the palm grove.

When, contrary to their expectations, the rebels became aware of these measures taken against them, they took to flight along the same way they had come, and sought safety in the direction of Jawfi Barwayh. Informed of their retreat, al-Muwaffaq instructed Abū al-‘Abbās and Zīrak to go with their ships and reach the river earlier so as to forestall the Zenj’s crossing. He instructed Tabīt, one of his pages, who had under his command an extensive force of black ghulāms to transport his men in pontoons and boats and come with them to the place where the enemies of God stood, and attack them wherever they might be. Tabīt overtook the Zenj at Jawfi Barwayh, attacked them and engaged in a fight that was protracted because the Zenj stood fast. The Zenj were encouraged to oppose him, his troops consisting of only some 500 men who, in addition, were not perfectly prepared. But, subsequently, Tabīt counter-attacked them gallantly and overturned them. God granted him the sight of them running away bearing heavy losses in killed, wounded and drowned; those who plunged into the water relying upon their ability to swim were picked up by the ships and boats in the Tigris and the canal. Of this army, only...
a minor part escaped. Abū al-‘Abbās and Tabit returned victorious, the heads of the killed attached to the shadās on which were displayed the captured on crosses. They passed near their city in order to terrify their fellows; and indeed, seeing this, the Zenj fell into despair and felt certain of their own doom. After he had come with the prisoners and the heads into the city al-Muwaffaqiyah, Abū al-‘Abbās heard that the Zenj Chieftain was deluding his men with false stories that the heads displayed were only effigies shown to frighten them, and that the crucified captives were deserters who had surrendered to the imperial army. Then al-Muwaffaq instructed Abū al-‘Abbās to gather the heads into a ship provided with a catapult and to take them to the front of the Rebel’s castle, and to shoot them over to his camp. This was done. Now, when the heads dropped into the Zenj city, the friends of the killed recognized the heads of their fellows and broke out in tears. The lies and duplicity of the Rebel became evident to all.

In Shawwāl, the troops of Ibn Abī al-Sāj had a fight with al-Hayṣam al-‘Ijī, in which they demolished his vanguard, seized his camp and pillaged it.

In Du‘al-Qa‘da, Zīrak had a fight with the army of the Zenj Chieftain at Nahr b.‘Umar and inflicted upon them heavy losses.
Report on This Engagement

It is reported that on the instruction of the Zenj Chief-tain, fifty warships were ordered built and added to those used in operations. He divided his warships into three groups led by Bahbūd, Naṣr al-Rūmi and Āḥmad b. Āḥmad b. al-Zaranji respectively. Each commander was made responsible for his group. There were some fifty warships to a squadron. He manned the ships with bow-men and lancers; an effort was made to bring their equipment and arms into perfect condition. Then they were ordered to set out upon the Tigris, cross to the eastern side and challenge the troops of al-Muwaffaq.

Al-Muwaffaq, at this time, had only a small number of shadās, since not all he had ordered prepared for him had arrived yet, and those which he had at his disposal were scattered about the seashore and mouths of the canals along which supplies might flow to the Zenj. The henchmen of the Rebel performed a tough job and succeeded in seizing some of the shadās of al-Muwaffaq. Nuṣayr, known as Abū Ḥamza, who at the time had under his command the major part of al-Muwaffaq's fleet, refrained from making any ventures or attacking, as he would otherwise have done because the number of his shadās was not sufficient. Therefore, people in al-Muwaffaq's camp were terrified as they feared the Zenj with their superiority in ships might set out against them.

But at this juncture, shadās arrived, which al-Muwaffaq
had ordered built in Jamnābā. Fearing the Zenj might intercept them on the Tigris, Abū Aḥmad instructed Abū al-‘Abbās to set out with his shadaṣ to meet them and safely convey them down to the camp. Abū al-‘Abbās brought these shadaṣ up to Nuṣayr’s camp.

When the Zenj noticed the shadaṣ, they were anxious to seize them. Al-Khabīt ordered his shadaṣ be sent out and his men challenged. The shadaṣ of Nuṣayr and Abū al-‘Abbās, in an effort to cut them off, went into action.

Now, a page of Abū al-‘Abbās, a brave man called Waṣīf, known as al-Mijrāt, rushed with his shadaṣ, attacked the Zenj violently and put them to flight. In his pursuit of them he got into the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, was cut off from the rest, and when the shadaṣ of the Zenj turned back to charge upon him, he found himself in a grave situation. Some of the Zenj shadaṣ clung with their ears to the ears of Waṣīf’s shadaṣ and pulled it toward the bank, while others surrounded them from all sides. More Zenj rushed down from the walls, and Waṣīf and his men, though fighting back vigorously, were killed. Then the Zenj with their shadaṣ withdrew into the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, and Abū al-‘Abbās passed the Jamnābā shadaṣ safely with their armament and men. Abū Aḥmad ordered Abū al-‘Abbās to take over all the shadaṣ / and the military command of them, and cut off the flow of supplies to the enemy from any quarter.

Accordingly, the ships were fitted out and manned with the
best archers and lancers. Now, when everything was fully prepared, Abu al-'Abbās posted the ships in the places to which the ships of al-Khabīt would go looting, following their established custom. Abu al-'Abbās set out against them with his shadās and the other ship commanders were ordered to join him in this action. Consequently, together they fell upon the enemy ships showering them with arrows and stones, and reaching them with lances. God smote the enemy who ran in panic, while Abu al-'Abbās and his men chased him up to the Abu al-Khaṣib Canal, sinking three of his ships and seizing two others with all their warriors and sailors. At the order of Abu al-'Abbās they were all beheaded.

When al-Khabīt saw the fate of his men he held his shadās back in the enclosure of his castle and forbade his men to sail in the Tigris except when the river was free from al-Muwaffaq's ships.

After this blow by Abu al-'Abbās, the panic among the Zenj increased and prominent companions of al-Khabīt sought to surrender. They were granted safety. As reports say, among the prominent Zenj who surrendered was Muḥammad b. Hārit al-'Ammī, who was in charge of the defence of camp Munkā and of the walls close to the camp of al-Muwaffaq. He deserted at night with a number of his friends, and al-Muwaffaq received him with generous gifts, clothed him with robes of honor, endowed him with a number of horses with harness and garnishment and
granted him a high pension. Muhammad b. al-Harib attempted also to take along his wife, who was a cousin of his, but the woman failed in her attempt to join him. Apprehended by the Zenj, she was returned to al-Khâbi, who kept her in jail for a time, then he had her auctioned in the market and sold.

Among the deserters was also Ahmad, known as al-Sardah, who was said to be one of the most valiant companions of al-Khâbi and close friend of al-Muhallabî. Among the Zenj captains who deserted were also Ibn Ankalawayh and Manîna. They were all clothed with robes of honor, given generous gifts and paraded on horses. All the soldiers who came with them were also accorded benevolent treatment.

As the flow of supplies to al-Khâbi was cut off and all the roads blocked to him and to his men, he instructed Shibli and Abu Nidâ', two of his earliest followers and commanders upon whom he could rely and whose advice he trusted, to set out with 10,000 Zenj and others to the canals al-Dayr, al-Mar'a and Abu al-Asad, and from there to the Baṭînah to raid the Muslims, seize any provisions they might find, and to cut off the supplies flowing to the camp of al-Muwaffaq from Baghdād and the Wâsiṭ area. When news about their march reached al-Muwaffaq, he summoned his client Zîrak, commander of the vanguard of Abu al-‘Abbâs, and instructed him to lead against them his troops. He was reinforced with a select team.
Promptly Zîrak moved out with his flotilla, swiftly carrying his infantry-men in boats and light ships, and reached al-Dayr Canal. Having found no trace of the Zenj, he moved on to Batâq Shîrin, and further along the 'Adî Canal. When he came out to the Ibn 'Umar Canal, he met with the Zenj. Terrified by the size of the enemy's force, Zîrak implored God to help him against the Zenj, then charged upon them with the most seasoned and stalwart of his men. God cast terror into the hearts of the Zenj, and they collapsed under the blows of Zîrak's arms. Very many of them were killed, as many drowned and a great many of them captured. Zîrak took hold of as many ships as he could, and sank as many as he could. The number of vessels he seized reached about 400. He took the captives and the heads of the slain and proceeded to the camp of al-Muwallâq.

On the twenty-third of Du' al-Hijja, al-Muwallâq himself crossed with his troops to the city of the Rebel to fight him.

The Reason for His Going There

According to reports, the reason for this was that when the commanders of the Rebel's troops perceived the misfortune which had befallen them --death for those who emerged from the city (to fight), a harsh siege for those who had remained
within its limits — none of them ventured out. And as they saw the benevolent treatment accorded to those who surrendered to the mercy of Abū Aḥmad and the pardon granted them, they too tended to surrender, and started to flee by all possible means, going out to surrender to Abū Aḥmad whenever a chance presented itself to do so. This filled al-Khabīr with terror and a feeling of certainty in his own doom.

To all sectors where he suspected ways of escape from his camp, he appointed guards and watchmen with the task of policing them; he assigned men to the mouths of the canals to prevent ships from going out, and was anxious to block any road, pass and opening so as to eliminate any temptation to leave his city.

A group of captains of the Rebel, the Zenj Chieftain, sent a message to al-Muwaffaq in which they requested him to grant them safety and to send out an army to fight al-Khabīr so that they could get a chance to change sides. Then al-Muwaffaq instructed Abū al-‘Abbās to go with a body of his troops to the Nahr al-Gharbī, which at the time was patrolled by ‘Alī b. Abān.

Abū al-‘Abbās, with a select force and a flotilla equipped with pontoons, set out for the Gharbī Canal and came upon ‘Alī b. al-Muhallabī, who was sent out against him. The two forces engaged in fighting. As Abū al-‘Abbās had the upper hand and subdued the enemy, the Rebel sent Sulaymān b. Jāmi‘ to succor
al-Muhallabī with a numerous Zenj force. The battle continued that day from early in the morning into the late afternoon, and Abū al-'Abbās and his men proved victorious. The group of the Rebel's captains who had sought to surrender to him came over now, joined by a great many Zenj horsemen and others. Then Abū al-'Abbās ordered his troops to return to the ships and to depart. On the way back he passed by the city of al-Khabīf and reached Nahr al-Atrak. His troops, noticing that the Zenj were few in that section of the canal, were tempted to attack and betook themselves there. This was after the major part of the troops had already withdrawn to the city al-Muwaffaqiyah. They neared the bank, climbed up and quickly advanced along the paths there. A group of them ascended the walls, where they came upon a small band of Zenj and their accomplices, and killed those who came within their reach. But when the Rebel was warned against them, bands of Zenj rallied and fought back, acting in full cooperation. When Abū al-'Abbās saw the growing concentration of the enemy against the small band of his troops, he himself rushed back with his men from the ships to join them, simultaneously despatching a request to al-Muwaffaq to send out help; and, indeed, a fully equipped ghulām force with a flotilla came to the rescue, charged upon the Zenj and put them to flight.

Sulaymān b. Jāmi, when he noticed the attack of Abū
al-‘Abbās' men on the Zenj, rushed to the canal with a large body of troops, went upstream and upon reaching the ‘Abd Allah Canal, he came upon the track of the troops of Abū al-‘Abbās, who were fighting the Zenj in front of them. They were engaging in the pursuit of the fleeing Zenj as Sulaymān now emerged behind them and struck his drums. Now, the troops of Abū al-‘Abbās turned to flee and the Zenj who were running away turned around and struck at a detachment of Muwaffaq's ghulāms and others, seizing a number of flags and spears. Though Abū al-‘Abbās protected the rest of his men and most of them withdrew unharmed, this skirmish encouraged the Zenj and their partisans, and strengthened their spirits.

Again al-Muwaffaq resolved upon crossing with all his troops to fight against al-Khabīt, and instructed Abū al-‘Abbās and the rest of the captains and ghulāms to get ready for that. His order was also to assemble the transports and pontoons and distribute them among different units. Then he had a definite date fixed on which he wanted to cross. This, however, was upset by a stormy weather which lasted for many days. Delaying until the winds subsided, al-Muwaffaq resumed the preparations for crossing and fighting against the Rebel. When they were completed, on Wednesday, the twenty-fourth of Dīn al-Hijja 267, he crossed with a huge, perfectly prepared army, and ordered many horses carried over by ship. He commanded Abū al-‘Abbās to march with all
the cavalry -- captains, horsemen and footmen -- so as to attack the enemy in the rear, on the lower part of the Munkā Canal. He instructed his client Masrūr al-Balkhī to go to the Gharbī Canal, thereby compelling al-Khabīn to split his troops. He ordered Nuṣayr Abū Ḥamza and Rashīq, page and friend of Abū al-'Abbās, who had almost as large a number of ships as Nuṣayr, to march to the mouth of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal and to fight whatever vessels of al-Khabīn they might come across; the latter, in the meanwhile, increased the number of his vessels which he manned with the best of his fighting men. Abū Al'mad with all his men advanced to one of the fortresses of the city of al-Khabīn, which the Rebel had reinforced by sending there Ankalayh, his own son. Ankalayh was flanked by 'Alī b. Abān, Sulaymān b. Jāmi and Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far al-Hamdānī. This fortress was well provided with ballistas, catapults, and Nawakiya bows; also archers were prepared. In this sector the major part of the rebel army was concentrated. When the two parties came upon each other, al-Muwaffaq gave the order to the archers and lancers among the ghulāms and Negroes to draw nearer to the fortress in which the enemy forces were assembled. Only the Nahr al-Atrāk Canal, which was wide and full of water, lay between them. When they arrived there, al-Muwaffaq's men began to waver, but after urging and threatening shouts, they moved ahead swimming while the enemies were shooting at them.
from ballistas, catapults, and slings, hurling stones by hand, shooting arrows from the Nāwakiya bows, foot-bows and various other launching devices. Al-Muwaffaq's men bore up against all this, crossed the canal and reached the walls, but the sappers who were outfitted for demolition operations failed to join them. Then the ghulāms of Abū al-'Abbās were put in charge of shattering walls with the weapons at hand. God granted them success and facilitated their ascent. By specially adapted ladders, which were delivered to the spot, they mounted the fortress and planted one of al-Muwaffaq's flags on the top. After hot fighting in which both parties bore heavy losses, the rebels surrendered their wall and left the battle-ground. In this operation, Tabīt, a page of al-Muwaffaq who had been one of the most illustrious ghulām commanders, was hit by an arrow in his stomach and died. Al-Muwaffaq's troops succeeded in seizing the walls of the rebels and burned down all the ballistas, catapults, and Nāwakiya bows, then evacuated that section and withdrew.

Abū al-'Abbās with his men and cavalry moved to the Munkā Canal and came upon 'Alī b. Abān al-Muhallabī with his troops, which had come out to oppose them and push them back from their objective. Abū al-'Abbās charged upon him and routed him, killing a great many of his troops, but al-Muhallabī escaped. Abū al-'Abbās reached the spot from which he thought he might get into the city of al-Khabīt on the lower part of
the Munkā Canal. He believed that the entrance into the city from this approach would be easy, but when he entered the moat he found it wide and impeding. However, urged by Abū al-ʿAbbās, his men crossed -- the horsemen on their horses and the footmen by swimming -- and reached the wall, and made a breach wide enough to enable them to get through. The first group to penetrate came upon Sulaymān b. Jāmi' who came to defend this section as soon as he learned that ʿAlī b. Abān had fled from there. They fought him. Ten ghulāms of al-Muwaffaq were in front of the men, and they repelled Sulaymān and his men, though these were numerous. They dislodged them many times and defended their fellow soldiers until they withdrew to their positions.

Muḥammad b. Hammād said, "As al-Muwaffaq's troops seized the position whose defence the Rebel had entrusted to his son and his aforementioned lieutenants and captains, they pushed back from the wall as many as possible of those who rushed at them. Then the special demolition detachment arrived with tools and implements and made a number of breaches in the wall. Al-Muwaffaq had a special bridge prepared with which they spanned the canal, and all the people passed over it. Seeing this, the rebels were terrified and fled from a second wall to which they had been holding fast. Al-Muwaffaq's troops entered the city of the Rebel and pursued his accomplices who took to flight. They killed whoever came
within their reach, and continued their chase until they came to the Ibn Sim'an Canal. The house of Ibn Sim'an fell into the hands of al-Muwaffaq's men, who burned down everything in it and demolished it. The rebels had made a long stand on Nahr Sim'an putting up a / stubborn resistance. One of al-Muwaffaq's ghulâms pressed hard towards 'Ali b. Abân al-Muhallabî and seized him by his cloak, but the latter disentangled himself, slipped out of the cloak which he flung at the ghulâm and narrowly escaped death. The troops of al-Muwaffaq charged upon the Zenj heavily, chased them away from the Ibn Sim'an Canal, and reached the fringe of the race course of the Rebel. When al-Khabîî heard that his troops were routed and that al-Muwaffaq's troops had penetrated into the outskirts of his city, he with a force of his companions took to horseback, but here, on the fringe of the race course, the troops of al-Muwaffaq came upon them and recognized them. They rushed at al-Khabîî, dispersed his companions and the others who were with him, and isolated him. One of the footmen got so close to the Rebel that he struck the head of his horse with his shield. It was already sunset and al-Muwaffaq ordered his men to return to their ships. They returned safely, carrying along a great many heads of slain rebels after having subjected the enemies to death and wounds, and their houses and markets to fire. At the beginning of that day, a group of cap-

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tains and horsemen of the Perfidians surrendered to Abu al-
‘Abbās, and he had now to transport them by ship. When the
night fell, a strong northern wind broke out, and the intensityfied ebbing of the tide struck most of the ships in the
mud. Now, al-Khabīt induced and encouraged his supporters
to act, and a group of them set out to attack some of the
ships which remained behind. They seized them and killed
some of the people in them. Bahbūd, who was facing Masrūr
al-Balkhī and his troops on the al-Gharīb Canal, charged
upon him and killed many of his people and seized captives and some of his animals. This mishap impaired the
fighting spirit of al-Muwaffaq’s men.

The same day, al-Khabīt had all his shadās brought
out into the Tigris to fight against Rashīq, but Rashīq
seized some of his ships, others he sank and burned. The
rest fled to the Abu al-Khaqīb Canal.

It is reported that on that day the villain and his
men were forced to disperse and flee at random to the Nahr
al-Amīr, al-Qandal, Abrūsān, ‘Abbadān and other townships.
On that day two brothers of Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Shā’rānī,
Muḥammad and ‘Isā, fled to the desert and remained there
until word reached them that the troops of al-Muwaffaq had
withdrawn, and only then did they return. A group of Be-
douins from the camp of the Rebel also fled, and upon reaching Baṣra, they sent a delegation to Abu Aḥmad offering their
surrender. This Abū Ahmad accepted and he sent out ships to transport them to the city al-Muwaffaqiya, ordered them clothed with robes of honor, gave them presents and assigned them pensions and provision. Among those who surrendered was also one of the most illustrious captains of the Perfidians, Rayḥan b. Sāliḥ al-Maghribī, a man of leadership and authority, who held the chamberlain's office of Ankalayh, the son of al-Khabīt. Rayḥan applied in writing for safety for himself and for a group of his companions. This he was granted, and a large number of shāda, sāmīrīyas and pontoons was sent out to him with the captain Zīraj, who commanded the vanguard of Abū al-'Abbās. Zīraj passed along the al-Yahudī Canal and reached / al-Muttawwī where he met Rayḥan and his men. This was the place Zīraj formerly had ordered them to come. Zīraj delivered them to the quarters of al-Muwaffaq, and Rayḥan was ordered clothed with robes of honor, presented a number of horses and garnishment and assigned a generous pension. His men also were clothed with robes of honor and allotted pensions according to their ranks; then they were assigned to Abū al-'Abbās and ordered transported to a position in front of the palace of al-Khabīt. Thus, they were posted in a ship there and the people of al-Khabīt learned about the desertion of Rayḥan and his men and about the benevolent reception they had been accorded.

Immediately, other companions of Rayḥan who had remained
behind in the camp of al-Khābiṣ, as well as many others, surrendered. These also were treated with the same generosity and kindness as their friends. The desertion of Rayḥān took place after the skirmish which occurred on Wednesday, the twenty-eighth of Duḥ al-Hijja 267.

Arūḍ b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Khujūṣṭānī set out on a route going, as he asserted, to ‘Iraq. He reached Simnān but learned that the people of Rayy had entrenched themselves against him and fortified their city. Then he withdrew from Simnān and returned to Khūrasān.

Early in the pilgrimage season a great many people turned back from their way to Mecca due to the oppressive heat. Of the many people who continued their journey a large part died because of this heat and from thirst. All this was in the beginning of the year.

Banū Fazāra tribesmen fell upon the merchants and, as reports say, ravished 700 of their sheep.

In this year, at the pilgrims' station in Mecca, an agent of Arūḍ b. Tulūn with his horsemen, and an agent of ʿAmr b. al-Layṯ with his horsemen arrived simultaneously. Each of them claimed his master's right to plant his flag to the right side of the pulpit in the mosque of Ibrāhīm Khalīf al-Rayḥānī, since each claimed that the guardianship right belonged to his overlord. They bared their swords and most of the people fled the mosque. The Zenj
clients of Hārūn b. Muḥammad backed the agent of 'Amr b. al-Layt, and he was able to do so as he willed. Hārūn, who was governor of Mecca, cut his sermon short and the people were saved from harm. Abū al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī was then in charge of maintaining order in the congregation.

In this year al-‘ībā‘ was expelled from Samārqa.

Al-Khujjastānī, on his own authority, minted dinars and dirhams, each dinar being of ten danigs 3 weight and each dirham, eight. The legend ran: Rule and Power are with God. He is the Lord of strength and might. There is no God but God, and Muḥammad is the messenger of God. Next to it was written: The one who relies upon God dwells in happiness and prosperity; the other side read: The Faithful, Abū Ahmad b. ‘Abd Allāh.

Leader of the pilgrims in this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Mūsā b. ‘Isa al-Hashimī.

Year 268. Events of This Year

On Tuesday, the first day of Muḥarram, Ja‘far b. Ibrāhīm, known as al-Sajjān, surrendered to Abū Ahmad al-Muwaffaq. It is said / that the reason for it was the desertion of Rayḥan b. Šalih al-Maghribī and his men from the camp of the Rebel to that of Abū Ahmad, after the battle the latter gave at the end of Du‘ al-Hijja 267, to which we have referred above.
Since al-Sajjān was, they say, one of his most reliable men, al-Khabīṭ was utterly discouraged.

Abū Aḥmad conferred on this al-Sajjān robes of honor, a pension, presents and present-bearing animals, soldiers' pay and guest-food. Sajjān was assigned to Abū al-ʿAbbās who was ordered to transport him in a shadā to a position in front of the castle of al-Khabīṭ, so his fellows could see him. Al-Sujjān addressed them and told them that they were misled by al-Khabīṭ and that he had learned of the latter's lies and wickedness.

The same day that al-Sajjān was placed in front of al-Khabīṭ's camp, a great many Zenj captains and others deserted and all of them were treated kindly. They kept on following one another, abandoning al-Khabīṭ and surrendering.

After that battle which I have mentioned, having taken place on the last day of Du al-Hijja of the year 267, Abū Aḥmad stood still and made no crossing to fight al-Khabīṭ, giving his troops a rest until the month of Rābiʿ II.

ʿAmr b. al-Layt went to Fārs to fight Muḥammad b. al-Layt, his own governor in this province. ʿAmr routed Muḥammad b. al-Layt and despoiled his camp, but Muḥammad escaped with a small group of his men. ʿAmr entered Īstakhr, which was looted by his men, then he directed troops to chase after Muḥammad b. al-Layt. They took hold of him, and delivered him to ʿAmr in chains. Thereupon, ʿAmr went to Shirāz and remained there.
In Rabi' I, an earthquake shook Baghdad. This was followed by a heavy rain which lasted for three days. Four thunderbolts hit the city.

Al-'Abbās b. Āḥmad b. Tulūn set out to fight his father Āḥmad, who went out against him to Alexandria. Āḥmad seized him and returned together with him to Cairo.

On the fifteenth of Rabi' II, Abū Āḥmad al-Muwaffaq made for the city of the Rebel. While staying in his city, al-Muwaffaqiya, he had impaired the might of the Rebel by carrying out severe actions against him, blockading his city, cutting off his food supplies and by luring into desertion a great many of his troops.

When he resolved upon crossing to the enemy's city, Abū Āḥmad, according to reports, instructed his son Abū al-'Abbās to go to that section of the city's fortification, the defence of which al-Khabīr had entrusted to his son and his most prominent companions and captains. Abū Āḥmad himself made for the section of the wall between the Munkār and Ibn Sim'an Canals. He ordered Sa'īd, his vizier, to repair to the mouth of the Jūy Kūr Canal with Zirāk to his flank; then he ordered Masrūr al-Balkhī to repair to the Charbī Canal. To each of them he assigned a team of sappers to demolish their sections of the wall, but at the same time, he instructed them not to carry out excessive demolition work and not to enter the city of al-Khabīr. To all sections, to which he sent his forces,
Abū Alḥmad assigned also shadās with archers and instructed them with their fire to protect the actions of the sappers and footmen from attacks of the Zenj. Many breaches were made in the walls and the troops of Abū Alḥmad poured through all of them into the city of the Rebel. The men of al-Khabīṭ came to counter-attack, but they were defeated and chased by Abū Alḥmad’s troops who carried their pursuit, penetrating far into the city, where the diverging roads, streets and ravins split them up and separated them. Thus, their penetration went far deeper than in the previous assault, and was marked by fire and death.

But the men of al-Khabīṭ rallied and counter-attacked the troops of Abū Alḥmad. Their ambushers emerged from skillfully chosen spots which the others had not known and thus the men of Abū Alḥmad who were inside the city were caught unaware. Defending themselves, they fought their way back to the Tigris which most of them reached. Some of them got into the ships; others threw themselves into the water and were picked up by the men of the shadās; but some of them were killed. In this engagement the troops of al-Khabīṭ took arms and booty.

A detachment of Abū Alḥmad’s ghulāms, among them Rashīd and Mūṣā, the son of Muḥliḥ’s sister, and a group of ghulām captains, continued fighting in the vicinity of Ibn Simʿān’s mansion, as the last of the troops to persist. The Zenj sur-
rounded them, and with superior numbers, they stood between them and the ships. However, the men of al-Muwaffaq defending themselves, fought their way back to the ships and embarked on them. Some 30 ghulāms, people from Daylam, remained to face the Zenj and non-Zenj enemy, covering the retreating forces and assuring their safety. These thirty Daylamites were killed to the last man, after taking as many lives of the rebels as they could. The people were very grieved by the losses they had suffered in this battle. Abū Aḥmad returned with his men to his city al-Muwaffaqiya. He assembled all his men and censured them for disregarding his instruction and ignoring his advice without consulting him about his plan. He threatened them with the most severe punishment, if they disregarded his orders again. Then he ordered a count of the missing of his troops, and when this was done and their names presented to him, Abū Aḥmad arranged that the pensions of the missing be transferred to their children and families. When the men saw his care for the heirs of those who had perished in his service, they were favorably impressed, respected him more and their good faith increased.

Abū al-‘Abbās engaged in a battle with a band of Bedouins, smuggling provisions to the Rebel. The Bedouins were exterminated.
It is said that after he had devastated Baṣra, al-
Khaft appointed Ḍīmad b. Mūsā b. Saʿīd al-Qalūṣ, one of his
earliest companions, as governor of the city. While al-
Qalūṣ conducted the affairs of Baṣra, the Rebel had an out-
let, since the Bedouins and merchants could travel to the
city and import their food and different kinds of merchan-
dise, and all this would be transferred from there to the
camp of al-Khaft. This lasted until Abū Ḍīmad conquered
Ṭahfīta and captured al-Qalūṣ. Then, the Rebel appointed
Mālik b. Bishrān, the son of al-Qalūṣ' sister, to govern
Baṣra and its surroundings. When now, Abū Ḍīmad descended
upon Furaṭ al-Baṣra, the Rebel feared that Abū Ḍīmad would
attack this Mālik, who at the time was stationed at Sayḥān
on the Ibn ‘Utba Canal, and he wrote to Mālik instructing
him to transfer his camp to the Dinārī Canal, and to de-
spatch a detachment of his men to catch fish and to deli-
ver the catch to his -- al-Khaft's -- camp. He ordered
him to send another group to the road along which the Be-
douins would go from the desert, and to learn whether any
of them were carrying food. / In case a party of Bedouins
with food was met, the instructions were to attack them
and to deliver their food to the Rebel.

To carry out these instructions, Mālik, the nephew of
al-Qalūṣ, sent to the Baḥría two inhabitants of the town-
ship Basmā, one of them al-Rayyān, and the other al-Khalīl, both of whom were staying in the camp of al-Khabīt. Al-Khalīl and al-Rayyān set out, rallied a band of local people and went to Basmā, where they stayed and from which point in the Batīna, they were gradually transporting fish to the camp of al-Khabīt, employing floats small enough to pass through the narrow canals and al-Arkhanjān, which no shadā and samirīya could pass. As long as the two men stayed in the place we have mentioned, a supply of fish constantly moved from the Batīna to the camp of the Rebel. The Bedouins also supplied him with food and other things they could bring from the desert, and this was sufficient for his army. In this way the situation of the people of his camp was eased. This went on until 'Alī b. 'Umar, known as al-Naggāb, one of the Rebel’s lieutenants subordinated to al-Qalūs, deserted to al-Muwaffaq and reported to him about Mālik b. Bishrān, his position on the Dīnārī Canal, his supplying the camp of the Rebel with Batīna fish and of the deliveries by the Bedouins.

Al-Muwaffaq directed his client Zīrak with a flotilla to the location of the nephew of al-Qalūs, and Zīrak charged upon him and his men. Some of them he killed, others he captured, and the rest scattered, leaving Mālik, who fled and returned to al-Khabīt. Al-Khabīt, however, sent him back with a troop / to the lower part of al-Yahūdī Canal, and
there, at al-Fayyāq, a spot close to the canal, he pitched a camp. Now, supplies from the territory adjacent to the marshes of the canal al-Fayyāq again were flowing to the camp of al-Khabīt.

When it reached al-Muwaqqat that Mālik was stationed at the lower part of al-Yahūdī Canal and that supplies were running from that district to the camp of the Rebel, he instructed his son Abū al-‘Abbās to go to the Amīr and Fayyāq Canals, and to find out whether this report was true. The troops marched out and came upon a band of Bedouins under the command of an officer who was conveying camels, sheep, and other foodstuff from the desert. Abū al-‘Abbās attacked them and killed many, taking the rest into captivity. Only their leader escaped, riding a fast-running mare. All the camels, sheep and food which these Bedouins were conveying were taken. Abū al-‘Abbās cut off a hand of one of the captives and let him go; the man arrived at the camp of al-Khabīt and brought to him the news of what had befallen him. The attack of Abū al-‘Abbās on these Bedouins so much terrified Mālik b. Ukht al-Qalūṣ that he surrendered to Abū Ahmad, who took him under his protection, bestowed gifts upon him, clothed him and assigned him to Abū al-‘Abbās. He was also accorded a pension, soldiers pay and guest-food.

In place of Mālik, al-Khabīt appointed one of the com-
panions of al-Qalūṣ, Aḥmad b. al-Junayd, and instructed him to camp at Dahrshir, on the lower part of the Abū al-Khaṣib Canal and to proceed with his men to a place from where he could procure the /Batnīa fish and transfer it to the camp.

A report about Aḥmad b. al-Junayd reached Abū Aḥmad who sent one of his client captains, called al-Tarmudān, with a body of troops. This force encamped on the island al-Rūniya, and thus the supply of fish from the Batnīa to the camp of al-Khabīr was cut off. Al-Muwaqqal also directed Shihāb b. al-‘Alā’ and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, both from ‘Anbar, with their horsemen to prevent the transportation of food by the Bedouins to the camp of al-Khabīr. He further gave instructions that the market of Baṣra be opened to the Bedouins so that they could transport there the dates they wanted to sell, since the desire to sell their dates was what had induced them to go to the camp of the Rebel.

Now, Shihāb and Muḥammad proceeded as instructed, and stationed themselves at Qaṣr ‘Isā. The Bedouins conveyed to them the dates from the desert and the two officers began selling the dates. Abū Aḥmad then dismissed al-Tarmudān from Baṣra and sent in his place one of his Farghānī captains, Qayṣar b. Urkhūz Ikhshād of the Farghānīs. He sent Nuṣayr Abū Ḫamza out with an order to stay at Fayḍ al-Baṣra and the Dubays Canal, and at the same time to penetrate to the Ubulla, Maʿqīl and Gharbī Canals.
Muhammad b. al-Hasan said that Muhammad b. Hammād told him: "When Nuṣayr and Qayṣar, staying in Baṣra, cut off al-Khabīt and his supporters from supplies by shadās from the Baṣīra and the sea, the rebels changed to a new scheme of getting supplies, namely, by way of the al-Amīr, al-Qandal, and al-Masīḥī Canals, and thence by the roads leading to the hinterland and the sea. In this way, again their provisions came by sea and land and supplies of sea fish came from this source.

When this reached al-Muwaffaq, he instructed Rashiq, a page of Abu al-'Abbās, to establish a camp at Jawīt Bārawayh, east of the Tigris, in front of Nahr al-Amīr, and to build a well fortified moat. He instructed Abu al-Abbās to assign to Rashiq 5000 of his best men and 30 shadās. He further ordered Rashiq to place the shadās in a shift penetrating along the Amīr Canal up to the intersecting canals by which the Ženj were passing to Dubbā, Qandal and Masīḥī Canals; there the shadās were to stay with the task of attacking any of the enemies who might appear there. After the turn of one shift of shadās was completed, they withdrew immediately to be replaced by the other shift waiting at the mouth of the canal. They acted according to these instructions. Rashiq camped at the place to which he was ordered and the routes the rebels used to pass to Dubbā, Qandal and Masīḥī Canals were seized. Thus, they had no longer access
to the hinterland or the sea; the Rebel's sphere of operation narrowed and the blockade became more severe.

Akhū Sharkāb attacked al-Khujūstānī and seized his mother.

Ibn Shabāt b. al-Ḥasān rebelled and captured ʿUmar b. Sīmā, governor of Hulwān.

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀṣbagh left ʿAmr b. al-Layṭ. He was sent by the latter to Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Dulaţi with money. ʿAmr sent out just what was required of him: more than 300,000 dinār and gifts, among them 50 manāṣ of musk, 50 manāṣ of saffron, 200 manāṣ of aloes, 300 embroidered and other garments, gold and silver vessels, and 200,000 dinārs worth of animals and slaves. The total value of what he sent in gifts amounted to 500,000 dinār.

Kayghalāgh appointed al-Khalīl Rīmāl governor of Hulwān. The new governor treated the rebels harshly on account of ʿUmar b. Sīmā and the crime committed by Ibn Shabāt. They undertook to release Ibn Sīmā and settle the Ibn Shabāt affair.

Rasīq, the page of Abū al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥuwaṭṭāq, attacked those of the Banū Tamīm who cooperated with the Zenj when the latter had occupied and burned the city of Baṣra. The reason for this was that it reached him that some of these Bedouins were carrying provisions, such as wheat, camels and sheep from the hinterland to the city of al-Khabīṭ, and that they were in the lower part of the Amīr Canal expecting ships which were to come to them from the lower part of the camp.
of the Rebel in order to transport them and their goods. Rashīq set out with his shadā and came upon them at the place where they had stopped, which was the Ishaqī Canal, and he attacked them quite unexpectedly. He killed most of them and captured others -- merchants who had left the camp / of al-Khabīṭ in order to transport the provisions. He seized all kinds of provisions from them, as well as the buffalos, camels and asses which they used to carry them. He transported the prisoners and heads in his shadās and ships to al-Muwaffaqiya. On al-Muwaffaq's order, the heads were hooked on the shadās and the prisoners displayed on crosses so that everyone could see the success of Rashīq and his men. After this procession was paraded throughout the camp, the heads and captives were taken past the camp of the Rebel to let them know the result of the attack of Rashīq on the importers of provisions to them. Among those seized by Rashīq there was one of the Bedouins who used to travel between the Zenj Chieftain and the Bedouins in the matter of food transportation. Al-Muwaffaq had one hand and one foot of the man cut off; then the man was thrown into the camp of al-Khabīṭ. The captives were beheaded and all that the troops of Rashīq had obtained was placed at their disposal. Rashīq was clothed with robes of honor, given presents and returned to his camp. The number of troops surrendering to Rashīq increased and on the instructions of Abu Ahmad, all of them were assigned
to Rashiq. Their numbers grew to the point that his camp became as crowded as any of the largest camps. Supplies to al-Khabīt and his men were cut off from all directions, all roads to them were blocked. The blockade hit them hard, and weakened their bodies. Now, the captives and the deserters were asked when they had seen bread last. Surprised, they would say they had not seen bread / for a year or two years.

When the situation of the troops of the Rebel reached this point, al-Muwaffaq decided to resume harassing them in order to aggravate their exhaustion and misery. At this time a great many people came to Abū Ahmad to surrender, and those who remained in the lines of the Rebel had to resort to stratagem to gain their daily bread. They would scatter about the townships and canals distant from their camp to look for victuals. When this reached Abū Ahmad, he instructed a group of captains and privates from among his Negro ghulāms to go the the places frequented by the Zenj and try to win the men over, and to induce them to assume loyalty to him; and, at the same time, to kill those who would refuse this and deliver their heads to him. He offered them a reward so that they were zealous and persistent in doing their duty by day and night. Subsequently, no day passed without having a group gather in, heads of killed delivered and captives led up.

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Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said on behalf of Muḥammad b. Hammād, "When the number of the Zenj prisoners in the camp of al-Muwaffaq increased, he ordered a review of them. He was benign to those who were vigorous, strong and able to carry arms, treated them kindly and mixed them among his Negro ghulāms and made them feel how generous he was. Those who were feeble and infirm, or worn out or aged and unable to bear arms, or disabled by wounds, were each given two pieces of garment, money and food, and transported back to the camp of al-Khabīt. They were left there after being instructed to depict to everyone meeting them the beneficence they had seen on the part of al-Muwaffaq to all coming to him, and that he intended to offer the same to everyone who would surrender to him or fall captive into his hands.

By this measure al-Muwaffaq succeeded in attaining his goal of winning over the Zenj troops, whose minds were now preoccupied with the thought of making peace with and offering their allegiance to him. He and his son Abū al-‘Abbās personally with their troops engaged in raiding al-Khabīt and his men day and night, killing, capturing and wounding. In one of these skirmishes, Abū al-‘Abbās was hit by an arrow and wounded. However, he recovered from this wound.

On Rajab, Bahūd, companion of the Zenj Chieftain, was killed.
How He Was Slain

It is reported that among the companions of the Rebel, Bahbūd b. 'Abd al-Wahhab was the one who had the longest record of raids and the most successful in his exploits on the highways and in expropriation of money. He had amassed a great fortune in this way. Frequently he would go out with his light samīriyas, pass along the canals leading to the Tigris and would come upon a ship of the troops of al-Muwaffaq; he would seize it and bring it into the canal from which he had come out. If a pursuer followed him and penetrated far in his chase, a specially prepared detachment of his men would emerge from the canal, cut off and attack the pursuer. Since this occurred quite often, and people were becoming more careful, he began riding in a shada, which he made to resemble the shada of al-Muwaffaq and planted on it a flag like al-Muwaffaq's. Thus, he would go to the Tigris, seizing imperial troops by surprise, killing and taking prisoners. He would also pass to Ubulla, Ma'qil, Ba'tq Shirin and Dayr Canals, waylay travellers and take their money and lives.

When information about all these actions of Bahbūd reached al-Muwaffaq, he decided to block all canals which it was easy to block, place shadas at the mouths of the large canals to free them of the foul play of Bahbūd and his accomplices, and to make the roads safe for the people.

Thus, the routes were placed under guard, and canals
which it was possible to block had been blocked, and Bahrūd's actions were under control. Now Bahrūd stayed waiting for an opportunity to exploit carelessness of the crews of the shādās which were in charge of the mouth of the Ubullā Canal, and when such a chance presented itself he slipped through from the lower part of the Abū al-Khašīb Canal with his shādās and samīriyās resembling those of the troops of al-Muwaffaq, and having hoisted similar flags. He manned his flotilla with his strongest, boldest and most courageous troops, and led it from the lower part of the Abū al-Khašīb Canal into an intersecting waterway, leading to the Yahūdī Canal, and from there to the Nāfīd Canal. When he finally reached al-Ubulla, he came upon shādās and samīriyās, assigned to safeguard the canal. The crews of the shādās, being completely unaware and slack, were attacked, many killed, took captives, and six shādās were seized. Thereupon, he returned along the al-Ubulla Canal.

When news about Bahrūd reached al-Muwaffaq, he instructed Abū al-'Abbās to set out against him with shādās to the Yahūdī Canal. He hoped that his son would forestall Bahrūd in reaching the intersecting canal and thus cut the route back to the Rebel's refuge. Abū al-'Abbās reached the point Muṭṭawānī, but Bahrūd had already passed and penetrated the Sa'īdī Canal, which was leading to Abū al-Khašīb.

Abū al-'Abbās caught sight of the shādās of Bahrūd and
eagerly desiring to reach them, he speeded up his chase and came up with them. They engaged in a fight in which Ābu al-'Abbās killed a great many of Bahbūd's men and took prisoners. A part of them surrendered to Ābu al-'Abbās but a great many of Bahbūd's force stood by him firmly assisting and protecting him vigorously. Since all this took place at a time when the water was at a low ebb, the imperial shadās ran into the mud in those sections of the canals and junctions where the water was on the wane. Bahbūd and the rest of his men escaped.¹

Al-Muwaffaq continued to besiege al-Khaibīt and his bands, blocking his supply lines; and the number of deserters increased more and more. Al-Muwaffaq took care that all of them were accorded robes of honor and presents, paraded on excellent and fully equipped and ornamented horses. Also pensions were assigned to them.

Reports reached al-Muwaffaq that want and misery had impelled a party of men of al-Khaibīt to scatter about the villages in search of victuals, such as fish and dates. So, he instructed his son Ābu al-'Abbās to go to these villages and localities, hurrying there with his shadās, samirīyas and light-going zawraqs, and taking along his most vigorous, courageous and valiant men to intercept those people, and to prevent their return to the city of the Zenj Chieftain.

When al-Khaibīt learned about this expedition of Ābu al-
'Abbas against him, he instructed Bahbud secretly to set out with his men along deserted canals and junctions as far as Qandal and Abrusan and their hinterland. As instructed, Bahbud went out to his destination with a Zenj detachment, and on his way came upon a samiriya / of Abu al-'Abbas filled with ghulam archers. Bahbud was eager to get the samiriya and went after it. A battle ensued and one youngster of the Negro samiriya warriors thrusted at Bahbud with his lance and hit him in the stomach. Bahbud fell into the water, but his men ran and picked him up and fled with him to the camp of al-Khabir. God had taken his life before they reached the camp.

The Rebel and his companions were very distressed by this loss, and their terror grew greater. The death of this villain was one of the greatest victories of Abu Ahmad, who however was unaware of his end until one of the sailors surrendered to him and told him this news. Abu Ahmad rejoiced with this report, ordered the ghulam who killed Bahbud be introduced to him and given presents, clothes and a neck ring, as well as an increase of his pension. All the others of that samiriya were also presented with pensions, gifts and clothes of honor.

The beginning of the month of Ramaḍān happened to be Sunday. The second Sunday of Ramaḍān was Yaum al-Sha‘anin, the third Sunday was Easter, the fourth was Niruz, and the
fifth was the last day of the month.

Abū Aḥmad captured al-Dawā'ibī who had been collaborating with the Zenj Chieftain.

A battle took place between Yadkūtakīn b. Asāṭakīn and Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-ʿAzīz. The former was victorious and took Qumm from the latter.

'Amr b. al-Layt, on the order of Abū Aḥmad, sent a captain to arrest Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allah b. Azārmard al-Kurdi. The captain delivered the arrested to 'Amr.

In Dū al-Qa'da Bakkār, one of the sons of 'Abd al-Mālik b. Šāliḥ al-Hāshimi, rose in insurrection in Syria between Salāmya, Aleppo and Hims, and called people to pledge allegiance to Abū Aḥmad. Ibn 'Abbās al-Kilābī fought against him, but was routed. Then, Luʾluʾ the officer of Ibn Tūlūn, sent against him a captain, called Būdan with an enormous army, but on his return he scarcely had one soldier.

Luʾluʾ broke away from Ibn Tūlūn.

The Zenj Chieftain killed the Zenj Ibn Mālik because it reached him that the men intended to join Abū Aḥmad.

In Dū al-Hijja, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Khujustānī was killed by a page of his.

The troops of Ibn Abī al-Sāj killed Muḥammad b. 'Ali b. Habīb al-Yashkarī, in a village near Wāsīṭ. His head was displayed in Baghdād.

In Dū al-Hijja, Muḥammad b. Kumushjūr fought against 'Ali
b. al-Husayn Kuftimur and captured him, but subsequently set him free.

The 'Alid, known as al-Hārūn, was imprisoned. The reason for this was that he had happened to come upon the courier carrying the report on the state of the pilgrimage and had taken it away. The depute of Ibn Abī al-Sāj sent out to the Mecca road his men who seized al-Hārūn and delivered him to al-Muwaffaq.

Abū Mughīrā al-Makhzūmī marched on Mecca, where Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Ishaq al-Hāшимī was governor. Hārūn rallied an army of about 2000 men, and with their help he thwarted the attempt of al-Makhzūmī. Al-Makhzūmī now turned toward 'Ayn Mushāš and obstructed the well. From there, he went to Jidda, looted its food, and burned down its houses. The price of bread in Mecca rose to a dirham for two okas.

In this year Ibn Saqalabiya, the king of the Byzantines, took the field and besieged Malatya, but the people of Mar‘ash and al-Hadath assisted the people of Malatya, routed the emperor and chased him up to Sarf.

Khalaf al-Fārghānī, the governor of Ibn Tūlūn, conducted the annual summer raid from the direction of the Syrian border district, killed more than 10,000 Greeks and took booty. The share of each participant in the raid reached 40 dinar.

The leader of the pilgrims was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Ishaq al-Hāşimī, and Ibn Abī al-Sāj was in charge of security and safety on the road.
In Muharram, the 'Ali id al-Ḥārūn was brought into the camp of Abū Ḥamad. He was carried on a camel and was wearing a brocade qabā' and a tall qalansuwa. He was transported in a shadā to a position from where the Zenj Chieftain could see him and hear the speech of the messengers.

In al-Muharram, between Tūn and Samīrā', the Bedouins waylaid a caravan of pilgrims and plundered it. They abducted many people and some 5000 camels with their loads.

On the fourteenth night of the month al-Muharram, an eclipse of the moon took place. This eclipse was complete. On the twenty-eighth of the same month, which was Friday, at sunset, there was an eclipse of the sun which was also complete. Thus, in the month of al-Muharram, the eclipse of both sun and moon took place.

In Safar of this year, in Baghdād, the mob attacked Ibrāhīm al-Khalījī and plundered his house. The reason for this was that one of his pages had shot a woman with an arrow and killed her. Al-Khalījī implored the authorities for protection but when they recommended him to deliver the page, he refused. His servants shot at the people and killed and wounded many of them, among them two police officers. Then, Ibrāhīm took to flight, but his ghulāms were seized and his house and stables were plundered. Muḥammad, the son of 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b.Ṭāhir, acted on the authority of his fa-
ther on the bridge gathered the animals and anything else he could of the plundered property of Ibrāhīm. This he did because ‘Ubayd Allāh had instructed him to deliver all these things to Ibrāhīm. He confirmed the fact that all these things were returned.

When Ibn Abī al-Sāj reached Ṭā’īf in the course of his withdrawal from Mecca, he despatched a force to Jidda which seized two boats of al-Makhlūf loaded with both money and weapons.

Rūmī b. Khashanaj seized three Farghānī captains, one of them named Ṣadiq, the other Ṭakhshā, and the third Tughān, and put them in chains. Ṣadiq was wounded but he escaped.

In the month of Rābi‘ I, Khalaf, the lieutenant of al-Ma‘ād b. Tūlūn and his governor of the Syrian borderland, attacked Yāzīm al-Khādīm, the freedman of al-Fath b. Khāqān, and put him in jail. Then a group of inhabitants of the borderland fell upon Khalaf and rescued Yāzīmān. Thereupon, Khalaf fled and the people withdrew their allegiance from Ibn Tūlūn and cursed him from the pulpits. When this reached Ibn Tūlūn he left Egypt for Damascus, from there he went to the Syrian borderland and stopped in Adana. In the meanwhile, Yāzīmān and the inhabitants of Tarsūs entrenched themselves in the city, blocked all the approaches to it up to Bab al-Jihād and Bab al-Bahr and opened the flood gates so that the water ran up to the surroundings of Adana. Ibn Tūlūn stayed in
Adana for some time, then he returned to Antioch, and from there by Hims to Damascus where he remained.

Lū'lu', the freedman of Ibn Tūlūn, deserted his master. At the outbreak of the dispute Lū'lu' held Hims, Aleppo, Qamarsrin and Diyar Muqdar. He went to Bālis and looted the city, captured Sa'īd and his brother, sons of al-'Abbās al-Killābī. Then, Lū'lu' corresponded with Abū ʿAtīmad about going over to the latter's side and about his breaking with Ibn Tūlūn. He stipulated certain conditions which Abū ʿAtīmad accepted. Lū'lu', who then lived in Raqqa, left the town, and taking along a group of inhabitants of Rāfiqa and others went to Qarqīsiya, where Ibn Saʿfān al-Uqayli was stationed. Lū'lu' attacked Saʿfān and seized the city which he turned over to ʿAtīmad b. Mālik b. Tawq. Ibn Saʿfān fled and Lū'lu' set his course for Baghdad.

An arrow shot by Qartās, a Greek page of al-Khabīṭ, hit Abū ʿAtīmad just when he entered the city built by al-Khabīṭ in order to demolish its walls. As reports say, this was how it happened. After Bahbūd perished, the Zenj Chieftain coveted the wealth and treasures which Bahbūd had amassed. The Chieftain was certain that his possessions would amount to 200,000 dinars, besides jewels, gold and silver of great value. He searched for this with all means of subtlety and coveted it so much that he jailed all the friends, relatives and companions of Bahbūd and flogged
them. He ransacked house after house and destroyed building after building belonging to Bahbūd, hoping to find anything buried there, but he found nothing.

Now, all these things that he had done to the friends of Bahbūd in searching for the wealth was one of the factors which stirred up the hearts of his companions against him, kindled their anger and made them avoid association with him. Then al-Muwaqqiq offered his protection to the friends of Bahbūd and they, upon hearing this announcement, were glad to rush to him. They were all accepted and accorded gifts, pensions, robes of honor, and maintenance according to their rank.

Observing that advances on the camp of the Rebel were difficult at times when winds would break out and bring the Tigris into agitation, Abu Ahmad decided to prepare a position for himself and his troops on the western side of the Tigris between Dayr Jābīl and Nahr al-Mughira. He ordered the palms cut down and the ground prepared and surrounded by moats and fortified with walls to make it safe from night raids and unexpected assaults by the rebels. He set up shifts of his captains -- everyone taking his turn to go with his soldiers and workmen and work from early morning all through the day in preparation of the camp which he had decided to establish there.

To counter this, the Rebel also set up shifts of ‘Ali
Aban al-Muhallabī, Sulaymān b. Jamī and Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far al-Hamdañī, each of them was to keep guard for a day. Ankalay, the son of al-Khabīt, used to be present with Sulaymān on every day of his turn, and also many times with Ibrāhīm on the day of his turn. Later, al-Khabīt appointed Ankalay instead of Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far, and Sulaymān b. Jamī used to be present with him during his watch. Later, al-Khabīt assigned to him also Sulaymān b. Muḥāfīz al-Sha'rañī and his brothers, who would keep watch with him and retire.

Al-Khabīt felt that should al-Muwaffaq draw too close to him during war operations, his cause would collapse and all his affairs put to naught. He realized that with the close proximity of the two camps, the distance would become short for those who might wish to make an attempt to change sides and join al-Muwaffaq, as terror would be growing in the hearts of his own (al-Khabīt's) followers. Therefore, he instructed his men every day to fight the crossing imperial troops and to thwart their attempts to build this camp where they wanted to establish themselves. On one of those days stormy winds broke out at a time when a captain of al-Muwaffaq had crossed to the western side of the Tigris. The Rebel, seeing the captain, isolated and cut off from his troops and prevented from re-crossing by the stormy Tigris, seized this opportunity to move against the captain with a body of troops exceeding by much the number of the captain's
men. The *shadās* which had been with the captain on duty could not reach the spot because the wind tossed them against the rocks and the crews feared being wrecked. The Zenj overpowered this captain and his men and dislodged them from their position. They overtook one detachment, all of which despite their perseverance were killed to the last man. They chased after another group running to the water, captured some; but most of these escaped, reached their ships and jumping out of them, they crossed to al-Muwaffaqiya.

This success of the Rebel became a matter of grave concern to the people of the camp of al-Muwaffaq and provoked an intense fear among them. Also Abū Ahmad now thought that the plan of encamping on the western bank of the Tigris was unpromising and not safe from the trickery of the Rebel and his men, who would always be able to raid by night and always find some easy way to escape and gain a respite due to the many thickets of the terrain and hardness of the passage there. He realized that the Zenj were more than his troops fit and able to pass along those desolate places. So he dismissed his plan of descending upon the western bank of the Tigris and set his goal at razing the walls of the Rebel's city, and extending the roads and passes for his troops there. He gave instructions to start with the demolition of the wall in the section adjacent to the Mankā Canal.

To meet this threat al-Khabīr sent his son Ankalay, 'Alī
b. Abān and Sulaymān b. Jāmi' with the task of hindering this action, each of them taking a turn on the same day. The order was that should the troops of al-Muwaffaq outnumber them, the three pool their forces jointly to repel the attackers. When al-Muwaffaq noticed the gathering of the rebels and their cooperation to hinder the demolition of the walls, he decided personally to attend and engage in the action; and by this to inspire his troops to greater zeal and determination in their effort. This he did, and the battle continued without break. The losses in killed and wounded which the two parties suffered ever increased. For days Abū Aḥmad carried on his raids on the rebels by day and night without respite, but still his troops were unable to penetrate far into the city of the rebels because of two passages on the Munkā Canal through which, at times when the fight seemed to reach its peak, the Zenj would pass and emerge on the road leading to the rear of the troops of Abū Aḥmad, take their toll and divert them from their efforts to complete the demolition of the walls.

Then, al-Muwaffaq decided to conceive a plan to destroy those two passages in order to block the way through which the rebels would come to divert his troops at times when the fight was becoming extremely violent. He instructed some of his ghulām captains to go to the said passages, lay in wait for the Zenj, and seize them by surprise when they became
careless in their watch. He also ordered them to prepare pickaxes, saws and other tools which might be needed to destroy the two passages and helpful in speeding up the work they were commissioned to do. Acting upon these instructions, the ghulāms reached the Munkā Canal at midday, the Zenj appeared and ran up to them. Among the Zenj rushing toward them was Abū al-Nīdā' with a party of more than 500 people. The men of al-Muwaffaq and the Zenj engaged in a battle which lasted until the turn of the day, when the ghulāms of Abū Aḥmād overpowered the Zenj and pushed them away from the two passages. At that time, an arrow hit Abū al-Nīdā' in his chest, pierced his heart, and he collapsed. His soldiers shielded his body and carried it away in their rapid flight. The ghulām forces of al-Muwaffaq were enabled to dismantle the two passages, take them to the Tigris and deliver the timber in them to Abū Aḥmād. They returned safe and unharmed. They reported to al-Muwaffaq the death of Abū al-Nīdā' and the demolition of the passages, which filled the hearts of al-Muwaffaq and the people of his camp with joy. The shooter of Abū al-Nīdā' was granted a generous gift.

Now, Abū Aḥmād pressed hard on al-Khabīr and his accomplices, fighting and razing whatever his men could reach of the wall and they penetrated into the city to fight there in order to divert the enemy from the defence of his wall, / and to speed up its demolition. The houses of Ibn Simān and
Su.layman b. Jāmi' fell into the hands of the imperial troops, the rebels being unable to defend them and to stem the advance of al-Muwaffaq's men. These two houses were demolished and everything in them looted. The men of al-Muwaffaq had also reached the roofed-market of the Zenj Chieftain, which he had established on the bank of the Tigris and named al-Maymuna. It was Zīrak, commander of the vanguard of Abū al-'Abbās, who received the order of al-Muwaffaq to go to this market. So he went there with his troops, destroyed and demolished it.

Al-Muwaffaq went to the house which the Zenj Chieftain had given to al-Jubba'i and demolished it. He had it, as well as the stores of the Rebel which were located in the immediate vicinity, stripped of everything. Then, he instructed his men to go to the spot where the Rebel had selected a structure named the Friday Mosque. The rebels persevered in defense and preservation of this place, since al-Khabīt incited them and imbued them with the belief that it was incumbent upon them to revere and defend the place of worship. The Zenj believed these statements of his and obeyed his exhortations, so that it was very difficult for the men of al-Muwaffaq to reach their objective. The fight for this place lasted for days since, at this point, only the staunchest, most heroic men remained with al-Khabīt's men who were ready to stand with him to the last. They
would defend with zeal as long as they could hold their places, and if one would be hit by an arrow or was thrust by a lance, or struck by a sword and fell, his neighbor would draw him aside and take up his position, fearing that if the position of a man remained empty, ill would befall the rest of his fellows.

When Abū Ḥāmid saw the endurance and defense of this detachment, and that their resistance would last for days, he instructed Abū al-ʿAbbās to move to the strongest side of the building which al-Khābīt called the Mosque, and take along his most valiant troops and ghulāms. He added to them sappers who were trained in demolition works, and if something was ordered demolished, they would rush to it. Al-Muwaffaq ordered ladders placed against the walls by which archers went up and launched showers of arrows upon the rebels behind the walls. He spread his footmen from the limits of the house of al-Jubbā'ī to the place to which he had assigned Abū al-ʿAbbās. Then he had distributed money, neckchains, and bracelets among those who rushed to demolish the walls and the market of al-Khābīt and the houses of his companions. Now, what was difficult before became easy after a long and violent fight -- the building which the Rogue had named the Mosque was demolished, people reached its pulpit, carried it away, and delivered it to al-Muwaffaq, who returned with it to al-Muwaffaqiya gay and
happy. Then, he returned to the work of destruction and he demolished the section of the wall from the limits of the house of Ankalay to that of al-Jubbā'ī. The men of al-Muwaffaq came upon some of the records and warehouses of al-Khabīt, which they looted or destroyed. This happened to be on a day of a thick fog which veiled people so that they hardly could see one another, but on this day the first gleam of victory dawned for al-Muwaffaq. At this juncture an enemy arrow launched by Qartās, a Greek freedman who was with the Rebel, hit al-Muwaffaq in his chest. This had happened on Monday, the twenty-fifth of Jumādā II, 269. Al-Muwaffaq kept secret this mishap of his, returned to al-Muwaffaqiya, and the same night had his wound dressed. After he had spent the night there, although his wound annoyed him, he returned to the fight in order to keep high the spirit of his friends so that no apprehension or weakness would seize their hearts. Now, from the excessive motion to which al-Muwaffaq submitted himself, his illness intensified and became severe; the matter took such a serious turn that it caused concern for his life. He was in need of the best care possible.

The army, troops and people were disturbed and became very worried. So great became their apprehensions about the strength of al-Khabīt, that one detachment of those who were stationed in al-Muwaffaqiya left the city because
of the fear that seized their hearts. When his illness took a turn for the worse it became a subject of discussion at his governmental council. Advisors from among his reliable companions urged him to leave his camp for the City of Peace and leave behind someone in his place. This he declined out of fear that the Rebel's beaten forces could rally. Therefore, despite the gravity of his own illness and the insistent advice of his council, he remained. God in his mercy granted him good health so that after lengthy seclusion he showed himself to his captains and special officers and this increased their power. He remained in his retreat and continued to recover from his illness until Sha'bān of this year. And when he was cured and felt able to resume the fight against the Rebel, alert and persevering, he went back to war.

When al-Khabīt / ascertained what had happened to Abū Ṭāmīmad, he started to give his men false promises and to stir up in their hearts false hopes. But after it reached him that Abū Ṭāmīmad had reappeared, riding in his shadā, the Rebel started to swear from his pulpit that this was an empty and baseless rumor, and what they had really seen in the shadā was an effigy which in their confused minds seemed to be Abū Ṭāmīmad's likeness.

On Saturday in the middle of Jumādā I, al-Ḥuťsamīd set out intending to reach Egypt, and he stopped at al-Kuḥayl to hunt.¹
On Jumādā II, ʻAlāʾ b. Makhlad, with a body of troops, departed from Abū Aḥmad and went to Samarrā.

Two captains of Ibn Tūlūn, one of them called Aḥmad b. Jayghawayh and the other Muḥammad b. ʻAbbās al-Kilābī, proceeded to Raqqā.

As soon as al-Muʿtāmid arrived in the province of Ḥishāq b. Kundāj, who was governor of Mosul and of all the Jazīra, Ḥishāq fell upon the attendants of al-Muʿtāmid, who had left Samarrā with him for Egypt, namely Tīnak, Aḥmad b. Khāqān and Khūṭārmīsh, and put them in chains, seized their money, animals and slaves. He had a letter to arrest them and al-Muʿtāmid. Their estates and those of Fārs b. Rughā were conferred upon Ḥishāq b. Kundāj.

The reason for the detention of the persons I have mentioned above was that at the time that al-Muʿtāmid arrived in this province, letters from ʻAlāʾ ordering their detention already reached Ibn Kundāj. He acted as though he was sympathizing with them and sharing their feelings about loyalty to al-Muʿtāmid, since he was the caliph. Ibn Kundāj further asserted that it would be unlawful to oppose him. Now, some of the captains of al-Muʿtāmid's escort cautioned him to pass by and forewarned him, but he persisted and wanted only to stop, as recorded above, saying, Ḥishāq is my client and page. I want to hunt, and on the way to him there is bountiful game." When they reached
his province, he met them, went with them, as reports say, to give them hospitality before they passed into the province of Ibn Tulūn. Next day, early in the morning, the servants, pages and others who left Samarrā with al-Mu'tamid, started to saddle their animals, and Ibn Kundaj remained with only the captains of the caliph, and said to them, "Now, you have neared the domain of Ibn Tulūn and his captain who is stationed in Raqqa. As soon as you pass to him, the command will be his and you'll be in his hands and be like his soldiers. Would you be happy with this, knowing that he is only your equal?" On these grounds an argument developed, which was going on until late in the day. Al-Mu'tamid was not yet ready to depart, his captains being involved in this argument in his presence without coming to any agreement. Then Ibn Kundaj suggested, "Let us get up and discuss the matter in some other place, and let us respect the honor of the Commander of the Faithful and shun raising our voices here." Clutching their hands, he took them out of the tent of al-Mu'tamid and led them into his own tent. No other tent remained, all tents but his having been removed, as his instructions to his waiters, pages, followers and friends were not to leave the place before he did. As soon as they entered his tent, the captains of his best ghulāms and troops entered. Chains were also brought in, and the pages seized and put in
chains everyone of al-Mu'tamid's lieutenants who had accompanied him from Samarrā. After they were all put in chains and he had disposed of this task, Ishāq b. Kundāj went to al-Mu'tamid and reproached him for leaving the capital of his and his fathers' kingdom and for forsaking his brother at a time when he was conducting war against those who were attempting to kill him and all his family and abolish their empire. Thereupon, he delivered him and his chained attendants to Samarrā.

Rāfi' b. Hartama went back to his districts of Khurāsān which al-Khujustānī had wrested from him and crossed their borders. From a number of districts of Khurāsān he extorted the land-tax for some ten years ahead, by which he brought destitution upon the people and devastation upon the province.

A skirmish took place between the ʿĪsāyūnīs, Ḥasanīs and Jaʿfarīs. The Jaʿfarīs had eight people killed in the battle, but they gained the victory and released al-Faql b. al-ʿAbbās al-ʿAbbāsi, governor of Medina.

In Jumāda II, Hārūn b. al-Muwaqqaf appointed Ibn Abī al-Sāj governor of Anbār, the Euphrates Road, and Ṭawq. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṭāʾī was appointed governor of Kūfah and its area, and he acted there as paymaster and collector of taxes. So he distributed the pay in the name of ʿAlī b. al-ʿĪsāyūn Kūfīmūr. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṭāʾī
attacked al-Haysam al-'Ijli and routed him; he confiscated al-'Ijli's possessions and estates.

On the fourth of Sha'ban, Ishāq b. Kundāj brought al-Mu'tamid back to Samārrah. They went to the palace of al-Jawsāq overlooking al-Khayt.

On the eighth of Sha'ban, Ibn Kundāj was clothed with robes of honor; two swords with sword-belts were conferred upon him, one for his right side and the other for his left, and he was named Dū al-Sayfīn. Two days later he was given a brocade cloak, two sashes, a diadem and a sword; all these were set with gems. Hārūn b. al-Muwaffaq, Ṣā'id b. Makhlad and the captains escorted him to his house and had lunch with him.

In Sha'ban the troops of Abū Āḥmad burned down the castle of the Rebel and plundered everything that was there.

How This Happened

Muḥammad b. al-Yāsān reported that when Abū Āḥmad recovered from the wounds which he received, he resumed his warfare against the Rebel, raiding him morning and evening. Al-Khabīr in the meantime had repaired some of the breaches that had been made in the wall. Al-Muwaffaq ordered the breaches renewed and widened. One late afternoon, when a battle was being fought in the territory near the Munkā
Canal where the rebels were concentrated and busy fighting on a battleground / which they believed to be the only one at the time, al-Muwaffaq with especially prepared sappers set out and arrived near the Munka Canal. He charged upon the rebels, and they rose against him; when the fight became hot, he instructed the oarsmen and the captains to speed up their march to the Jūy Kūr Canal, which branched off from the Tigris below the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. They arrived there and found the place free from warriors and footmen. Al-Muwaffaq drew nearer and sent out the sappers to demolish the section of the wall next to this canal; then he brought up his warriors, penetrated through the canal and carried out an enormous slaughter. They reached some of the rebels' castles, pillaged everything in them, burned them down and rescued scores of women who had been there. They seized some of the rebels' horses and carried them over to the western side of the Tigris. At sunset al-Muwaffaq safely withdrew with the booty, and returned there early the next morning in order to demolish the wall. They pushed the demolition of the wall until they reached the house of Ankalay, which was contiguous to the mansion of al-Khabīb. When all the trickery of al-Khabīb had failed to hinder the demolition of the wall and to prevent the penetration of al-Muwaffaq's troops into the city, he lost his wits and did not know what to do in this difficult situation.
‘Alī b. Abān advised him to let enough water onto the swampy ground which the men of al-Muwaffaq used to pass so as to close it to them, then, to dig moats in a number of places which would also impede their entrance into the city. Even if they risked crossing the moat and were defeated, they still would find it difficult to return to their ships.

Accordingly, they dug moats in different sections of their city and along the race course which had been turned into a road; the moats were now near to al-Khabīṭ's house. Al-Muwaffaq felt that God enabled him to succeed in demolishing the wall of the Rebel's city, and he decided to fill in the moats, canals, and obstructions so as to make them passable for the horses and footmen. That was what he wanted. But the rebels defended themselves and the fight lasted long and without respite, both sides sustaining heavy losses in killed and wounded. On one of those days the number of injured reached almost two thousand, because the parties were so close to each other during the fight, and because the moats prevented each side from dislodging the other from its position. When al-Muwaffaq saw this, he decided to burn down the house of al-Khabīṭ and to attack it from the side of the Tigris. A great many Zenj warriors and defenders, especially prepared by al-Khabīṭ to offer resistance, started to cast stones and shoot from bows, slings, ballistas, and catapults from the walls and turrets
whenever shadäs neared the castle. Lead was also melted and poured upon the attackers, thus making it impossible for them to burn al-Khabić’s mansion.

Then, upon al-Muwaffaq’s instruction, wooden screens were prepared for shadäs. These screens were covered with buffalo skins and overspread with canvas, varnished with kinds of drugs and chemicals which would protect them from fire. A number of shadäs were shielded with screens prepared in this manner, and were manned with a force of the bravest of his ghuläm lancers and archers, and with a team of skilled operators of naphta-machines, all of whom were assigned to set the house of the Rebel, the Chief-tain of the Zenj, on fire.

On Friday, the seventeenth of Shābān 269, Muḥammad b. Sim‘ān, the scribe and vizier of al-Khabic, surrendered to al-Muwaffaq. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported that this was the reason for his surrender. Muḥammad b. Sim‘ān was one of those who hated al-Khabic and loathed his company because they knew he was an impostor. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan said, “This was why I was friendly with him (with Ibn Sim‘ān). Together we would devise plans for escape, but all was to no avail. But when the siege had hit al-Khabic hard as it did, and his friends deserted him, his cause becoming weak, Ibn Sim‘ān prepared a plan to flee and informed me about it, saying that he was willing to give up the idea of taking along child or family, and decided to flee alone. Then he asked me, ‘Would you like
to do the same?" I replied, 'You are right in your decision, for you will leave behind only one small child, and al-Khabīt will not be able either to assail the child or expose you to shame through it. But as for myself, I have womenfolk, and I cannot afford to expose them to the Rebel's cruelty. So do as you have decided and pass on word about me, my intention to break away from the Rebel, and my disgust for my association with him. If God redeems me and my children, indeed, I shall follow you promptly; but should our fates be conjoined, we shall bear anything and be together.'

Now, Muḥammad b. Simʿān sent out al-ʿIrāqi, a representative of his, who arrived at al-Muwaffaq's camp and secured for his master the safeguards he sought. Al-Muwaffaq prepared shadās which reached Ibn Simʿān in the lagoon, and on the day reported above, he arrived at the camp of al-Muwaffaq."

The day after that on which Muḥammad b. Simʿān surrendered, which was Saturday, the eighteenth of Shaʿbān 269, al-Muwaffaq resumed warfare against al-Khabīt, and with best ammunition and finest equipment, with shadās screened as described above, and with the rest of the shadās and samīrīyas manned by ma-wālīs and ghulāms, and with pontoons carrying footmen, he went to burn down the house of al-Khabīt. To his son Abū al-ʿAbbās he gave the order to repair to the house of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, known as al-Karnabāʾī, opposite the house of the Rebel, on the eastern side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, overlooking the canal.
and the Tigris, and gave him the task of setting it and the adjacent houses of the Rebel's captains on fire, by this diverting the captains from helping and succoring the Rebel.

To the men of the screened shadās, he gave the order to move to the buildings of al-Khabīt overshadowing the Tigris toward the dormers of the castle. This they did and pushed their shadās as close as possible to the walls of the castle and fought the rebels fiercely, sprinkling them with fire. Although the rebels fought back tenaciously, God granted victory over them and they were pushed away from the dormers and structures on fire, while they themselves remained unharmed from the arrows, stones, flowing melted lead and other devices of the rebels due to the screens with which they had shielded their shadās. This was how they captured the house of al-Khabīt. Then, on the instruction of al-Muwaffaq, all the people of the shadās returned, the ghulāms were replaced by others, and he stayed expecting the rise of the tide. When this occurred, the screened shadās returned to the castle of al-Khabīt, and in accordance with the orders of al-Muwaffaq, they set fire to the parts of al-Khabīt's castle along the Tigris. When the fire in these apartments started to rage and reached the coverings with which al-Khabīt shielded his quarters, and the curtains of his doors, the ever spreading flames forced him to flee and made it impossible for al-Khabīt and his men to take
care of the objects, such as money, stores, furniture and other valuables which were in his house. They left all this and fled. The ghulāms and other men of al-Muwaffaq mounted the castle of al-Khabīt and looted the valuables, such as gold, silver, pearls and jewels and other things which the fire had not yet consumed. A number of women whom al-Khabīt had had enslaved were rescued. The ghulāms of al-Muwaffaq also reached the other mansions of al-Khabīt and his son Ankalay, and set all of them on fire. Overjoyed with what God had granted them on this day, the troops kept on fighting the scoundrels in their city, and before these gates of the castle of al-Khabīt which were near the race course. Heavy losses in killed, wounded and captured were inflicted upon the rebels.

In the same manner Abū al-'Abbās / operated at the mansion of al-Karnabā'f and its neighborhood, burning, demolishing and plundering. He cut off an enormous and strong iron chain which al-Khabīt had fastened across the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal in order to make it inaccessible to shadās; he took this chain and carried it off in some of his shadās.

At the time of evening prayer, al-Muwaffaq returned victorious. On that day al-Khabīt suffered in person loss of wealth, children, and captive Muslim women. Thus he suffered himself from grief, dispossession, loss of kith and kin, affliction, captivity, break-up of family, hard-
ship to women and children, just as the Muslims had suffered at his hands. His son Ankalay on that day was gravely wounded in his stomach, so that he narrowly escaped death. 

On the morrow of that day, which was the eighteenth of Sha'ban, Nuṣayr was drowned.

How He Was Drowned

Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan reported that on the morrow of that day, al-Muwaffaq rose early in the morning to fight against al-Khābiṭ, and instructed Nuṣayr Abū Ḫamza to repair to the passage which the Rebel had constructed of teak wood on the Abū al-Khaṣib Canal, near the two bridges which he had seized. To Zīrak he gave instructions to lead out his troops to the area of the house of al-Jubbaʿi, to fight the rebels there, and to send another force to the vicinity of the house of Ankalay to conduct the fight there too. As soon as the tide rose, Nuṣayr rushed with a number of his shadās into the Abū al-Khaṣib Canal, but the tide carried them and pressed them against the passage. At the same time, without being ordered, a number of al-Muwaffaq's shadās with mawālīs and ghulāms also entered the canal and these were also carried by the tide and pushed against the shadās of Nuṣayr. They came so close to each other that the captains and oarsmen were helpless.
When the Zenj perceived this, they banded together and flocked toward the shadās, surrounding them from both sides of the canal. In panic and fear the oarsmen jumped into the water and left their shadās to the Zenj who took them over, killed some of the warriors and drowned most of them. Nuṣayr, from his shadās, fought back until, in fear of being captured, he jumped into the water and was drowned.

Al-Muwaffaq continued to fight the scoundrels, to pillage and burn their houses continuously, keeping his attacking hand over them until the end of that day. Sulaymān b. Jāmi' with his troops was among the stubborn defenders of the Rebel's castle. The fight between his troops and those of al-Muwaffaq continued without respite and Sulaymān b. Jāmi' held fast to his position. It was only when al-Muwaffaq's Negro ghulāms attacked Sulaymān's force in the rear from an ambush that Sulaymān turned to flight and lost to the pursuing ghulāms of al-Muwaffaq many of his men in killed and captured. In this fight Sulaymān was hit in his thigh, an injury which forced him down in a place consumed by fire where coals were still smoldering, and parts of his body were burned. Protected by a group of his men, he narrowly escaped capture.

Victorious and unharmed al-Muwaffaq withdrew, while the scoundrels became ever weaker and their fright grew ever greater, as the end of their cause was in sight.

Abū Aḥmad happened to fall ill with arthritis which lasted all through the end of Shaʻbān, / Ramaḍān and part of Shawwal, 2048.
by reason of which he had to abstain from fighting against the Rebel. But as soon as he recovered from his illness and convalesced, he gave the order to prepare everything necessary to encounter the scoundrels, and all his men prepared for that task.

ʿIsā b. al-Shaykh b. al-Salīl passed away.

In the Audience Hall, al-Muʿtamid cursed Ibn Tūlūn and gave instructions that the same be done from the pulpits. On Friday, Jaʿfar al-Mufawwad went to the Friday Mosque and cursed Ibn Tūlūn there. Ishāq b. Kūndāj was appointed governor of all the area extending from Bāb al-Shamasiyah to Ifriqiyyah. He was also appointed commander of the Private Guard.

In Ramaḍān, Aḥmad Ibn Tūlūn sent to the people of Syria a message urging them to assist his deputy. A messenger sent with the report to Ibn Tūlūn by his deputy Jawwāb was apprehended. Also Jawwāb was seized and put in jail; all his money, slaves and animals were taken away.

In Shawwāl a skirmish took place between Ibn Aḥf al-Sāji and the Bedouins, in which the former was routed. Later he attacked them by night, killed many and took captives; the heads of the killed and the captives, al-Sāj despatched to Baghdād where they arrived in the same month.

On the eighteenth of Shawwāl of this year, Jaʿfar al-Mufawwad appointed Sāʿid b. Makhlad governor of Shahrzūr, Darabād, al-Sāmaghān, Ḥulwān, Māsabādān, Mihrijānqadāq...
and the Euphrates Districts. He also assigned to him the captains of Mūsā b. /Bughā, except ʿAlī b. Mūsā, Kayghalagh, ʿĪsā b. Kundājīq and Asātakīn. On his part, Sāʿīd, on Saturday the twenty-second of ʿUṣāl, delegated the government of the provinces which he got from al-Mufawwād to Lūʾlūʾ. He also sent a message to Ibn Abī al-Sāj confirming him as governor of the provinces he was governing on behalf of ʿHarūn b. al-Muwaqqātūn, namely, al-Anbār, the road of the Euphrates, and Rahbat Tawq b. Mālik. Ibn Abī al-Sāj had departed there in the month of Ramadān. As soon as all these lands were added to Sāʿīd's domains, Sāʿīd confirmed Ibn Abī al-Sāj in his territory.


On Tuesday, the tenth of ʿUṣāl, in the city of the Rebel a battle took place between Abū ʿAlī and the Zenj in which Abū ʿAlī achieved his goal.

Of This Battle

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan reported that while al-Muwaqqātūn was held back by his sickness, al-Khabīt, enemy of God, repaired the passage into which the shadās of Muṣayr had run. He worked
on it so much that he thought he had brought it to the point of perfection. He erected nearby teak wood stakes, tied closely with each other and overlaid with iron; in front of it he put a barricade of stones to make the place narrow for the entrance of shadās and to cause the current of water in the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal to whirl, so that people would dread to enter it.

Al-Muwaffaq summoned two of his ghulām captains and instructed them to take their 4000 ghulāms and to set out to the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, one of them along the eastern side and the other along the western, and to march up to the passage which the Rebel had restored, and to the dam which he had erected in front of it, to combat the troops of al-Khabīt in the area of the passage and push them away from it. He assigned to them carpenters and sappers to cut the passage and the stakes put in front of it. On his order, vessels were also prepared, filled with reeds permeated with naphtha. These were to enter the canal at the time when the tide rose, so that being set on fire at the right moment, the vessels would transmit the flames to the passage.

On that day al-Muwaffaq himself rode ahead until he reached the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, and ordered warriors landed in a number of places above and below the camp of al-Khabīt in order to divert the rebel troops from going to the rescue and to prevent admittance to the passage. The two cap-
tains who were sent with their troops came upon the Zenj and non-Zenj troops of the Traitor led by his son Ankalay, 'Alī b. Aban al-Muhallabī and Sulaymān b. Jāmī', and they engaged in fighting. The battle was protracted since the Zenj fought violently in defence of their passage. They understood that the destruction of this passage could bring a calamity upon them, since the other two bridges which al-Khabīb held behind it on the canal / Abū al-Khaṣib would become a target easy to reach.

On both sides the number of killed and wounded grew and the battle lasted until late in the afternoon, when the ghulāms of al-Muwaffaq dislodged the rebels from the passage and passed over it. The carpenters and sappers cut and demolished the bridge and the stakes which, as we have mentioned, the scoundrels had constructed with elaborate skill. This made it impossible for the carpenters and sappers to destroy them fast enough. Then, upon al-Muwaffaq's order, the ships with the naphtha-impregnated reeds entered the canal, and, set in fire, they were let float with the current. The ships reached the passage and set it afire, which enabled the carpenters to cut down the stakes, thereby opening the canal to the crews of the warships. This raised the spirits of the ghulāms and they knocked the rebels out of their positions. The ghulāms chased them and reached the first bridge behind the passage. A great many of the rebels
were killed; a group of them surrendered to al-Muwaffaq who ordered immediately that they be clothed with robes of honor and placed in positions where their fellows could observe them and become eager for similar treatment.

The ghulāms reached the first bridge about the time of sunset and al-Muwaffaq hated to have his men deeply advanced within the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal when night darkened, lest the rebels should seize the opportunity to attack. Therefore, upon his order, the people withdrew safely to the city al-Muwaffaqiya. Subsequently, al-Muwaffaq despatched letters to the districts to be read from the pulpits about the victory and conquest God had granted to him. He ordered that those of his outstanding ghulāms who distinguished themselves be rewarded according to their gallantry, sacrifice and discipline, in order to stimulate their zeal and aggressiveness in the fight against their enemies. Thereupon, with a body of mawālis and ghulāms in shadās, samīrīyas and light-going zawraqs, al-Muwaffaq crossed to the mouth of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, which al-Khabīr in the meantime had obstructed with two stone barrages in order to make the entrance narrow and the current rapid, so that if vessels entered the canal, they would founder, their way back being difficult. Al-Muwaffaq ordered these two barrages removed, and all the daylight time of that day people worked to have the command carried out. But, when the workers withdrew and returned the
next morning to complete the removal of what remained, they found that during the night the rascals restored what had been removed before. Then al-Muwaffaṣ ordered two ballistas installed on two ships stationed in front of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, with their anchors dropped so as to be steady. These ships were manned with a team of shaṭṭī troops charged with the removal of these two barrages. The commandors of the two ballistas were instructed to fire at any rebel troops appearing to restore anything of the two barrages whether by day or night. The rebels kept away and refrained from nearing that place while the men in charge of removing the stones pressed on towards the fulfillment of their task until they had accomplished what they wanted, and the passage in and out of the canal became comfortable for the vessels.

The Rebel moved from the western side of the canal to the eastern, and was cut off from his supplies in all directions.

His Situation and the Result of His Crossing to the Eastern Bank

Report has it that after al-Muwaffaṣ had devastated and burned down his houses, the Zenj Chieftain took refuge in the fortified houses further along the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, and stopped in the house of ʿAlī b. Mūsā, known as al-Qalūṣ, where
he gathered around him his families and children. Trade was now conducted in the market place close to his location, namely Suq al-Yusayn.

Now the situation of al-Khabīr became extremely weak, and the people clearly understood that his cause was doomed. They feared to import food to him and he was cut off from all supplies. The price of a qah of corn bread reached ten dirham in his camp, so they ate barley, then different kinds of grain and, finally, they started to chase after people. If a man, woman or child found himself alone, he would be in danger of being slain and devoured. Then the stronger Zenj would assail the weak ones, and seek a chance to kill them and eat their flesh. Then they ate the flesh of their children. They would dig up corpses, sell the shrouds and eat the flesh. The only punishment imposed by al-Khabīr on the perpetrators of such deeds was imprisonment, but the culprit would be released.

It is reported that after his house was demolished, burned down, and everything in it plundered, al-Khabīr, a homeless outcast, was chased from the western side of the canal to the eastern side. / Abū 'Abdād now decided to lay waste the eastern side in order to make his situation there like his situation on the western side from which he was banished. He instructed his son Abū al-'Abbās with a body of his troops and vessels to take up positions in the Abū
al-Khaṣib Canal, also to select a team from his troops and ghulāms to land in the section of the house of al-Karnabīf on the eastern side of the canal. He further ordered sappers to be landed in order to demolish any houses and dwellings of the Rebel's associates which they might come upon.

Al-Muwaffaq occupied himself with the castle of one known as al-Hamdānī, a captain of the troops of al-Khabīt and one of his earliest companions, who was entrusted with the defence of this sector. On the instruction of Al-Muwaffaq, a team of his captains and mawālīs, having sappers with them, repaired to the house of al-Hamdānī, which place was fortified with a great body of Zenj and other troops of al-Khabīt, and provided with ballistae, catapults, and nāwakiya bows. A fight began in which many killed and wounded fell; the troops of al-Muwaffaq dislodged the rebels, put them to the sword and inflicted upon them heavy losses. Also the men of Abū al-'Abbās meted out the same treatment to any rebel coming with their reach. Then the troops of al-Muwaffaq and those of Abū al-'Abbās effected a junction and acted in perfect accord against the rebels who fled in great panic up to the house of al-Hamdānī, which had been fortified with ballistae, and surrounded on all sides with the white flags of the Rebel, his name inscribed on them. Now, it was impossible for the troops of al-Muwaffaq to surmount the walls of this house.
because they were high and strong. They applied tall ladders but still they could not reach the top. Then, some of al-Muwaffaq's ghulāms drew upward especially prepared long ropes, attached to hooked pegs. They fastened the pegs to the banners of the Rebel, and as they pulled the pegs, the banners fell from the top of the wall, and fell into the hands of al-Muwaffaq's men. Now, the defenders of that house were certain that the troops of Abu Ahmad were on the wall. Seized with fear they fled surrendering the house and everything around it. Now, the naphtha men ascended and set fire to the catapults, ballistas, and al-Hamdāni's house belongings stored there; they also burned down the houses of the rebels in the vicinity of this house. On that day, many captive Muslim women were wrested from them, and al-Muwaffaq ordered them transported by shadās, samirīyas, and pontoons to the city of al-Muwaffaqiya and treated with benevolence. The fight continued all that day from the early morning to the afternoon without reprieve. A group of troops of the Rebel and a party of his special pages, who were his personal attendants and private guards, surrendered. Al-Muwaffaq granted protection to all of them, ordered that they be treated kindly, clothed with robes of honor, given presents and allotted soldiers' pay. Al-Muwaffaq returned with the flags of the Rebel attached upside down to the bows of the shadās, so that they would be exposed to the sight of his men. A group of those who had
asked for protection showed al-Muwaffaq the immense market which al-Khabīṭ had had behind the house of al-Mandānī not far from the first bridge spanning the canal, which market place al-Khabīṭ had named al-Mubaraka. They also let him know that if he succeeded in burning it down, no other market would be left to the Zenj, and the merchants who were the source of their subsistence, would desert them. This would lead to their destruction and they would be compelled to surrender.

Al-Muwaffaq therefore resolved to go with troops to the market and its surroundings from three directions. He instructed Abu al-'Abbās to repair to the side of the market which was leaning against the first bridge; his client Rashid he instructed to repair to that market near the house of al-Mandānī; and one of his Negro ghulām captains he instructed to repair to the sector adjacent to the Abu Shākir Canal. All these parties did as ordered.

Being warned about the march of the imperial troops, the Zenj set out to encounter them, and a violent fight broke out. The Rebel sent assistance to his men. Al-Muhallabī, Ankalay and Sulaymān b. Jāmī' had been perfectly prepared, and with the reinforcement having arrived, they fought in defence of their sector most fiercely. In the very beginning of their onslaught on this place, al-Muwaffaq's men reached a certain segment of this market which they set afire, and from this
place the fire spread over most of the market. The parties fought while fire raged around them, and when the booth coverings above caught fire, they fell down on the heads of the warriors and many burned. This situation lasted until sunset. When the night came down, al-Muwaffaq and his men stopped fighting and returned to their ships, and the scoundrels to their Impostor. After the market had gone up in flames, the inhabitants, as well as the traders of the Rebel's army and the common market people, fled and reached the upper parts of the city with their money and valuables they had saved. Before this, they had carried the best of their merchandise and goods away from this market, fearing lest that would befall which had befallen them on the day when God had made al-Muwaffaq master of the house / of al-Hamdānī, when he had succeeded in burning down everything around it.

Now, after the battle near the house of al-Hamdānī, al-Khabīr executed on the eastern side the same kind of works, such as moat digging and obstruction of roads, as on the western. He dug a broad moat from the limits of Jūy Kūr to the al-Gharbī Canal, making his main concern the fortification of the section from the house of al-Karnabā'ī to the Jūy Kūr Canal, since this sector had the best houses and domiciles of his companions. Gardens and vacated places surrounded by walls and moats stretched all
the way from Jūy Kūr to the al-Gharbi Canal; and it was this sector to which the Zenj rushed from their positions to put up a defence and resistance whenever the battle broke out in this area.

Al-Muwaffaq then took a decision to demolish the rest of the wall up to the al-Gharbi Canal, which he accomplished after a long drawn-out battle.

The Rebel was on the eastern side of the al-Gharbi Canal in a camp consisting of an army of Zenj and others, fortified by an impregnable wall and by moats. These troops were the most courageous and valiant men of al-Khabīṭ; they were defending the surroundings of the wall along the al-Gharbi Canal, and when the battle raged at Jūy Kūr and its surroundings, they attacked the troops of al-Muwaffaq from behind.

Al-Muwaffaq gave instructions to repair to this place, fight its defenders, demolish its walls and eliminate those who were entrenched there. He ordered Abū al-'Abbās and a number of captains of his ghulāms and mawālīs to prepare themselves for this task, which they did. Al-Muwaffaq himself, with people he had ready, arrived at the al-Gharbi Canal, ordered the warships arrayed from the limits of the/Jūy Kūr Canal to the point al-Dabbasīn. The warriors landed on both sides of the al-Gharbi Canal, put ladders against the wall on which the Zenj had a number of ballistas, and a fight broke out which lasted from the early morning to the afternoon.
After a number of breaches were made in the wall and the ballista on it were burned down, the parties desisted from further fighting, neither of them having gained an advantage over the other, except that the troops of al-Muwaffaq had succeeded in making those breaches and burning down the ballista. Both parties were severely stricken with suffering and pain from their wounds. Al-Muwaffaq with all his troops returned to al-Muwaffaqiya, where he ordered the wounded treated and rewarded -- everyone according to their injury suffered. This was his policy he had pursued in all his battles from the beginning of his campaign against the Rebel to the very end of the latter.

After this battle, al-Muwaffaq took no action for a while. Then, he decided to return to the same spot and to deal with this sector rather than with any other because he perceived how well fortified it was and how courageous and persevering were the men in it. He realized that he would be unable to gain mastery over the area between the al-Charbi and Jûy Kûr Canals, without first eliminating these troops. So he prepared what he needed in the way of implements of destruction, and increased the number of sappers; then he selected the warriors, archers, lancers and Negro swordmen, and marched to this place just as he had the first time. He landed the footmen in the place he considered proper and launched a number of shadâs into the canal. The fight broke out and raged on, the scoundrels
displaying great steadfastness, and the troops of al-Muwaffaq showing perseverance against them. Then, the rebels asked for reinforcements from their Seducer, and al-Muhallabī / with Sulaymān b. Jāmī and their armies came to them. This encouraged the scoundrels, and they charged upon the troops of al-Muwaffaq. Sulaymān attacked from an ambush in the vicinity of Jūy Kūr, pushing Muwaffaq's force back to their ships and killing many of the men. Al-Muwaffaq had to withdraw without fully achieving his objective. But it became clear that he had to fight the rebels from a number of positions, thus splitting their troops and relieving their pressure on those who should come to this difficult position to inflict the decisive blow.

When he resolved to renew the assault, he instructed Abū al-ʿAbbās and others of his captains to cross and select the best of their men. His client Nasrūr was put in charge of Nahr Munkā, and instructed to lead his men to this place and to the adjacent hills and palm grove, and thus divert the minds of the rebels, making them believe there was a design against them from this direction. He instructed Abū al-ʿAbbās to land his troops at Jūy Kūr and arrange his shadās along this canal up to al-Dabbāsīn, below Nahr al-Gharīf. Al-Muwaffaq set out for Nahr al-Gharīf and ordered the captains of his ghulāms to set out with their men and start fighting the scoundrels in their entrenchments and fortresses,
and not to turn away from them until God granted complete victory or until new orders had reached them. Then he appointed people for demolition of the walls. As they were wont to, the scoundrels, emboldened by the two battles which we have reported, rushed forward, but the ghulāms of al-Muwaffaq steadfastly and vigorously fought them. God bestowed victory upon the imperial troops and they dislodged the scoundrels from their positions. They charged upon the Zenj heavily and put them to flight. Vacated by the Zenj, the strongholds fell into the hands of al-Muwaffaq's ghulāms, and they demolished and burned the houses, and looted everything that was there. They chased after the fugitives, killed a great many of them, and took many captives. Scores of captive Muslim women held in a castle were saved, and upon al-Muwaffaq's instructions they were removed and treated kindly. Then, on al-Muwaffaq's order, they returned to their ships, retired to their camp in al-Muwaffaqiya. Thus, al-Muwaffaq attained his objective in this section.

Al-Muwaffaq also entered the city of the Rebel and burned down his houses on the eastern side of the Abū al-Khaṣib Canal.
After he had destroyed the walls of the house of the Rebel, Abū Alīmad started to repair the paths on both sides of the Abū al-Khaṣīb and around the castle of the Rebel in order to make them wide enough for the warriors to go in and out to fight. On his instructions, the gate of al-Khabīt’s castle, which was the same which he had had torn off from the fortress Arwakh in Baṣra, was removed and transferred to the City of Peace. Then he decided to raze the first bridge which was on the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, since this bridge would hinder the cooperation between his troops if the battle should pass to the area of their camp. So, upon his instructions, a large ship was prepared and filled with naphtha-soaked reeds, and in the middle of the ship a tall pole was set up, which would prevent the ship from passing when it reached the bridge. He seized the opportunity, which presented itself at the end of the day when the rebels were careless and scattered about, / to advance the ship by towing it by shadās up to the canal where it was set ablaze and let go with the rising tide. The Zenj became aware of this only when the ship reached the passage. They rallied and flocked there in such crowds that they covered the bridge and the entire area. They started to hurl stones and bricks and pour earth and water on the ship. The bridge caught fire and was burned slightly, but the Zenj put the fire out; some of the rebels dived and made holes in the ship, submerged it.
and seized it. Thus the ship fell into their hands.

When Abū Ahmad saw this action of theirs, he resolved to fight for this bridge until he destroyed it. For that purpose he summoned two of his ghulām captains and ordered them to proceed there with their troops, taking sharp-pointed arms, strong breast-plates, special tools, equipment for naphtha-throwers and tools for bridge demolition. One of these captains, he ordered to the western side of the canal, the other to the eastern.

Al-Muwaffaq himself with his mawālīs, slaves and ghulāms embarked on shadās and samīrīyas, and repaired to the mouth of Abū al-Khaṣfīb. This happened early Saturday morning, the fourteenth of Shawwāl 269.

First to reach the bridge was the captain who was directed to the western side of the canal. He charged upon the troops of the Rebel which had been put in charge of the bridge, killed a number of them, then dumped the reeds and other incendiary material which had been prepared on the bridge and set it aflame. Shortly after all the henchmen of al-Khaṣfī fled from the place, those who had been sent to the eastern side arrived at the bridge, and they also did their share of burning. It was Ankalay, the son of al-Khaṣfī, and Sulaymān b. Jāmi', who were ordered by al-Khaṣfī to stand in defence of the bridge and with their armies to prevent the demolition. When the two did as ordered and arrived at the place, the troops of al-Muwaffaq opposed them fiercely and put them to flight. The imperial
troops were able to put the bridge on fire.

After this, the troops advanced toward the yard in which the rebels had had their ships and weapons manufactured, and they burned down everything to the last, except a few shadās and samīfīyās which were in the canal. Ankalay and Sulaymān b. Jāmi' fled, and al-Muwaffaq's ghulāms reached a dungeon which al-Khābib held on the western side of Abū al-Khaṣib. The Zenj defended it a part of the day until all of them were chased away. The dungeon fell into the hands of al-Muwaffaq's ghulāms, who released the men and women detained in it.

After they carried out the order of burning the bridge, the ghulāms of al-Muwaffaq on the eastern side passed to the place, known as Dār Muṣliḥ. This Muṣliḥ was one of the earliest lieutenants of al-Khābib. The ghulāms broke into the house and stripped it of what was there; they captured his children and womenfolk and then set fire to everything they could reach in their way.

Now, of the central part of the bridge there still remained poles which had been firmly planted by al-Khābib. On al-Muwaffaq's instructions, Abū al-'Abbās forwarded a number of shadās to that place. Among those sent there was Zīrak with a number of his troops. Upon their arrival, they set out people with especially prepared pick-axes and saws, and they cut the poles and pulled them out of the canal. The rest of the bridge collapsed and the shadās of al-Muwaffaq entered the
canal. The two ghulām captains with all their troops moved ahead on both banks of the canal, putting the men of al-Khabīt to flight. After this al-Muwaffaq and all his men withdrew unharmed, after saving from the hands of the enemy many people. A great number of heads of the scoundrels were brought to al-Muwaffaq, and he meted out rewards and gifts to all those who brought them.

At three o'clock in the morning al-Muwaffaq retired. On that day al-Khabīt and all his Zenj and non-Zenj troops fled to the eastern side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, completely evacuating the western side, which was occupied by the troops of al-Muwaffaq. The latter razed everything that stood in the way of their fighting the rebels, such as the castles of al-Khabīt and of his men. They widened the narrow passages through Abū al-Khaṣīb, which evermore increased the dread of the Traitor's companions, and scores of his captains and troops whom he had never expected to desert him, now were inclined to surrender. As their requests for safety were granted, they deserted in droves, and were accepted and treated generously and allotted soldiers' pay, given presents and clothed with robes of honor, according to their rank.

Subsequently, al-Muwaffaq continued vigorously to lead his shadās into the canal, rushing his ghulāms there with the task of burning the houses of the rebels along the banks and their ships in the river. He wished thereby to train his
men in the ways of penetrating into and facilitating their
mobility along the canal, because he had in mind to burn
down the second bridge, and to advance to the remotest
positions of the rebels.

On a Friday, during one of those days in which he was
carrying on his fight against al-Khabīt and pressing forward
the penetration into the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, while he was
stationed at a certain spot of the canal, one of the troops
of the Rebel surrendered to al-Muwaffaq and brought him a
pulpit which his master had had on the western side. Al-
Muwaffaq ordered this man and with him another one who had
been qaḍī in the city of al-Khabīt, to be presented to him.
The surrender of these two was one of the factors which
caused the strength of the rebels to crumble.

Meanwhile, al-Khabīt gathered all the sea-worthy and
other ships which still remained at his disposal, and placed
them near the second bridge. He also concentrated his cap-
tains, companions, and the best of his men at this point.
Al-Muwaffaq, on the other hand, gave the order to some of
his ghulāms to draw nearer to the bridge and set on fire as
many sea ships as possible and seize as many as they could;
and the ghulāms assigned to this accomplished their task.
The Zenj did their utmost to defend the second bridge. Al-
Khabīt himself with all his lieutenants attended to it per-
sonally. He feared that some strategem was in the making.
to knock him out of the western side, so that the troops of al-Muwaffaq could obtain a foothold there, which would mean his undoing.

After the demolition of the first bridge, al-Muwaffaq spent a few days transporting his ghulāms to the western side of Abū al-Khaṣīb, one detachment after the other, and they were continuing to burn the rest of the houses of the rebels, and pressing closer and closer to the second bridge. A group of Zenj, who had still remained behind in their homes on the western side in the vicinity of the second bridge, were fighting back the ghulāms of al-Muwaffaq, who had beset this sector and reconnoitered the secret roads and paths of al-Khaṣīb’s troops.

When al-Muwaffaq found that his ghulāms and troops were familiar with these roads and able to find their way along them, he resolved to proceed with the demolition of the second bridge so that he could wrest the western side of al-Khaṣīb’s camp, and array his forces on equal footing with those of the enemy in one area, having no other barrier between them besides Abū al-Khaṣīb.

On Saturday, the twenty-second of Shawwāl 269, al-Muwaffaq instructed Abū al-‘Abbās to proceed with his troops and ghulāms to the western bank, and ordered him to land with his men at the site of a building which the Rebel named the Friday Mosque, then, to take the route leading to the place
which al-Khabīt had established as a Musallā to be attended on his festivals. From here Abū al-‘Abbās was to turn toward the hill named after Abū ‘Amr, the brother of al-Muhalībī. Captains with ghulāms, cavalry and footmen, altogether about 10,000 men, were sent along. On al-Muwaffaq's instruction, Zīrak was to command the vanguard moving with his troops to the deserted Musallā in order to forestall an attack from an ambush the rebels might have laid in these places. Al-Muwaffaq further ordered a group of ghulām captains to scatter their men among the hills there, between the hill named after Abū ‘Amr and the other one named after Abū Muqātil al-Zinjī, with the task of converging on the second bridge on Abū al-Khaṣīb from the direction of these hills. He ordered another group of ghulām captains assigned to Abū al-‘Abbās to go out with their troops between the mansions of al-Khabīt and of his son Ankalay, keeping their route there along the bank of Abū al-Khaṣīb and the adjacent territory, with the aim of joining the foremost groups of the ghulāms coming from the hills; and then to march together to the common objective -- the bridge. They had to take along tools, such as iron-bars, pick-axes, saws, and a detachment of naphtha-throwers so that they might cut and burn everything as opportunities presented themselves.

Al-Muwaffaq further ordered his client Rāshid to re-
pair to the eastern bank of the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal with similar equipment, then to reach the bridge and fight against its defenders. Abū ʿAlīmad himself entered the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal with the shadās which he had held for himself — some were manned with his most valorous ghulām bowmen and lancers, equipped with tools necessary to demolish the bridge — and he sent the shadās ahead along the canal.

Fighting between the two parties broke out simultaneously on both banks and the battle raged. On the western side, against Abū al-ʿAbbas and his men, were Ankalay, the son of the Rebel, with his troops, and Sulaymān b. Jāmi with his troops. On the eastern side, the Rebel, Chieftain of the Zenj, himself and al-Muhallabī with the rest of their army, opposed Rāshid and his men. In this battle, which started about three o'clock in the morning, the rebels were routed and ran without turning their heads, the swords taking their toll of them. So many heads of slain were taken that it was impossible to count them, and whenever a head was brought before al-Muwaffaq, he gave the order to dump it into the canal so that the warriors would abandon counting the heads and instead would press on in the pursuit of their enemies. Then he ordered the ship commanders assigned to Abū al-Khaṣīb / to come up to the bridge and, repelling the Zenj
warriors with arrows, to burn it down. They did so and set the bridge aflame. At the time, Ankalay and Sulaymān, wounded and routed, arrived at the bridge, intending to cross to the eastern side of the canal but flames stood in their way. They and the guard which they had with them threw themselves into the water of the canal. A great many of them were drowned, but Ankalay and Sulaymān narrowly evading death, escaped.

Big crowds gathered on both sides of the bridge which was cut. A ship filled with blazing reeds hit the bridge and the people helped to cut and burn it. Thereupon, the entire imperial army scattered about the districts of the city of al-Khabīt on both sides and did a great deal of burning of their houses, castles and markets, rescuing countless captive women and children. Al-Muwaffaq gave the order to the warriors to transport them in their ships and deliver them to the city al-Muwaffaqa. After his castle and houses were burned, al-Khabīt lived in the houses of ʿAbdād b. Mūsā al-Qalūṣ and Muḥammad b. ʿIbrāhīm b. ʿIsā, while his son Ankalay was accommodated in the house of Mālik Ibn Ukht al-Qalūṣ. Now, a detachment of al-Muwaffaq's ghulāms went to the places where al-Khabīt resided, penetrated there, set some of them afire, and looted everything which the Rebel had saved from the first fire. On that day, no clue to the whereabouts of the treasures of al-Khabīt had yet been found, but many ʿAlīd ladies

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who had been held captive close to the houses occupied by al-Khabīl, were rescued and, on al-Muwaffaq's instructions, transported to his camp and treated with kindness and consideration. A team consisting of al-Muwaffaq's ghulāms and of some who had deserted al-Khabīl and were assigned to Abū al-'Abbās, repaired to a dungeon which the Rebel had kept on the eastern side of the canal. They captured it and released a great many soldiers who had fought against the Rebel and his troops, and other prisoners as well. The prisoners were taken out in their chains and manacles, brought before al-Muwaffaq, who ordered that their irons be struck off and that they be transported to al-Muwaffaqiya. On that day all shadās, sea ships and other ships, large and small, as well as harraqas, floats and other kinds of vessels were moved from the canal into the Tigris. Al-Muwaffaq put all these ships and everything taken from the camp of al-Khābīl and packed in the vessels, at the full disposal of his troops and ghulāms. It was a rich and precious booty.

Al-Mu'tāmid visited Wāsit; he arrived there in Dū al-Qa'da and was accommodated in the house of Zfrak.

Ankalay, the son of al-Khābīl, sought to surrender to Abū Ahmad al-Muwaffaq, and sent him a messenger requesting a few conditions. Al-Muwaffaq gave his approval / through the same envoy. Thus, al-Muwaffaq could see what made Ankalay give up fighting. But al-Khabīl was timely informed about
his son's intention; it is said that he upbraided him and made him desist from his plan to surrender. Thereafter, al-Khabīr returned to the fight against al-Muwallīq with added determination, taking part personally in the fighting.

Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Shārānī, one of the lieutenants of al-Khabīr, sent his men to Abū ʿAbbās to seek his pardon. Abū ʿAbbās refused to grant the demand because of al-Shārānī's past foul play and bloodshed. But when it came to his knowledge that a group of al-Khabīr's companions were frightened by this rebuff to al-Shārānī, Abū ʿAbbās let him know that he would grant him safety, which he did in order to appease the other companions of the Rebel. Then he sent vessels to the place at which al-Shārānī had promised to appear and indeed, al-Shārānī, his brother, and a group of his captains came out to the spot and were carried away on board the ships. At this time, on behalf of al-Khabīr, al-Shārānī had been in charge of the defense of the lower part of the Abū al-Khaṣf Canal.

Abū al-ʿAbbās delivered him to al-Muwallīq who treated al-Shārānī benevolently, granted him safety as promised, and ordered that he and his companions be given gifts, clothed with robes of honor, paraded on fully harnessed and saddled horses, and entertained sumptuously. Al-Shārānī and his men were assigned to Abū al-ʿAbbās, who included them in the category of his troops. Then, Abū al-ʿAbbās ordered al-Shārānī
on shipboard to appear in sight of al-Khabīt's troops to make them more confident in the promise of mercy. And, indeed, before al-Sha‘rānī's shadās were removed from their position in the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, scores of Zenj captains and others surrendered. They were all presented before Abū Āḥmad who treated them in a friendly fashion and bestowed upon them the same honors and pensions as had been granted to their fellows who had preceded them.

With the defection of al-Sha‘rānī, al-Khabīt's grip over the lower part of the camp was lost and his cause weakened, undermined. Al-Khabīt charged Shībl b.Ṣālim with the defense of what had formerly been assigned to al-Sha‘rānī, and sent him down to the lower part of Abū al-Khaṣīb. But before the day on which al-Muwaffaq displayed the shadās with al-Sha‘rānī to the gaze of al-Khabīt's companions was over, a messenger of Shībl b.Ṣālim arrived applying to al-Muwaffaq for pardon and requesting him to place vessels near the mansion of Ibn Sim‘ān to which Shībl and the captains and officers accompanying him might repair by night. The messenger was sent back with word that the request was accepted, and ships were sent to the point designated. Late in the night, Shībl, his household and children, and a group of captains and officers, went to the ships. However, his men had to use their arms, since al-Khabīt, having learned of Shībl's intention, sent out a group of Zenj to prevent them from reaching the ships. Shībl
and his men fought back and killed a number of Zenj, and arrived at the ships. When dawn reddened the sky, they were brought to the castle of al-Muwaffaq in the city al-Muwaffaqiyya. On al-Muwaffaq's order, Shibl was given costly gifts, clothed with many robes of honor and paraded on horses equipped with bridles and saddles.

This Shibl had been one of the chief assistants and earliest companions of al-Khābit to whom he had rendered great service. His men were rewarded as well, clothed with robes of honor and along with their master allotted sumptuous pensions and quarters. They all were assigned to ghulām captains of al-Muwaffaq. Then they were sent in shādās to be placed in a position in which al-Khābit and his men could observe them. This impressed the Rebel and his companions as they saw their lieutenants' readiness to avail themselves of the chance to surrender.

Shibl's advice and sagacity induced al-Muwaffaq to entrust him with carrying out some stratagems against the Rebel. So al-Muwaffaq ordered Shibl with a team of Zenj deserters especially assigned to him, to carry out a night attack on the camp of al-Khābit. He singled out Shibl and these men for the task because of their daringness and familiarity with the ins and outs of al-Khābit's camp. Shibl went forth to carry out the command and repaired to a place which he knew well, and at dawn, he took it by surprise. Here he came upon
a great body of Zenj including many captains and rank and file whom al-Khabīt had arrayed to defend the mansion of Abū 'Isā, where al-Khabīt was quartered at the time. Shibl made a surprise attack and inflicted a great massacre upon them. He also took into captivity a group of Zenj captains, seized many of their weapons, and unharmed withdrew with all his men. Upon their arrival, al-Muwaffaq rewarded them handsomely, clothed them with robes of honor, and raised many of them in rank.

This attack of Shibl's men upon the troops of the Traitor drove deep terror into the hearts of the latter; they could not sleep for fear, and kept vigil in turns every night. They were filled with terror to such a degree that the camp was continuously under a spell of uneasiness and, as anxiety overpowered their hearts, the commotion and shouts of the watches was heard as far as al-Muwaffaqiya.

Al-Muwaffaq continued for a time to send upon the rebels teams of his troops to harass them by day and night on both sides of the Abū al-Khaṣīb, / to keep them awake at night, and to thwart their search for food. Meanwhile, his troops were getting familiar with the roads, and experienced in penetrating and rushing into the city of al-Khabīt. These persistent raids kept the rebels' camp in a continual state of terror.

When al-Muwaffaq felt that his troops had obtained all the training they needed, he resolved to cross and fight the Rebel on the eastern side of the Abū al-Khaṣīb. He convoked
a general assembly to which he ordered presented the captains and leaders of the cavalry and footmen, Zenj and white of the former rebels who had surrendered. These were brought in and there they stood to hear al-Muwaffaq address them. He recalled their waywardness, brutality and sacrilege, as well as the apostasy with which the Rebel had indoctrinated them. All this, he said, had put them outside the law, but he had pardoned them of their sins, forgiven their transgressions, and granted them safety. He further recalled that he had been kind to those who had taken refuge with him, bestowed upon them generous gifts, assigned them rich pensions and put them among his loyal friends and forces. He said that all these favors entitled him to their loyalty and devotion, and that by no means will they undertake a thing which might be inconsistent with loyalty to God, that the call to loyalty to their ruler obliged them to fight with might and main in the holy war against the enemy of God, the Traitor and his accomplices. Now, since more than anyone else, they were well acquainted with the ins and outs of the camp of al-Khabīb, and they knew the danger spots on the roads of his city and the refuges he had prepared for his flight, it was incumbent upon them to provide him with sincere and faithful advice, and to do their utmost to invade and penetrate into the city of the Rebel and his strongholds, until God has helped them to take him and his accomplices. If they did this, their lot would be reward and bounty, but if one did
not live up to his duties, the authorities will be called upon to lower his position, reduce his status and depose him from his rank.

Upon hearing this, they all raised their voices to hail al-Muwaffaq, acclaim his bounty and protest their sincerity and loyalty, and their intention to join in fighting his foes. They declared readiness to shed their blood and sacrifice their lives in any task he might set; that his appeal only strengthened their resolution and proved to them that he had confidence in them and accorded them a place in the ranks of the loyalists. They requested him to single out some area of the battle where they could fight and show their sincerity and hatred to the foe, so as to demonstrate that they had wholeheartedly abandoned their errors and ignorance. Al-Muwaffaq approved their requests and expressed satisfaction with the loyalty they had manifested to him. They left encouraged by the fine words of recognition and the promise given to them.

In Du al-Qa'da, al-Muwaffaq entered the city of the Rebel and east of the Abū al-Khaṣif Canal, razed the house of al-Khabīṭ and plundered everything in it.

Report of This Battle

It is recorded that when he resolved to attack the Rebel in his city on the eastern side of Abū al-Khaṣif, Abū
Abūmad gave the order to gather the ships and pontoons from the Tigris, Batīḥa and their surroundings in order to add them to what he had in his camp, since the latter were not sufficient for his numerous troops. Thereupon, a census was taken which showed that there were about 10,000 sailors deriving their monthly pensions from the treasury. This number included men of the shādās, samīrīyas, and raqqīyas which usually transported cavalry, and did not include the ships employed to transport provisions or those for the personal needs of the people of the camp; nor were included among them the samīrīyas, jarīfīyas and sawraqs that each commander and his personal attendants had with permanent crew of sailors.

When the preparation of the ships and pontoons was completed and their number satisfied him, al-Muwaffaq ordered Abū al-ʿAbbās and his mawāf and ghulām captains to be in full readiness to meet the enemy. He gave instructions to assign a number of ships and pontoons to transport the cavalry and footmen.

He furthered ordered Abū al-ʿAbbās to proceed with his army to the western side of the Abū al-Khaṣib Canal; then he assigned him some of his ghulām captains with about 8000 of their troops, and instructed him to go to the lower part of the camp of the Rebel, past the house of al-Muhallabī. Al-Khabīr had this sector fortified,
and had settled there a great many of his men in order to make it safe and to make access to it difficult for any attacking force. Abū Āhmād ordered Abū al-'Abbās to make his crossing to the western side of Abū al-Khaṣīb and to come out from behind the aforementioned district.

He further instructed Rāshid, his client, to come out from the eastern side of Abū al-Khaṣīb with a great number of horse- and footmen, about 20,000 so that some of them would appear at the corner of the house of al-Karnabā'ī, the scribe of al-Muhallabī, which was on the margin of the canal, on its eastern side. He instructed them to make their march along the bank of the canal until they reached the house in which al-Khāfīt was accommodated, which was the house of Abū 'Isā.

He further ordered a team of his ghulāms to appear at the mouth of the Abū Shākir Canal, below the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, while another group was assigned to go out to the mouth of Jūy Kūr.

All these columns were instructed to the effect that the footmen should proceed before the horsemen, and that they all should advance to the house of the Rebel. If God should deliver into their hands the Rebel, his men, the members of his household and his children, so much the better; if not they should proceed to the house of al-Muhallabī to be joined by those who were ordered to cross under the com-
mand of Abū al-'Abbas, so that they would act in concert against the rebels.

Abū al-'Abbas, Rāshid and the other mawāli and ghulām captains, in compliance with the order, embarked on their ships and set out. This took place in the evening, Monday, the seventh of Dū al-Qa‘dā, 269. From the noon service on Monday until the end of the late evening service of Tuesday, the horsemen followed each other, the footmen marched and the ships proceeded along the Tigris until they reached a place below the camp. Abū Aḥmad had ordered that this place be levelled, cleaned and cleared of ruins and weeds, its streamlets and canals filled, so that it would become even and spacious. Then he established there a tower and a square for mustering the footmen and horsemen, right in view of the castle of the Rebel. All this al-Muwaffaq did with the aim of refuting the assurances which al-Khabīr had made to his troops that the troops of al-Muwaffaq would soon leave that place. He wanted both sides to know that he was there to stay until God passed the final judgment between him and his enemy. The night of Tuesday, the army spent in that place in front of the camp of the Rebel, the army totalling some 50,000 men, footmen and horsemen, all in the best outfits and with the finest equipment. Their calling out of the Akbar and Tahlīl, their recitation of the Qurān and prayers, the fires they made, all this made
al-Khabīṭ and his friends observe so much of the multitude of the hosts, their equipment and supplies, that they were overwhelmed.

On the evening of Monday, al-Muwaffaq sent forth the shadās. There were 150, manned with the most valiant ghulām and mawālī bowmen and lancers. He arrayed them in front of the camp of the Rebel, from one end to the other, so that they would serve as a mainstay in the rear of the army; they all assumed positions near the bank and cast their anchors. He singled out a number of them which he selected for himself and assigned to them some of his special ghulām captains who were to accompany him in the attack in the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal. Then he selected 10,000 horse- and footmen and instructed them to move ahead along the banks of the canal, following him closely in the course of the battle.

Early Tuesday morning / al-Muwaffaq set out to fight the Rebel, the Chieftain of the Zenj. The chief lieutenants of al-Muwaffaq also went toward their points of destination. As they moved against the Rebel, the army was encountered by al-Khabīṭ and his army, and they engaged in a battle in which both sides sustained heavy losses in killed and wounded. The Zenj defended with utmost violence the part of the city to which they were now limited, showing no regard for their own lives. But the troops of al-Muwaffaq persevered and gallantly fought back; God granted them victory, and they turned
the rebels to flight, destroying a multitude of them and capturing a great many of their warriors and brave men. On the battle field captives were brought before al-Muwaffaq, and he ordered them beheaded on the spot. Al-Muwaffaq moved on to the quarters of the Rebel with a body of his troops. The latter had taken refuge in the house after he had concentrated around it the most valiant of his men to put up a defense; but as this was of no avail, he surrendered it and his men dispersed. The ghulâms of al-Muwaffaq entered the house and found there what was left of the money and valuables of al-Khabîf. They carried off all this and seized his women, his male and female children, their number exceeding a hundred persons. Al-Khabîf himself escaped and fled to the house of al-Muhallabî, forsaking family and wealth. His house and the rest of his goods and valuables were burned down. His women and children were brought before al-Muwaffaq, and he ordered them transported to al-Muwaffaqiya and accorded fair treatment.

A group of captains of Abû al-‘Abbâs crossed the Abû al-Khaṣîb Canal and went to the place around the house of al-Muhallabî to which they were ordered; and, without waiting for their troops to join them, they arrived at it. Now, it was this house to which most of the Zenj had fled, after they had escaped from the house of al-Khabîf. The troops of Abû al-‘Abbâs entered the house and engaged in
looting and grabbing everything that al-Muhallabī had amassed. They seized Muslim women and the children al-Muhallabī had had by them. Each trooper, after having gotten hold of something, would carry it to his ship in the canal. Meanwhile, the Zenj noticed that only a few of al-Muwaqqat's men remained and that these were preoccupied with looting; so they attacked them from a number of places where they had hidden in ambush, overthrew them and put them to flight. The Zenj chased them up to the canal, killed a small number of their horsemen and footmen, recovered some of the women and valuables, and retreated.

A group of ghulāms and troops of al-Muwaqqat which marched in the direction of the house of al-Khabīt from the eastern side of the canal engaged in plunder and carried the booty to the ships. The Zenj, their greed aroused, attacked and routed them, following on their heels up to the Sheep Market of the Zenj camp. Here a group of the ghulām captains with their most brave and valorous men took a firm stand, repelled the Zenj leaders and gave the rest of the troops a chance to recover their positions. This fight between them lasted till the late afternoon, when on the order of Abū Ṭūnād the ghulāms charged upon the rebels vigorously, and put the Zenj to the sword, pursuing them to the house of al-Khabīt. Al-Muwaqqat decided that for the time being and for the good of their cause, he should withdraw his ghulāms
and troops, so he gave the command and his men withdrew calmly and in order, while he and his group from the shadās in the canal covered their retreat. They embarked on the ships and put their horses aboard, the Zenj still under the effects of the last battle, refraining from pursuit.

Al-Muwaffaq and with him Abū al-‘Abbās and the rest of his captains and all his army, plundered the wealth of al-Khabīt, rescued many Muslim women who had been abducted by the Scoundrel. That same day, the evacuation of the women began, as they were taken by droves to the Abū al-Khaqīf Canal, and from there they were transported by ships to al-Muwaffaqiya where they stayed until the end of the war.

The same day, al-Muwaffaq gave Abū al-‘Abbās the order to send one of his captains with five shadās to the lower part of the camp of the Rebel, on the canal, to burn down an enormous threshing floor which he believed served al-Khabīt as a source of food for his Zenj and other troops. The command was carried out and most of the threshing floor was burned down; this action proved to be a strong factor in weakening the Rebel and his troops, since they had no other reliable source of food.

On that day, on Abū Ahmad’s order, letters about the victories over al-Khabīt and his troops were despatched to
be read to the people of all the provinces.

On Wednesday, the second of Dū al-Hijja, Sāʿid b. Makhlad, secretary of al-Muwaffaq, arrived at his master's camp. He came from Samarrah with an enormous army which, it was said, included about 10,000 horse- and footmen. Al-Muwaffaq ordered Sāʿid to give his troops a rest, to have them repair their armament, straighten out their affairs and get ready to fight against al-Khabīt.

A few days after the arrival of Sāʿid b. Makhlad, when they still were in the stage of preparation, a letter arrived from Lūʿlūʾ, the commander of Ibn Tulūn, by hand of one of his captains; Lūʿlūʾ asked for permission to come to al-Muwaffaq so that he could participate in the fight against the Rebel. Al-Muwaffaq agreed and granted Lūʿlūʾ permission to come.

While expecting Lūʿlūʾ’s arrival, al-Muwaffaq delayed the resumption of the fight against the Rebel which he had decided upon. Lūʿlūʾ was staying in Raqqah with an enormous army which included men from Farghana, Turks, Byzantines, Berbers, Negroes and others, all of the choicest troops of Ibn Tulūn.

Upon the arrival of the letter of Abū Ahmad with permission to come, Lūʿlūʾ left Diyar Muğar and arrived at the City of Peace with all his men and stayed there for some time; then he departed to Abū Ahmad and reached his camp on Thursday, the second of al-Muḥarram 270. In his honor, Abū Ahmad gave an audience which was attended by his son Abū al-ʿAbbas,
Sa'id and other high ranking officers, and Lu'lu' in fine attire was introduced to them. Then, Abu al-'Abbās ordered that he be accommodated in a camp quarter which was especially prepared for him in front of the Abu al-Khaṣīb Canal. After Lu'lu' and his officers settled there, Abu al-'Abbās ordered Lu'lu' to appear with his retinue in front of al-Muwaffaq's quarters to salute him early next morning. Early Friday morning on the third of al-Muḥarram, Lu'lu' with a great retinue was in the crowd. When he neared al-Muwaffaq the latter welcomed him, drew him closer and made generous promises to him and his companions; he ordered him and 150 of his captains clothed with robes of honor, paraded on numerous horses with saddles and harnesses set in gold and silver. In front of him 100 pages carried different kinds of garments and buckets of money. His captains were also presented with gifts, gift bearing animals and garments, each according to the standing he had had with Lu'lu'. He further bestowed upon Lu'lu' costly estates and, in these auspicious circumstances, dismissed him to his camp in front of the canal where provisions and fodder had been prepared for him and his men.

Abu al-'Abbās requested Lu'lu' to present him with the rosters of his troops indicating the sums of their pensions according to their ranks, and when these registers were presented, he doubled the allowances for everyone. In addition
to this, he assigned gifts for them. They were all paid fully as here stated. Then, Abū al-‘Abbās instructed Lu’lū’ to get ready and to prepare to cross to the western side of the Tigris to fight against the Rebel and his men.

Now, after he had lost his control over the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, and his passages and bridges there had been razed, al-Khaṣīb constructed a dam which ran from bank to bank of the canal, but in the middle of it he made a narrow opening, so that the current through it would become swift and hinder the shādās from entering during the ebbtide, and from coming out during the rising tide. Abū Ḍaḥmād decided that without the destruction of this dam he would be unable to conduct warfare, and he made efforts to raze it, but the scoundrels ardently defended it. Indeed, they were strengthening this dam by day and night since its location was on their territory and the supply line was an easy matter for the defenders, but a difficult one for those who tried to destroy the dam.

Then, Abū Ḍaḥmād decided to employ the troops of Lu’lū’ unit by unit in the fight so that they would get training in fighting the Zenj, and become familiar with the paths and roads of the enemy city. He ordered Lu’lū’ to come out to the dam with a detachment of his troops to participate in the fight, and also that the sappers be brought along for demolition work. Al-Muwaffaq saw the bravery and efficiency
of Lu'lu', the boldness of his men and their disregard of pain and wounds, the perseverance of their small force in face of the heavy numbers of the Zenj army, and this gladdened his heart. But, seized by a feeling of apprehension and concern for them, he ordered Lu'lu' to call off his troops. He bestowed gift and rewards upon them with generosity and sent them back to their camp.

Then, with the help of Lu'lu's men and others, al-Muwaffaq continued to press forward on the dam combatting the troops of al-Khabīf which defended it, while the workmen carried on their demolition work. The troops fought the Rebel and his men from a number of directions, burning their houses, killing their warriors, and causing their leaders to surrender group after group.

Al-Khabīf and his troops still held some grounds in the district of Nahr al-Gharbī where they had fields and meadows and two passages on the al-Gharbī Canal by which to reach these grounds. When this came to the knowledge of Abū al-'Abbas, he asked for permission to go to that area. Al-Muwaffaq granted him this, and gave him further instructions to select men, who were of the bravest troopers and ghulāms. Abū al-'Abbās did as instructed and turned towards the al-Gharbī Canal. He assigned Zīrak with a body of his troops to lie in wait on the western side of the canal. Rāshiq, his client, he directed with a large body
of his bravest and choicest men to the al-‘Umaysīn Canal so as to appear in the rear of the Zenj and unexpectedly attack them on these grounds. Zifrak, according to the order, had to attack the Zenj from/the front, when he perceived them fleeing before Rāshiq.

Abū al-‘Abbās with a number of shadās and selected warriors, as well as white and Negro ghulāms in numbers which he deemed satisfactory, took up a position at the mouth of the al-Gharbī Canal. When Rāshiq emerged on the eastern side of the same canal, he frightened the rebels and they rushed to the canal to pass to the western side in order to flee to their camp. Perceiving this, Abū al-‘Abbās rushed with his shadās into the canal, and landing his infantrymen on the banks, overtook the Zenj and put them to the sword. Many of them were killed in the canal and on its banks, some were captured and the rest, who had fled, came upon Zifrak and his troops, and the latter took their toll. Only a few fugitives escaped. The troops of Abū al-‘Abbās seized arms which weighed upon them so heavily that they could not carry them and they dropped most of them.

Now, Abū al-‘Abbās razed the two passages, took care to remove the posts and the wood into the Tigris, and then returned to al-Muwaffaq with the captives and the heads of the slain which were shown around the camp. Thus, the rebels were deprived of the planted fields on the al-Gharbī Canal.
and the support they had derived from them.

In Dū al-Hijja of 269, the household of the Zenj Chief-tain and his children were delivered to Baghdad.

This was the year when Sā'īd was named Dū al-Vizaratīn.\(^1\)

In Dū al-Hijja, a skirmish occurred involving two captains of Ibn Tūlūn and their troops; one of them, Muḥammad b. al-Sarāj, and the other, al-Ghanāwī. They were both sent by Ibn Tūlūn to Mecca, and they arrived there on Wednesday, the twenty-eighth of Dū al-Qa‘dā with a force of 470 horsemen and 2000 infantrymen. They presented the Jazzārin and Ḥannātīn with two dinārs each and the leaders with seven each. At the time Hārūn b. Muḥammad, the governor of Mecca, was in Bustān b. ‘Āmir.

On the third of Dū al-Hijja, Ja‘far b. al-Baghmardī\(^1\) arrived in Mecca with a force of about 200 riders. Hārūn with his 120 horsemen, 200 Negroes and 120 cavalrymen of the troops of ‘Amr b. al-Layt and 200 footmen from among those who had arrived from ‘Iraq, joined Ja‘far and made his force superior. Then, also assisted by the pilgrims who came from Khurasān, Ja‘far attacked the troops of Ibn Tūlūn in the very middle of Mecca and killed about 200 of them; the rest fled to the hills leaving their animals and money as loot. Thereupon, Ja‘far proclaimed a truce. It was said that al-Ghanāwī’s tent was seized by Ja‘far and he found there 200,000 dinār. He granted safety to the
Egyptians, the Hannatín and the Jazzärín. In the precincts of the Ka'ba a letter was read which contained a curse upon Ibn Tūlūn. Now, the people as well as the possessions of the merchants were saved from harm.

Leader of the pilgrims in this year was Ḥārūn b. Muḥammad b. ʿIṣḥāq al-Ḥashimī.

Though ʿIṣḥāq b. ʿUdāj was appointed governor of all the Maghrib, he did not leave Samarrā before the year expired.

Year 270. Its Outstanding Events

In al-Ḥurrāram a battle which sapped the power of the Zenj Chieftain took place between him and Abū Aḥmad. In Safar the Rebel was slain, Sulaymān b. Ḥāmī and Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar al-Ḥamdānī were captured and the entire affair of al-Khabīt came to an end.

The Two Battles

We have reported above on the dam which al-Khabīt constructed, and on the affairs of Abū Aḥmad and his troops in this connection. It is reported that Abū Aḥmad pressed the fight for this dam without respite until he reached his objective, and made easy the entrance of the shadāṣ into the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal both at the ebb and high tide. Abū
Ahmad succeeded in accordance with his plans to ease the situation of the territory under his control by low prices, free flow of supplies, and delivery of the tributes to him from the provinces; he also succeeded to raise the zeal of the people in fighting al-Khabīṭ and his henchmen.

Among the volunteers who joined him was Ahmad b. Dinār, governor of Idāj and surroundings, a district in Ahwāz, who came with a great force of cavalry and footmen. He personally, as well as his troops, took part in the fight until al-Khabīṭ was killed. He was followed by people from Bahrayn, reportedly a large crowd of about 2000 men led by one from the 'Abd al-Qays.

In honor of all these volunteers Abu Ahmad gave an audience attended by their leaders and notables, whom he ordered clothed with robes of honor. He reviewed all their men and gave instructions to provide for all of them. Then about 1000 people from the districts of Fārs arrived under the leadership of an elderly volunteer named Abu Salama. In their honor also, al-Muwaffaq gave an audience. The old man and his leading companions arrived and Abu Ahmad had them clothed with robes of honor and made provisions for their upkeep. They were followed by volunteers from the provinces.

After al-Muwaffaq succeeded in eliminating the dam, as we have mentioned, he resolved to make a frontal attack upon al-Khabīṭ, and gave instructions to prepare the ships and
pontoon, repair the military equipment necessary for fighting in water and on horseback. He selected cavalrymen and infantrymen upon whose valor and zeal he could rely because the places where he was fighting were narrow, difficult and abounding in moats and canals. The number of cavalrymen selected was about 2000 and of infantrymen, 50,000 or more. This number did not include the volunteers who joined him nor the people of the camp who were not listed. He left behind in al-Muwaffiqiya a big army, mostly horsemen which his ships could not transport.

Al-Muwaffaq then ordered Abū al-‘Abbās to go with his ghulām troops, and added cavalry and footmen, and shadās to the place which he had once visited (on Tuesday, the tenth of Dū al-Qa‘da 269), on the eastern bank in front of the house of al-Muhallafī. He ordered Sā‘īd b. Makhład to go out to the Abū Shākir Canal on the eastern side too.

He arrayed his mawālī and ghulām forces from the mouth of Abū al-Khaṣīb to the al-Gharbī Canal. The sector from the house of al-Karnaba‘fī to the Abū Shākir Canal was occupied by Rāshid and Lū‘lu‘, mawālīs of al-Muwaffaq, with a force of some 20,000 horsemen and footmen / in closed ranks. In the sector from Abū Shākir to Jūy Kūr he placed a detachment of mawālī and ghulām forces, and did the same in the sector between Jūy Kūr and the al-Gharbī Canal.

To Shibl he gave the order to move with his troops and
added forces to the al-Gharbī Canal and from there to come out against the rear of the house of al-Muhallabī and, at the outbreak of the fight, to attack from behind. The men were ordered to advance against the Rebel simultaneously. For a sign to start he set a black banner swaying on the fortified top of the house of al-Karnabalī, at the mouth of Abū al-Khasīb, and a horn blowing loudly.

The crossing took place on Monday, the twenty-seventh of al-Muharram, 270.

However, one officer with his detachment based on the Jūy Kūr Canal started out before the sign of the swaying banner had been given, and as he and his men were approaching the house of al-Muhallabī, they were met by the Zenj troops who pushed them back to their positions and killed many of them. But the rest of the people, because of the multitude of the hosts and the large distances between them, did not even notice what had happened to those who had rushed into the fight. As the captains and their men left for the places assigned to them, and the cavalrymen and footmen took up their positions, al-Muwaffaq ordered the flag waved and the horn blown. He himself entered the canal with a shadā and the people set out in successive waves. Encouraged by success in the operation against those who had rushed toward them prematurely, the Zenj now banded together / and encountered the troops. But the imperial army struck at them with firm and well-calculated blows

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and after a few skirmishes in which both parties lost many warriors, the Zenj were dislodged from their positions. The men of al-Muwaффaq showed perseverance and God granted them victory, while the rebels took to flight. The army pursued the fleeing and routed Zenj, killing and capturing; they surrounded the rebels from all directions. God destroyed countless multitudes of them on that day; many of them were drowned in the Juy Kür Canal. The troops of al-Muwaффaq entirely surrounded the city of the Rebel, rescued all the prisoners who were there, men, women and children, and seized households belonging to 'Ali b. Abān al-Muhallabī and his brothers al-Khalīl b. Abān and Muḥammad b. Abān, as well as the family of Sulaymān b. Jāmī, and their children, all of whom were transported to al-Muwaффaqiya.

The Rebel and his companions, among them his son Ankalay, al-Muhallabī, Sulaymān b. Jāmī, Zenj captains and others, fled to a place which al-Khabīṭ had provided for himself and his men in the event of their needing refuge if they lost mastery over his city. The place was on the Suyānī Canal.

As al-Khabīṭ had fled, the troops of Abū Āḥmad became masters of the situation, remained around the house of al-Muhallabī, which protruded into the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, and occupied themselves with looting what was in the house; then they set fire to that mansion and the surrounding houses. All that al-Khabīṭ and his friends saved had been assembled in this mansion.
While these troops scattered in search of loot, Abū Aḥmad with his shadās advanced toward the Sufyānī Canal. Lū'luʾ with / his cavalry and infantry went along with him, and the entire group got detached from the rest of the army which, thinking that al-Muwaffaq had withdrawn, returned to their ships with their booty.

Meanwhile, al-Muwaffaq with his followers reached the camp of the routed Rebel and his men. Lū'luʾ and his men, chasing after al-Khabiʿ, crossed the Sufyānī Canal. Lū'luʾ rushed on his horse into the water first, and he was followed by his men. Then the Rebel ran to the Qarīrī Canal. Lū'luʾ overtook him and his men, attacked and chased them farther away. Routed and pursued by Lū'luʾ and his men, he crossed the Qarīrī Canal and ran further on to the Masāwān Canal, taking refuge in the mountains behind this waterway. Thus, Lū'luʾ and his men were the only group of the imperial army taking part in this action. Their efforts in pursuing the Rebel and his accomplices landed them toward the end of the day in the place which we have described. Then, al-Muwaffaq gave the order to withdraw and Lū'luʾ withdrew, lauded for his action. Al-Muwaffaq transported him in the shadās and showed him again his respect, consideration and a well merited raise in rank because of his effort in fighting the rebels.

Accompanied by the troops of Lū'luʾ, al-Muwaffaq returned with his shadās to the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal and, when coming
even with the house of al-Muhallabī, he found none of his troops; then he understood that they had withdrawn. Al-
Muwaṭṭaq ordered Luʾlūʾ to go ahead with his men to his own location, while he himself seized with rage, turned toward his castle.

Now, Abū Ahmad was sure of victory, for he saw its signs. All the people rejoiced in the God-granted defeat of the Rebel and his supporters, at their banishment from their city, at the liberty to plunder the enemy's wealth, treasures and weapons and at the rescue of all the captives the rebels had held.

But Abū Ahmad was still angry at his men because of their disobedience and abandonment of the positions in which he had placed them. On his order, his mawālī and ghulām captains and leaders were called to an assembly in which he scolded them for what they had done, and castigated them for their default. They, on the other hand, apologized asserting that they had thought he had returned and they had not known about his advance against the Rebel, nor about his having gone so far in his pursuit. They stated that had they known this, they would have rushed toward him. The assembly ended in a solemn oath and covenant that if sent against al-Khabīṭ, none of them would withdraw before God had delivered him into their hands; and should they fail, they would not budge from their positions until God had passed judgment be-
tween them and him. They requested al-Muwaffaq, that after they had left al-Muwaffaqiya to fight, he should order the ships transporting them to return, and thus eliminate any temptation to those who might seek to return from the fight against the Rebel.

Abū Almād accepted their apologies for their wrongdoing and took them again into his favor. Then, he ordered them to prepare to depart, and to admonish their troops just as they themselves had been admonished. Abū Almād then spent Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday in preparing whatever was needed, and when all this was completed, he explained to his most reliable guard officers, the captains of his ghulāms and mawālīs their functions during the crossing. On Friday evening he ordered Abū al-'Abbas and the captains of his ghulāms and mawālīs to set out for the points he had named to them.

Al-Muwaffaq instructed Abū al-'Abbās with his troops to take a course towards 'Askar Rayḥān, which lay between the Sufyānī Canal and the place to which the Rebel had fled, and to lay his route along the Mughīra Canal so that they would come out at a canal intersecting Abū al-Khaṣfb, and reach 'Askar Rayḥān from this direction. He instructed a captain of his Negro ghulāms to reach the al-Amīr Canal at its center. The rest of his captains and ghulāms he ordered to pass the night on the eastern side of the Tigris, opposite
the camp of the Rebel fully prepared to attack him in the early morning.

During Friday evening and the night of Saturday, al-Muwaffaq in his shada toured among the captains and their men, allotting to them the target points and positions in the location of the Rebel, so that early in the morning they could march towards them, according to this plan.

Early Saturday morning on the second of Safar, 270, al-Muwaffaq in his shada reached Abū al-Khaṣib, and stayed there until all his men had passed and disembarked from their ships, and the cavalrymen and infantrymen had assumed their positions. Then, after giving instructions for the ships and pontoons to return to the eastern side, he gave a sign to his men to march against the Rebel, while he himself preceded them until he reached the spot where he expected the enemy to make a stand in an attempt to repel the army.

Meanwhile, for their part, on Monday, after the army had withdrawn, the Traitor and his companions returned to their city and stayed there hoping that now their doom would be put off.

Al-Muwaffaq found that the most speedy of his ghulām cavalrymen and infantrymen had preceded the bulk of the army, charged heavily upon the Rebel and his companions and had dislodged them from their positions. The enemies dispersed
and fled without caring about one another. The army pursued them, killed and captured whoever came within its reach.
The Rebel with a group of his warriors, among them al-Muhal-labī, was cut off from the rest of his officers and troops. Ankalay, his son, had abandoned him, also Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ. Against each of the parties which we have mentioned, a large troop of al-Muwaffaq's mawālī and ghulām horse- and footmen charged. Those of the troops of Abū al-'Abbās who had been assigned by al-Muwaffaq to 'Askar Rayḥān met there the routed troops of the Rebel, and put them to the sword. The captain assigned to the Amīr Canal also arrived there, came upon the rebels of Sulaymān's group and attacked them. In this fight Sulaymān b. Jāmiʿ was captured, while many of his defenders lost their lives. The captain seized Sulaymān without offering him any conditions and delivered him to al-Muwaffaq. The people were glad to learn that Sulaymān was captured, and the Takbīr and hubbub rose high. Everyone felt certain that victory was at hand, since Sulaymān was known to be the most powerful of the companions of al-Khabīt. After him, Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar al-Hamdānī, who was one of the chiefs of his army, fell into captivity; then Nādir al-Aswad, known as al-Ḥaffār, who was one of the earliest companions of the Rebel, was captured.

Upon al-Muwaffaq's order, precautionary measures were taken, and the captives transferred in shdās to Abū al-
Abd-Allah

The isolated group of the Zenj, with the Rebel among them, rushed upon and charged them so heavily that they were dislodged from their positions, and grew weary. Al-Muwaffaq noticed that but pressed on with the search for the Khaif, and quickly advanced toward Abu al-Khaif, by which action he strengthened the courage of his mawali's and ghulams who now joined in the pursuit. As al-Muwaffaq reached Abu al-Khaif a herald arrived with the news that the Rebel was dead; before long another herald arrived carrying a hand, and claimed that this was the hand of the Rebel, which report now assumed some feasibility.

But now a page from Lu'lu's troops arrived galloping on a horse and carrying the head of al-Khaif. Al-Muwaffaq brought the head closer, then displayed it to a group of the Rebel's former captains who were near him, and as they identified it, al-Muwaffaq prostrated himself in adoration to God for both the hardships and bounties He had conferred upon him. Abu al-'Abbās, the mawali and ghulam captains of al-Muwaffaq bowed down thanking God, and praying and exalting Him. Al-Muwaffaq ordered the head of the Rebel raised on a spear and displayed in front of him. The people saw it, knew the news of the Rebel's death was true, and raised their voices in praise to God.

Other reports say that when the troops of al-Muwaffaq surrounded al-Khaif and no other leaders of his troops re-
mained with him except al-Muhallabī, the latter turned away from him and fled, leaving his master to his own devices. To escape, al-Khabīt ran toward the al-Amīr Canal and jumped into it. Even before that, Ankalay, the son of al-Khabīt, abandoned his father and fled in the direction of the Dīnārī Canal and entrenched himself in the thickets and rugged terrain there.

Al-Muwaffaq retired, the head of al-Khabīt displayed on a spear before him on the shadā, which moved along the Abū al-Khaṣīb Canal, so that the people on both sides of the canal could observe it. When he reached the Tigris, he took his course along the river and gave the order to return the ships with which he had passed to the western side of the Tigris in the beginning of that day to the eastern side of the Tigris. They were returned to bring the people across.

Then al-Muwaffaq continued his trip with the head of al-Khabīt on the spear before him, and Sulaymān b. Jāmī' and al-Hamdānī on crosses on board the warships. When he arrived in al-Muwaffaqiya, he ordered Abū al-'Abbās to ride in the shadās with the Rebel's head and with both Sulaymān b. Jāmī' and al-Hamdānī on crosses, and to take his course to the Jattā Canal where the camp of al-Muwaffaq began, so that all the people of the camp could have a look at it all. Afterwards Abū al-'Abbās returned to his father, Abū Ahmad. Sulaymān b. Jāmī' and al-Hamdānī were put in prison, and the Rebel's head cleaned and put in better shape.
It is reported that the Zenj who had stayed with al-Khabî† and preferred his company were coming over continually, and about 1000 of them arrived on that day. Al-Muwaffaq saw fit to grant them safety because of their numbers and bravery, he feared lest some among them might otherwise become dangerous to Islam and the Believers. During the rest of Saturday, Sunday and Monday, about 5000 Zenj captains and soldiers surrendered. Those who had been killed in battle, drowned and captured were so many that their numbers cannot be ascertained.

A group of about 1000 Zenj, who penetrated far into the dryland, was isolated and most of them died of thirst, and those who survived fell into the hands of the Bedouins and were made slaves.

A report then reached al-Muwaffaq that al-Mahallabî† and Ankalay, together with the most prominent Zenj captains and the men who followed after them, were staying in a certain place; so he sent out his most courageous ghulâms to pursue and harass them. When the besieged were certain that there was no more escape for them, they surrendered. Thus, al-Muwaffaq took hold of all those officers and their men without exception; they were almost as many as those who had asked al-Muwaffaq for safety immediately after the death of al-Khabî†. On the instruction of al-Muwaffaq, al-Muhallabî† and Ankalay were put in prison and closely guarded.

Among those who fled from the camp of al-Khabî† on Satur-
day and did not rely on promised safety was Qirtās, the same
who had shot an arrow at al-Muwallaq. He succeeded in reaching
Rāmāhuruz, but a man who happened to have seen him in the
camp of al-Khabīr, identified him and pointed him out to the
governor of the city who seized him and put him in chains.
Abū al-'Abbās asked his father to let him slay Qirtās; the
latter was handed over to Abū al-'Abbās who put him to death.

Darmawayh al-Zenji surrendered to Abū Alwad. This Dar-
mawayh was, as reports say, one of the most courageous and
heroic Zenj whom the Rebel long before his death had sent to
the lower part of the Fahrāj Canal to the west of the Tigris
near Baṣrah. He took up his position there in a rugged place,
which was close to the Bātīna, full of palms, shrubs and
bushes. From there he and his men, with the light-going
zawraqs and samīrīyas which they took along, would waylay
travellers. If pursued by shadās they would take refuge in
narrow canals and stick to the rugged terrain on their banks.
If some of these canals happened to be so narrow that even
for them the passage proved to be impossible, they would dis-
embark and carry their ships over on their backs, and flee to
inaccessible spots. In the meanwhile, they would raid the
villages of the Bātīna and of the neighboring territory, kill-
ing and looting whatever would come within their reach.

Darmawayh and his men carried on these actions until the
Rebel was killed. As they were at the time in the place which
we have described above, they did not even know what had happened to their master. When, following the death of al-Khabīt, the territory around this retreat was conquered, people feeling safe / spread around in quest of their business of transporting merchandise and travelling along the Tigris. Darmawayh attacked them, murdered and looted. People were very shocked.

Now, a band of villains and rascals, just like the associates of Darmawayh, leaned toward the same actions and made up their minds to go to him, stay with him and lead the same kind of life.

Al-Muwaffaq decided to advance a troop of his Negro ghulāms and other experts to fight among the thickets and the narrows of the canals, and he equipped them with small ships and different kinds of weapons. But before the equipment of this force was completed, a messenger from Darmawayh arrived with a plea to grant safety to Darmawayh and his men. Al-Muwaffaq decided to grant him safety in order to eliminate any further continuation of people's sufferings caused by the Rebel and his accomplices.

It is said that the reason for Darmawayh's request for safety was that among the people he had attacked, there were some who had been on their way from al-Muwaffaq's camp to their homes in the City of Peace, among them women. Darmawayh took away the possessions of the men and killed

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them, and seized the women who were with them. When the latter fell into his hands and were questioned by him, Darmawayh learned that the Rebel had been killed, al-Muhallabī, Ankalay, Sulaymān b. Jāmi' and other leaders and captains of the Rebel's troops were seized, that most of the Zenj had surrendered, and that al-Muwaffaq had received them benevolently. This news confounded Darmawayh, and he saw no escape but to commend himself to the mercy of al-Muwaffaq and ask him to pardon his crimes. When the request he had sent had been accepted, and the messenger with word about this grant arrived, he and all his followers went to the camp of al-Muwaffaq. This was a fine unit, richly equipped and had not suffered from the harm and misery of the siege which had borne so hard upon the rest of the troops of al-Khabīb; instead, they benefited from the money and provisions which they used to take away from other people.

They say that after he was accorded protection, and he and his people were well treated, Darmawayh gave up all the money and property they had and turned all this back to their owners with frankness and sincerity. This manifested his repentant return to God, and al-Muwaffaq clothed him and his companions and captains with robes of honor, and bestowed upon them presents. Then, he assigned all of them to one of his ghulām captains.

Thereupon, on the order of al-Muwaffaq, letters were
written to all Muslim territories to announce to the people of Baṣra, Ubulla, the Tigris districts, Ahwāz and its districts, and the people of Baṣra and its surroundings which had been affected by the Zenj, that the Rebel was dead and they could return to their homes. The people streamed to al-Muwaffaqiyya from all the corners of the land. After that al-Muwaffaq remained in al-Muwaffaqiya so that the people would be able to gain more security and welfare. He appointed al-‘Abbās b. Tarkas, one of his mawāli captains, whose mode of life he knew and whose conduct he admired, as governor of Baṣra, Ubulla and the districts of the Tigris, ordering him to establish his residence in Baṣra; he also appointed Muḥammad b. Hammād to the post of qaḍī of Baṣra, Ubulla, the districts of Ahwāz and Wāsit.

Then, al-Muwaffaq sent his son Abū al-‘Abbās to the City of Peace with the head of al-Khabīr, the Chieftain of the Zenj, to show it to the people and to bring them the good tidings. On Saturday, the eighteenth of Jumādā I, Abū al-‘Abbās and his troops reached the City of Peace and entered the city in fine shape with the head of al-Khabīr on a spear at the front of his procession, in view of the thronging people.

Thus, the beginning of the revolt of the Chieftain of the Zenj took place on Wednesday, the twenty-sixth of Ramadān of the year 255. He was killed on Saturday, the second
of Safar of the year 270. From the very inception of his revolt until the day the leader was killed, fourteen years, four months and six days passed. His entrance into Ahwāz took place on the seventeenth of Ramadān of the year 256, his entrance into Baṣra, the massacre of her population, and the burning of the city took place on the sixteenth of Shawwal of the year 257.

The contest between al-Muwaffaq and the Rebel became the subject of many songs. One of these is the following poem written by Yahyā b. Muḥammad al-Aslāmi:

1. I say: The harbinger of good tidings brought word of a battle
2. Which steadied all that had been shaken in Islam;
3. May God bestow the highest reward upon the best of men
4. Who was so noble to people made homeless and robbed.
5. When no one appeared to uphold God's cause
6. He alone restored the Faith, which had begun crumbling away,
7. He strengthened the Empire when its glory was on the wane
8. And this followed up by wreaking his vengeance on the foe.
9. He rebuilt devastated and ruined habitations,
10. So that collapsing roofs might be restored;
11. That cities despoiled and destroyed repeatedly
12. And turned into desert-land and wastes he rebuilt.
13. This battle will bring a consolation to our weeping eyes,
14. It will bring healing to the hearts of the Believers
15. The Book of God is read in every mosque,
16. The appeals of the Ṭalibīs are rejected contemptible.
17. He forsook comfort and friends and pleasures
18. To emerge victorious in the cause of Islam.

These verses are from a lengthy poem. He has also written the following lines on the same subject:

1. Where are the stars of the heretic, the apostate,
2. Indeed he was not one of skill and shrewdness;
3. Good fortune—by the hand of a Prince, whose words are deeds,
4. Visited calamity upon him.
5. Al-Khabīr fell in battle and was left an easy prey
6. To lions of the bush that swooped down on the field;
7. From the cup of perdition he tasted a drink—
8. A beverage most loathsome to the palate of men.

On the same subject, Yahyā b. Khalid said the following:

1. O son of the caliphs of the stock of Hashim,
2. Of those who heap upon people their bounties,
3. Who repel the foe assailing the home;
4. Of those whose days are marked with battles.
5. You are a ruler who restored the Faith after it was trampled down,
6. Who released captives from shackles and bonds,
7. You are the protector in time of misfortune
8. And unto you the needy turns with his plea.
9. You extinguished the flames of impiety after they rose high
10. O, you, who abundantly meets out both hope and death;
11. How excellent you are, O offspring of caliphs,
12. In decisions so wise, with armor so resplendent!
13. You have destroyed the infidel's hosts. To the ground they fell
14. Looking death in the eyes. With a resolute mind
15. You have showered upon them decisive blows,
16. Making their hearts swell with horror.
17. When the accursed Rebel exceeded all bounds
18. You swooped down upon him with the whirling sword and spear.
19. And you cast him to the ground. Crows fly around him
20. Picking the joints and limbs of his body.
21. He plunged into the depth of the scorching hell,
22. Under the weight of chains wearing him away;
23. This he earned so justly by his numerous crimes
24. And by the wicked deeds of his own hands.
25. By saving it from the plotter you delighted all Islām,
26. And rid it of the infanticide.
27. The attack of al-Muwaffaq was dealt in 'Drāq
28. But this heroic assault terrified those in the west.
   To the same effect were also the verses of Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Merwān.
1. Give me a clear answer, O waste habitation
2. Whose yards are still flooded by the heavy rain;
3. Tell me about the people, O where have they gone,
4. O will they return, will they traveller be back?!!
5. But what answer could give me the ruined home,
6. Where not even a stroke remained of the dwellers
7. The songs of the people of those homes made me weep
8. And plunged me into grief; endurance betrayed me.
9. As if the camel's shriek came to them with a warning
10. About fatal days with doom in their wake;
11. Swiftly and viciously the vicissitudes of Fate broke loose upon them
12. And utmost evil it was, what Fate had wrought
13. But better times had arrived, and the plant is ripening
14. Under the auspices of the prince the world has changed.
15. To their homes returned all those who had fled
16. And not even a foothold for the Satan remained.
17. By the sword of the heir-apparent Islam has regained its strength
18. True Faith has triumphed, and heresy was uprooted;
19. He led the believers truly the holy war
20. Himself safe and sound and victorious.

This is a Ṭawīla. Said Yaḥya b. Muḥammad:

1. Off with you, I have had enough of you!
2. Do not blame one who is above blame.
3. Do not blame one for leaving. I am a man
4. Bent upon exploit, travel and travail.
5. Where shall I sojourn when I loath the land
6. As if I were in a nuptial chamber with an evil-eyed bride.
7. Desire is not aroused if it finds not
8. Man awake at the side of his sweetheart
9. None passes a night safely who did not know fear
   at night,
10. Fear of the neighbor’s nightly terror.
   This is a Tawīla, too.

In the month of Rabī‘ I, a report reached the City of
Peace that the Byzantines descended upon Bab Qalamya, six
miles from Ṭarsūs; they were in a force of some 100,000 men
who were under the command of the chief patrician Andreios;
four other patricians were with him. Yazmān al-Khādim set
out against them by night, attacked them and killed the chief
patrician and the patrician of Cappadocia, the patrician
Anatolikon; the patrician of Qurra, though with grave wounds,
escaped. Seven crosses of theirs, made of gold and silver,
among them the big cross, made of gold and beset with gems,
as well as 15,000 horses and mules, about as many saddles,
sabres ornamented with gold and silver, many vessels, about
10,000 brocade standards, heaps of brocade, silk fabrics with
ornaments and sable-fur wrappers were taken. The attack upon
Andreios took place on Tuesday, the seventh of Rabī‘ I. They
encompassed the Greeks by night and destroyed a great many of
them. Some people assert that the number of the slain reached
70,000.
Hārūn, son of Ābu Ṭāhir al-Mu’awwafq passed away. This took place on Thursday, the second of Jumādā in the City of Peace.

On the sixth of Sha’bān a report is said to have reached the City of Peace that Ṭūlūn was dead. Some said that his death occurred on Monday, the eighteenth of Dū al-Qa’dā.

Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd al-‘Alawi died in Ṭabaristān, either in Rajab or in Sha’bān.

In the middle of Sha’bān al-Mu’tamid entered Baghdad, then he left the city and, in full military array with Muḥammad b. Tāhir marching in front of him with a spear, he stopped in front of Qāṭrabbūl. Then he passed on to Samarrā.

Toward the end of Rajab Yāzmān paid ransom for the inhabitants of Sāṭīdamā, thus gaining freedom for them.

On Sunday, the twentieth of Sha’bān, the troops of Abū al-‘Abbās b. al-Muwaqqaf in Baghdad rose in mutiny against Sāʾid b. Makhlād, who was vizier of al-Muwaqqaf and claimed their pay. The troops of Sāʾid came forth to repel them; they just entered the gates of the Yahyā market, as the footmen of Abū al-‘Abbās appeared at the square before the bridge. They engaged in a battle, in which both sides bore losses in killed and wounded; then the night broke up their fighting; early in the morning the pay was given out and peace restored.

In Shawwāl a battle occurred between Ishaq b. Kundāj and

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Ibn Da'bah. / Ibn Da'bah was governor of Raqqā and its districts, the border fortresses and towns on behalf of Alīmad b. Tūlūn, while Ibn Kundaj was governor of Moṣūl on behalf of the government.

The waters of the ‘Iṣā Canal in western Baghdaḍ in the Yasīriya quarter broke through and overflowed al-Dabbaghīn and the quarter of the Saj troops in the Karkh. About 7000 houses are said to have been demolished.

The emperor of Byzantium, known as Ibn al-Ṣaqalabī, was killed.


Year 271

It began on Monday, the twenty-ninth of Ḥazīrān, in the year of 1195 of the era of Du al-Qarnayn.

The Outstanding Events of the Year

In the beginning of Safar a report came that Muḥammad and ‘Alī, the sons of al-Ḥusayn b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ali b. Ḥusayn, entered Medina. They killed many townsmen, claimed and exacted money from the city population. The people
of Medina for four weeks held neither Friday services nor
congregational services in the Mosque of the Prophet, blessed
be his memory. Abū al-‘Abbās b.al-Faḍl al-‘Alawi said:

1. Desolate lies the abode of the Prophet
2. O Muslims, I lament over its devastation!
3. O eye, weep over the station of Gabriel, and the
   sepulchre,
4. And shed tears over the auspicious pulpit!
5. And cry over the place of worship which the Prophet
   had founded in piety,
6. But, which alas is empty of worshippers,
7. Cry over Ṭayba, upon which God had invoked His
   blessing
8. By sending thereto the seal of the prophets.
9. May God destroy the band which has laid it waste
10. Obeying a master corrupt and accursed.

On the twenty-fifth of Shawwāl, pilgrims from Khurāsān
who were staying in Baḥrād were introduced to al-Muṭamid,
who announced ‘Amr b.al-Layt was dismissed from office and
accursed in their presence. At the same time the caliph
announced he bestowed Khurāsān upon Muḥammad b.Ṭāhir. On
al-Muṭamid’s order, ‘Amr b.al-Layt was cursed from all the
pulpits.

On the twenty-first of Sha’bān, Sā‘id b.Makhlad left
the camp of Abū Ḥāmid in Wāṣīt bound for Fārs to fight against
‘Amr b.al-Layt.
On the tenth of Ramadan, Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Tahi' was appointed governor of Medina and the Mecca road.

A battle took place between Abu al-'Abbās b. al-Muwaffaq and Khumarawayh b. Ahmad b. Thulun in al-Tawāhin. Khumarawayh was routed and fled on a donkey to Egypt. The troops of Abu al-'Abbās engaged in plunder, and Abu al-'Abbās himself occupied the tent of Khumarawayh, not even suspecting that ambushers were left behind by Khumarawayh, among them Sa'id al-A'sar with a group of his captains and soldiers. No sooner did the men of Abu al-'Abbās take their quarters and put down their arms than the men of Khumarawayh attacked them from an ambush and routed them. The troops scattered and Abu al-'Abbās retreated toward Tarsus with a few troops. Everything was lost; the weapons, shields, valuables and money which were in the camps of both Abu al-'Abbās and Khumarawayh was all looted.

This battle, they say, took place on Friday, the tenth of Shawwal.

Yūsuf b. Abī al-Sāj, who was governor of Mecca, fell upon Badr, a page of al-Tahi', who was in charge of the pilgrims, and put him in chains. A detachment of troops, assisted by the pilgrims, fought against Ibn Abī al-Sāj, rescued the page of al-Tahi', captured Ibn Abī al-Sāj and delivered him in chains to the City of Peace.

This battle took place at the gates of the sanctuary.
The mob devastated the ancient monastery behind the 'Isā Canal and stripped it of all the valuables which were there; they also removed the gates and woodwork, etc. and demolished partially the walls and roof. Al-Ḥusayn b.伊斯MAIL, prefect of the police of Baghdād on behalf of Muḥammad b.Ṭaḥîr, arrived at the spot and prevented them from demolishing what still remained. For several days he and the mob haunted the place so that the troops of the government and the mob almost engaged in fighting. After some time, everything the mob had destroyed was restored. They say that the restoration work was carried out with the support of ʿAbdūn b. Makhlag, the brother of Sāʿīd b. Makhlag.

Leader of the pilgrims this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. ʿIsḥāq b. ʿIsā b. Muṣā al-ʿAbbāsī.

Year 272

It began on Friday, the eighteenth of Ḥazīrān of the year 1196 of the era of Duʿ al-Qarnayn.

Events of This Year

There was the ousting of Abū al-ʿAbbās b. al-Muṣaffaq from Ṭarsūs by the population of that city because of the dissension which arose between him and Yasman. He left the city in the
middle of al-Muharram and took the course to Baghdad.

On Tuesday, the seventeenth of Safar, Sulayman b. Wahb
died in the prison of al-Muwaffaq.

On Thursday, the eighth of Rabii' II, a mob gathered and
demolished the repairs which were made to the monastery.

A heretic established his rule over the road to Khurasan; he arrived in Daskarat al-Malik, and gave the town over
to murder and robbery.

A report reached the City of Peace that Hamdam b. Hamdun
and Harun / al-Shari entered the city of Mosul; al-Shari led
the people in the services in the Friday Mosque.

On the twentieth of Jumada II, Abu al-'Abbâs b. al-Muwaffaq, returning from the battle he had with Ibn Tulun at al-
Tawahin, arrived in Baghdad.

A tunnel was dug from inside the goal, and al-Dawâ'ibî
al-'Alawi together with two others were brought out; horses
were gotten ready for them and remained there all night so
that they might come out and make their escape on them. But
warning was received; the gates of the city Abu Ja'far al-
Manṣûr were locked, and al-Dawâ'ibî and the others who fled
with him were apprehended. Muhammad b. Tahir wrote about it
to al-Muwaffaq, who at the time was stationed in Wâsit. The
latter ordered him to have al-Dawâ'ibî's hands and feet se-
vered in odd pairs, which was carried out at the Office of
the Bridge on the western side in the presence of Muhammad
b. Tahir, who was sitting on horseback. Thereafter, on Monday the third of Jumādā II, he was burned.

In Rajab, Sā'īd b. Makhlad, on his way from Fārs, arrived in Wāṣif. On the instructions of al-Muwaffaq, all the captains went out to welcome him on his arrival, dismounting from their animals and kissing his hand.

In Wāṣif, on Monday, the ninth of Rajab, al-Muwaffaq seized Sā'īd b. Makhlad and his retinue and took away everything they had in their houses. The two sons of Sā'īd, Abū 'Isā and Abū Ṣālih in Baghdad, his brother 'Abduhn and his staff in Samarrā were also seized; all this occurred the same day on which / Sā'īd was seized. Thereupon, al-Muwaffaq appointed Ismā'il b. Bulbul as secretary, and limited himself to his service in this capacity only.

A report came that on Jumādā II, an earthquake shook Egypt and destroyed the houses and the Friday Mosque, and that 1000 dead were counted in one day.

In the middle of Ramaḍān, prices rose high in Baghdad. The reason was that the people of Samarrā prevented the ships with flour from reaching the City of Peace, and al-Tā'fī did not let the owners of estates thresh the crops and distribute them in anticipation of the rise in prices. The people of Baghdad did not let transports of olive oil, soap, dates and other goods to be shipped to Samarrā.

The rise in prices caused the mob to riot and people

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rallied with the aim of attacking al-Ṭāfī. It was in the middle of Shawwāl when directly from the Friday Mosque they betook themselves towards the house of al-Ṭāfī between the Bagra gate and the Kūfa gate, and appeared from the direction of Karkh. Al-Ṭāfī had some of his troops placed on the roofs to greet the mob with arrows, and others, armed with swords and lances, at the gates and in the courtyard of his house. Some of the mob were killed and many wounded, but they did not stop to fight until nightfall. At night they withdrew only to reappear early next morning. Then Muḥammad b.Ṭāhir arrived and calmed the people and had them withdraw with peace.

On Tuesday, the eighth of Shawwāl, Isma‘īl b. Burayh al-Hāshimī passed away, and three days later, ‘Ubayd Allāh b.‘Abd Allāh al-Hāshimī followed suit.

In Wāsīṭ, the Zenj raised a riot, shouting, "Ankalay, O Manṣūr." At the time Ankalay, al-Muhallabi, Sulaymān b. Jāmi’, al-Sha‘rānī, al-Ḥamānī, and another leader of the Zenj were under lock and key in the house of Muḥammad b.‘Abd Allāh b.Ṭāhir at the fruit market, in the City of Peace; one of the pages of al-Muwaffaq, Fath al-Sa‘īdī by name, was in charge of them. Al-Muwaffaq wrote to Fath, ordering him to send off the heads of the six to him. Fath went in to the prisoners and sent them out one by one to a servant of his who beheaded them, removed the lid of the sewer which was in
the house and dumped the bodies of the slain in; then he covered the sewer again with its lid and the heads were sent off to al-Muwaqqat. Thereafter, al-Muwaqqat sent an order to Muḥammad b. Tāhir to put the bodies of the six on crosses and display them in the vicinity of the Bridge. Accordingly, the bodies were taken out of the sewer; they were already swollen, malodorous, and parts of their skin had fallen off. They were carried on litters, each litter between two men, to the place where they were put on crosses, three on the western side and three on the eastern. This took place on the twenty-second of Shawwāl, when Muḥammad b. Tāhir rode to the spot and the bodies were put on crosses in his presence.

The situation of the city of the prophet of God, may the blessing and mercy of God descend upon him, was restored and improved, and gradually the inhabitants returned.

The summer raid (against the Byzantines) was conducted by Yāmnān.

Leader of the pilgrims in this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Ishaq b. Mūsā al-Ḥāshimi.

Year 273. Its Events

Also, on Tuesday, the ninth of Jumādā I, in Raqqā, a battle took place between Iṣḥāq b. Kūndāj and Mūḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj; Iṣḥāq was routed.

Messengers of Yāzūmān returned from Tarsūs with a report that three sons of the Byzantine emperor rebelled against their father and killed him, seating one of themselves on the throne.

On the twenty-second of Dū al-Qā'da, Abū ʿAlīmad incarcerated Lūlū', who had come under safeguard from Ibn Ṭūlūn's camp and took away the whole of his money. The money seized amounted, they say, to 400,000 dinārs. It is said, that Lūlū' exclaimed, "Apart from my being wealthy, I do not know of any other sin I might have committed, for which I should deserve what has been done to me."

On the fourteenth of Dū al-Hijja, a second battle between Mūḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj and Iṣḥāq b. Kūndāj took place. This time Ibn Kundāj was defeated.

Leader of the pilgrims this year was Ḥārūn b. Mūḥammad b. Iṣḥāq b. Ḥūṣain b. Mūsā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās.

Year 274. Its Events

Abū ʿAlīmad departed to Kirmān to fight ʿAmr b. al-Layṭ. This took place on the eighteenth of Rabīʾ I of this year.

In Ramadān, Yāzūmān set out for a raid and reached Maskanayn, where he took captives and booty. He and the
Muslims remained unharmed.

Ṣiddiq al-Farḥāni invaded the neighborhood of Sam♭rã, plundered the possessions of the merchants, and caused people much damage. This Ṣiddiq was formerly a road guard, then he turned into a fighting robber, a brigand of the highway.

Leader of the pilgrims in this year was Ḥārūn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāshimī.

Year 275. Its Events

On account of the actions perpetrated by Ṣiddiq, and of the freeing of his brother from the prison of al-Ṭāʾī, which Ṣiddiq carried out in al-Muharram, al-Ṭāʾī directed an army to Sam♭rã. Later, al-Ṭāʾī himself went to Sam♭rã and began a correspondence with Ṣiddiq, giving him promises, arousing his ambition and offering him safeguards. Confident in these safeguards, Ṣiddiq decided to go to al-Ṭāʾī, although Ḥāshim, Ṣiddiq’s servant, reportedly a courageous man, cautioned his master against al-Ṭāʾī. Ṣiddiq disregarded the warning, and together with his men, went to Sam♭rã. No sooner had he come before al-Ṭāʾī than the latter seized him and his men, and cut off a hand and a foot/of Ṣiddiq. Ḥāshim and all the others who came with him were similarly treated and put in jail. Subsequently, they were carried on litters into the City of Peace, their severed hands and feet displayed to the
view of the people, then they were flung into jail.

Yāzmān carried out a sea raid and wrested four ships from the Greeks.

Fāris al-‘Abdī became a gangster and engaged in robbery in the vicinity of Samarrā; he fell upon Karkh of Samarrā and looted the houses of the Khashanaj clan. Al-Ṭā‘fī set out against him and overtook him at al-Ḥadīṭa. They engaged in a battle in which al-Ṭā‘fī was successful; he seized the bulk of the men of al-‘Abdī, went to the Tigris and launched a float with the intention of crossing the river. But here the men of al-‘Abdī overtook him and seized the anchor of the float. Al-Ṭā‘fī jumped into the Tigris and swam across the river. As he came out of the river, he shook the water from his beard and exclaimed: "What is al-‘Abdī’s opinion, am I not better than a fish in swimming?" Al-Ṭā‘fī settled on the eastern bank, while al-‘Abdī was opposite him on the western side.


1. Al-Ṭā‘fī came, would that he had not come
2. His deeds were evil, certainly, not good.
3. What with his soft verbiage
4. He is like a young girl masticating a tough sweetmeat.

On the fourteenth of Ramada‘n, upon Abū Ahmad’s order, al-Ṭā‘fī was seized and put in jail. This was the end of all his affairs. Al-Ṭā‘fī was governor of Kūfah and area; he was in...
charge of the Khurasân road, governor of Samârâ, prefect of the police in Baghdâd, Kharaj collector, governor of Bâdûrayâ, Qatrabbul, and Maskîn and manager of some princely domains.

Abû Almâd put his son Abû al-'Abbâs in jail; the troops of the latter rose in a riot and took up arms, the ghulâms rode along and all of Baghdâd was in an uproar. Abû Almâd set out for the city and reached the Ruṣâfa Gate. They say he spoke thus to the troops and ghulâms of Abû al-'Abbâs, "What is the matter with you, are you really more anxious about my son than I am? He is my offspring and it is my duty to correct him." The people lay down their arms and withdrew. This happened on Tuesday, the sixth of Shawâl.

Leader of the pilgrims in this year was Hârîn b. Muḥammad al-Hâshimi.

Year 276. Its Events

In Muḥarram, 'Amr b. al-Layt was entrusted with the command of the police of Baghdâd, and his name was marked on the flags, poles and shields of the Bridge office.

On the fourteenth of Rabî' I, Abû Almâd left the City of Peace bound for Jîbâl. The reason for this was, they say, that al-Mâdarâ'î, secretary of Aḏkûtakîn, wrote him that his master had an immense fortune there, and that should he come, everything would pass into his hands. But when Abû Almâd ar-
rived there he found none of the wealth which had been reported to him.

Abū Aḥmad departed to Karaj and from there to Isbahan to meet Aḥmad b.‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Dulaf; the latter together with his troops and families departed from the town and left his furnished house to accommodate Abū Aḥmad upon his arrival.

Before Abū Aḥmad left his tent at the Khurasān Gate, Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj arrived in his flight from Ibn Tūlūn, after fights which occurred between them. This fight had enfeebled Ibn Abī al-Sāj to the point that he could no longer resist, his force being too small in number, as against the numerous troops of Ibn Tūlūn. Ibn Abī al-Sāj reached Abū Aḥmad and joined him; and the latter clothed him with robes of honor and took him along to Khurasān.

In the month Rabī‘ II, ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir was put in command of the police of Baghdad on behalf of ‘Amr b. al-Layt.

A report arrived that the al-Ṣīla Canal, a hill bearing the name of Tall al-Shaqīq, opened and disclosed seven graves with seven perfect bodies, the shrouds on them new and soft, their fringes diffusing the smell of musk; one of them being the body of a youngsters with luxuriant hair, his forehead, ears, cheeks, nose, lips, chin and places of growth of the eyelashes free from any blemish; on his lips there was a moisture as if he had just drunk water, and as if he had been anointed; there
was a sign of a stroke on his waist. The shroud was put back on him. One of our friends told me that he pulled some of the hair and found that it had strong roots as if it were on a living body. They said that the split in the hill above the graves showed with a kind of a watering-trough made from rock of whetstone colour, which bore an inscription nobody could decipher.

On the eleventh of Shawwāl, orders were issued to remove from the police offices all the poles, flags and shields which were bearing the name of ‘Amr b. al-Layţ, and to drop him from memory altogether.

Leader of the pilgrims in this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq al-Ḫāshimī, who was also governor of Mecca, Medina and al-Ṭā‘if.

Year 277. Its Events

In Taḥsūs, Yāzmān called the people to allegiance to Khumarawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn. It is said that the reason for this was that Khumarawayh sent to him 30,000 dinār, 500 garments, 150 horses, 150 rain cloaks and weapons. When all this arrived, Yāzmān called for allegiance to Khumarawayh and sent him back 50,000 dinār.

In the beginning of Ṣafar II, hostilities broke out between Waṣīf, the servant of Ibn Abī al-Sāj, and the Barber
troops of Abū al-Ṣaqr. In this fight, which took place at the Damascus Gate, at the head of the street leading toward the Kūfa Gate, four ghulāms of al-Khādim and seven of the Berbers were killed. It was only when Abū al-Ṣaqr arrived at the place and personally spoke to them, that they dispersed. Two days later hostilities were resumed and, again, Abū al-Ṣaqr had to ride out and calm them.

Yūsuf b. Ya‘qūb was put in charge of the Ṣa‘īlīm. He gave the order to call out that, "Whosoever had a complaint (appeal) to be brought before the prince al-Naṣr liḍīn Allāh or against any officer of the government, should come forward." He ordered the Prefect of Police not to release any prisoners except those on whose behalf petitions had been presented to himself, and whose release he had granted.

On the first day of Sha‘bān, one of the captains of Ibn Tūlūn arrived in Baghdād with a great army of cavalrymen and infantrymen.

Leader of the pilgrims in this year was Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāshimī.

Year 278. Its Events

In the beginning of al-Muḥarram a battle took place between the troops of Waṣīf al-Khādim, the Berbers and the troops of Mūsā, the son of Muḥlib's sister. The battle lasted
for four successive days, and only after they had lost over ten of their people in slain did they make peace.

A battle broke out between the populace of the Naqraniya quarter and the troops of Yunus on the eastern side; after one man was killed, they dispersed.

On the order of Abū al-Šaqr, Waṣīf, the servant of Ibn Abī al-Sāj, is said to have left for Wāṣit so that he might become of service to him. For Abū Șaqr had conferred many benefits upon Waṣīf and his staff, generously loaded him with presents, and bountifully assigned allowances for his men. Now, when it reached him that Abū Aḥmad was coming, he was full of apprehensions since he had embezzled all the money from Abū Aḥmad's treasuries in order to present those gifts, presents and robes of honor for the captains, and for other expenses. Now, after he had spent everything in the treasury, so that nothing remained there, he demanded from landowners a year's payment of kharāj, and on these grounds, arrested many of them. It was al-Zaghal, who was in charge of carrying out this measure and he treated the people ruthlessly. But Abū Aḥmad arrived before al-Zaghal completed his extortions; the exaction was discontinued.

Waṣīf's departure took place on Friday, the seventeenth of al-Muḥarram. On the twenty-eighth of Muḥarram, a star with a fringe appeared; the fringe later became a hanging lock.

In this year Abū Aḥmad returned from Jibāl to 'Irāq.
Gout pains afflicted him so sorely that he was unable to sit on horseback, so he had arranged a bedstead covered with a tent; he would sit on it, having a servant cool his feet with cold things. It went so far that he used to apply snow. Then his feet were stricken with elephantiasis. Forty men were carrying his bedstead in two teams, twenty porters in each; when, from time to time, his pains became excruciating, he would order them to put him down. It is said that one day he observed to those who were carrying him, "You are annoyed with carrying me, I know; but I wish I were like one of you, bearing a burden on my head; if even I became weary, at least I would be in good health." Also that he said while sick, "My register lists the names of 100,000 soldiers, among them not one could be said to be worse off than I am."

On Monday, the twenty-seventh of al-Muḥarram, Abū ʿAlīmad arrived in Nahrawān, where people welcomed him; then he went aboard a vessel and sailed along the canal; he passed to Dayālā, the Tigris, and he arrived in al-Zaʿfarānīya. Friday night he arrived in al-Fīrk. It was on Friday, the second of Safar that he entered his home. On Thursday, the eighth of Safar, rumor spread that he was dead, after Abū al-Ṣaqr left his house.

Abū al-Ṣaqr gave the order to guard Abū al-ʿAbbās and locked him up behind seven doors; Ibn al-Fayyāḏ he took along to his house where he remained. Abū al-Ṣaqr stayed at home.
all that day, while the excitement of the populace, on account of the news of the death of Abū Ahmad grew stronger; but he merely fainted away.

On Friday, Abū al-Ṣaqr went to al-Madā'in and brought al-Mu'tamid and his sons from there to his house. Thereafter, he stayed at home and did not go to the house of Abū Ahmad.

Perceiving in what condition Abū Ahmad was, his ghulāms who were in sympathy with his son Abū al-'Abbās, as well as the leaders of the ghulāms of Abū al-'Abbās who had also witnessed these events, broke the locks of the doors behind which Abū al-'Abbās was confined. The page who had been in the same room with Abū al-'Abbās was reported saying, when he heard the sounds of breaking locks: "Those are only coming to take my life." Then he seized a sword, unsheathed it, set so as to be ready to rise, keeping the sword / in his lap and said to me: "Step aside; by God, they may not reach me as long as I am alive." As the door opened, the first to enter was Waṣif Mūshkīr, who had been the page of Abū al-'Abbās. When Abū al-'Abbās saw him, he dropped the sword, since he knew that they had come to him only with good intentions. They took him forth to his father, who had just recovered from his faint. When Abū Ahmad opened his eyes and came to, his glance fell upon his son; Abū Ahmad drew him nearer and embraced him.

Al-Mu'tamid and his son Ja'far al-Mufawwād ila 'Allāh,
the heir apparent, and the other sons: 'Abd al-‘Azīz, Muḥammad and Iṣḥāq, arrived in the City of Peace on the same day that they had been summoned to come, which was Friday noon, before the Friday service, the ninth of Safar. They stopped in the house of Abū al-Ṣaqr. When news reached Abū al-Ṣaqr that Abū Aḥmad had not died, he directed Iṣmā‘īl b. Iṣḥāq on Saturday to verify this report. Meanwhile, he assembled the captains and soldiers and filled his house and its surroundings with armed men, as well as the area between his house and the bridge; he also cut the two bridges. People took up positions on the eastern side of the bridge and fought the troops of Abū al-Ṣaqr; both sides suffered losses in slain and wounded. Abū Ṭalḥa, the brother of Sharkab, was stationed with his men at Bab al-Bustān.

Meanwhile, Iṣmā‘īl returned to Abū al-Ṣaqr and brought him word that Abū Aḥmad was alive. The first of the captains to turn away from Abū al-Ṣaqr was Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj, who crossed the ‘Isā Canal; after that, they started to slip away, some to the house of Abū Aḥmad, others to their homes and still others away from Baghdād. When Abū al-Ṣaqr saw this and was certain that Abū Aḥmad was still alive, he and his two sons went to the house of Abū Aḥmad, who made no mention of what had happened and did not question him. Abū al-Ṣaqr remained in his house. When al-Mu‘tamid saw that he alone remained in the house of Abū al-Ṣaqr, he with his sons and Boktimur, embarked a zawraq.
They came upon Abū Laylā b. 'Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Dulaf, who rode his tayyār and took them over to his home in the mansion of ʻAlī b. Jahshiyar, at the head of the bridge; but when al-Mu‘tamid said to him, "I want to go to my brother," Abū Laylā took him and those who were with him from that house to the house of Abū Ahmad.

Meanwhile, the house of Abū al-Šaqr was stripped of everything to the extent that the women had to leave barefoot and with no veils; also the house of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, his secretary, was looted and the houses of Im al-Wātiqī and his friends were looted and set on fire. People broke the doors of the jails, pierced their walls and freed all prisoners; they freed as well the inmates of the gaol; the two office buildings of the Bridge were looted and stripped of everything, also the houses in the vicinity of the house of Abū al-Šaqr were robbed.

Abū Ahmad clothed with robes of honor his son Abū al-‘Abbās and Abū al-Šaqr; both of them rode together wearing the robes of honor from Suq al-Talātā to Bāb al-Tāq; then they proceeded to the house of Abū al-‘Abbās which was the palace of Sa‘īd, and from there Abū al-Šaqr went by water to his home, which had been so thoroughly plundered that they had to bring him a mat from the house of al-Shāh to sit on.

Abū al-‘Abbās appointed his page Badr, Prefect of the Police. He also appointed Muḥammad b. Ǧhanīm b. al-Shāh as his deputy on the eastern side and Ǧisā al-Nausharī on the western
side. This took place on the fourteenth of Safar.

On Wednesday, the twenty-first of Safar, Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaqqaf passed away. Thursday night he was buried near the tomb of his mother in al-Ruṣāfa. The same day Abū al-ʿAbbās received the people who came to express their condolences.

On Thursday, the captains and ghulāms acknowledged Abū al-ʿAbbās heir-apparent after al-Mufawwād, and gave him the honorific title al-Muʿtaqīd Billah. Presents were distributed among the soldiers. In the Friday service sermon, on the twenty-third of Safar, the names of al-Muʿtamid, al-Muṣawwād and Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Muʿtaqīd were mentioned respectively.

On Monday, the twenty-sixth of Safar, Abū al-Ṣaqr and his friends were seized, their houses robbed. The Banū Furāt, who had been in charge of the Dīwān al-Ṣawad, had gone into hiding and search was made after them.

On Tuesday, the twenty-seventh of Safar, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb was clothed with robes of honor and appointed vizier.

In this year, Muḥammad b. Abī al-Sāj sent a message to his page Waṣīf in Wāsiṭ, ordering him to return to the City of Peace. Waṣīf refused to return to Baghdād, went to the provinces of Ahwāz instead, and plundered al-Tīb and Sus.

Abū Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Furāt was seized, put in jail and forced to give up his money. Al-Zaghal and his wealth
were seized at the same time and he too was imprisoned.

Reports came that 'Alî b. al-Layt, the brother of the Coppersmith had been killed. He was slain by Râfi' b. Hartama, who having deserted al-Saffâr, joined 'Alî.

A report came from Egypt that the Nile's level had dropped and that prices had risen.

On the Origin of the Qarmatians

There were reports of a disturbance among people ultimately known as the Qarmâtîa movement in the neighborhood of Kûfa. It began originally with the arrival of a man from the province of Khuzistân to the Kûfa area. This man settled in a place known as al-Nahrayn, and leading an ascetic life he displayed his piety to all. He earned his living by weaving baskets from palm-leaves, and spent much of his time praying. In this manner he lived for some time. If anyone joined him, he would discourse with him upon religious affairs, inculcate him with contempt for this world and teach him that it was incumbent upon everyone to pray fifty times during the day and night. Everybody in that place came to know about him. Then he disclosed he was urging allegiance to an Imâm from the house of the Prophet. He went on in this manner attracting people to his side and spreading his message through which he won over the hearts of the people.
He lived at the inn of the township in the vicinity of which there was a palm-grove, which was acquired by a group of merchants. The latter built an enclosure to store up the fruits they obtained from the grove, then came to the inn-keeper and asked him to find for them a man who could guard the produce of their trees. The inn-keeper pointed this man out to them, and said, "If this man consents to watch your dates, he is just the man you want." So the merchants discussed the matter with this man and he agreed to act as guard for a certain remuneration. While guarding for them, he spent most of his day at prayers and fasting. He would take from the inn-keeper a rational of dates for breakfast and collect their stones. When the merchants had gathered all their dates, they went to the inn-keeper to settle their account with their employee, and they paid him what he had earned. Then, the employee reckoned what he owed to the inn-keeper for his dates, and deducted from that sum the worth of the stones which he returned to the inn-keeper.

When the merchants heard what was going on between the man and the inn-keeper concerning the date stones, they attacked and struck him, saying, "Was it not enough for you to eat our dates, but that now you even sell their stones?" The inn-keeper said to them, "Leave him alone; this man would not even touch your dates." And he told them the whole story. Then the merchants felt regret for having struck him and asked
him to state his terms for a reconciliation. This he did, and thereafter, when they heard of the forbearance which the man had shown in this case, the people of the township came to esteem him even more.

Afterwards, this man happened to fall sick and he lay abandoned on the road. Now there was a man in that township, a wagoner, who drove oxen. He had extremely red eyes; his eyes were so red that the people of the township came to call him Karmīta, on account of the redness of his eyes. (Karmīta in Nabatean means 'red-eyed'.) The inn-keeper asked this Karmīta to take the sick man to his home and ask his family to watch him and take care of him. This Karmīta did, and the man stayed with him until he recovered.

Thereupon he would hospitably receive / townspeople in his home, inviting them to join him in his cause and described his creed to them. The people of this region responded and on everyone who joined his religious group, a dinār would be levied for the Imam as he claimed. This practice of summoning the people of those villages he carried on for a time, and met with a favorable response. Then he selected from among them twelve community leaders whom he instructed to summon people to their religion. He said to them, "You are like the apostles of Jesus the son of Mary."

Now the farmers of that region neglected their work because of the fifty prayers he prescribed for them, and which
he had declared incumbent upon them.

Al-Hayṣam happened to have estates in this territory. When he noticed that his farmers had become remiss in the tilling of the soil, he inquired about it and was informed that a man had appeared who invented a religious system for the people, and taught them that God made it incumbent upon them to pray fifty times during the day and night, and that this kept them from their work. Al-Hayṣam sent for that man. They took him and brought him before al-Hayṣam, and in reply to his questions, the man told his story. Al-Hayṣam swore to kill him and had him jailed. The man was put in a house behind locked doors, and the key was placed under the pillow of al-Hayṣam. When al-Hayṣam indulged in drinking, one of the maid servants who had been in the house and heard the story of that man, had been moved to pity for him; and when Hayṣam fell asleep, she took the key from under his pillow, opened the door and led the man forth. Then she locked the gate and put the key back in its place. When al-Hayṣam awoke, he called for the key, opened the door and found that the man was not there. When news about this spread among the people of that region, they were excited and said, "He has been taken to heaven."

Later on he appeared in another place, and when some of his friends and others came upon him and asked him about his experience, he replied, "No one can work evil upon me and no one can do that to me." This lifted him still higher in their eyes.
Fearing for his safety, he left for the area of Damascus, and nothing was heard of him. People called him by the name of the owner of the oxen in whose house he was, Karmīta, which later they found easier to pronounce as Qarmat.

This story was reported by one of our friends on behalf of one who had told him that he attended Muḥammad b. Daud b. al-Jarrāḥ after the latter had summoned some Qarmatians from the prison and interrogated them about Zikrawayh -- this was after he had slain the latter -- and about Qarmat and his story. These men pointed to one of the group, an old man, and said, "This man followed Zikrawayh, and he knows his story best, so ask him if you wish." So Ibn al-Jarrāḥ inquired from that old man who told the story.

It is reported that Muḥammad b. Daud said, "Qarmat was a man from the Kūfa area, who used to cart the crops of the villages of Kūfa with oxen; his name was Ḥamdān, and they nicknamed him Qarmat."

Subsequently, the cause of the Qarmatians and their system spread around, and their number increased in the surroundings of Kūfa. When al-Ṭāḥaf Aḥmad b. Muḥammad learned about them, he taxed everyone of them a dinār a year, and in this way he collected an enormous fortune.

Some Kūfans went to the government and submitted to it the problem of the Qarmatians, saying the latter had invented a new religion which was different from Islām, and that he
was threatening the people of Muḥammad with the sword, all except those who did homage to their religion; and that al-Ṭāʾī was concealing their cause from the government, and that he paid no attention to the petitions; he did not even listen to the petitioners. These Kūfans left but one of them remained in the City of Peace for a long time, making his appeal and asserting that he could not possibly return to his city for fear of al-Ṭāʾī.

Here is one of the stories about these Qarmatians and their system. They had brought a book which contained this: "In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful!

Thus says al-Faraj b. ʿUṭmān who was from the township called Naqrāna which preached of the religion of Christ, who is Jesus, who is the Logos, who is the Mahdi, who is Ḩāmid b. Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiya, who is Gabriel. Christ appeared before him in a human form, and told him, 'Thou art the preacher, and thou are the Proof; thou art the She-camel, and thou art the Ass; thou art the Holy Spirit, and thou art Yaḥyā b. Zikriyyā." He also informed Faraj that the prayer consists of four prostrations, two before the sunrise and two after sunset; that the call to every prayer has to say, 'Allāh is the most great, Allāh is the most great, Allāh is the most great, Allāh is the most great; I testify that there is no God but Allāh, twice; I testify that Adam is the prophet of God; I testify that Noah is the prophet of God; I testify that Abraham is the prophet
of God; I testify that Moses is the prophet of God; I testify that Jesus is the prophet of God; I testify that Muhammad is the prophet of God; I testify that Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Hanafiya is the prophet of God. He further let him know that the Istiftah is to be read with every prostration, as it was revealed to Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Hanafiya; that the qibla is toward Jerusalem, and that the pilgrimage is to Jerusalem; that Monday is the day of congregation and no work is to be done on it; that the sura is: "Praise to God for His Logos. May He be exalted in His name bestowed upon His saints through His saints. Say the new moons were given to the people outwardly that they might know the calculation of the numbers of years, and months, and days, but intrinsically they are my saints, who have taught my worshippers my path. Beware of me, 0 people of superior mind. I am the one who would not be called to account for his deeds. I am the knowing, I am the wise. And I am the one who will test my worshippers and try my creatures. Him who bears patiently my test, trial and experience, I shall place in Paradise; and I will grant him my everlasting grace; but he who deserts my cause and speaks against my messengers, will be flung into eternal pain and humiliation. I shall fulfill my purpose and reveal my cause through the tongues of my apostles; I am the one who is not surpassed by any powerful one, but I depose him, nor by any glorious one, but I render him contemptible. But I am not
one of those who persist in their cause and persevere in their ignorance and say, 'I shall continue to cleave to it, and believe it.' For those are the unbelievers."

Then, he would prostrate himself and say, "Praise be to my lord, the Lord of Glory, who is above all the descriptions by the wicked people." This is to be said twice. When one must say, "God is most high, God is most high, God is most powerful, God is most powerful!"

Among his precepts were these: that two fasts were to be observed during the year, on Mihrjān \(^1\) and Norūz; \(^2\) that nabīd was prohibited and wine permitted; that ablution, in the sense of washing away legal impurity, was invalid and only ablution for prayer was left in force; that anyone who rose to fight against him was to be punished by death, but that those who opposed him without fighting were to have a poll-tax imposed upon them; that animals with tusks and talons were forbidden food.

The arrival of Qarmat in the neighborhood of Kūfā took place before the death of the Zenj Chieftain. One of our friends, speaking on the authority of the early followers of Zikrawayh said that Qarmat told him: "I went to the Chieftain of the Zenj. I came before him and told him that I have founded a religious group, and had 100,000 swords at my command. 'Let us have a disputation. If we agree about the tenets, I join you with all my men, if not, I withdraw.' I
further said to him, 'Grant me safety.' He did. My discussion with him lasted till noon, when finally it became clear to me that he was in opposition to my cause. When he rose to go to perform the prayer, I slipped out and went out of his city and arrived in the neighborhood of Kūfa."

On the twenty-fourth of Jumādā II, Ahmad al-"Ujaifi came to the city of Ṭarsūs, and together with Yāzmān, he conducted the summer raid against the Byzantines, reaching Salandū. During this raid Yāzmān died. The cause of his death was that a splinter of a ballista stone hit Yāzmān in his rib when he was standing at the fortress of Salandū. The army withdrew, although they had already been on the point of taking the city. Yāzmān expired during the trip. His men brought him on their shoulders to Ṭarsūs and buried him there.

Leader of the pilgrims in this year was Ḥārūn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāshimī.

Year 279. Its Events

The government decreed that in the City of Peace no story-teller, astrologer, or fortune-teller should sit in the streets or in the Friday Mosque. The booksellers were sworn not to deal in books of theology, polemics and philosophy.

On the twenty-eighth of al-Muḥarram, Jaʿfar al-Mufawwad was stripped of his right to the throne. The same day, al-
Mu'taqid was acknowledged as the heir-apparent to succeed al-Mu'tamid. Letters about the deposition of Ja'far and appointment of al-Mu'taqid were composed and sent to the provinces. In the Friday sermon, al-Mu'taqid was named as heir-apparent. On behalf of al-Mu'taqid, letters were written to the governors and prefects to the effect that the Commander of the Faithful had named him heir to the throne and had transferred to him all the rights which al-Muwaffaq had had to issue orders and prohibitions, and to effect appointments and dismissals.

On the fifth of Rabī' II, Jarāda, secretary of Abū al-Ṣaqr, was seized. He had been sent by al-Muwaffaq to Rāfi' b.Hartama, and had returned to Baghdaḍ a few days before he was seized.

On the twenty-fourth of Jumādā I, Abū Ṭalḥa Mansūr b.Muṣlim left Shahrūr, the governorship of which had been assigned to him. Both he and his secretary, 'Aqāma, were caught and put in jail.

On Saturday, the twenty-first of Jumādā I, in Ṭarsūs, a fierce battle between Muḥammad b.Muṣa and Makmūn, the page of al-Muwaffaq's client Rāghib, took place. It is reported that the following was the reason. Tughj b.Juff came upon Rāghib in Aleppo, and told him that Khumarawayh b.Almād would like to see him. In the name of Khumarawayh, Tughj made so many generous promises to Rāghib, that the latter
left Aleppo for Egypt, having only five servants with him, while all his army, mawālis and armament were despatched to Ṭarsūs under the command of his servant Makmūn. Tughj, meanwhile, wrote to Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-ʿArrāj, informing him that he had sent away Rāghib, and that everything Rāghib had in the way of money, arms, and ghulāms was in the hands of Rāghib's page Maknūn on the way to Ṭarsūs, and that al-ʿArrāj must fall upon Makmūn the moment he was to enter the town. And, indeed, no sooner did Makmūn enter Ṭarsūs than al-ʿArrāj attacked him, seized him and all he had. Then the people of Ṭarsūs fell upon al-ʿArrāj and intervened between him and Makmūn, seizing the former and turning him over to Makmūn. When the people of Ṭarsūs learned that there was a plot against Rāghib, they wrote to Khumarawayh b. ʿĀḥmad, informing him what al-ʿArrāj had done and that he had been taken into custody. Further, they proposed, "Let Rāghib go free so that he may return to us. Then we will release al-ʿArrāj." Khumarawayh released Rāghib and sent him to Ṭarsūs and sent with him ʿĀḥmad b. ʿUghān as governor of the border fortresses, dismissing al-ʿArrāj from this post. When Rāghib reached Ṭarsūs, Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-ʿArrāj was released, ʿĀḥmad b. ʿUghān entered Ṭarsūs as governor of the town and the border fortresses, and Rāghib was with him. Their entry took place on Tuesday, the thirteenth of Shaʿbān.

On Monday, the nineteenth of Rajab, al-ʿUṭāmid passed
He had spent Sunday in the palace of al-Ḥasanī on the river bank drinking to excess. Then he had supper and ate richly. During the night he died. His reign, as mentioned, lasted twenty-three years and six days.
1. "The one who relies on God." The 15th 'Abbāsid caliph, son of the 10th caliph of the same dynasty (al-Mutawakkil, d. 247). During the reign of his predecessor, al-Muhtadi, he was kept prisoner in the palace.

Mas'ūdi, Murūj, VIII, pp. 38 f.
IA, VII, p. 93.

2. See the Table of the Months and Years of the Mohammadan Calendar.

3. Had been a slave girl from Kūfa.

Mas'ūdi, op. cit., p. 38.

4. I.e. al-Muhtadi, predecessor of al-Mu'tamid, dethroned and killed by a group of Turkish officers under the leadership of Mūsā b. Bugha.

Tab., III, pp. 1813 ff.
Mas'ūdi, Tanbih, p. 469.

5. Son of Bugha al-Kabīr, the Turkish officer who had started his career under al-Ma'mūn (d.833), and maintained a high position in the court for forty years.

6. A town in 'Irāq on the Khurasān road, on the river Hulwan.

EI, II, p. 901.
LS, pp. 61 f.
7. Sixty miles from Baghda'd upstream was the capital of the caliphate during the reign of seven caliphs (221-71). Samarrâ was built on the site of an ancient half-forgotten town, and in a short time, grew to compete with Baghda'd in fame and opulence.

LS, pp. 53 ff.
Yaqût, Mû'jam, III, pp. 14 ff.
Hersfeld.


He was appointed by al-Mutawakkil as his secretary in 236.

In the chronicle of 245 he is referred to as vizier.

Ṭab., III, p. 1407.
Mas'ûdi, Tanbih, p. 464.
Mas'ûdi, Murûj, VII, pp. 197, 273, 296, 325.

9. This was his second uprising, the first having been staged in the reign of al-Mu'tazz, in Rajab, 255.

Ṭab., III, p. 1709.
IA, VII, p. 95.
Mas'ûdi, Murûj, VII, p. 402.

10. Was founded by the Arabs as a military colony in A.H. 17. Kûfa and Ba'gra were known as al-'Irâqân (the two capitals of 'Irâq).

LS, p. 25.
Bel. I, pp. 102 ff.

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Both he and his brother, Muhammad, were Turkish clients of Muhammad b. Tahir b. Abd Allah. They fought against the Ta'libis in 'Iraq and Persia.


13. A province in central Persia, the home of the ancient Achamenian dynasty. Chief cities, Shiraz and Istakhr.

LS, pp. 248 ff.

Page 1840

1. A Turk, lieutenant of Musa b. Bugha, governor of Jibal in 257. He participated in the fighting against al-Jasan b. Zayd in Tabaristan. He was party to his master's conspiracy against al-Muhtadi.

Tab., III, pp. 1686 ff., 1800 ff.

2. A dweller of Bawahiz, Jazira. He joined the Kharij movement, assembled a strong force, and defeated the imperial army of Yarjukh in 255. From his base in Hadita he controlled a large sector of the Khurasan road.

Tab., III, pp. 1706, 1736, 1814 ff.
I.Kh., III, pp. 292 ff.

3. I.e. Kanjur al-Bukhari. In the chronicle of 251 he is mentioned as one of Abu Almad's men. In 252 he won the disfavor of the caliph al-Mu'tazz, who incarcerated him in a dungeon.
in the Jawsāq palace. Somehow, in 255, he turned out to be in custody of the governor of Fārs who freed him and placed him in command of a force to fight against Ya'qūb b.al-Layt. Subsequently, he joined Mūsā b.Bughā and helped him in the conspiracy against al-Muhtadī.

Tab., III, pp. 1668, 1685, 1741 ff., 1791, 1827.

4. I.e. the ancient Rhages, capital of Jībāl in the 10th century. Hārūn al-Rashīd was born here. For a time this city had been called Muḥammadīya, after Muḥammad, al-Rashīd’s father.

LS, pp. 5, 186, 214.
Schw., pp. 740 ff.

5. Immediately after he ascended to the throne, al-Muʿtāmid appointed him governor of Damascus.

Weil, II, p. 428.
IA, VII, p. 95.

6. I.e. Manṣūr b.ʿIsa b.al-Shaykh, further referred to as Ibn ʿIsā.

Cf. IA, VII, p. 95.

7. I.e. ʿIsā b.al-Shaykh b.al-Ṣāliḥ al-Shaybānī. In the chronicles of the years 234 and 251, he participated in the fights against the Khārījīs in Jībāl. In 252 he was appointed governor of Ramla. Then he seized Damascus and controlled the communication between Egypt and the capital.

Tab., III, pp. 1382, 1585.
IA, VII, p. 95.
8. Also known as al-Muwaaffak and Talha. He saw the rise to the thrones as well as the tragic downfall of his two brothers, al-Muntasir and al-Mu'tamiz.


Page 1841

1. Ibn Aflīr mentions only the name of Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abd Allāh.

IA, VII, p. 94.

2. For the first time he was honored with a similar mission in 251, after his successful campaign against the Talibīs who harassed Mecca and Jidda.

Tab., III, pp. 1645, 1686.

3. Surnamed al-Saffār ("the Coppersmith"). His career began in a small town of Sistān, participating in self-defense of the natives against bands of Khārijīs and partisans of al-Jasān b.Zayd. In 255 Ya‘qūb was recognized as governor of Kirmān and in the next year he marched against Shirāz.

Nöldeke, Sketches.

4. I.e. Toghtā al-Sayghūn.

Tab., III, 1790.

5. He had been appointed qādī of both sides of Baghdad under the rule of al-Mutawakkil. During the reign of al-Muhtadī, he won his disfavor and went into hiding. Al-Mu'tamid restored him to his former position in the year 262.

Tab., III, p. 1907.
Al-Muntazam, V, 2, p. 152.
6. His name was first mentioned in connection with his successful effort to reconcile Abū Ahmad with Muḥammad b.Ṭāhir during the reign of al-Muʿtazz, 251.

Tab., III, p. 1629.

7. One of the largest cities of Khurasān; it had been the seat of the Ṭāhirids. It now belongs to Afghanistan.

LS, pp. 382 f.

8. A district of Khurasān along the Oxus River.

LS, pp. 426 f.


LS, pp. 334-351.

10. The Arabs designated by this name all the lands east of Makram. Today, part of that territory belongs to the Persian province of Sind; the other part belongs to Baluchistan, Pakistan.

LS, p. 331.
Meynard, p. 324.

11. This was the name of northern Sijistān. Yaʿqūbī referred to Jurwas as its capital city, while Istakhri named it Ṭābān.

LS, p. 349.

12. The text reads al-ḥaramān, which was the official name for both Mecca and Medina. ("Ḥaram" means a thing sacred, sanctuary.)

-348-

14. "The Black Ground." This name of southern 'Iraq or Babylonia was an allusion to the black soil of the alluvial plain.

15. Al-Hajjaj founded the city in 80 as a military base between the two turbulent cities of Kūfa and Başra. He populated the city with Arabs and other non-Persians on whom he could rely to support the new regime.

16. Kuwar Dijla became the official geographical term for 12 districts (asatin), which were singled out for fiscal purposes at the early Muslim conquest.

17. "Black Pebbles." Founded as a military colony at the brim of the desert on the order of the caliph ʿUmar, A.H. 14. Connected with the estuary by canals, it became the great commercial port of 'Iraq.

18. Akhwaz is the plural form of Khūz. The original name of the city was Sūq al-Akhwāz (or the market of the Khūz people).
Akhwāz and Tustar were the two capitals of the province.

LS, pp. 232 f.
Baladūrī, pp. 113 ff.

Page 1842

1. IA gives his full name as Yarjūkh al-Turk. Despite his defeat at the hands of Musāwir al-Shāfī in 251, his prestige increased and al-Muʿtamid appointed him chamberlain. He, himself a Turk, enjoyed strong support on the part of the Turkish military leaders in both Sāmarrā and Baghdaʿd. After the death of ʿAbaybak he was appointed governor of Egypt, and became overlord of Ahmad b. Tūlūn.

IA, VII, p. 96.
Tanbih, p. 473.

2. A province in southern Nadj; central part of southern Arabia.

3. A province on the western shore of the Persian Gulf.

4. I.e. Saʿīd b. Śaliḥ al-Ḥājib, who successively held the offices of chamberlain to al-Mutawakkil and Commander of the Guard to al-Muʿtazz. At his hands the caliph al-Mutṣafīn met his death.

Ṭab., III, pp. 1384, 1549, 1670, 1835.
IA, VII, p. 67.

5. He is further referred to as Maṣṣūr b. Jaʿfar b. Dinār al-Khayyāṭ.

Cf. Ṭab., III, pp. 1804, 1847, 1860 f.

7. The canal served as the main channel from the area of Baghdād to Baṣra. According to tradition it was dug on the order of the caliph ‘Umar by Ma‘qil b. Yaṣār al-Murgānī, a companion of the Prophet.

Baladhūrī, II, p. 80.

8. A town on the Khurasān road, named after the second ‘Abbasid caliph al-Maṣūr. It was located on the mouth of the Ubulla Canal, one parasang from the city of the same name.

LS, p. 47.
Schwarz, p. 438.

9. IA spells this name Ḥatḥah.

10. Zenj is a corruption of the word Zeng. In Persian it means the island of the Zeng-i-bar.

Nöldeke, Sketches, p. 149.
Tabari frequently applies "Zenj" beside "Sudan" to denote Negroes.

11. IA does not give any account of this episode.

Page 1843

1. In all official accounts of this revolt the authors call its leader al-Khabīr (Rogue, Reprobate, Rascal).

2. First mentioned in the chronicle of the year 232 as a high official of al-Mutawakkil. In 256, when the Zenj troops
entered Ahwaz, only Ibrāhīm, who had remained in the city as administrator of finances and of the government's estates, organized a handful of slaves to resist the Zenj. He was captured. His brother was financial administrator in Egypt.

Tab., III, p. 1338.
Hassan, p. 42.

3. Also called al-Asraq. He was a freedman from al-Aḥsā (modern Ḫurāf), Bahrain, who joined the leader of the Zenj at the beginning of the revolt.

Tab., III, pp. 1744 ff.

4. A Negro client of the tribe Banū Hāngala, one of the earliest associates of the Zenj leader.

Tab., III, p. 1778.

5. I.e. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Isbahānī, one of the chief lieutenants of al-Khabīr since 255.

Tab., III, p. 1778.

Page 1344

1. During the ‘Abbasid caliphate it was basically a land tax with a complicated system of provisions.

See Kremer, I, pp. 437 ff.

2. A kind of military vessel used in the Babylonian river system in combat and to convoy other transports.

Kinderman, pp. 48 f.
3. Jannāb was a port in southern Fārs. A special kind of shadā had been manufactured there.

Hitti, p. 445, n. 2.

4. The base of operations of the Zenj leader was in the newly founded city of al-Mukhtāra. An abundance of marshes and intersecting canals in the area made the city nearly unapproachable.

Nöldeke, Sketches, p. 145.

Page 1845

1. A quarter in Baghdaḍ around a pool named for the lute player Zalzel, brother of Harūn al-Rashīd's courtier, Ishāq al-Mosulī, the famous musician.

LS, Baghdaḍ, p. 62.

2. Text reads Qanṭara Arbuk. "Qanṭara" is a vaulted passage or vaulted bridge, usually of stone construction. LS observes that this term might have been borrowed from the Byzantines, who, by the word (Latin centrum) designated the central part of any arched structure.

LS, pp. 57 f.
LS, Baghdaḍ, p. 177.

Qanṭara Arbuk was two parasangs from Ahwāz, an important strategic point on the road to Rāmhumūz.

Schwarz, pp. 341 f.

3. He and his brothers al-Khalīl and Muḥammad, from the Banū
Dubaya', Bagra, joined the Zenj Chieftain in 254. 'Alf became the first lieutenant of the Rebel.

Tab., III, p. 1745.

4. A point between Ahwāz and Dawraq, Khuzistan.

Schwarz, p. 331.

Page 1846


LS, p. 243.
Schwarz, p. 375.

2. Former governor of Ahwāz. Apparently he was dismissed from his post because he deserted the city in face of the Zenj onslaught.

Tab., III, p. 1838.

3. A point of strategic importance in the district of Jubba. From here one could control the flow of supplies to Ahwāz.

Schwarz, p. 376.
Obermeyer, pp. 65 ff.

4. His full name was Muḥammad b. al-Hasan b. Sahl Abū al-Hasan Shaylana, and he was a nephew of Faqr b. Sahl surnamed Dū al-Riyasatayn, the vizier of al-Ma'mun. He wrote the first history of the Zenj, which unfortunately has been lost. Muḥammad's personal reports of the Zenj war were the main
source of Ṭabari’s accounts. Muḥammad was in the entourage of the Zenj Chieftain.

Muḥūd, pp. 32 f., 140 ff.

Page 1848

1. A point at the mouth of the Tigris, where early in the years of the Muslim conquest a dam was constructed.

Baladūrī, II, pp. 87, 99.

2. Cf. Ṭab., III, pp. 1875, 1879, 1900.

Page 1849

1. A quarter in Baṣra named after a clan of the Banū Tamīm.

Baladūrī, I, p. 73.


Baladūrī, II, p. 97.

3. I.e. Shibl b. Sālūm who was a slave date-honey maker in Baṣra. He joined the Zenj leader in 255 and participated in almost all the operations of the rebels. Abundantly quoted by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan.

Ṭab., III, p. 1748.

IA, VII, p. 82.

4. This castle was named after Mālik b. Anas al-ʿAnṣarī, companion of the Prophet.

Baladūrī, II, p. 25.
5. IA spells his name with different diacritical marks, namely Burya. In other places his full name is given Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad b. Ismā‘īl... b. 'Abbas. This 'Abbasid notable from Basra was once governor of Mecca.

   Cf. Ṭab., III, pp. 1889, 1885.  
   IA, VII, p. 97.

Page 1850

1. I.e. 'Isā b. Ja'far b. al-Manṣūr, who had been al-Rashīd's governor of Basra. During al-Rashīd's reign the castle became the residence of the Basra governor.

   Baladhūrī, II, pp. 65, 72.

2. A strategic point near Basra which had been in use as a military base since the Muslim conquest.

   Baladhūrī, II, p. 51.

3. A notable of Basra who conducted the defense of the city against the Zenj raids since 255.

   Ṭab., III, p. 1777.

4. At that time the quarters of Kūfa and Basra still were called by the names of garrisons established there in the early days of the conquest. The occupational forces were organized in accordance with the tribal division. Outside of the cities still existed tribes, parts of which had imparted their names to neighborhoods in these cities.

   Fries, p. 20.
5. The leader of the Zenj claimed descent from 'Alī.

Cf. Ṭab., III, p. 1857.

6. This quarter developed around the fief once allotted to al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, whose clan enjoyed great esteem in the city during the next generations. Members of this clan occupied high positions and lived in lordly mansions in the times of both the Umayyads and ‘Abbāsids.

Mez, p. 154.

7. This was one of the busiest ports of Baṣra near the Western Gates, near the shrines of Talḥa and Zubayr. Here was also a station for the caravans arriving from the desert.

LS, p. 45.

Page 1851

1. In the chronicles of 255 he actively participated in the defense of the city against the Zenj raiders.

Ṭab., III, pp. 1777 f.

2. I.e. Muḥammad b. Sim‘ān al-Kātib al-Rawī, who was secretary and vizier to the Zenj leader. He was friendly to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. They both surrendered to al-Muwaffaq in 269.

Cf. Ṭab., III, pp. 2043 f.

Page 1852

1. In the time of the ‘Abbāsids the postal service also functioned as an espionage system. The postmaster-general's
full title was Şābīb al-Barīdwa al-akhbār ("controller of the post and intelligence service"). The provincial postmaster reported to the inspector-general on the conduct and activities of the government officials in the province.

Hitti, p. 325.

2. Two rival factions in Baṣra, the origin of which goes back to the days of the conquest. Bilāl b. Abī Burda had been governor of Baṣra and dug there the Nahr Bilāl Canal. The name of the Saʿdiyas probably goes back to Saʿd b. Abī Waqqas, conqueror of Babylonia. In 255 the Zenj leader unsuccessfully tried to take advantage of the rivalry between the two factions to seize Baṣra.

Murūj, VIII, p. 33.

3. Paternal uncle of the caliph al-Mutawakkil. His two pages Raffiq and Mushrik deserted to the Zenj.

Ṭab., III, pp. 1146 ff.

Page 1853

1. Al-Masjid al-Jāmiʿ is translated as Friday Mosque, or congregational mosque.

Cf. Mez, 409 ff.

Page 1854

1. Al-Murabbaʿ in Da Goje's edition of Ṭabari. However, in
other editions this word has different spellings. De Goje notes that the correct spelling might well have been Maqbara, i.e. maqbara bani Yashkur, a neighborhood in Basra. On the other hand, descriptions of many cities, such as Mosul, Naysabur and others, invariably indicate the presence of squares bearing the name Murabba'.

Tab., III, Transl., 1854, n. a. LS, pp. 88, 384.

Page 1855

1. I.e. the leader of the Zenj. Besides al-Khabit, Tabari and other historians call him Traitor, Imposter, Rebel, etc. (al-Khabit, al-Fasiq, al-Fajir).

2. Cf. Tab., Transl., p. 1843, n. 5.


4. The formula of the Muslim creed: "Lailaha illa Allahu Muhammadum rosulu Allah."

5. In the text, "min al-habli ila al-Jisri." The word hall (rape) had been in use to designate enclosed space for horse stations.

Cf. Lane.

In IA, I.Kh. and other texts, different diacritical marks change the phrase to "min Jabali ila Jabali" (from hill to hill), which was an expression denoting total destruction of a locality.

IA, VII, p. 96.
I.Kh., III, p. 302.
1. Modern ‘Abbadān lies up the Karun estuary, 20 miles from the coastline of the Persian Gulf. In the time described, ‘Abbadān was a village with the open sea behind.

LS, pp. 48 f.

2. In the rule of al-Mutawakkil, he participated in the assassination of Najāh b. Salama, who was a kind of Lord Privy Seal and Controller over the governors.

Ṭab., III, pp. 1442 ff.

Page 1857

1. Historians concur that the real name of the Zenj leader was ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, and that he originated from a village near Ray from a branch of the ‘Abd al-Qays tribe.

In 254 he was in Baṣra from which he fled to Bahrayn, where he assumed the name ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlīm b. ‘Isā, which belonged to a persecuted leader of an ‘Alīd sect. As seen from the text, when that leader reappeared, the Zenj leader claimed his descent from Ṭahyāz.

Weil, II, p. 453.
IA, VIII, p. 98.
Ṭab., III, p. 1742 ff.

2. A branch of the Quraysh.

Murūj, IV, p. 121.

3. A city on the Ubullā Canal which was an important station
on the way from southern 'Irāq to Ahwāz and the Persian
Gulf.

LS, pp. 44 ff., 81.

Page 1858

1. Al-Ghawt - succor. It was so named, being an accessory to
the Murghāb Canal.

Baladūrī, II, pp. 92 f.

2. De Goje assumes this was a misspelling of the name of the
Abbā Canal, south of Wāsit.

Cf. text, p. 1858, n.d.

3. "The Taverns," a township twelve leagues below Rusāfa
where the Tigris divided into three arms entering the
marsh area.

LS, p. 41.

4. A town between Wāsit and Hawānīt, sometimes called Jawamīd,
which is the plural form of Jāmīda ("dry land").

Ibid.

5. According to IA, it was Sa'd b. Ahmad b. Sa'd.

IA, VII, p. 99.

6. Bāhila was an Arab tribe. Qutayba, the conqueror of Khuras-
sān, hailed from this tribe.

Baladūrī, II, pp. 109, 194.
7. Al-Бaṭā'īḥ, or its singular form al-Бaṭīḥa, designated the entire marshland in the area of the Tigris-Euphrates estuary. The spread of swamps was caused by complete neglect of the drainage system of the area in the last period of the Sassanids. In the year 629, the river flooded nearly all the land. The great shift of the Tigris from its former bed to the western Shaṭṭ al-Hayy further added to the spread of marshes.

LS, pp. 26, 41.


Vasil'ev, II, p. 5 ff.

Page 1859

1. Bab al-ʿAmmā was the Public Gate of the Palace Taj in Baghdad. In Sāmarrā, according to Meynard, it was "le quartier de Samarra nommé, "Bāb el Ammā."

2. A city with a strong castle on the western bank of the Tigris, 30 miles northeast of Sāmarrā on the line dividing Jazīra and ʿIrāq. In the 4th century the population was mostly Christian.

LS, pp. 25, 27.

3. He was superintendent to the caliph al-Muhtadī. In 256 he deserted his lord and joined the conspiracy led by Mūsā b. Bughā.

Ṭah., III, pp. 1820 f.
4. Mas'ūd also mentions the Ya'qūbiya Kurds. There were a few Christian Kurdish groups in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, all in the area of Mosul.

   EI, II, pp. 1232 ff.
   Murūj, III, p. 254.

5. In IA, Muḥammad b. Abī al-Fayyād.

   IA, VII, p. 102.

6. "Habitation of Mudār," one of the three districts of Jazīra, its chief town being Raqqā on the Euphrates. The district got its name from an Arab tribe which had settled there under the Sassanids.

   LS, p. 86.

7. I.e. the Green Chalcis, a fortified town on the upper Euphrates. In the period of the Umayyads it had already become a military district center.

   Hitti, p. 321, n. 6.
   Mez, p. 29, n. 1.

8. It was the name for the area on the borders of Byzantium; it included the district of Antioch formed by Harūn ar-Rashīd (d. 809).

   Baladurī, I, pp. 202 ff., 301.
   Vasil'iev, I, p. 78, n. 4.

Page 1860

1. Diacritical marks uncertain. It was a town between Sāmarrā and Qādīsīya.

   LS, p. 52.
   Herzfeld, pp. 120 ff.
1. Located in a strategic position on the road from Ahwāz to Baṣra (in the Ahwāz territory).

   Schwarz, p. 395.

2. Jubbā, center of a prosperous district in Ahwāz, was situated on this canal. Khayzuraniya was also situated in this district.

   Cf. text, p. 1846, n. 3.
   Schwarz, pp. 375 ff.

3. ‘Arīf, pl. ‘Urafā’, designated a lance corporal, an officer commanding over ten.

   Kremer, I, p. 237.

4. The spelling of this name varies in different texts.

Page 1862

1. An arrow without the metal head.

   Fries, p. 54.

2. This was the collective name of the three northern quarters of eastern Baghḍād, derived from the name of the gate at the eastern end of the main Baghḍād bridge. From here, the road led northward to Sāmarrā.

   LS, Baghḍād, pp. 218, 320.

3. This canal branched off from the Tigris and flowed into the territory of Khuzistān.

   Schwarz, pp. 309 ff.
1. This word is translated as parchment, papyrus.
   Herzfeld, p. 117.

2. Ibn al-Ḫabīl al-Ḫabīlī. "Ḫabīl" means rope or far-stretching sand hill.
   Lane.


4. Farghāna is a province in Transoxiana, modern Russian Turkestan. Turks were recruited from there by al-Mu'tasim, originally for slaves, then for warriors and guards.
   LS, pp. 477 ff.
   EI, pp. 61 ff.

Page 1865

1. This canal was connected to the estuary of the Tigris from the western side. The city of al-Mukhtāra, the base for the Zenj armies, was located on its banks.
   LS, pp. 47 ff.

2. Through this canal the waters of the marsh area drained into the Bagra estuary. Now it is part of the lower Euphrates bed.
   Obermeyer, p. 64.

3. I.e. Chrysochirus, a leader of the Paulician sect from Tafriqa.
   Cf. Ṭab., III, p. 1865, n. b.
   See Vasiliev, I, p. 183.
Page 1866

1. Ṣahānā, i.e. small salt fish. The marshes were extremely rich in fish.
   Obermeyer, p. 311.

Page 1868

1. A village in the limits of Khuzistan, a day's journey from Ahwāz.
   Schwarz, pp. 384 f., 438.

2. The bridge spanning the Abū al-ʿAbbās Canal was in the vicinity of the Qurāj al-ʿAbbās village.
   Schwarz, pp. 309, 396.

3. First mentioned in the chronicle of the year 256 as being among the conspirators of Mūsā b. Bugha.
   Ṭab., III, p. 1830.

Page 1870

1. Text reads al-Ḥalba. LS gives a description of such a race course in Baghdād.
   LS, Baghdād, pp. 291 f.

Page 1871

1. Jund included regular soldiers who were permanently on active service and paid regularly. The other soldiers belonged to formations of ghulāms, mawalīs and volunteers.
   Kremer, p. 236.
   Hitti, p. 327.
2. A township near Wāsit on the way to Baṣra. According to Yaqūt, after this town was destroyed, the Tigris in the region of Baṣra was called Bādaward.

Yaqūt, I, p. 462.

Page 1872

1. Chief town of the district Mihrijanqadāq in the province of Jībāl.

Schwarz, pp. 470 ff.

Page 1873

1. Text reads al-Salaf. According to Abū al-Maḥasin this term had been applied particularly to the three caliphs after Muḥammad, 'Aysha, Talḥa, al-Zubayr, Muʿawiya and 'Amr b. al-As.

Lane, II, p. 1408.

2. To the statement about Yarjukh's death, IA added the following: "...who was governor of Egypt and controller of the Egyptian fiefs. His name in the sermons had been mentioned before that of Ṭulūn. After Yarjukh's death, Ṭulūn became independent in Egypt."

IA, VII, p. 102.

3. This is the only time when this son of the caliph al-Mutawakkil is mentioned in the Annals of Ṭabarī.
4. I.e. the former Naukird, which before the rise of Mosul had been capital of Diyār Rabi'ā. The city was located one league above the junction of the Upper Zab on the Tigris. There was another city similarly named (Hadīta) on the Tigris.

   LS, p. 91.
   Baladūrī, II, p. 33.

5. A town on the lower Zab, four leagues before its junction with the Tigris.

   LS, p. 91.

6. A disease distorting the feet of sheep.

7. A station on the way from Kūfa to Mecca abundant with water.

   Yaqūt, IV, p. 61.

Page 1874

1. Once a large and popular city, midway between Baghdād and Sāmarrā.

   LS, pp. 50 f.

2. I.e. Asatakin, a Turkish captain who was in the entourage of the caliphs al-Mu'tasim, al-Mu'tazz and al-Muhtadī. He took part in the conspiracy of Mūsā b. Bughā.

   Ṭab., III, p. 1828.

3. This is the first mention of Mūsā. His father Utāmish, a Turkish page of al-Mutawakil, rose to the post of vizier in the caliphate of al-Musta'īn. Utāmish was killed in a court intrigue.
4. Main city of the northeastern quarter of Khurasân. Here the caliph Ma'mûn held court for over a decade before he consolidated his power over the entire caliphate and returned to Baghdad.

LS, pp. 397 ff.

Page 3875

1. In the 3rd century of the Muslims, it had been the largest city of Khurasân. Today it is in the territory of Afghanistan. The shrine Mazar-i-Sherif is popularly believed to be the tomb of 'Alî.

Ibid., pp. 420 ff.

2. "Mountain land" in Persian; a territory east of the Great Desert, which had been considered a dependency of Khurasân.

Ibid., pp. 252 ff.

3. Main city of the western quarter of Khurasân, now in Afghanistan.

Ibid., p. 408.

4. A town within a day's journey from Herat; it was an important station on the Khurasân road.

Ibid., p. 431.

5. Once a prosperous district with a number of towns between the Herat River and the upper stream Murghâb. After the Mongols devastated the territory, it was never inhabited again.

Ibid., pp. 414 ff.

-369-
6. I.e. Sistan, Sagistan with the chief city Zaranj near the Zara Lake. The province occupies the basin of the Zara Lake and the Helmund and other rivers.

Ibid., pp. 334 ff.

7. According to Ibn Khaldūn, Ya‘qūb seized al-Ḥusayn b.‘Alī b.Ṭāhir in Badaghish. Muḥammad b.Ṭāhir b.‘Abd Allāh from Naysābūr sent his men to effect the release of al-Ḥusayn, but Ya‘qūb declined the request.

‘Ibar, III, p. 309.

8. Main city of the western quarter of Khurasān. Under the Saffarids it became the capital of the entire province.

LS, p. 382.


Ibid., pp. 359 ff.

10. According to IA, al-Sijīzī fled to Muḥammad.

Cf. below, p. 1883.
IA, VII, p. 103.

11. Sāḥib al-Ma‘una. The administration in the Persian towns consisted of four government officials: a qāḍī, a postmaster, an inspector of taxes, and a chief of police.

Mez, p. 415.
Page 1876

1. I.e. Maysān, chief city of the district Dastumaysan which bordered Kaskar.

   Cf. IA, VII, p. 102.
   LS, pp. 43 ff.

2. In the Berlin text, Rāwsān; in the C text, Rāwshād.

   Cf. Ţab., III, p. 1876, n. a.

Page 1877

1. The caliph appointed him governor of Mosul in 267.

   'Ibar, III, p. 329.

2. I.e. Sūk Bayān, a locality on the way from Baṣra to Ahwāz.

   Some authors considered it as part of the Baṣra area, others as part of Khuzistan.

   Schwarz, pp. 390 f.

Page 1878

1. A fortified town which grew around a castle supposedly built by Mahdī, father of Hārūn al-Rashīd. The town is located at the point where the Sidra River joins the Dujayl.

   Schwarz, pp. 306 ff., 437 f.
   LS, pp. 237, 243.

2. IA, VII, p. 103: Daka.

3. "The Lotus Canal," a broad reach of the Dujayl which started below Ahwāz and ended at Ḫiṣn Mahdī.

   Schwarz, p. 306.
   LS, pp. 237 f.
Page 1879

1. A point within 2 to 4 parasangs of Ahwāz on the way to Fīṣn Mahdī.

Schwarz, p. 332.

2. This town is a day's journey from Ramhurmuz on the road to Ahwāz.

Ibid., p. 374.

Page 1880

1. This city is also known as Damgān, chief town of a small province stretching along the first of the Alburz mountain chain, south of the Caspian Sea. It lay on the way from Ray to Khurasān.

LS, p. 364.

2. He was first mentioned as an associate of Mūsā b. Bughā in the conspiracy against al-Muhtadī.

Ṭab., III, pp. 1819, 1823 ff.

3. He should not be confused with Takīn al-Bukhārī. Takīn of Ray is mentioned nowhere else in the annals.

4. Also named Samosata, Qal'at al-Tin ("Castle of Clay"). This strong castle on the Euphrates was a part of the al-ʿAwāsim fortifications, and it was an important base for the Muslims in the fight against Byzantium since Hārūn al-Rashīd.

Baladūrī, I, p. 273.
Vasiliev, I, pp. 78 ff., 115.
5. A large town amidst hills on the Euphrates, the eastern end of the fortified Muslim-Byzantine border. The city’s fortress did not lose its importance even after the city was burned down during the invasion of the Byzantine emperor Theophile in 837.

EI, III, pp. 192 ff.
Vasiliev, I, pp. 80 ff., 115.

6. I.e. Naṣr the Cretian.

Page 1881

1. According to some reports, Ya‘qūb wrote to Muḥammad b. Ṭāḥir that the caliph ordered them to arrive at a certain point in order to organize a conjoint attack on al-Ḥasan b. Zayd in Ṭabaristān. When Muḥammad arrived there, Ya‘qūb seized him and all his men.

Weil, II, pp. 438 f., n. 4.

2. The palace Jawsāq was built by al-Mu‘taṣim in Sāmarrā on the west bank of the Tigris; it became the official royal residence.

LS, p. 55.

3. See this translation, Ṭab., III, p. 1839, n.8.

Page 1882

1. Had been governor of Ṭarsūs.

2. I.e. Diyār Rabī‘. Rabī‘ was a tribe which, like Mudār, had been settled in the Mosul area during the time of the Sassanids.

LS, p. 86.

-373-
1. See Ţab., III, p. 1839, n. 9.

2. In the reign of al-Musta'in in 250, he staged a revolt in Tabaristān and ousted Sulaymān b. 'Abb Allāh b. Tahir, the governor of the province. The rule of Ḥasan b. Zayd al-Ţālibi and his successors in Tabaristān lasted until 928.


4. A town in the Rub' (quarter) of Naysābūr, Khurasān. According to Yaqūt, its former name was Mīhrijān.

LS, p. 393.

5. Badīl means Saint, pious man; the plural form "abdāl" ("the seventy just ones").

6. An important city in the province of Tabaristān, located on the highway which connected Ray with Jurjān along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. It had been the seat of the Tahirid government of the province.

LS, p. 370.

1. Spelling uncertain. Neither IA nor 'Ibar mention this place.

2. A mountainous province on the southwest coast of the Caspian Sea.

LS, pp. 172 ff.
3. A town on the eastern border of Tabaristan between Sariya and Astarabād on the Āmul-Jurjān road.

Ibid., p. 375.

Page 1885

2. A kurr was a measure for wheat containing about 3600 pounds.


Page 1886
1. In the chronicle of 251 he is mentioned as tax-collector and manager of the crown estates on behalf of Bugha al-Sharāfī in Armenia. Later he became governor of Armenia.

Tab., III, pp. 1584, 1668.


Cf. IA, VII, p. 114.

3. A fortress northeast of the Cilician gates, the object of fighting between the Byzantines and the Muslims.

LS, pp. 134 f., 150.

4. A town west of Āmul in the province of Tabaristan situated on a road at the foot of the Albruz mountain chain.

LS, p. 373.

Page 1887
1. Brother of the caliph al-Muhtadī. His name was mentioned many times in the chronicle of his brother's reign, but there
is no reference to the circumstances of how he got into the camp of Ya'qūb.

Ṭab., III, pp. 1796 ff., 1813, 1819, 1823, 1826, 1836.

2. A small township between the district of Shahrzūr, Jibāl, and Khaniqīn, 'Irāq.

Schwarz, p. 696.

3. A military leader, who on behalf of Muḥammad b. Ἄbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, fought against the Kharijīs in the region of Raqqā and Anbūr. IA calls him Yaḥyā b. Jaʿfar.


4. According to Masʿūdī, his name was Abū Ḥāshim Daud b. Qāsim b. Iṣḥāq b. Ἄbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar (Tayyār) b. Abī Ṭālib. He was one of the leaders of the Ṭalibīya movement in the second half of the 3rd century.

Murūj, VII, pp. 131 ff.

5. He was 21 years old.

IA, VII, p. 109.

Page 1888

1. Main city of the district Rāmahurmuz in Khusistān, the distance of a three days' journey east of Ahvāz. It was an important cultural and commercial center in the 3rd and 4th centuries.

Schwarz, pp. 333 ff.
LS, pp. 243 f.

Cf. Tāb., III, pp. 1841, 1892, 1907, 2121.

3. I.e. Abū al-Salām Ḥādī b. Ṣawdā. The very remarkable career of this Persian general came into prominence during the reign of al-Mu'taṣim. In 251 al-Mutawakkil appointed him governor of the road to Mecca. In 251, during the reign of al-Mu'taṣim, he distinguished himself fighting against the anti-government forces. In 252 he was appointed governor of Kūfah; in 254 he was promoted to the post of governor of Diyār Muṣār, Qinnasrin and al-'Awaṣim.

Tāb., III, pp. 1436, 1594, 1596, 1620, 1624, 1697.


Page 1889

1. A city in Khuzistān which had its origin during the wars of conquest in a camp put up by Mukram, commander of al-Hajjāj. It was situated on the Masruqān Canal close to the point where it joined the Dujayl. It was an important center of communications.

Baladūf, II, p. 121.
Ls, pp. 233, 236, 237, 242, 246 f.

2. He was in the service of the Ṭabarids in Ṭabaristān. In the year 250 he was first to suffer the attacks of the initial movement of Ḥasan b.Zayd al-Ṭālibī.

Tāb., III, pp. 1524 ff.
3. He was the great grandson of Saman, the Zoroastrian noble of Balkh, founder of the Samanid dynasty. Under the caliph al-Ma'mūn, the four sons of Saman governed all of Khurasān. After the downfall of the Saffārids and up to the rise of the Gāznawīds in the end of the 10th century, most of Persia was ruled by the Samanids.

Hitti, p. 462.
Brown, I, p. 352.

4. A territory which included Transoxania and what is today known as Soviet Central Asia.

LS, p. 433.

5. A large village in the province of Fārs with a strong castle.

Ibid., pp. 277 f.

6. According to IA, Ya'qūb seized Mirdas when he came to him on a mission seeking peace on behalf of Ibn Wāyil.

IA, VII, p. 109.

1. Zim al-Akrad was the collective name of a tribal group wandering in a certain area of the Kurdish Jibāl. There were, according to Khardadbih, 4 Zimms; according to Istakhri, there were 5.

Schwarz, pp. 135 ff.
LS, p. 266.

2. "Offentlicher Palast" where the caliph held conferences every Monday and Thursday.

Herzfeld, pp. 104 f.
3. The one whose case is committed to God.

4. Ifriqiya approximately coincides with modern Tunis. The Maghrib was the entire territory west of Ifriqiya.

   Baladūrī, I, p. 356.

5. Upper Mesopotamia.

   LS, pp. 86 ff.

6. Mosul was the chief city of Diyār Rabī‘; it was situated on the right side of the Tigris opposite ancient Nineve. Under Marwān II, the last Umayyad, Mawsil became capital of the entire Jazīra.

   Ibid., pp. 86 ff.

7. A mountainous country between the Van and Gukcha Lakes in the upper Tigris–Euphrates area and the Aras River.

   LS, pp. 182 ff.

8. The district around the city of Sīyāra, Jībal. It was famous for its fertile soil and dense population.

   Schwarz, p. 470.
   Yaqtī, IV, pp. 393, 698.

9. A town in the borderland between Jībal and ‘Irāq, commanding an important pass in the Zagros Mountains.

   Schwarz, pp. 673 ff.
   LS, p. 191.
10. He was given the title al-Nāṣir bi-dīn Allāh. Herzfeld suggests that al-Muwallaṣṣ was his popular surname. IA states he was named both Al-Nāṣir bi-dīn Allāh al-Muwalqaṣ.

IA, VII, p. 110.
Herzfeld, p. 264.

11. The district in the marshland, the chief city of which was Wāṣīṭ.

EI, II, p. 800.

12. One of the main cities of Jibal.

Yaqūṭ, I, pp. 292 ff.

13. This ancient center of Jibal became a Shi'a center because of the shrine which is believed to be the tomb of Fāṭima, the sister of the sixth Imām ‘Alī al-Ridā, contemporary of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

Brockelman, p. 432.
LS, pp. 209 f.

14. LS gives a description of two towns in Jibal bearing the name. Probably, Qaraj Abī Dulaf an important center of communications, is meant here.

LS, pp. 197 f.
Schwarz, pp. 573 ff.

15. Center of a district in the part of Jibal which had been called Persian ʿIrāq.

Schwarz, pp. 475 f.
16. See Tab., III, p. 13430, n. 4 (this transl.).

17. Northwestern part of Jibāl bordering Adharbajād.

Schwarz, p. 729.

18. Center of a province of the same name bordering Mazandarān (i.e. Ṭabarīstān).

LS, pp. 218 ff.

19. The northeastern province of Persia, now part of Afghanistan; it consisted of four parts (Rub's) with the following administrative centers: Naysābūr, Merv, Herat, Balkh.

Ibid., p. 382.
EI, II, pp. 966 f.

20. A mountainous province along the Caspian Sea. Āmul and Sariya were its two most important cities.

LS, pp. 368 ff.

21. A province in the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea. Jurjān and Āstarabād were its chief cities.

Ibid., pp. 376 ff.

22. A province east of Fārs bordering on the Great Desert; its main cities were Sīrjān and Kirmān.

Ibid., pp. 7, 300 ff.

23. The Arabs used this name to designate the entire territory east of Makram (the Great Desert). Part of it is now the
Persian Sind province; the other part belongs to the
Baluchistan province of Pakistan.

Schwarz, p. 240.
LS, p. 331.

24. During the 'Abbasid caliphate black was the color symbolizing
judicial and imperial authority.

Fries, p. 27.

25. During the 3rd and 4th centuries the house of Abu al-
Shawārīb provided 8 chief qaḍīs and 16 qaḍīs of lesser
eminence.

Ṭab., III, p. 1428.
IA, VII, p. 114.
Mea, p. 230.

Page 1891

1. Cf. Ṭab., III, p. 1875, n. 7 (this transl.).

Page 1892

1. He was the former superior of Ya‘qūb. The soft attitude of
the government to Ya‘qūb can be explained by the immediate
threat of the Zenj expansion at the time.

Noldeke, p. 190.
IA, VII, p. 115.

2. Governor of Hulwān.


3. Diacritical marks uncertain.
4. This vague statement concerns the desertion of Abū al-Sāj to Yaʿqūb. Ibn Khaldūn’s statement about this event is more definite.

'Ibar, III, p. 313.
Tab., III, p. 1896.

5. In the text: al Qā‘īn bi-Sāmarrā. A similar expression in Murūj is translated by Meynard, "la localité voisine de Samarra nommée Kaim."

Murūj, VII, p. 43.

6. A town near Baghdad.

Yaqūt, II, p. 931.

Page 1893

1. An important station on the road from Wāsit to Ahwāz. From Badibīn a branch road led to Tib, northeast Khusītān.

LS, p. 82.
Schwarz, p. 430.

2. Main town in the upper Zāb District. According to Yaqūt the town lay halfway between Baghdad and Wāsit, and it was the center of the lower Nahrawān district.

Obermeyer, pp. 92, n. 1, 137 n. 2, 193 n. 4.
LS, p. 37.

3. A locality on the eastern bank of the Tigris; it became famous for the battle here described.

LS, p. 36.
4. "The convent on the (river) loop," a town located in the middle of the Nahrawan Canal, 3 leagues below Sib bin Kūmā, 10 leagues below Madā'in.

5. A place on the Tigris between Sib bin Kūmā and Dayr al-'Aqūl.

     *Tanbih*, p. 471.

Page 1894

1. According to other historians, at this juncture, Abū Ahmad arose and exclaimed, "I am the Ḥāshimī ghulām." By this he excited his troops to counter-attack Yaʿqūb. Ibn Khaldūn stated that Abū Ahmad was able to counter-attack only after al-Muʿtamid sent his reinforcements.

     *IA*, VII, p. 115.
     *Ibar*, III, p. 313.

Page 1895

1. Text reads: "Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭa."

     *Mez*, p. 19.

2. This is one of the rare complete descriptions of careful planning of a battle, which gives an idea of the state of war tactics in the second half of the 3rd century.

3. *IA* reports that after this battle the Zenj Chieftain sent a message to Yaʿqūb offering joint action against al-Muwaffaq. Yaʿqūb rejected this, stating that he would not join in action with a non-believer.

     *IA*, p. 115.
1. "The Two Cities," i.e. the twin cities of Ctesiphon and Selencia, 7 leagues below Baghdad.

LS, pp. 33 ff.

2. Text reads ʿdiyāʾ, which was a term for personal estates as distinct from Iqtāʾ fiefs.

Mez, pp. 110 f.


LS, Baghdad, pp. 169 ff.

4. I.e. the "Palm Sunday," which used to be a day of universal festivity, may be a further development of an ancient festival of trees.

Mez, p. 419.

Page 1897

1. Synonymous to the word Shayṭān which, according to Muslim belief, was created from fire. Iblīs was cursed by God because he violated the command that all angels bow before Adam. It was Iblīs, according to the Qurān, who beguiled Eve and caused her expulsion from Paradise.

EI, I, p. 337.

Page 1898

1. A prosperous district between Baṣra, Wāṣīṭ and Alwāz.

Yaqūt, II, p. 574.
1. "The Woman," a stream near Baṣra with an important castle on it.
   Baladhūrī, II, p. 51.

2. A city of much importance situated on a canal of the same name; the city was the center of Dastumaysān at the time of the Muslim conquest.
   Yaqūt, IV, p. 468.

3. First mentioned in the chronicle of 255 as a client of the Bāhila tribe. He had arrested the Zenj leader at his first appearance in the region of Baṣra. In the course of 11 years he had apparently changed sides.
   Ṭab., III, p. 1746.

Page 1900

1. One of the districts around Baṣra.
   Yaqūt, IV, p. 567.

2. This canal began 10 leagues below Wāsiṭ, flowing toward the Baṭīna. A town of the same name stood on the canal.
   LS, p. 58.
   Obermeyer, pp. 143, 339.

3. One of the imperial officers who started a fight against the Zenj movement in 255.
   Ṭab., III, pp. 1754 ff., 1759 ff.
Page 1901

1. A large *samfrīya* type boat which was used to transport provisions, horses and men.

   Fries, pp. 54 f.

2. There was a place called Jawkhān near Ṭab, Ahwāz. On the other end Jūkha was the name of a district in the area of Jarjarāya and the southern part of Nahrawān Canal.

   Obermeyer, pp. 126 f.
   Yaqūt, II, p. 114.

3. Spelling uncertain; unidentifiable.

Page 1902

1. In the Berlin text, Sidād; in the indices to Ṣab., Sindād and Sindādān, which lay in the area of Bayān.

   Cf. Schwarz, p. 391.
   Ṣab., III, p. 1877, n. 2 (this transl.).

2. According to IA they advised him to entrench himself in the ruined palace behind Ṭahīta (in ma warāʾa Ṭahīta).

   IA, p. 116.

Page 1903

1. An Arab tribe which inhabited the territory between Ahwāz and Tustar.

   Schwarz, p. 390.

Page 1907

1. A town east of Wāsiṭ, which at that time had a Nabatean popu-
lation which spoke an Aramaic dialect.

Yaqūt, III, p. 566.
LS, p. 64.

2. Had been adviser to the caliph al-Muhtadī.

Ṭabarī, III, p. 1815.
Mūtawakkil, VIII, pp. 21 f., 27.

3. Spelling uncertain, place unidentifiable.

4. "The Granaries," a large city at the head of Nahr ‘Isā, one of the three navigable canals uniting the Euphrates with the Tigris. For a time the city was the seat of the caliph al-Saffāh.

LS, p. 66.

5. Capital of Dīyār Mudār, a commanding point on the Syrian border.

Ibid., p. 101.

Page 1908

1. It is the 8th of the month Dū‘ al-Hijja. On that day the pilgrims proceed from Mecca to Minā.

2. "Corn-merchant." In IA this word is marked with different diacritical marks and designates "tailors."

3. "Butcher." The real meaning of the two words in this context is rather obscure. Apparently they were names of two feuding groups in Mecca.
4. I.e. Susa, Shushan, Selencia, a city and district in Husistān, famous for its sugar and silk production.

Schwarz, pp. 358 ff.
LS, p. 240.

5. IA spells the name of the same person, Hasārmard; in other texts, ‘Abd Allāh instead of ‘Ubayd Allāh.

Cf. Tab., III, p. 1908, notes m, n.
IA, VII, p. 117.

Page 1909

1. This city was the ancient capital of Khuzistan. Ya‘qūb b. al-Layt established his capital there.

Schwarz, pp. 345 ff.

2. Plural form, Ṣu‘lūk, meaning "poor, robber."

3. A tributary of the Dujayl (Kārun) which flowed through a district of the same name in Ahwāz. ‘Askar Mukram stood at the mouth of Masruqān.

Schwarz, pp. 300 ff.

4. A vaulted passage across the Masruqān, near the city Tustar, Ahwāz.

Ibid., pp. 315, 355.

Page 1911

1. Participated in the first onslaught of the Zenj against Bagra in 255.

Tab., III, pp. 1777, 1782.
2. In the Berlin text, Baṣr al-Rūm; in the Cairo text, Naṣr al-Rūmī.

Ţab., III, p. 1911, n. f (this transl.).

Page 1912

1. IA gives only the first name. The spelling of the second name is different in the other editions of Ţab.

Ibid., p. 1912, n. d.

2. I.e. Naubandajān, a central town of the district of Sābur in Fārs.

Schwarz, p. 34.

Page 1914

1. Also called Sūq Dawraq and Dawraq al-Furs, which had been the main city of an Ahwāz district; it was located on the road from Ahwāz to Qurqāb.

Ibid., pp. 324, 331, 370.

Page 1915

1. I.e. al-Ḥasan b. Makhlag b. al-Jarraḥ in 243. In the reign of al-Mutawakkil he had already been head of the Department of Manorial Estates.

Ţab., III, pp. 1435, 1507, 1637 f.

Murāj, VII, p. 245 f.

2. I.e. Sulaymān b. Wahb al-Kātib al-Wazīr. At the age of 14 he became scribe to the caliph al-Ma’mūn. Later he was vizier to al-Muhtadī, predecessor of al-Mu’tamid.

I. Khaliqān, I, pp. 596 ff.
3. Son of Sulaymān b. Wahb.

See Indices to Tab.


5. The author has in mind the population of Lu'lu'a. The Arabs settled Slavs along the border of Byzantium. Across the river Podendun there stood the al-Ṣaḥliba fortress.

Vasiliev, I, pp. 97 f.

Page 1916

1. Spelling of the name uncertain.

2. Mother of the caliph al-Mu'tazz b. al-Mutawakkil, once a slave girl. She had concealed an enormous wealth and refused to use it to pay off the rebelling Turkish captains in order to save her son from death. After her son was killed, she was dispossessed of her fortune and exiled to Mecca.

Murūj, VII, pp. 423 f., VIII, pp. 41, 372.

3. Since the caliphate of al-Mu'tazz, the members of the Dulaf family contested the power of government authorities. They were in conflict with Hasan b. Zayd. Some of them were Khārijīs.

Murūj, VII, pp. 140-43.
Weil, II, pp. 468, n. 2.

4. Rashīd b. Kaus was engaged in fighting against the Khārijīs in the Jasīra and against the Byzantines since 251.

Tab., III, pp. 1553, 1600, 1630 f.
5. Al-Maskanayn is mentioned by Ibn Khordādbih as a station between Lu'lu'a and the northern end of the Cilician Gates on the way to Konya.

   LS, p. 134.
   Vasiliev, II, p. 69.

6. I.e. Podendos, a river in the Tarsūs mountains. The valley of this river had numerous passes which very often served as battlefields between the Muslims and Byzantines.

   Weil, II, p. 473.

7. This Roman-Byzantine appellation was used also by Muslims.

   Mes, p. 155.
   'Ibar, I, pp. 474 f.

Page 1917

1. I.e. Selencia, a fortified town on the Samus River in Cilicia.

   Vasiliev, I, p. 158.

2. Vowels uncertain; place unidentifiable.

   Cf. Honigmann, p. 48, n. 2.

3. A fortress in Cappadocia.

   Vasiliev, I, p. 85; II, p. 69.

4. According to IA, it was one place, Qurra Kaukab.

   IA, VII, p. 124.

5. A fortified city in Cappadocia.

   Vasiliev, II, pp. 69 f., 287, 288.

-392-
6. The hamstringing of the horses was apparently a measure to make the warriors stick to their position and to force them to succeed or die. (Assumption of the translator.)
   Cf. Fries, pp. 81 f.

7. A canal in the marshland area, on which the city al-Shadidiya was located.
   LS, p. 41.

Page 1920

1. Indices place this name as doubtful. In all probability, Ahmad b. Mahdi is meant here.

2. Unidentifiable.

3. I.e. Qaryat Merwān on the Tahfa Canal. The Indices note:
   "Qarya near Wāsiṭ."
   Cf. Tab., III, p. 1903.

Page 1921

1. A branch of this nomadic tribe lived in northern 'Irāq.
   Murūj, VIII, pp. 142 f.

Page 1923

1. I.e. al-Ruṣāfā bi al-Baṭā'īh, which lay on the left bank of the Tigris, 10 leagues above Wāsiṭ.
   Cf. Tab., Indices.
   LS, p. 40.
Page 1924

1. In B text, Ṭartāh; in C text, Darnāp.

Page 1926


Page 1927


2. Now named al-Quwayr after a ruined castle of the same name.

The western burg where the caliph landed was Qaṣr al-Mashʿūq.

Herzfeld, p. 129.

3. A pleasure boat built in the shape of an animal.

Mez, p. 438.

4. A kind of barge which used to be employed on the Tigris only.

Kindermann, p. 35 f.

5. Had been scribe to Wāṣif al-Turki and actively participated in all court events in the reign of al-Muʿtamid's predecessors.

Ṭab., III, pp. 1531, 1538, 1539, 1542, 1587.

Page 1928

1. Was the center of the Kaskar district before Wāṣif came into being.

Obermeyer, p. 92.
Page 1929

1. Governor of Egypt appointed by Bayakbek and later by Yarjūk.

After Ya'qūb's death he became independent in Egypt.

Cf. Ţab., III, p. 1878.
Al-Muntazam, V.(2), pp. 71 f.

2. He was installed as governor of Antioch by ʿAlīmād b. Ṭūlūn, then rebelled against his lord. Details of his death in Murūj.

Vasiliev, II, p. 73; Weil, II, p. 473, n. 1.

Murūj, VIII, p. 71.

3. I.e. ʿAlīmād b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbī Dulāf.

Cf. Indices.

4. A village near Qantarat Dimfūmā below Anbār in the vicinity of Fallūjja.

LS, p. 66.

Page 1930

1. A village on the western side of the Euphrates, near al-Fallūjja.

Ibid., pp. 65, 86.

2. This was the name of the eastern quarter of Baghdād. Outside the Shamāsiya Gate a low plain bore the same name. The road through the Shamāsiya Gate and plain led to Mosūl.

Baghdād, pp. 199, 203.

3. A town between Baghdād and Madāʿīn, situated on one of the three canals connecting the Tigris and Euphrates.

LS, pp. 32, 67.
4. Modern Adana, a town on the Sayhān River, Asia Minor.

    Ibid., pp. 128, 130 ff.

5. Unidentifiable.


Page 1931

1. Text reads rabaṭa, which means "to fight the infidels in the borderland."


2. A native of Khorasan who originally was a companion of Muḥammad b. Ẓahir, then joined Yaʿqūb al-Saffār. In the end, he plotted against both the Ẓahirids and Saffārids.

    Weil, II, p. 444.

3. The Sharkab family suffered at the hands of Ḥamad al-Khujastānī and supported the Ẓahirid Sulaymān.

    Ibid.

4. He was vizier also to the next caliph, al-Muṭāṣid, son of al-Muwaffaq. Masʿūdī observes that according to some reports, al-Muṭāṣid died from poison administered by Ismāʿīl before he was ordered killed by the caliph.

    Murūj, VIII, p. 211.

5. A point near Bāṣra on the road to Ḥajaz.

    Baladūrī, II, pp. 98 ff.
1. A small town on the eastern bank of the Tigris in the district Nahrawān.

Obermeyer, p. 187, n. 1.

2. In the text: al-'Aḥd wa al-'Aqd wa al-Khal{'.

3. It was the name of a canal uniting the Euphrates with the Tigris and of a city which stood at the mouth of that canal.

Obermeyer, p. 193.
LS, p. 72.

1. This was a conventional sign of submission.

2. It was the name of a gate in the city of Tustar.

Schwarz, p. 355.

1. This bridge supposedly spanned the Masruqān River, not far from Tustar.

Ibid.

2. A famous drink Arabs originally produced from dates. Later this name was applied to all intoxicating drinks.

EI, III, pp. 803 f.

1. A fortress in Diyār Rabī‘?

Yaqūt, I, p. 364.
Vasiliev, II, p. 72.
2. A city in Mesopotamia famous for its gardens and white roses.

   LS, p. 95.
   EI, III, p. 858.

3. He had been governor of Ṭabaristān and deputy of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir in the reign of al-Musta'īn. In 255 he was appointed Prefect of the Police of Baghdād and surroundings.

   Ṭab., III, pp. 1524, 1706.

Page 1939

1. Spelling uncertain.

2. A town on the western side of the Tigris, 6 or 7 parasangs above Mosul. Today it is known as Eski or Old Mosul.

   Weil, II, p. 434.
   LS, p. 99.

3. See Ṭab., III, p. 1859, n. 4 (transl.).

   Mez, p. 35.

4. He had been governor of Karkh during the reign of al-Muḥtadī.

   Ṭab., III, p. 1797.

5. A walled town on the banks of Khabūr, a left tributary of the Euphrates; it was famous for its gardens and mills.

   LS, pp. 95 ff.

Page 1940

1. He was Abū ʿAbdāl's governor of Qarqīsiyā. His father, governor
of Diyar Mudar, died in prison in Samarra in 253.

\[\text{Tab.}, \text{III, pp. 2029, 2049.} \]
\[\text{Muruj, VII, p. 395 ff.} \]
\[\text{Weil, II, p. 431.} \]


Page 1941

1. Ishāq came from the Banū Numayr, Yamāma. In 232, his father assisted Bughā al-Kabīt to massacre his own tribe.

\[\text{Tab.}, \text{III, pp. 1358 ff.} \]

2. A place in Hejaz, once a Jewish colony.

\[\text{Brockelman, p. 28.} \]

3. The privilege of furnishing the Ka'ba with its precious curtain (Kiswa) was esteemed highly by the princes of Islam.

\[\text{The Kiswa had been changed annually.} \]
\[\text{EI, II, p. 627.} \]
\[\text{Richard Burton, Pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Meccah (Boston, 1858), pp. 444 ff.} \]

Page 1942

1. I.e. Sīmā al-Ṭawīl.

\[\text{Vasiliev, II, p. 73.} \]

2. This fortress commanded the southern entrance into the Cilician Gate.

\[\text{Vasiliev, I, pp. 79 ff.} \]
\[\text{LS, pp. 132 ff.} \]

3. This city, strongly fortified by Hārūn al-Rashīd, was turned
into a station on the line uniting the border fortresses Tarsûs, Badandun, Lu'lû'a and further Kuniya.

LS, pp. 133, 136, 149.

4. Ṭab., III, p. 2193: Ishāq b. Ayyūb Ṣāhibal Ma'āwin bi-Diyār Rabī'. The term ma'āwin, originally designated functions of police and public security, but later included also functions of government policy and civil administration.

Sulf, p. 121, n. 8.

5. A strongly fortified town on the upper Tigris; it had been the center of Diyār Bakr, Jazīra.

LS, pp. 108 ff.

6. Abī Maghraḵ was made deputy to 'Isā b. al-Shaykh, when the latter was appointed governor of Ramla.

Ṭab., III, p. 1685.

7. A fortified town on Wadāf al-Sarbat, left tributary to the Tigris (near Mayafriqīn, Amid).

LS, p. 112.

8. A qaḏī.

See Ṭab., Indices.

Page 1943

1. Spelling uncertain; place unidentifiable.

Page 1944

1. Spelling uncertain; place unidentifiable.
1. A fortified place 9 leagues south of Sūs on the road from Ahwāz to Qurqūb.

Schwarz, pp. 355 f.

2. Sulaymān b. Mūsā al-Sha’rānī established his base in that city, strongly fortified it and named it al-Manfūs (unapproachable).

'Tabar', III, p. 320.
Tab., III, p. 1959.

Page 1947

1. A town in the Kaskar district north of Wāsiṭ.

LS, p. 43.

2. He was a close companion of Abū Āmād who, after the suppression of the Zenj movement, appointed him qaḍī of Başra, Ubulla, the Tigris Districts and Wāsiṭ.

Tab., III, p. 2097.

Page 1948

1. In Baghdaḍ.

See Tab., Indices.

2. Unidentifiable.

3. "The captain."

4. A town at the mouth of al-Silī Canal, 7 leagues above Wāsiṭ.

LS, p. 38.
Obermeyer, pp. 87 f.
1. Its original name was Nahr Amir al-Mu'minîn. This canal was dug in Bagra by Mansur who afterwards gave it to his son Ja'far.

Baladûrî, II, p. 87.

1. Spelling uncertain; place unidentifiable.


1. Spelling uncertain.

2. Cf. Tab., III, p. 1923, n. 1 (this transl.).


LS, p. 41.

1. Spelling uncertain.

2. Unidentifiable.

1. According to Muslim authors, Madā'in was formed from seven cities, one of which had been Rūmiya.

   LS, p. 34.

2. I.e. Dayr Qunna, a monastery which lay one mile east of the Tigris and 16 leagues below Baghdaḍ; it was fortified by a very tall wall.

   Ibid., pp. 36 f.

1. Tab. uses here a phrase from the Qurān: "la tubqī wa-lā tādaru" meaning: "it (the Hell) will not spare nor leave unborned."

   Qurān Sura LXXIV, verse 28.
   Lane, I, p. 238.

1. Spelling uncertain.

2. A village near Wāṣiṭ.

   Yaqūt, III, p. 458.

1. I.e. Kirmānshāh, located on the road from Hulwān to Hamadān.

   It was one of the four chief cities of Jībāl, mainly Kurdish.

   Schwarz, pp. 430 ff.

2. I.e. the ancient Ecbatana, also in Jībāl on the Khurasān road.

   Ibid., pp. 523 ff.
1. Spelling uncertain; unidentifiable.

Page 1969


Page 1974

1. A district along the eastern bed of the Tigris adjacent to the Kaskar district.

   Schwarz, pp. 396 f.

3. A town on the road from Wāṣīt to Sūs famous for its carpet production.
   EI, II, p. 1240.

4. A village on the brim of the desert.
   Schwarz, p. 253.

Page 1976

1. This passage had been ruined by the imperial troops in one of their previous actions against the Zenj.
   Cf. Tab., III, p. 1845, n. 2 (this transl.).

Page 1977

1. I.e. the Kārūn River.
   Cf. Schwarz, pp. 295 ff.


-λολ-
2. The author employs the word *jisr* for this bridge.

3. The Indices to *Tab.* mistakenly name it: *Qaṣr al-Ma'āmun*
b. Baghdad. There are no other references concerning this name.

Schwarz, p. 319.

Page 1978

1. A township in the vicinity of *Baṣra*.

*Yaqūt,* III, pp. 861 f.

Page 1980

1. A large village between *Wāsiṭ* and *Baṣra*.

*Yaqūt,* III, p. 275.

Page 1982

1. A swiftly flying arrow made of reed with a notch in its side;
it was used for shooting birds.

Richardson, Dictionary, Persian, Arabic and English (London, 1886), VI, p. 1041.

Page 1983

1. IA, VII, p. 140 makes the same statement much clearer.

Page 1986

1. One of the nine canals which Ibn Sergnon named "the *Baṣra Canals* (west of *Shaṭ al-'Arab*).

Obermeyer, pp. 33 f.

*Yaqūt,* II, p. 84.

2. The text reads "*Mūṭṭawwī*" which presents a strange form. The noun "*Mūṭṭawwī*" derives from the root "*taṭawwā*" which means
he did what he did without seeking compensation for it. "Muṭṭawwi" means the one who exceeds what is obligatory in fighting against unbelievers.

Cf. Lane, V, p. 1892.

Page 1987
1. Text reads Aswaduhum wa-Abmaruhum.

Ibid., I, pp. 641 f.

2. Spelling uncertain.

Page 1988
1. Spelling uncertain.

Page 1989
1. An important city in Fārs overlooking the Persian Gulf. In the 4th century it almost equalled Shirāz in size and splendour.

LS, p. 258.
Yaqūt, III, pp. 211 f.

Page 1990
1. Spelling uncertain.

Page 1992
1. As the result of this fight, Ḫishāq b. Kūndājīq won the governorship of Mosa'il. It is remarkable that 'Īsā b. al-Shaykh, governor of Armenia and Ḫishāq b. Ayyūb, Prefect of the Police of Diyār Rabi' in their fight against Ḫishāq b. Kūndājīq availed themselves of the cooperation of the tribes involved in the Kharijite defection.

Weil, p. 467.
Page 1993

1. The head of the Mu'ad clan was governor of Khurasân during the reign of al-Mahdi.

Tab., III, p. 477.

Page 1996


Ibid., p. 1520.

Page 1999

1. At the mouth of this canal, about 10 parasangs, a monastery stood; there was also a fortified township of the same name.

Yaqût, IV, p. 839.

Page 2008

1. A town in the province of Qūnis on the Khurasân road, midway between Damghan and Ray.

Schwarz, p. 819.

2. A tribe north of Medina which had a long history of fighting against Muḥammad, and later against the authorities of the caliphate.

EI, II, pp. 97 f.

Page 2009

1. I.e. Maqām Ibrāhîm.

EI, II, p. 626.  
EI, III, pp. 449 f.

2. Clients from among the Zanzibâr people.
3. Pl. Dawānīq, the weight of two carob grains, equal to 1/6 of a dirhem.

4. In Arabic: al-Mu'tamīd, the name of the caliph.

5. I.e. al-Khujustānī.

Page 2014

1. Spelling uncertain.

2. Small subsidiary waterways.

Cf. Glossary to Tab.

Page 2016

1. Spelling uncertain.

2. Ikhshīd in Turcoman means both "King of Kings" and "Servant."

This was a title of the ancient rulers of Farghana.

Hitti, p. 456.
EI, II, p. 498.

3. "River by Başra", Steingass, p. 811. It was a bend of the Ma'qil Canal.

Baladūr, II, p. 81.

Page 2018

1. Measure of weight equal to two pounds.

Page 2023

1. Here an Arabic phrase was left untranslated, the diacritical marks being uncertain. It might be interpreted as "narrowly escaping death."

Translator
Page 2024

1. Spelling uncertain.

2. I.e. the son of Abū Dulaf.


Page 2025

1. Later, when Lūʾlūʾ joined Abū Aḥmad, he arrested him.

    Cf. Ṭab., III, p. 2028.

2. Neither I. Kat nor Taghribirdī report this episode.

3. Apparently he rebelled against the government.

    Cf. Ṭab., III, pp. 1920 ff.

4. The text reads Kharīṭa, which means post-bag. Here, the official messenger was sent to Mecca with first information about the pilgrimage.

    Sūlī, p. 160, n. 2.

Page 2026

1. Provided Mecca with the major part of her drinking water.

    Yaqūt, IV, p. 536.

2. A measure of weight of about a pound.

    Steingass, p. 94.

3. A town on the Ak Sūt tributary to the Jayhan River. The town was situated on the Syrian border.

    Vas I, pp. 79 ff.

    LS, p. 122.
4. A fortress northeast of Mar'ash.

Ibid.

5. A tunic buttoned in the front and sloped at the neck.

DOSY, pp. 352 ff.

6. A piece of cloth worn under the turban, equivalent to the modern tarbūsh.

Ibid., pp. 365 ff.


Page 2027

1. Spelling uncertain.

2. In the later chronicles he is reported operating in Egypt.

In 293 he was arrested by the caliph al-Muktaff.

TAB., III, pp. 2257, 2267, 2268.

Page 2028

1. *"The Eunuch."* He became a very important military leader in the anti-Byzantine raids; rebelled against Abū b.Ṭūlūn.

VAS, II, pp. 108 ff.

Hassan, p. 82.

2. Fath directed the office of general and special information in the service of al-Mutawakkil.

TAB., III, pp. 1406, 1471.

3. *"Gates of the Holy War,"* a fortress.

LS, p. 133.
4. "Gate of the river," apparently a fortress which stood on a stream of the same name, like Adana on the Adana River (Sayhan).

   Tanbih, p. 47.
   LS, p. 131.

5. A town west of Raqqa on the limits of the plain of Siffin, an important station on the caravan routes.

   LS, p. 107.

6. His brother was Muhammed. They were both lieutenants of Ibn Tulun.

   Hassan, p. 83.

Page 2029

1. "Companion," was built by the 'Abbasids in the 2nd century very close to Raqqa.

   LS, pp. 101 ff.

Page 2035

1. "Minbar." It was originally the symbol of secular authority only; there was but one minbar in Mecca. During the reign of the Umayyads it developed into a necessary part of any mosque. The stress Tab. makes on the taking of the minbar shows that it was still a symbol of both religious and secular authority.

   EI, III, p. 575.

Page 2037

1. According to Mas'ud, al-Mu'tamid fled from al-Silg where he was under arrest.

   Muruj, VIII, p. 67.
1. Originally he successfully fought against al-Hasan b.Zayd, and in 277 he even wrested from him Daylam. However, later Raff pledged allegiance to Hasan. The former was killed by 'Amr b.al-Layt in 283 and his head was displayed in Baghdād. 


Page 2040


Page 2048

1. I.e. from the Baghdād area. Bab Shamariya is the eastern gate of Baghdād.

*LS*, B, pp. 170 ff.


3. A town in the Jibal province.


5. A town in Jibal.


Page 2053

1. A measure of weight equal to 12 ounces.
1. An open place used for services on special occasions. These places are established after the precedent of Muḥammad who had a Musâllâ in Medina.

EI, III, p. 306.

Page 2076

1. I.e. Takbîr, the formula Allâh Akbar usually recited at the beginning of the Salâh.

EI, IV, p. 679.

2. The formula "la ilâha illâ Allâh."

Page 2083

1. "The bearer of two vizirates," i.e. of his and of his brother Abû Aḥmad.

Translator

Page 2084

1. Spelling uncertain.

Page 2103

1. The modern harbor Mersin is situated on the place of the ancient Bâb Qâlamiya.

Vasiliev, II, pp. 81 f., n. 5.

Page 2104

1. The upper part of Western Baghâd. 

LS, Baghâd, p. 113.
2. Spelling uncertain. This name is not identifiable.


3. Near the Shamāsiya Gate.

LS, Baghdād, p. 199.

Page 2105

1. The westernmost quarter of Baghdād.

Ibid., p. 74.

2. It is assumed that a town Karkh existed before Islām on the territory of later Baghdād. In a course of time this name was attributed to western Baghdād.

Ibid., pp. 63, 320.

al-Dabbāghīn, "the Tanners Yard."

Ibid., p. 156.

3. This is a mistake of Ţabari. Vasil died August 29, 1886. (A.H. 273).

Vasiliev, II, p. 96.


Page 2106

1. I.e. Medina.

Lane, V, p. 1901.

2. Cf. Text 2039.
3. A village between Damascus and Ramla.

Hassan, p. 111.

Page 2108

1. A village east of Baghdād.

Yaqtūt, VI, p. 575.

2. The great grandfather of Naṣīr al-Dawla.

Murūj, VIII, p. 147.

Page 2108

1. Cf. Text 2024. This was a procedural punishment; they cut off the right hand and left foot, the left foot and right hand.

Cf. Lane, I, p. 794.

2. LS, Baghdād, pp. 109 ff.

Page 2111

1. Meaning, "aided, assisted, especially against an enemy."

Lane, VIII, p. 2803.

2. Text reads Dār al-Baṭṭākh ("Melon House"), west Baghdād.

LS, Baghdād, pp. 45, 142.

Page 2114

1. I.e. Karkh Fīrūz, 10 miles north of Sāmarra.

LS, pp. 52, 54, 55.

Page 2115

1. Spelling uncertain.
2. A canton in Kunwar Dijla.

LS, pp. 51, 80.

3. East Baghdad.

LS, Baghdad, p. 189.

4. In text, Jabal. Persian 'Iraq (ancient Media) is in Arabic sometimes named Jabal. (Jibāl is the plural form of Jabal).

Cf. Tab., Indices.

5. Presumably from the Madarā'ī family which played an important part in the financial administration of the Talūnid Egypt.

Hassan, pp. 284 ff.

Page 2116


Cf. Tab., III, p. 2116, n. c.

Page 2118


2. I.e. Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb b. Ismā'īl b. Hammad, also called Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb Abū 'Umar al-Qādī who was qādī of Baghdad also in the reign of al-Mu'tadid.

Ṭab., III, p. 2161.

3. Court of Appeal.

Dozy, II, p. 85.
Hitti, pp. 321 f.
4. I.e. al-KuwaffaɁ.

5. A suburb named after Naɬr b. 'Abd Allâh.

   LS, Baghdad, p. 137.

Page 2120

1. Center of a vast district between Baghdad and Jarjarayâ.

   Yaqût, IV, pp. 846 ff.

Page 2122

1. Spelling uncertain.

2. The Tuesday Market of west Baghdad.

   LS, Baghdad, p. 68.

Page 2123

1. This prominent family originated from a village in the Nahrawân district. Âḥmad al-Furât became assistant to Ismâ'îl b. Bulbul.

   Levy, p. 30.

2. The Office of the Financial Affairs of 'Iraq.

   Ibid., p. 31.

Page 2124

1. Spelling uncertain; place not identifiable.

   See Tab., III, p. 2124, n. d.

2. According to a Shi'â doctrine based on the Sura 33, verse 33, the 'Alids are considered members of the House of the Prophet.

   EI, I, pp. 194 f.
1. In the beginning of Islām, Arabs used to call the dwellers of Syria and 'Irāq, Nabateans, who were neither Bedouins nor soldiers, as well as communities in marshlands who had preserved their Aramaic speech.  

EI, III, p. 866 f.

Page 2127

1. His nephew 'Alī b. 'Isā was later the famous vizier of al-Mu'taṣid.  

Levy, pp. 32 f.

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1. He was son of 'Alī by his wife al-Ḥanāfiya. During the reign of the Umayyad 'Abd al-Malik, a certain Mukhtār in Kūfa staged a revolt, aiming to avenge the blood of Husayn b. 'Alī and to proclaim Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanāfiya legal heir to the caliphate. This gave rise to a Shi'a sect al-Ḥanāfiya.  

Tanbih, pp. 404 f.  
Murūj, VI, pp. 57 ff.

2. I.e. John the Baptist.

3. The opening prayer consisting of the recital of the Fātiḥa, the first sura of the Qurān.

4. The prescribed direction which the Muslim has to face during the prayer.  

Gibb, p. 63.
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1. A Persian autumn festival.
   
   Steingass, p. 1075.

2. A Persian festival of the new year in the spring equinox.
   
   Ibid., p. 1155.

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   Hassan, p. 136.

2. This name is spelled differently in the sources (IA: Shakand; I.Kh: Askand). Weil suggests the place to be Selenet (Selinus), since according to Byzantine sources, at the time described, an important Arab-Byzantine engagement took place there.
   
   IV, VII, p. 179.
   Weil, II, p. 475 f., n. 3.

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   Hassan, p. 122.

2. After Ahmed b. Tūlūn, Raghīb became independent ruler of Ṭarsūs, though nominally the suzerainty of Badr, al-Mu‘taṣid’s nominee. However the energetic caliph arrested Raghīb, confiscated all his possessions and probably put him to death.
   
   Ibid., p. 141.