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

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

RAMLI OMAR

Presented in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS 1997
This thesis has been composed by me, Ramli Omar. It is a record of work done by me and has not been accepted in any previous application for any degree.

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Mr Ramli Omar has fulfilled the regulations applying to candidates for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St Andrews.

Supervisor

Access to this thesis in the University Library, if it is approved, shall be unrestricted.
Dedication

My beloved wife Meriah
all my sons and daughters
   Nailah
   A. Salami
   Afifuddin
   Hidayati
   Nazri
who patiently waited for me during my study

Thank you so much
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March 1997.
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Introduction

Review of Modern Works

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

We have a number of modern researchers who work in the history of this period. They are Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall*, Shaban, *Islamic History AD 600-750* (AH 132), Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam*, Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphat -* just to name a few examples. Wellhausen, who refers to Ibn Kathîr, *al-Bidâya wa’l-Nihâya*, Ibn Sa’d, *Ta’baqât al-Kabîr*, Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma’ârif*, Ibn Khaldûn, *Kitâb al-’Ibar*, al-Balâdhuri, *Ansâb al-Ashrâf*, al-Tabari, *Ta’rikh al-Rusul*, al-Jâhiz, *al-Bayân wa’l-Tabyîn* and to others for his study, mentions the succession of all the caliphs, but the discussions are very brief. In this respect, Shaban, Hawting and Kennedy the modern scholars who recently published their works do the same. Although detailed research into the succession of the caliphs during the early Abbasid period has been carried out by Chejne, his research into the Umayyad period is also very brief. He deals only with the succession of Yazîd b. Mu’âwiya up to the nomination of Marwân b. Muhammâd. (Chejne, *Succession to the rule in Islam: with special reference to the early Abbasid period*, Michigan 1985, 43-50). Another researcher who describes the Umayyad patterns of the succession since ‘Uthmân b. ‘Affân is Blay-Abramski. However, her discussion about the Umayyad successors is also in general. (Blay-Abramski, Irit Irene, *From Damascus to Baghdad: The Abbasid Administrative System as a Product of the Umayyad Heritage*)
Among other scholars who have chosen to describe a particular candidate in more detail is W. W. Barthold (V. V. Bartold). He describes 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz in his article 'Caliph 'Umar II and the conflicting reports on his personality,' published in Islamic Quarterly XV (1971) which was translated from Russian by Jan W. Waryho. He uses a lot of Arabic references in his study such as Ta'bari, Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa-l-Muluk, Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqat al-Kabir, Ma'sudi, Muruj al-Dhahab, Ya'kubis, Ta'rikh al-Ya'qubi, Muhy al-Din b. Sharaf Nawawi, Tahdib al-Asma wa-l-Lughat and others. From all of these, he scans a lot of information about 'Umar's early life before he became caliph.

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

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

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

Patricia Crone has a slightly different opinion when she deals with the tribes of the Qays and Yemen in her article 'Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad Period Political Parties?' in *Der Islam* 71 (1994). She concern herself only intermittently with the involvement of the tribes, and mentions briefly the close relationship between Sulaymân b. 'Abd al-Malik and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azîz. I agree with her that this close relationship caused the caliph to make his final decision on 'Umar as his unexpected successor. She also states that Sulaymân protected Yazîd b. Muhallab from being sacrificed by al-Ḥajjâj through
al-Walid's power, and that al-Walid tried to remove Sulaymān as the successor in favour
of his own son 'Abd al-'Aziz. When she describes the Qadarites in relation to Yazīd b.
al-Walid, she mentions only very briefly that Yazīd b. al-Walid believed in the sect, as we
can conclude from Ṭabarī's work in Ta'rikh. In addition, Van J. Ess goes seemingly a little
further when he states that the Qadarites had been politically involved in Yazīd b. al-Walid's
revolt against al-Walid b. Yazīd and that among them was 'Umar b. Hāni' al-'Ansī who in
127/749 was executed on the orders of Marwān b. Muḥammad, on account of his participation
in the rebellion. (Ess, J. V. 'Kadariyya,' in The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition IV,
Leiden 1978, 370). According to Ṭabarī, the person who was assassinated by Marwān's
order was not 'Umar b. Hāni' al-'Ansī, but in fact Qays b. Hāni' al-'Absī who strongly
supported Yazīd b. al-Walid and blamed 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz. (Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh VII,
Cairo 1966, 270/II, 1836). In the case of 'Umar b. Hāni' al-'Ansī, al-Bukhārī states that he
was 'Umayr b. Hāni' al-'Ansī who had served as governor of Bathaniyya and Ḥawrān for
'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz. He was not among the Qadarites, but among the third generation
which had attained thirty companions of the Prophet. (Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Ismā'il,

Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān is the most important figure of the Umayyad caliphs whom many
scholars have been sufficiently interested to study in more detail since Wellhausen up to
the present time. The very recent study of the above subject by M. Hinds is Mu‘āwiya I, a
clearly uses many Arabic references in order to scan the early life of the candidate. Among
other sources are Ibn Ḥajar, al-Iṣāba fi-Tmayīz al-Šahāba, Ṭabarī, Ta’rikh al-Rusul wa-
to name just a few. No less important than Hinds's work in this case is H. Lammens’s work
Hinds, Lammens also uses Mu‘āwiya as the title of his study. Another reliable work is The
Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates (London 1986) by H. Kennedy, especially chapter four The Umayyad Caliphate which concerns a lot of information about the background of Mu‘awiya.

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

A Contribution

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

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

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

The period of this thesis, which concerns fourteen caliphs and three civil wars, can be divided into three parts. The first part started with 'Uthmān b. 'Affān who was the first member of the Umayyads elected to power. 'Uthmān died without nominating any successor and this led to the first fitna a civil war between 'Ali of the Hashimites and the Umayyad
family. Power eventually reverted from the Hashimites to the Umayyads. Mu‘awiyah b. Abi Sufyân was the ideal leading Umayyad who had fought hard to claim power for himself on the grounds of blood revenge and he finally came to power successfully. However, his efforts in securing power for his own line did not succeed for long. His grandson Mu‘awiyah b. Yazid died with the absence of any nominated successor as was the case with ‘Uthmân b. ‘Affân, and the Muslim community consequently faced another fitna. The second part then began and the second civil war removed power from the Sufyanid branch to the Marwanids, another branch of the Umayyad family. The third part began with al-Walid b. Yazid who was responsible for breaking the unity of the Marwanid power in particular and of the whole Muslim community in general. Yazid b. al-Walid, who rebelled against al-Walid b. Yazid caused the third fitna and al-Walid b. Yazid was killed by the rebels. Marwân b. Muḥammad, the last member of the Umayyad family failed to restore the unity necessary to guarantee his power base for the future. This was brought about by the Abbasid revolution which united the people under the control of Abû ‘Abbâs al-Saffâh.

The Original Sources

It is generally accepted that the historical sources of the Umayyad period are very limited in comparison with the periods before and after. However, most of the facts of the succession of all the Umayyad caliphs are found in Ta’rikh al-Rusul wa-'l-Mulak, a great work of a great Sunnite historian Abu Ja'far, Muḥammad b. Jarir al-Ṭabarî. He describes the succession of the Umayyad caliphs beginning chronologically with the first of them, ‘Uthmân b. ‘Affân to the last caliph of the dynasty, Marwân b. Muḥammad.

According to the valuable table of contents for the Ansâb manuscript of Istanbul provided by M. Hamidullah (Al-Balâdhuri, Aḥmad b. Yahyâ, Ansâb al-Ashrâf I, Cairo 1959, 34-53), al-Balâdhuri also deals with all the Umayyad caliphs as Ṭabarî does. Unfortunately, in a limited period of studies, we have only examined volumes IV/1, IVA, IVB, V and VIB of
the Ansāb in which we scanned some of the caliphs. They are Mu‘āwiya b. Abi Sufyān, Yazid b. Mu‘āwiya, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik. However, as far as I am concerned al-Balādhuri, whose sources were mostly related to the account of al-Madā‘ini (Khalil Athamina, ‘The Sources of al-Balādhuri’s Ansāb al-Ashrāf’ Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam (JSAI) 5 (1984), 248) does not provide as much information as Tabari.

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

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

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

al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr and al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā by Ibn Sa'd, al-Iṣāba fi-Tamyiz al-Ṣaḥāba and Tahdhib al-Tahdhib by Ibn Ḥajar - to name just a few.

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

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

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

1. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān

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

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

Tabari states that 'Uthmān had two wives before his conversion to Islam. They were Umm 'Amr bint Jundub by whom he had ‘Amr, Khālid, Abān and ‘Umar, and Fāṭima bint al-Walid by whom he had Sa’īd. As soon as he became a Muslim he married Ruqayya, the Prophet’s daughter, by whom he had ‘Abd Allāh. However, ‘Abd Allāh died when he...
was a child.¹

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

ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān was the first member of the Umayyads who gained the caliphate. At the time he came to power, there were other members of his family who were alive, including Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, al-Walīd b. ʿUqba and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān was a companion of the Prophet who had experience in administration and politics since he served as a scribe for the Prophet.³ In the year 13/635 the caliph ʿAbū Bakr sent him to Syria as second in command to his brother, Yazid b. Abī Sufyān in various operations against the Byzantines.⁴ When Yazid died in the plague of ʿAmwas in the year 18/640, the caliph ʿUmar put Muʿāwiya in his (Yazid’s) position.⁵ He continued to hold the position when ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān became caliph of the Muslim community.⁶

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¹ Ṭabarī, Taʿrīkh IV, 420/I, 3056. Al-Balāḏūrī, Ansāb, IVA, 600-1.
² Ṭabarī, Taʿrīkh IV, 420/I, 3056. Al-Balāḏūrī, Ansāb, IVA, 600-1.
³ Ṭabarī, Taʿrīkh III, 173/I, 1782.
⁴ Ṭabarī, Taʿrīkh III, 391/I, 3085.
⁵ Ṭabarī, Taʿrīkh IV, 62/289/ I, 2520/2866.
Al-Walid b. 'Uqba was the son of Arwa bint Qurayz, 'Uthmān's mother, who had married 'Uqba b. Abi Mu'ayt. Tabari states that he served as governor of the Jazira for the caliph 'Umar. When 'Uthmān became caliph, he put al-Walid in charge of Kūfah. Al-Walid was reliable and responsible and did his work well and carried out all his duties, but he had a habit of being drunk.²

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

Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was 'Uthmān's scribe and his right-hand man in Medina.⁶ He converted to Islam in the year of the Conquest of Mecca (8/629)⁶ and lived with his father al-Ḥakam who was exiled to Baḥr Wajj in Tā'if by the Prophet. When 'Uthmān came to power, he called al-Ḥakam back, and Marwān came with him.⁷ He, Marwān had been favoured by the caliph, 'Uthmān and their relationship become very close. 'Uthmān obeyed him too much in his decisions and this caused the people to be unhappy with the caliph.¹⁰

In the conquest of Ifrīqiya in the year 27/647, 'Uthmān gave one fifth of the booty to

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1 Ibn Ḥajār, al-Isāba III, 637.
2 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 273-9/1, 2843-52.
3 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 271/1, 2844.
4 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 278/1, 2850.
5 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 322/1, 2915.
6 Ibn Sa’ūd, Tabaqāt, 36.
10 Ibn Sa’ūd, al-Tabaqāt V, 36.
Marwán.¹

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

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

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

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¹ Al-Baladhuri, Ansāb IVA, 514-5.
⁴ Tabari, Ta'rikh IV, 258/260/1, 2823-4.
on issues without consulting him and then told the people that this was ‘Uthmān’s command. ‘Ali said that ‘Uthmān knew about all this, but he did not punish him. Hearing ‘Ali’s questioning, ‘Uthmān simply replied that ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had kept Mu‘āwiya in office throughout his entire caliphate, and that he, ‘Uthmān, had only done the same. In the letter which was read by ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās to the people at Mecca, ‘Uthmān mentioned another reason why he kept Mu‘āwiya as governor. He said that this other reason was because the Messenger of God’s wives had commanded him to do that. They gave the same as ‘Uthmān, that ‘Umar had made Mu‘āwiya governor previously, and that Mu‘āwiya seemed to have looked after his province well, and that his army seemed to have been content with him. In fact, the Umayyads were the leaders of the Meccan merchant aristocracy and they had co-operated with former Byzantine officials during the establishment of the Arab financial administration at Damascus. Thus, they had special interests to safeguard Syria and this brought Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān to the governorship of the province the same reason that his deceased brother Yazīd had been governor before him.

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

1 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 338/1, 2939.
2 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 410/1, 3043.
There was no evidence that 'Uthmān b. 'Affān intended to secure power for his sons or attempted to appoint a member of the Umayyad family as his successor. He had never prepared his sons in any public affairs since he came to power. However, from time to time, he used his relatives for filling high positions in the government, even though he had to dismiss the Prophet companions as governors of the provinces. The companions whom he dismissed were Ābū Mūsa al-Ashʿārī, Saʿd b. Ābi Waqqās and 'Amr b. al-‘Āṣ.

Soon after he came to power, in the year 24/646 'Uthmān replaced al-Mughira b. Shu‘ba as governor of Kūfah with Saʿd b. Ābi Waqqās. He was advised by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb before his death to do so. Unfortunately, Saʿd b. Ābi Waqqās was involved in the treasury. According to Tabari’s reports, he demanded a loan (or the like) from 'Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd who was in charge of the treasury. When 'Abd Allāh took on the debt, Saʿd refused to pay back the loan, and the dispute extended publicly between them. 'Uthmān became angry with them and dismissed Saʿd b. Ābi Waqqās as governor and replaced him with his, 'Uthmān's half-brother al-Walid b. Uqba who was then also dismissed, having been involved in a scandal. Finally, 'Uthmān put Saʿid b. al-'Āṣ, another member of the Umayyad family, in the position. The possible reason for the caliph’s anger is the fact that they, Saʿd b. Ābi Waqqās and 'Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd were the Messenger of God’s companions to whom the people looked for guidance. They, Saʿd b. Ābi Waqqās and 'Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd had indeed brought disgrace not only on themselves but also on Islam.
However, the public finance was more important for ‘Uthmān than the dispute itself.

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

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

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

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1 Ṭabarī, Ta’rikh IV, 256/I, 2819.
4 Ṭabarī, Ta’rikh IV, 264/I, 2828. Ibn Sa’d, al-Tabaqāt V, 44-5.
closer, but Ṭabarî refers to someone who served in the army of Baṣra, namely Ghaylân b.
Kharsha, who reported to 'Uthmân that Abû Mûsâ al-Ash'ârî misappropriated funds from
the public finance of Baṣra for his own purposes and revived the tradition of the Jahiliyya
among the people. His followers respected his personal authority but despised the authority
of Baṣra.  

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

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

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1 Ibn Sa'd, al-Ṭabaqât V, 44-5.
2 Ṭabarî, Ta'rikh IV, 265-6/1, 2830-1.
3 Al-Balâdhuri, Ansâb IVA, 512, 1, 1328.
5 Dennett, D. C., Conversion and the Poll Tax in the Early Islam, Cambridge Mass. 1950, 70. Hinds,
JIMES III (1972), 453-4.
6 Ṭabarî, Ta'rikh IV, 257/1, 2819.
of Egypt instead of 'Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and this was also evidence of 'Abd Allāh’s ability in administration.

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

In fact, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz and 'Abd Allāh b. Sa’d b. Abi Sarh were not among the members of the Umayyad family. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir was 'Uthmān’s maternal cousin, and 'Abd Allāh b. Sa’d was his foster-brother. Therefore, Hawting’s statement that 'Uthmān used members of the Umayyad family to govern Egypt and Basra is not exactly true. The only Umayyads whom 'Uthmān appointed in his government were Mu‘āwiya b. Abi Sulaym, Sa’d b. al-‘Āṣ, al-Walid b. 'Uqba and Marwān b. al-‘Atā. Marwān was ‘Uthmān’s cousin, his son-in-law and his scribe whom he, 'Uthmān ordered to distribute wealth, and he interpreted this as the strengthening of his relationship.

1 Taqi, Ta’rikh IV, 347/I, 2952.
3 The details of his descent, according to Taqi’s statement, are as follows: ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’d b. Abi Sarh b. Ḥābiḥ b. Jadhīma b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ‘Āmir b. Lu’ay. However, Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh reports differently that Abū Sarh was the son of al-‘Ārith and that Jadhīma was the son of Mālik. The details are as follows: ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’d b. Abi Sarh b. al-‘Ārith b. Ḥābiḥ b. Jadhīma b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ‘Āmir b. Lu’ay. His relationship to ‘Uthmān became very close. In the year of the Conquest, the Prophet allowed the people to kill ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’d because he had abandoned Islam. ‘Uthmān protected him and brought him to the Prophet requesting peace. After a long period of peace, the Prophet finally agreed. When ‘Uthmān became caliph, he made ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’d governor of Egypt and in the year 27/647 ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’d invaded Ifrīqiya where he amassed a lot of booty. Four fifths of the booty was put into the public treasury and as reward the remaining one fifth of the booty was given to ‘Uthmān’s governor ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’d. According to al-Baladhuri, one fifth of the booty was given to Marwān. See Taqi, Ta’rikh III, 58–9/I, 1639–1640. See also Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, Nasab, 430–3. See also al-Baladhuri, Ansāb IVA, 514–515.
5 Ibn Sa’d, al-Tabaqu’t V, 36.
Some historians see this as a weakness in 'Uthmān's personality. Hawting, for example, interprets that the Umayyads put 'Uthmān under their influence and at the same time they rebuilt their power. It would appear that they have overlooked the fact that 'Uthmān was advised by Mu‘āwiya in the pilgrimage season of 35/655 to come with him to Syria before he was attacked by men against whom he could not defend himself, but 'Uthmān refused. Mu‘āwiya offered to send an army from Syria which would protect him from the eventuality of attack, and 'Uthmān once again refused it. Finally, Mu‘āwiya said: 'By God, you will surely be assassinated or attacked.' If 'Uthmān had been influenced by members of the Umayyad, he would have done as Mu‘āwiya advised. But 'Uthmān replied by saying: 'God suffices for me, and what an excellent guardian is He.'

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

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

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2 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 345/1, 2949.
3 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 345/1, 2949.
would become caliph. Hearing the prediction however, 'Uthmân said nothing.

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

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1 Al-Balâdhuri, Ansâb IV, 495.
2 'Uthmân meant when he said 'his friends' the Muhājirūn and the Ansâr who lived in Medina and who attended his speech in the mosque. Tabari, Taʾrīkh IV, 338-9/II, 2939-40.
3 Tabari, Taʾrīkh IV, 453/II, 3103-4.
2. The First Fitna

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

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

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

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1 Tabari, Ta‘rīkh IV, 333/1, 2932.
2 See note 2, 25.
3 Tabari, Ta‘rīkh IV 342/1, 2945-6.
this meeting had been called, an agitation started by Ibn Sabā’ spread throughout the garrison towns. Ṭabarî states that Ibn Sabā’, a Jew from Ṣān‘ā’ namely ‘Abd Allāh b. Sabā’ who converted to Islam in the time of ‘Uthmān, attempted to agitate the Muslim people with his innovative claim that ‘Ali b. Abī Talib was the legatee of the Prophet and that ‘Uthmān had seized power over the community unlawfully. This news extended to Medina and ‘Uthmān was advised to send men to the towns and to report back to him, but they found that this was purely a rumour.

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

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

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1 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV 342/1, 2945-6.
2 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV 342/1, 2946-7.
3 See note 4, 25.
4 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 344/1, 2947-8.
5 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 344/1, 2948.
Mu‘awiya’s fear that ‘Uthmān would be murdered came true when, in the following year, a group of more than five hundred Muslim troops, according to one of Tābari’s report, came from Kūfa, Baṣra and Egypt, while another report says that they came from Egypt. When ‘Uthmān thought the Medinese had become unbelievers, and abandoned obedience and renounced their oath of allegiance, he wrote to Mu‘awiya asking him to send the Syrian army to support him (‘Uthmān), but Mu‘awiya delayed action on this. He did not wish to differ openly with the companions of the Messenger of God, since he knew of their unity. In this case, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās said that Mu‘awiya had gained power by exploiting ‘Uthmān who in turn sought his, Mu‘awiya’s support but Mu‘awiya delayed taking action. Consequently he, Mu‘awiya quietly gained power. In spite of his powerful situation, Mu‘awiya, who had a charismatic personality and had an impeccable sense of judgement of men and of situation, deliberately waited and did not to take action quickly. After the negotiation was unsuccessful, the troops who had besieged ‘Uthmān in his house, finally killed him.

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

\[1\] Tābari, Ta‘rikh IV, 348-350/1, 2954-2957.
\[2\] Tābari, Ta‘rikh IV, 351-9/1, 2968-2970.
\[3\] Tābari, Ta‘rikh IV, 368/1, 2985.
\[4\] Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb IVA, 105-6.
\[5\] Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb IVA, 617-8.
probably too young for the position. They were under thirty years old and not the right candidates to deal with 'Ali who was among the great companions of the Prophet. Later in 'Abd al-Malik’s time as caliph, 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān told his son 'Umar about 'Ali, saying that if the Umayyads' followers had known of 'Ali’s priority in Islam, they would have turned away and have supported 'Ali’s descendants. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who was among other leading Umayyads, had no strong grounds to claim power for himself. He had no special province and no army as Mu'āwiya had. At that time, he was busy seeking protection for himself rather than claiming power. Sa‘id b. al-‘Āṣ and al-Walid b. ‘Uqba, two other leading Umayyads were facing the same problem as Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

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

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

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1 Ibn al-'Atīr, al-Kāmil IV, 154.
2 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 448-9/1, 3096-8.
3 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 456/1, 3098-9.
4 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 450/1, 3099.
b. al-Ḥakam who advised Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ to go home when they happened to meet each other in Dhāt 'Irq, finally followed 'Ā'isha.¹

In fact, the first opposition against 'Ali was led by Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, who hoped that if 'Ali was defeated the people would choose one of them as their caliph. Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ suggested to them that they make 'Uthmān's son caliph, but they refused.² In the year 36/656 they marched from Mecca to Baṣra calling the people to join them to fight against 'Ali.³ Learning about this, 'Ali also left Medina to go to Kūfa and raised an army to fight against them.⁴ The two forces met outside Baṣra in the Battle of the Camel in which Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr were killed.⁵

Mu'āwiya who was well protected in Damascus,⁶ observed all of the events carefully. At this stage, he did not take action hurriedly neither to fight 'Ali nor to join the opposition. On the contrary, a number of the members of the Umayyad family who were defeated in the Battle of the Camel sought refuge and the protection of his province. Among them were 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Yalūyah the two sons of al-Ḥakam and 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir; 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Sarḥ also escaped from Egypt, seeking refuge in Damascus, when he was forced out by Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfa just before 'Uthmān was murdered.⁷ Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was the only one who did not seek protection in Damascus. He had been wounded in the battle and sought protection from the 'Anza

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¹ Dhāt 'Irq was a boundary place situated between Nadj and Tihāma. See al-Jamawi, Yaḥūt b. 'Abd Allāh, Mu'jam al-Buldān, Beirut 1957, 107.
² Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh IV, 453-4/l, 3103-5.
³ Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh IV, 453/1, 3099.
⁴ Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh IV, 450/1, 3100. Hawting, The First Dynasty, 27.
⁵ Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh IV, 450/1, 3100. Hawting, The First Dynasty, 27.
⁶ Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh IV, 450/1, 3100. Hawting, The First Dynasty, 27.
⁸ Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh IV, 535-6/1, 3219-3220.
⁹ Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh IV, 546-7/1, 3233-5.
family whereupon someone, namely Malik b. Misma, a member of this family took him into his house. After the people of Bāṣra swore allegiance to ‘Ali, he, Marwān with his companion al-Aswad b. Abi al-Bakhtari went to Medina. However, Mu’āwiya became the single most powerful leading Umayyad from whom most members of his family sought protection.

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

According to ‘Awāna, Jarir b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Bajali offered to go to Syria in order to demand allegiance from Mu’āwiya. Jarir was governor of Hamadhān for ‘Uthmān b. Affān at the same time as al-Ash’ath b. Qays al-Kindi was governor of Ādharbayjān. After the Battle of the Camel ‘Ali b. Abi Talib called them back to Kūfa to swear allegiance. Al-Ashtar thought that Jarir’s desire was to support Mu’āwiya, so he advised ‘Ali that he should not send Jarir to Syria. In spite of that, ‘Ali agreed with Jarir and ordered him to hand a letter to Mu’āwiya, mentioning the fact that the Ansār and the Muhājirūn had recognized ‘Ali, and that Talḥa b. ‘Ubayd Allāh and al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām who rebelled

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1 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 530/536/541-2/1, 3213/3220-1/3227-8.
2 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 438-9/1, 3082-3.
3 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 441/1, 3086.
against ‘Ali had been killed. Mu‘awiya called ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, whom he consulted regarding ‘Ali’s request and ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ then advised Mu‘awiya to make an agreement with the Syrian chiefs to seek blood revenge and fight against ‘Ali.  

Al-Balādhurī says that, according to Sāliḥ b. Kaysān, ‘Ali promised Mu‘awiya his friendship if he would swear allegiance, but he refused.  

Tabari states that when ‘Ali b. Abī Talib sent his messenger Sabra al-Juhani to Mu‘awiya he said nothing and refused to answer. Three months later, Mu‘awiya sent his own messenger, Qābiṣa, to ‘Ali taking a sealed scroll with no writing on it. ‘Ali asked the messenger about the situation of the Syrians. He said: ‘I left a group of men in Syria who will not be satisfied except with retaliation against you (‘Ali). I left sixty thousand men crying below ‘Uthmān’s bloody shirt in the mosque of Damascus.‘  

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

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

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2 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 164-5.  
3 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 444/1, 3089-91.  
4 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 546/1, 3233.  
5 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 550/1, 3238.  
6 Tabari, Ta’rikh IV, 550-1/1, 3239.
Talha and al-Zubayr had claimed power for themselves before. Mu'awiya used the same idea to win power. He gathered the people of Syria to fight against 'Ali, who was protecting Uthman's murderers, and they did not stop fighting him, 'Ali until he, 'Ali, on Mu'awiya's insistence had killed the murderers or until they, Mu'awiya and his army had killed 'Ali. They strongly desired to make Mu'awiya caliph after Uthman. Al-Walid b. 'Uqba also mentioned in his poetry this wish to make Mu'awiya caliph, and he subsequently wrote to Mu'awiya urging him to fight against 'Ali.

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

Fortunately, Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyan had loyal supporters who were outraged by Uthman's murder. Tabari states that 'Abd Allâh b. 'Abbâs, 'Ali's organizer in the arbitration agreement praised Mu'awiya's supporters who had wholeheartedly trusted Mu'awiya as their leader, and who had suspected nothing when Mu'awiya wrote to 'Amr. On the contrary, when

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1 Tabari, Ta'rikh IV, 562/1, 3255. Hawting, The First Dynasty, 27.
2 The verse of the poetry is as follows:

يمثني الإمارة كل ركب + لأنفاض العراق بها رسوم

See Tabari, Ta'rikh IV, 564/1, 3258.


4 Hinds, JSS XVII, 93-4.

5 Hinds, JSS XVII, 94-5.
\textit{2. The First Fima}

\textit{\'Ali wrote to 'Abd Allahi b. \text{"}Abb\text{"}as, \text{"}Ali\text{"}s followers investigated everything and when 'Abd Allahi kept the letter confidentially, they thought about it and made various presumptions.} The disloyal followers actually caused disaster for \text{"}Ali. According to Ab\text{"}u Mikhna\text{"}f, \text{"}Ali realised Mu'\text{"}awiya\text{"}s trick when he suggested the arbitration. Although \text{"}Ali explained the trick clearly to his followers, they disloyally forced him to accept the suggestion. They also forced him to make Ab\text{"}u M\text{"}usa al-Ash\text{"}ar\text{"}i his representative instead of his own choice, \text{"}Abd Allahi b. \text{"}Abb\text{"}as or al-Ashtar, his trustiest companions.}

When the arbitration meeting began, Ab\text{"}u M\text{"}usa was easily tricked by 'Amr b. al-'\text{"}A\text{"}s who was wellknown as a scheming trickster. \text{"}Tabari\text{"} reports that both representatives held a conversation in which they discussed the possible candidate whom they should suggest. Among other candidates, they mentioned Mu'\text{"}awiya, \text{"}Abd Allahi b. 'Umar, the son of the former caliph and \text{"}Abd Allahi, the son of 'Amr b. al-'\text{"}A\text{"}s. However, they did not reach any agreement. Finally, Ab\text{"}u M\text{"}usa suggested dismissing both \text{"}Ali and Mu'\text{"}awiya and letting the Muslims choose whom they wanted. 'Amr b. al-'\text{"}A\text{"}s strongly welcomed this idea. As soon as Ab\text{"}u M\text{"}usa had announced that he had dismissed both \text{"}Ali and Mu'\text{"}awiya, 'Amr b. al-'\text{"}A\text{"}s accepted the dismissal of \text{"}Ali and announced publicly that he confirmed Mu'\text{"}awiya as caliph of the Muslim community.}

It is obvious that Mu'\text{"}awiya had referred to the teaching of the tradition of the Prophet when he suggested an arbitration instead of fighting in the Battle of Siffin as mentioned above. The Prophet was reported as saying: 'War is finished by a single act of deceit.' \text{"}Tabari\text{"} states that \text{"}Abd Allahi b. \text{"}Abb\text{"}as reminded \text{"}Ali to use the teaching of the tradition

\begin{enumerate}
\item \text{"}Tabari, \text{"}Ta'rikh\text{"} V, 67/I, 2354.
\item \text{"}Tabari, \text{"}Ta'rikh\text{"} V, 48-9/I, 3230.
\item \text{"}Tabari, \text{"}Ta'rikh\text{"} V, 51/I, 3333.
\item \text{"}Tabari, \text{"}Ta'rikh\text{"} V, 70-1/I, 3358-9. Hawting,\textit{The First Dynasty}, 29.
\item Al-Bust\text{"}ani, Bu\text{"}rus, \text{"}Muhii\text{"}t al-Muhii\text{"}, I, Beirut 1870, 510. See also Lane, E. W., \text{"}Arabic-English Lexicon\text{"} I, London 1984, 760.
\end{enumerate}
2. The First Fitna

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

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

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

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1 Tabari, Taʾriḵ IV, 441/1, 3086.
7 Tabari, Taʾriḵ V, 324/II, 99.
3. Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān

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

The sources provide conflicting reports of the date of Mu‘āwiya’s birth and of his age when he died. He is said to have been born 5, 7 or 13 years before the time of the mission of Muḥammad, and to have been aged 73, 75, 78, 80 or 85 years when he died in Rajab 60/April-May 680.

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

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1 Historians do not mention directly how old he was. According to Tāhārī’s statements, he died in the year 60/679 after ruling for nearly twenty years. In the year of the mission of the Prophet he was around 5-13 years old. So in the year 41/662 he was around 55-60 years old. See Taʾrīkh V, 323-4/ II, 198-9. Hinds, ‘Mu‘āwiya,’ The Encyclopaedia of Islam New Edition, VII, 264.
2 Kennedy, The Prophet, 82.
5 Tāhārī, Taʾrīkh V, 325/ II, 200.
7 Al-Balādhuri, Annāb IVA, 13.
the year of *al-‘umra al-qadīya* (7/629) and he met the Prophet who then recognized his conversion.¹

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

At the time Mu‘awiya became caliph he had two sons, Yazid and ‘Abd Allāh. Yazid, the son of Maysūn bint Bahdal al-Kalbî was sixteen years old. ‘Abd Allāh was the son of Fākhita bint Qaraṣa. According to Ibn Qutayba and al-Baladhuri, Fākhita was Mu‘awiya’s female slave.⁴ During his caliphate, Mu‘awiya had two other wives, Nā‘īla bint ‘Umar and Katwa bint Qaraṣa, Fākhita’s sister. Neither Nā‘īla nor Katwa gave him any children.⁵ He had lost his ability to produce children since his buttock had been hacked by al-Burak b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī, the Kharijite who attempted to kill him.⁶ Since ‘Abd Allāh was foolish and weak in his judgement,⁷ his qualification was not strong enough to be a caliph, thus Yazid was the single candidate to be Mu‘awiya’s successor.⁸

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

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³ Tabari, *Ta’rikh* III, 173/1, 1782.
⁵ Tabari, *Ta’rikh* V, 329/II, 204.
contrary, Mawān b. al-Ḥakam and Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ had gained a lot of experience during ʿUthmān’s caliphate. They were among ʿUthmān’s important advisors. However, Saʿīd and Abān were two sons of ʿUthmān the former caliph, and therefore they had the strongest grounds among the others for a claim to the caliphate in the future.

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

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

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

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1 Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 133.
2 Al-Balādūrī, *Ansāb IVA*, 60.
have no right to become imam. God said: ‘My covenant does not apply to the wrongdoers.’

According to Sa‘id b. Jubayr, a muhaddith of Kūfa, ‘wrongdoer’ here means ‘unbeliever.’

In this case, Yazid, who was not an unbeliever, was not a wrongdoer. He was a young man who enjoyed an easy life with no responsibility, besides his love of hunting. It is said that Yazid was the first man who had a habit of being drunk, who liked song, who had singing female slaves, and who kept animals as pets. This is the real problem which, according to Tabari, caused Mu‘awiya to be anxious that the people would dislike Yazid. In spite of that, Mu‘awiya hoped that the people would accept Yazid as his successor. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the people whom Mu‘awiya thought might reject his son Yazid were in fact the members of the Umayyad family. They were the ahl al-ḥall wa al-‘aqd who strengthened the Umayyad power. So, he had to avoid everything he thought would break their unity.

In relation to this, Mu‘awiya not only trained Yazid but also put pressure on him from time to time, and hoped that Yazid would behave himself, in order that they would be satisfied with him and make him successor.

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

3 Al-Baladhuri, Ansāb IVA 286.
3. Mu‘awiya b. Abī Sufyān

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

It is reasonable to suppose that Mu‘awiya wished Ziyād b. Abī to support his plan of making Yazīd his successor, when in the year 44/664 he, Mu‘awiya attached the lineage of Ziyād b. Abī to his own father Abū Sufyān and recognised him as his brother. In the beginning of the year 45/665 Mu‘awiya replaced ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amir with al-Hārith b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Azdi as governor of Basra and four months later he dismissed him, al-Hārith b. ‘Abd Allāh and put Ziyād in his place. Al-Hārith was obviously a turning point for Ziyād. Ṭabarī says that Ziyād was the first governor who strengthened Mu‘awiya’s power in Iraq. Mu‘awiya then made him governor of several large areas: Basra, Kūfah, Sijistān, India, Bahrayn and ‘Umān. In the year 53/675 Ziyād died after governing Iraq for only five years. Mu‘awiya then put his adopted nephew, ‘Ubayd Allāh, the son of Ziyād in charge of Basra.

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

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1 Al-Baladhuri, Ansāb IVA, 142. Mus‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, Nasab, 82.
3 Al-Baladhuri, Ansāb IVA, 142-3.
5 Ṭabarī, Ta‘rikh V, 216/II, 71.
6 Ṭabarī, Ta‘rikh V, 221-2/II, 76-7.
7 Ṭabarī, Ta‘rikh V, 217/II, 73.
8 Ṭabarī, Ta‘rikh V, 288/II, 157-8, Ibn al-Ṭabir, al-Kāmil III, 244-5.
9 Ṭabarī, Ta‘rikh V, 300/II, 172.
made everything easy for you. I have saved you from the need to travel. I have subdued enemies, humbled the necks of the Arabs, and gathered a community for you. He also taught Yazid the correct way to treat the people in order to gain their respect, especially the high-class people who would regard him with greater respect if he behaved with goodness and acted with honesty among them.

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

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

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1 Ṭabarî, Ta‘rikh V, 322-3/II, 197.
2 Al-Baladhuri, Ansâb IVA, 26.
4 Kennedy, The Prophet, 87.
Arût and Suflan b. ‘Awf in the year 50/670, Suflan b. ‘Awf in the year 52/672, and Málik b. ‘Abd Allâh in the year 58/678. During the years 51/671, 53/673, 54/674, 55/675, 56/676, 57/677 and 59/679 it is reported that a few commanders such as Faḍâla b. ‘Ubayd, ‘Abd al-Râhîm b. Umm al-Ḥakam and others merely stayed there during the winter. Thus, according to this report, Kennedy’s statement is not true. In order to make Yazid more mature in leadership, Mu‘awiya also put him in charge of the pilgrimage. That was in the year 51/673. Some said that Yazid also led the pilgrimage in the year 50/670.

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

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1 Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 234/II, 87.
3 Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 309/II, 1181.
5 Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 240/286/II 94/156.
6 In the year 50/671 death came to al-Mughîra b. Shu‘ba, Mu‘awiya then joined Kûfâ to Başra and Ziyâd b. Abi Sufyân was the first governor who held two provinces together. See Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 234/II, 87. See also Ibn al-Athîr, al-Kâmûl III, 288.
7 Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 301-2/II, 173-4.
happen if Mu'awiya did not appoint Yazid as his successor. Al-Mughira promised that he would support and gave him, Mu'awiya his backing in respect of the Kufan people, and that Ziyad b. Abi Sufyân would support him in respect of the Basran people. It would then nobody disagree with him there.¹ So Mu'awiya sent al-Mughira b. Shu'ba back to Kufa and ordered him to arrange Yazid's succession.² In order to do that, al-Mughira called together a group whom he trusted and whom he knew were members of the Umayyad party, to encourage them to support Yazid's succession. They agreed to give the oath of allegiance. Then, he sent more than ten people from this group led by his son, Mûsa b. al-Mughira to Mu'awiya. Some said that, al-Mughira had sent forty people and had charged his son 'Urwa to lead them, and that they had come to Mu'awiya and suggested that he should make Yazid his successor. It is reported that he agreed with them but that he had told them not to hurry.³

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

¹ Ibn al-Athîr, al-Kâmîl III, 249.
² Tabari, Ta'rîkh V, 301-2/nli, 173-4.
³ Ibn al-Athîr, al-Kâmîl III, 249.
interested in this point and asked him immediately to go back to his job and finish the preparations for Yazid’s succession.

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

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

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1 Ya’qūbi, Ta’rikh II, 159-160.
3 Ya’qūbi, Ta’rikh II, 160.
4 Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 172/II, 16.
5 Al-Baladhuri, Ansāb IVA, 65.
6 Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 233/II, 86.
7 Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 293/II, 164.
3. Mu‘awiya b. Abī Sufyān

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

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

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2 Ṣaybūr, in his two accounts of Mu‘awiya b. Yazīd b. Mu‘awiya only uses Abū Layla another name by which he had been known. While Ibn Manzūr, al-Mas‘ūdi, al-Balādhurī and others state that the name Abū Layla is a symbol of weakness, because the Arabs used “Abū Layla” to call somebody who is to weak to rule the people. Similarly, Marwān called Mu‘awiya b. Yazīd Abū Layla because he was unable to rule the people for more than three months. See Ṣaybūr, Ta‘rīkh V, 500/503/11, 429/432. Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb IVA, 356. Ibn Manzūr, Muhammad b. Mukrim, Lisān al-‘Arab II, Beirut, no date, 609. Al-Mas‘ūdi, ‘Ali b. Ḥusayn, al-Tanbih wa-l-Iṣhrāf, ed. Cairo 1938, 265.
3 Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb IVA, 33. See also two versions of Ṣaybūr’s statements in Ta‘rīkh V, 293-5/11, 164-5.
5 Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb IVA, 46.
would treat the servants of God as their servants," he arrogantly said that he was the father of ten sons, had ten brothers and was uncle of ten nephews.¹

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

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

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¹ Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb IVA, 58.
² Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh V, 303-4/II, 173-8.
³ Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb IVA, 614-6.
⁴ Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh V, 305/II, 177.
⁵ Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb IVA, 616.
⁶ Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb IVA, 616.
Muʿawiya dismissed him.1

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

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

1 Al-Baladhuri, Ansāb IVA, 616.
the oath of allegiance to Yazid.¹

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

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

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

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

¹ Ibn al-Athir, al-Kāmil III, 250-1.
² Tabari, Ta‘rikh V, 303/II, 175-6.
all of you must do the same." They did so and then he returned home to Syria. The best leaders of the Muslims to whom Mu'awiya referred were the Syrian-based regime which he had set up. They included the tribal groups in the north of Hijaz who agreed with him and swore allegiance to Yazid without incident.

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

The second version states that Yazid was absent when Mu'awiya died. Before dying, Mu'awiya called al-Dâhhâk b. Qays al-Fihri, his chief of police and Muslim b. 'Uqba al-Murri and gave those two his commission. He said: "Take my order to Yazid: Look
after the people of Hijaz because they are your relatives, treat with honour those who are older than you, inquire about those who are absent. Pay attention the Iraqi people. If they ask you to dismiss a governor everyday, do it, because dismissing a governor is better than a hundred thousand people who are armed with their swords against you. Look after the Syrian people and make them your special friends and depositary of your secrets. If your enemy attacks you, ask for their support, and if you find any Syrian people outside Syria send them back to their country, because if they are settled outside their country, their behaviour will be influenced by those around them. I fear nobody of the Quraysh but three people, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar is a submissive servant of God and will not require anything. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī is a rash man, may God help you against him with such a man who has killed his father and has deserted his brother. He has a close relationship and a great right to power and he is descended from the Prophet’s family. I think the Iraqi people will involve him in rebellion. If you defeat him forgive him and if I were you I would forgive him. Ibn al-Zubayr is a deceitful person. When he rebels against you, strike him down unless he seeks peace from you."

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4. Yazid b. Mu‘awiya

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

Ṭabarī, in one statement, reports that Yazid b. Mu‘awiya was born in the year 22/642, the same year in which ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān was born. In another statement, on the authority of al-Waqidi, he says that he was born in the year 25/645, during ‘Uthmān’s caliphate, while Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī states that he was born in the year 25/645 or 26/646.

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

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

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1 Ṭabarī, Ta‘rikh V, 323-4/338/11, 198/216.
2 Ṭabarī, Ta‘rikh IV, 160/1, 2671.
6 Ṭabarī, Ta‘rikh V, 503/II, 432.
7 Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb IVA, 356-8.
young. He was at that time, in the year 64/683 under fifteen years old. When his father became caliph in the year 60/679 he was around ten years old.

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


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

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1 Taʿrīkh V, 536-7/11,475-6.  
Yazid b. Mu‘awiya held power for only four years. According to Tabari, al-Baladhuri and Ibn al-Athir, as soon as he came to power, the most important thing for him was to have the oath of allegiance of Ḥusayn b. ‘Ali, ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar. So he confirmed al-Walid b. ‘Uthba as governor of Medina and ordered him to take their oath of allegiance by force before they knew the news of Mu‘awiya’s death.\(^2\)

However, al-Walid failed to do his task. Yazid replaced him with ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd al-Ashdaq.\(^3\) In the year 61/680 Ḥusayn b. ‘Ali rebelled against Yazid in Kūfah. It would be appear that he, Yazid had not been anxious about that because his father had already reminded him of the competition in the document before. So he wrote to ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād, the governor of ‘Irāq to deal with the rebel and Ḥusayn b. ‘Ali was killed. Following Ḥusayn b. ‘Ali’s death he faced another challenge from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr who claimed the caliphate for himself in Mecca,\(^4\) another prediction of his father which became true. ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd could do nothing to make Ibn al-Zubayr pay his allegiance, so, in the year 61/680 Yazid dismissed him and put al-Walid back in the position.\(^5\)

Yazid then seems to be very confused and weak. When, in the year 62/691 Ibn al-Zubayr wrote to him telling that al-Walid was not fit for the Meccan people, he replaced him with ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān.\(^6\) Shortly later, he dismissed ‘Uthmān who tended to follow Ibn al-Zubayr and replaced him with ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘īn al-Makhzūmī, a candidate outside of the members of the Umayyad family.\(^8\)

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\(^3\) Tabari, Ta‘rikh V, 343-4/II, 223-3.
\(^5\) Ibn al-Athir, al-Kāmil III, 319.
\(^6\) Tabari, Ta‘rikh V, 476-7/II, 399. Al-Baladhuri, Ansāb IVA, 318.
\(^7\) Tabari, Ta‘rikh V, 479/II, 402. Al-Baladhuri, Ansāb IVA, 318.
\(^8\) Al-Baladhuri, Al-Baladhuri, Ansāb IVA, 319.
In the year 63/682, the people of Medina rebelled against Yazid and encharged 'Abd Allâh b. Hanâzâla al-Ghasil with his dismissal. They removed 'Uthmân b. Muḥammad the governor of the town and moved the Umayyads, their clients and their Quraysh supporters out. As soon as the bad news came to Yazid, he made Muslim b. 'Uqba al-Murri the chief commander and ʻUṣayn b. Numayr the second chief to lead a group of twelve thousand soldiers to help. He drew up a plan for Muslim b. 'Uqba. Firstly, he should call the rebels to peace and obedience. Secondly, if they refused, he should fight them. Thirdly, if he should win, he should allow his soldiers to plunder the town in three days and take its property by force. Finally, he should move on to fight against Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca.¹

Having failed at negotiation to bring about peace, the battle between the two sides took place and the winner was the side of Yazid and Muslim b. 'Uqba then allowed his army to afflict the Medinese according to Yazid's third plan.² On his way to Mecca, in the year 64/683, death came to him. So Ḥuşayn b. Numayr replaced him as the chief commander of the Syrian army. He besieged Mecca and set the Ka'ba on fire. Before winning the battle, the news of Yazid's death came to him and he had to return with his army to Damascus.³

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

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¹ Ṭabari, Ta'rikh V, 482-3/II, 405-8. See also al-Balādhuri, Ansâb IVA, 322-3.
² Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allâh, Nasah, 127.
³ Ṭabari, Ta'rikh V, 498-501/II, 427-430.
⁴ Ṭabari, Ta'rikh V, 503/II, 432.
Both Tabari and al-Baladuri, according to whose respective accounts Mu’awiya was a mere youth of thirteen or of ages ranging between eighteen and twenty three, state that he, Mu’awiya was a weak caliph uninterested in the caliphate. Distressed by that, he fell ill shortly afterwards. He then encharged al-Dalîk b. Qays, his commander of the army to lead the prayer of the people. After forty days of holding power, death came to him. He refused to nominate anyone of his brothers or any member of the Umayyad family.

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1 Al-Baladuri, Ansâb IVA, 356-7.
5. The Second Fitna

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

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

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

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

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¹ Al-Baladhuri, *Ansāb IVA*, 357.
² Hammamneh, 'Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and the Caliphate' *Der Islam*, 65 (1988), 205.
the first party. They were al-Nu’mān b. Bashir in Ḥims, Zufar b. al-Ḥārith in Qinnasrin and Nāṭil b. Qays in Palestine. They agreed to give the oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr. As soon as the news came to ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, he wrote to al-Dāḥhāk appointing him as governor of Syria.

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

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


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2 Tabari, Ta‘rikh V, 531-2/III, 469-70.
3 Ibn Sa’d, al-Thaqāfīt III, 39-40.
4 Al-Baladuri, Ansāb IVA, 600-2.
5 The verse of poetry is as follows: إني أرى فتنة تغلق مراجعها وابن الملك يعد أبي ليلى إن غالب
Ibn Sa’d, al-Thaqāfīt IV, 124-5.
At first, the people of Baṣra agreed to appoint him as their leader until the Muslim community settled down. This agreement encouraged him to extend the idea to the people of Kūfā, so he sent his messengers to them suggesting that they should do the same, but, unfortunately they rejected him strongly, and this action made the people of Baṣra change their mind and attack him. So, he sought the protection of Masʿūd b. ‘Amr of the Azd tribe. Three months later the Azd and Bakr b. Wālī tribe sent a few men who guarded him as he fled to Syria. When he reached Tadmur, he found there the Umayyads of Medina, Mecca and the whole of Hejaz who had been expelled by Ibn al-Zubayr.

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

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1 Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 525/II, 460.
2 Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 525/II, 461.
3 Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 540/II, 481-2.
4 Tabari’s statement of ‘Ubayd Allāh is quite confusing. What did ‘Ubayd Allāh mean when he said that Marwān was the senior man among the Quraysh, while ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr was also the senior man among the Quraysh? The context of the statement becomes clear that his, ‘Ubayd Allāh’s aim was the Umayyads. Rawh b. Zinbā had used the same word when he called the people of Medina to pay obedience to Yazid b. Mu‘awiya after the Battle of the Ḥarāt. He said: ‘We do not summon you to support the tribe of Kalb or the others, but the tribe of Quraysh.’ He meant the Umayyads. See Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 530/541/II, 467/482. Al-Mas‘ūdī, ‘Ali b. Ḥusayn, Muruj al-Dhahab wa-Muʿaddin al-Jawhar III, ed. Beirut 1970. 281-2.
5 Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 530/II, 467. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr had a son called Khubayb. So he was called Abū Khubayb - Khubayb’s father. See Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil III, 326.
Facing the difficult situation, al-Ḍahḥāk was very confused. He apologised for opposing the Umayyads and suggested to Ḥassān to organize a meeting in Jābiya. The people of Damascus as well as the people of Jordan should come together to make Khālid b. Yazīd their caliph. On the way to the Jābiya meeting, al-Ḍahḥāk changed his mind. He and his followers camped at Marj Rāhiṭ on the road from Damascus a few miles to the north. Here he sought support of al-Ḥusayn b. Bāṣhir in Himṣ, Zufar b. al-Ḥārith in Qinnasrin and Nāṭil b. Qays in Palestine. They were the members of his party and he seems to have prepared for fighting rather than for a peaceful meeting.

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

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

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3 Tabari, Ta‘rīkh V, 535/II, 474.
4 Kennedy, The Prophet, 92.
5 Ibn al-Athir, al-Kāmil III, 327.
Mecca, Marwān wrote to him telling him the news of Muʿawiyah b. Yazid’s death and advising him to keep fighting.¹ However, hearing the news of the caliph’s death, Ibn al-Zubayr invited the Syrian army to join the people who supported him. Ḥusayn b. Numayr promised him to stop fighting and to return the Syrian army home if he, Ibn al-Zubayr gave them permission to round the Kaʿba. Ibn al-Zubayr agreed.² During the period of mourning time following the caliph’s death, Ḥusayn b. Numayr secretly offered the oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr on condition that he, Ibn al-Zubayr, should move to Syria. Ḥusayn promised that the army with him were the Syrian leaders who would never be disagree with Ibn al-Zubayr. In his opinion, Ibn al-Zubayr had to move to Syria because he knew among the Umayyads many candidates who had aspirations to claim power for themselves, and without Ibn al-Zubayr’s presence, he could do nothing. Unfortunately, Ibn al-Zubayr refused the offer publicly.³ So, Ḥusayn returned with the army to Syria and told Marwān what had happened between him and Ibn al-Zubayr. He addressed Marwān and members of the Umayyad family saying that they would have to nominate a caliph in order to avoid a fitna.⁴

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

¹ Yaʿqūbī, Taʾrīkh II, 183.
³ Tabari, Taʾrīkh V, 501-2/11,430-1.
⁴ Ibn al-Athir, al-Kāmil III, 326.
⁵ Tabari, Taʾrīkh V, 531-2/11,469.
Among other decisions the members of the Umayyad family made at the Jāhiya meeting was the decision to begin their effort to settle the bad situation among the Muslim community. They marched to fight the Qaysī al-Ḍāḥyak at Marj Rahit. The two sides fought each other (in the year 65/684) and al-Ḍāḥyak was killed. After the battle ended with a victory for Marwān and after the Syrians swore allegiance and acknowledged him as the caliph of the Muslim community in Damascus, Marwān arranged his new government and appointed new officers.²

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

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2 Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh V, 540/II, 481.
3 Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh V, 541/II, 482.
6. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam

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

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

The people of the Jābiya meeting chose him on the ground that he had seniority among the Quraysh. They thought that he was comparatively the best candidate among the others. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had been a companion of the Prophet and had seniority in Islam. In spite of that, he was weak was not fit to take charge of the Muslim community.2

‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr was not only a companion of the Prophet, but also the son of Asmā’ bint Abī Bakr the caliph, as well as having seniority and merit in Islam. On the other hand, he was an evildoer. He rejected two caliphs, Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya and Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, killed the people and broke down the unity of the Muslims. The evildoer was not one who had authority to command the Muslim community.3 Marwān was a man who united the broken community and defended ‘Uthmān when he was besieged and fought against ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib in the Battle of the Camel.4 Finally the people agreed to choose Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.5

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

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1 Ibn Ḥajar, Ahmad b. 'Ali, al-Iṣāba III, 477.
2 Tabari, Taʾrīkh V, 536/II, 475.
3 Tabari, Taʾrīkh V, 536/II, 476.
4 Tabari, Taʾrīkh V, 536-7/II, 476.
claimed, he was the father of ten sons, had ten brothers and ten nephews. The ten sons were as follows: ‘Abd al-Malik and Mu‘awiya, the sons of ‘Ā’isha bint Mu‘awiya b. al-Mughira b. Abi al-‘Ās, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, the son of Laylā bint Zabbān of the Kalb, Bishr, the son of Qutayya bint Bishr, Abān, ‘Abd Allāh, ‘Ubayd Allāh, Ayyūb, ‘Uthmān and Dāwūd, the sons of Umm Abān bint ‘Uthmān the caliph.¹ According to Mu‘āshab b. ‘Abd Allāh and Ibn Qutayba, he had twelves sons.² However, this included undoubtedly sons of female slaves including Muhammad b. Marwān.³

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

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¹ Mus‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, Nasab, 162.
⁴ Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 180/II, 837.
⁵ Al-Balādhuri, Ansāb IVA, 160.
⁷ When Yazid had proved that there were a few people who gave the oath of allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr secretly, he (Yazid) swore a covenant that he would arrest him (Ibn al-Zubayr). To make the covenant into effect, he sent a delegation to Ibn al-Zubayr with a letter and a silver chain for warning him, Ibn al-Zubayr that he would be arrested. See Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 475/II, 397.
⁸ According to al-Balādhuri, Ibn ‘Idāh had warned Ibn al-Zubayr, if he refused to pay allegiance peacefully,
is that Marwân wanted to give 'Abd al-Malik more experience in political negotiation.¹

Little is known about 'Abd al-'Aziz and Muhammad during Marwân's short time as caliph. Ṭabari and al-Baladhuri mention that 'Abd al-'Aziz was involved in two political events, the first as mentioned above, when he came with 'Abd al-Malik in Yazid's delegation to Ibn al-Zubayr² and the second when he joined the Umayyad army in the Battle of Marj Rahit.³ According to Ṭabari's report, in the year 95/713 Marwân put Muhammad in charge of the Jazira.⁴

'Amr b. Sa'id al-Ashdaq was the son of Umm al-Banin bint al-Ḥakam b. Abi al-'Āṣ (Umm al-Banin was Marwân's sister). He served as governor of Medina for Yazid b. Mu'āwiya' and before that as governor of Mecca for Mu'āwiya b. Abi Sufyān.⁵ He was with Marwân at the beginning of Marwân's movement to claim power for himself. When he governed Medina for Yazid b. Mu'āwiya he put 'Amr b. al-Zubayr in charge of the police. Because he knew that 'Amr b. al-Zubayr had a bad relationship with his brother 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr he ordered him to make preparations to fight Ibn al-Zubayr. Marwân strongly disagreed with the decision and advised 'Amr b. Sa'id al-Ashdaq not to attack the holy city of Mecca. Marwân believed that 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr was an old man who would die soon even if nobody killed him.⁶

Earlier, in the discussion of Mu'āwiya's policy, we mentioned that Saleh K. Hammarneh states, Marwân was unhappy when Mu'āwiya made Yazid his successor. In Saleh's opinion,
Marwān had aspiration to be caliph since when he served as scribe under the caliph 'Uthmān. Because of this aspiration, he was unhappy with Mu‘āwiya’s policy.

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

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

3 The people of Medina moved the Umayyads out and they met Muslim b. ‘Uqba at Wādī al-Qurā. Muslim offered the Medinan people peace if they paid obedience to Yazīd, but instead, they chose to fight. This event was known as the Battle of the Harm. See Ta‘bīrī, *Ta‘rikh V*, 482-3/486-495/II, 405-8/411-422.
In spite of that, Marwan was evidently preparing for a claim to the caliphate in the future. He had trained his two sons 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-'Aziz in public affairs since he had that opportunity in 'Uthman's and Mu'awiya's times. Al-Baladurri states that as soon as Marwan came to power he appointed 'Abd al-Malik as governor of Palestine, and ordered 'Abd al-Malik to make 'Abd al-'Aziz governor of Egypt after he died.

It is not clear who were Marwan's officers in his new administration of Syria. The sources only mentioned them very briefly. His governor of Egypt was 'Uqba b. Nafi' al-Fihri who had been previously sent by Mu'awiya b. Abi Suryah to conquer Jufriya. As mentioned above, Marwan ordered 'Abd al-Malik to replace 'Uqba b. Nafi' al-Fihri with his brother 'Abd al-'Aziz as soon as he was dead. According to al-Baladurri, Marwan also put 'Abd al-Malik in charge of Palestine, but Ibn al-Athir reports that when al-Dahhak b. Qays was killed, Nafil b. Qays al-Judhami escaped from Palestine and joined Ibn al-Zubayr. So Marwan appointed Rawd b. Zinbi as governor of the area. In this case, Tabari only reports that Nafir b. Qays fled to Mecca and joined Ibn al-Zubayr.

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

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1 Al-Baladurri, Ansab V, 149/158.
3 Al-Baladurri, Ansab V, 149/158.
5 Tabari, Ta'rikh V, 540/II, 481.
6 Tabari, Ta'rikh V, 611/I, 577.
mosque calling them to support Marwân and they agreed to swear allegiance to him.\footnote{Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 540/II, 481.} In addition, Ya`qûbi states that the people of Egypt acknowledged Marwân peacefully.\footnote{Ya`qûbi, Ta’rikh III, 4.}

When he, ‘Amr b. Sa`îd al-Ashdaq returned to Syria, Marwân gave him another command to lead an army, because Ibn al-Zubayr had sent his brother Mu`âb b. al-Zubayr to conquer Palestine. Before arriving in Damascus, ‘Amr b. Sa`îd fought against Mu`âb and defeated him and his army successfully. Then, he entered Damascus and by this time Marwân had subdued Syria and Egypt.\footnote{Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 540/II, 481.}

Marwân’s final action before his death in order to strengthen his power was to send two groups of the army, the first group led by Ḥubays b. Dulja al-Qaynî to reconquer Medina, and the second group led by ‘Ubayd Allâh b. Ziyâd to reconquer Irâq. ‘Ubayd Allâh b. Ziyâd and his troops were camping in Jazîra when the news of Marwân’s death came to him.\footnote{Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 610/II, 576.}

Enjoying his victory, ‘Amr b. Sa`îd claimed openly that power was for him after Marwân.\footnote{Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 537/II, 476.} This was actually the decision of the Jâbiya meeting in which the people agreed to give the oath of allegiance to Marwân as the caliph, to Khālid b. Yazîd as the first successor and to ‘Amr b. Sa`îd as the second successor, on condition that ‘Amr b. Sa`îd should be the governor of Damascus and Khâlid b. Yazid should be the governor of Ḥimṣ under Marwân.\footnote{Tabari, Ta’rikh V, 610/II, 576.}

In fact, the decision of the Jâbiya meeting made ‘Amr the second successor after Khâlid, but he knew that Marwân had put Khâlid under his control and that he, Khâlid could do nothing to claim the position. So it seems that he, ‘Amr felt overconfident that he would
be successor automatically.

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

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

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1 Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb IVA, 442.
2 Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb IVA, 442. Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh V, 610/II, 576.
3 Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh V, 611/II, 577.
4 Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh V, 544/II, 487.
7. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān

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

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

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

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

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2 Tabari, Ta‘rikh IV, 160/II, 2671.
4 Gibb, The Encyclopaedia of Islam, 76.
5 Tabari, Ta‘rikh V, 530/II, 467.
6 Al-Jāḥiz, al-Bayān II, 321.
7 Tabari, Ta‘rikh VI, 419/II, 1173.
Besides hated quarrels, arguing and accompanying fools. He was among the religious scholars of Medina: Sa‘id b. al-Musayyab, ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, Qabisa b. Dhu‘ayb and he, who was more expert in hadîth and Arabic poetry than al-Sha‘bi, the advisor of Mu‘awiya. He was also a good speaker like the other Arab leaders.

Ibn Khallikân states that ‘Abd al-Malik had desired to be caliph since he was young. He openly prayed to God near the Ka‘ba saying: ‘God, make me caliph of the Arabs and kill everybody who would fight me.’ However, it was by no means that his political philosophy was ‘the end justifies the means.’ He was a relator of the traditions of the Prophet on the authority of ‘Uthmân b. ‘Affân, Abû Sa‘id al-Khudrî, Jähir b. ‘Abd Allâh and the other companions of the Prophet. He was also educated in religious studies. Ibn Sa‘d states, that he used to sit with al-muhaddithûn who taught him the traditions of the Prophet.

‘Abd al-Malik was forty two years old when Ibn al-Zubayr forced the Umayyads out of Medina. When Marwân put him in charge of Palestine, he, Marwân advised him that he should fear God and be careful in the administration of judgment. He did not fight in the Battle of Marj Râhiţ because of his piety.” When the Umayyads of Medina were besieged and Marwân wrote to Yazid b. Mu‘awiya seeking help, ‘Abd al-Malik was the messenger who brought the letter as far as the Thartiyya al-Wadâ‘i, a high place on the road to Mecca where he then handed it to Habîb b. Kurra, an Umayyad client and waited for

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1 Al-Jâhiç, al-Bayân II, 41.
3 Al-Jâhiç, al-Bayân I, 353.
5 Ibn Sa‘d, al-Tabaqût V, 234.
6 Ibn Sa‘d, al-Tabaqût V, 226.
7 Tabari, Ta‘rikh V, 530/II, 467.
8 Al-Baladhuri, Ansâb V, 127.
9 Al-Baladhuri, Ansâb V, 136.
10 Yâqût al-Hamawi, Mu‘jam al-Buldân, Beirut 1956, II, 86.
11 Al-Baladhuri, Ansâb IVA, 300.
him there. Ḥabib b. Qurra took it to Yazid.\(^1\) Twenty four days later Ḥabib b. Qurra returned with him to Medina.\(^2\)

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

No record of his early marriage has been found. However, when he became caliph he had at least one wife. She was Umm al-Walid Wallāda bint al-‘Abbās who gave him three sons; al-Walid, Sulaymān and Marwān al-Akbar.\(^4\) According to Lammens, on his death in the year 86/705, his eldest son al-Walid was over thirty years old.\(^5\) From this we know that in the year 65/684 in which he, ‘Abd al-Malik succeeded his father Marwān, his first son al-Walid was around eight years old and Sulaymān was around five years old.\(^6\) Yazid and Hishām were born to him during his caliphate. Hishām was the son of his wife ‘Ā’isha – Umm Hishām – bint Hishām b. Ismā‘īl,\(^7\) and Yazid was the son of ‘Ā’isha bint Yazid b. Mu‘awiya.\(^8\)

‘Abd al-Malik had fifteen other sons who were born to him during his caliphate. They were Marwān al-Aṣghar and Mu‘awiya, whose mother was ‘Ā’isha bint Yazid b. Mu‘awiya.\(^9\)

\(^1\) Ta‘bīrī, Ta‘rikh V, 482/II, 416.
\(^2\) Ta‘bīrī, Ta‘bīrī V, 484/II, 408.
\(^3\) Ta‘bīrī, Ta‘rikh V, 486/II, 410-411.
\(^4\) Ta‘bīrī, Ta‘rikh VI, 419-420/II, 11.74. Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, Nasab, 162.
\(^7\) Ta‘bīrī, Ta‘rikh VI, 420/II, 1174. Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, Nasab, 164.
\(^8\) Ta‘bīrī, Ta‘bīrī VI, 420/II, 1174.
Abū Bakr - Bakkār - son of his wife 'Ā'isha bint Mūsā, al-Ḥakam, son of his wife Umm Ayyūb bint 'Amr b. Uthmān the caliph. He also had 'Abd Allāh, Maslama, Sa'id al-Khayr, Mundhir, 'Anbasā, al-Ḥajjāj and Muḥammad. They were sons of female slaves.

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

'Abd al-'Azīz's and 'Amr b. Sa'id's experience in politics have been mentioned. However, 'Amr b. Sa'id had more experience than 'Abd al-'Azīz. He, 'Amr b. Sa'id served as governor of Mecca for Mu'āwiya and then as governor of Medina for Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, and was among the supporters of Marwān from the beginning of his power. He had special influence among the people of Yemen and made them fight on Marwān's side in the Battle of Marj Rāhīt. Our sources show clearly that Marwān took advantage of him for strengthening his power. For example, Marwān, as mentioned before, sent 'Amr b. Sa'id al-Ashdaq to Egypt on his behalf in order to have the oath of allegiance whereupon the people of Egypt then agreed to support him. When 'Amr b. Sa'id returned to Syria, and he was about to enter Damascus, Marwān commanded him to lead an army to fight against Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr who was the governor for his brother Ibn al-Zubayr over Palestine. According
to the decision of the Jābiya meeting, 'Amr was the second successor after Marwān, while Khalid b. Yazid was the first, and 'Amr was to be the governor of Damascus and Khalid was to be the governor of Ḥims. Obviously, at this stage, 'Abd al-Malik trusted him and made him his advisor.

There was another member of the Umayyad family who was alive. He was Abān b. 'Uthmān the son of the former caliph. In the year 76/695 'Abd al-Malik appointed him as governor of Medina. 'Abd al-Malik had evidently secured the future caliphate for his own sons since he came to power. According to Ibn al-Athīr, his son, Al-Walid was not good in Arabic grammar and spoke incorrectly. He, 'Abd al-Malik criticized him for this saying: 'Only the eloquent leaders should hold command over the Arabs.' In order to solve his language problem, al-Walid organized a six month intensive class which was taught by expert teachers, but he failed to improve his grammar.

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

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1 Tabari, Ta'rikh V, 537/II, 476.
2 Tabari, Ta'rikh IV, 420-1/I, 3056-7.
3 Tabari, Ta'rikh VI, 256/II, 940.
5 Tabari, Ta'rikh VI, 321/II, 1035.
6 Tabari, Ta'rikh VI, 330/II, 1047.
7 Tabari, Ta'rikh VI, 329/341/II, 1047/1063.
However, ‘Abd al-Malik did not hastily change the previous policy of succession. He knew that he had come to power when the Muslim community was disordered. Although his father had reconquered Syria, which was the Umayyad power base, as well as Egypt, most parts of the Muslim community were still controlled by Ibn al-Zubayr and his followers. In order to strengthen his power, he had to unite the Arabs under Syrian leadership. As he was about to fight against Zufar b. al-Ḫārith al-Kilābī, who had called the people to support Ibn al-Zubayr, he was interrupted by ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd who rebelled against him.

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

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1 Ya‘qūbī, Ta‘rīkh III, 13.
2 Ṭabarî, Ta‘rīkh V, 531/595-6/II, 468/554-5.
3 Ṭabarî, Ta‘rīkh VI, 140/I-II, 783.
4 Ṭabarî, Ta‘rīkh V, 593/11, 551.
5 Ṭabarî, Ta‘rīkh VI, 140/II, 783-4.
6 Ṭabarî, Ta‘rīkh VI, 140/II, 784.
7 Ibn Hajar and Al-Jāhiz state that ‘Abd al-Malik only followed in Marwān’s footsteps. When he had the power he dismissed ‘Amr and made his son al-Walid his successor. The above mention shows clearly that these statements are not true. See Ibn Hajar, Tahdīlīb VIII, 38. Al-Jāhiz, al-Bayān I, 314.
'Amr b. Sa'īd gathered the people and gave his speech in which he promised them help and allowance. 'Abd al-Malik did not see him, and when he returned to Damascus he found 'Amr b. Sa'īd had taken over the main part of the capital city. He then fought against 'Amr for a few days. In the end, the two sides agreed to make peace and then wrote an agreement. The sources do not mention any of the contents of the agreement. Tabari for example, states only briefly that they made an agreement, and that 'Abd al-Malik was then allowed to enter Damascus. However, 'Abd al-Malik was unable to trust 'Amr any more and was likely to take advantage of a tactic in order to win the city. Soon afterwards, he called Kurayb b. Abraha al-Ḥimyari to ask his advice about killing 'Amr. So he gathered the Marwanid family and sent his messenger inviting 'Amr to visit him in his apartment. 'Abd al-Malik finally killed 'Amr b. Sa'īd, according to Tabari's statement, with his own hands and threw 'Amr's head along with money outside the door where 'Amr's followers were waiting. As soon as they saw the head and the money they ran away with the money. As 'Abd al-Malik was about to kill 'Amr's family, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ada, a commander of the army, advised him not to do so, but to send them to Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. 'Abd al-Malik agreed.

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

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1 Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil III, 397. Tabari, Ta'rikh VI, 141/II, 784.
3 Tabari, Ta'rikh VI, 141-5/II, 786-791.
4 Tabari, Ta'rikh VI, 146/II, 793.
make the forbidden free and to damage the religion. He did not want what was good for
the people at all. So God struck him down. "I take responsibility for everything on your
behalf except for a rebellion. I put the chain on the neck of 'Amr (I killed him) to stop him
rising."

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

In order to attack Muṣṭah b. al-Zubayr more easily, he, 'Abd al-Malik, by persuasion
enlisted the support of the Marwanids sympathisers namely Ḥajjār b. Abjar, Gāḍbān b.
Qaba‘thari, ‘Attāb b. Warqā, Qatan b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥārithi, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-
Rahmān, Zāhir b. Qays and Muḥammad b. 'Umayr all of whom had already been in 'Irāq.
They agreed with him on condition they would have control of ʾIṣṭahān for life.3 Some
said, they wrote to 'Abd al-Malik illustrating power over the area in return for their
support.4

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

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1 Ya‘qūbī, Ta‘rikh III, 16. For comparison, see also the text according to Ibn al-Athīr's report page 83-4 of
this chapter.
2 Tabari, Ta‘rikh VI, 150/11, 796. Gibb, The Encyclopaedia of Islam I, 76.
3 Tabari, Ta‘rikh VI, 156/11, 804.
4 Al-Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil III, 10.
that they would die before they reconquered ‘Irāq.' The nobles of ‘Irāq indeed had political motives when they offered their support to ‘Abd al-Malik. Abū al-Faraj states that forty persons among them demanded power over Iṣfahān.2

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

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

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

2 Abū al-Faraj, al-Aghānī XIX, 55.
3 Taḥārī, Ta’rikh VI, 156-7/Il, 805.
4 Taḥārī, Ta’rikh VI, 158-9/Il, 808.
5 Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, Nasab 236.
7 Taḥārī, Ta’rikh VI, 159/Il, 808.
8 Ya‘qūbī, Ta’rikh III, 11.
people of ‘Irāq to swear allegiance to him and they did so.’ Moreover, he arranged the administration of the area properly. ‘Abd al-Malik appointed Qatan b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hārithī as governor of Kufa and then replaced him with Bishr b. Marwān, and he put Muḥammad b. ‘Umar in charge of Ḥamadhān and Yazīd b. Ru‘aym in charge of al-Rayy. He also appointed Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asid as governor of Baṣra and then he returned to Syria.

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

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

1 Ṭabari, Ta’rikh VI, 160/II, 810-811.
2 Ṭabari, Ta’rikh VI, 164/III, 816-7.
3 Ṭabari, Ta’rikh VI, 165/169/II, 819/822
4 Ya‘qūbi, Ta’rikh III, 7.
5 Ṭabari, Ta’rikh VI, 174/II, 729. Ya‘qūbi, Ta’rikh III, 11.
Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr beforehand. He could have had peace if he had paid the oath of allegiance. However, Ibn al-Zubayr preferred to fight rather than accept the offer of peace. So, the two sides met at ‘Arafa and al-Ḥajjāj wrote to ‘Abd al-Malik asking for support. Most of Ibn al-Zubayr’s followers were actually disunited and al-Ḥajjāj easily defeated and killed him. The majority of the Meccan people then went out peacefully to meet al-Ḥajjāj. The Quraysh of Mecca swore allegiance to ‘Abd al-Malik as soon as al-Ḥajjāj entered the holy city of Mecca.


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

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1 Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VI, 174/11, 729.
3 Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VI, 188/11, 845.
4 Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VI, 192-3/11, 852.
5 Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VI, 178/195/11, 835/854.
6 Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VI, 202-4/11, 863-866.
7 Yaʿqūbi, Taʾrīkh III, 14-15.
In the year 85/704, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwân wanted to change the previous policy of the succession. He obviously thought that it was time to dismiss his brother 'Abd al-'Azîz and to put his son al-Walid in the position. Before implementing the new policy, he took action carefully step by step. Ţabari states that he wrote to 'Abd al-'Azîz telling of his plan to make his son al-Walid successor, but 'Abd al-'Azîz disagreed and wrote to 'Abd al-Malik saying that he also had in mind his son, Abû Bakr as successor. Ya'qûbi says that 'Abd al-Malik sent al-Sha'bî to Egypt to discuss the intention with 'Abd al-'Azîz. Al-Sha'bî said that 'Abd al-Malik wanted to make his own son his successor. Abî al-'Azîz should resign himself to this fact and as a reward, 'Abd al-Malik would make him governor of Egypt for life. 'Abd al-'Azîz understood and agreed. Some said when 'Abd al-Malik thought about the possibility of making his son successor, that 'Abd al-'Azîz died by accident whereas others said that 'Abd al-'Azîz was poisoned. Ţabari also states that Qubaysa b. Dhu'ayb one of 'Abd al-Malik’s advisors suggested to him that he should delay the intention. Hopefully 'Abd al-'Azîz would be dead shortly in which case, everything would be easy. 'Abd al-Malik’s desire was realised accidentally when soon after, the news of 'Abd al-'Azîz’s death came to them. He called his scribe, Muḥammad b. Yazid al-Anṣâri. He wanted to consult his advice about the successor. Muḥammad b. Yazid al-Anṣâri was a gentleman of merit, intelligence and trustworthiness and whom al-Hajjâj suggested to al-Walid to make him his scribe. 'Abd al-Malik agreed with al-Hajjâj and made Muḥammad his close

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1 Ţabari, Ta’rikh VI, 414/II, 1167.
2 Al-Sha'bî, ‘Āmir b. Sharâ'il was a Kufî and was among the members of the ‘Alîd party. He joined Mukhtâr’s movement in Kufa and involved in the rebellion led by ‘Abd al-Rahmân b. al-Ash’ath against al-Hajjâj b. Yusûf al-Thaqafî (82-3/701-2). The two sides met at Dayr al-Jamâ‘îm. When al-Hajjâj won the battle, he offered peace to the rebels and among them was al-Sha’bî, who came to Qutayba b. Muslim in al-Rayyî. Qutayba then send him to al-Hajjâj who gave peace. See Ya’qûbi, Ta’rikh III, 29. Ţabari, Ta’rikh VI, 15/346-50/374-5/11, 809/1070-6/1111-3. Ibû al-Athîr, al-Kâmîl IV, 92.
3 Ţabari, Ta’rikh VI, 412-414/II, 1164-8.
confidante and let him share in his secrets.1 In the secret meeting, Muḥammad said that ʿAbd al-Malik should make al-Walid his first successor and Sulaymān his second successor. ʿAbd al-Malik agreed with him saying that in this way al-Walid should then not control the position for his sons to the exclusion of the others. Muḥammad then confirmed in writing the agreement of al-Walid and Sulaymān.2

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

ʿAbd al-Malik’s desire to make his sons his successors after he came to power was mentioned earlier. There was no proof that the desire was connected with the killing of ʿAmr b. Saʿīd al-Ashdaq. However, according to Ibn al-Athīr’s report, in his speech to the people of Medina, ʿAbd al-Malik was reported among other things as saying: ‘I am not weak as the caliph ʿUthmān. I also differ from Yafīḍ b. Muʿāwiya who had indeed no idea. You learnt the practice of the Muhājjirūn but you do not follow it. You command us

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1 Ṭabari, Taʾrīkh VI, 414/II, 1168.
2 Ṭabari, Taʾrīkh 415/II, 1169.
3 Ṭabari, Taʾrīkh VI, 393/II, 1138.
4 Ṭabari, Taʾrīkh VI, 413/II, 1165-6.
to fear God, but you forget yourselves. By God, if anybody repeats the same command to me, I will kill him." He had to express his feeling about ‘Uthmān’s murder which had strongly impressed him since he was young. That was because he had his own special plan for power in the future.

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

Al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik was acknowledged as caliph as soon as his father ‘Abd al-Malik died in the year 86/705. At this time he was over thirty years old.

According to Ibn Qutayba, al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik had fourteen sons, but Tabari’s general statement shows that he had nineteen sons. They were ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, Muḥammad, Ibrāhim, ‘Abbās, Tammām, Khālid, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, Mubashshir, Masrūr, Ṣadaqa, Abū ‘Ubayda, Manṣūr, Marwān, ‘Anbasa, ‘Amr, Rawh, Bishr, Yazid and Yahyā. Only two mothers names are known to us namely Umm al-Banin bint ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. Marwān whose sons were ‘Abd al-‘Aziz and Muḥammad, and Zāriyya whose son was Abū ‘Ubayda. The other sixteen sons were produced by several other wives whose names are not known. We do not know exactly how many sons he had when he became caliph. However, we believe that at the time he had already married Umm al-Banin by whom he had ‘Abd ‘Aziz, and his age was probably around fifteen. The other sons as mentioned above seemed to be born to him during his caliphate. Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh states that al-Walid married ‘Izza bint ‘Abd al-‘Aziz who belonged to the branch of Abū al-‘Īs, and Fatima bint ‘Abd Allāh bin Muṭṭi’, whose father, ‘Abd Allāh b. Muṭṭi’ was among the leading Quraysh, during his, al-Walid caliphate by whom he had no child at all. Al-Balādhuri also states that he married Umm ‘Abd Allāh bint ‘Abd Allāh Muṭṭaf b. ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān, the caliph during the time but she produced no children.

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2 Tabari. Ta’rikh VI, 496/II, 1270. See also Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, Nasab, 165.
4 He, ‘Abd Allāh b. Muṭṭi’ was governor of Kūfah for ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, while his father, Muṭṭi’ b. Aswad was among the companions of the Prophet. See Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, Nasab, 383-4.
5 Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, Nasab, 116/385.
7 Al-Balādhuri, Ansāb IVA, 605.
Al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik

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

Little is known about Yazīd’s and Hishām’s early life. Marwān al-Akbar, Marwān al-Asghar, Mu‘āwiya, Abū Bakr and al-Ḥakam have no record at all. Sulaymān, al-Walid’s successor nominated by his father, served as governor of Palestine. Sulaymān developed the area, built the town of Ramla, its mosque, his apartment and especially the well-known house of the dyers. He also gave the people permission to build their houses.1 ‘Abd Allāh was the son of a female slave who had served as governor of Egypt for ‘Abd al-Malik.2 Maslama, another son of a female slave had a special talent in army administration and he served as the commander of the army for al-Walid. Sa‘īd al-Khayr, al-Ḥajjāj and Muḥammad were at the time still young boys.

According to Ṭabarī, al-Walid desired to make his son ‘Abd al-‘Aziz his successor. With this ambition in mind, he involved him in public exploits such as leading invasions, leading the people in pilgrimage and others. In the year 93/711, he put ‘Abd al-‘Aziz in charge of pilgrimage.3 In the year 91/709, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz led the summer raid, and his uncle Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik was the commander of the army,4 and in the year 94/712, he, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz fought against the Byzantines until he reached the Ghazāla.5 He, al-Walid became angry with Muḥammad b. Yazid al-Ansārī, who had advised ‘Abd al-Malik to

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1 Al-Balādhuri, Futūḥ I, 170.
2 Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VI, 420/II, 1174.
3 Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VI, 442/II, 1200.
4 Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VI, 482/II, 1255.
5 Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VI, 454/II, 1227.
6 Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VI, 483/II, 1256.
make Sulaymān the second successor, so he, al-Walid did not put him, Muḥammad in charge of anything after he, al-Walid came to power. However, there was no evidence that he, al-Walid was preparing his other sons for the succession, with the possible exception of ‘Abbās whom, in the year 88/706 he, al-Walid made the commander of the army for the operating of invading the Byzantines.

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

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

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1 Tabari, Taʾrīkh VI, 415/II, 1169.
2 Tabari, Taʾrīkh VI, 343/II, 1191-2.
3 Tabari, Taʾrīkh VI, 496/II, 1271.
4 Tabari, Taʾrīkh VI, 437/II, 1195-6.
5 Tabari, Taʾrīkh VI, 440/II, 1200.
6 Tabari, Taʾrīkh VI, VI, 433/II, 1191.
won and conquered Tuwâna - Tyana - successfully.\textsuperscript{1} In the same year, he ordered ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz to rebuild the mosque of Medina.\textsuperscript{2} It was not easy to restructure and increase the size of the mosque of the Prophet without provoking violent reaction from the people. This was probably the reason why he put ‘Umar in charge of the town. He hoped ‘Umar had enough ability to deal with the Medinan people whom he had known since he was a child.

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

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

\textsuperscript{1} Tabari, Ta’rikh VI, 343/II, 1191-2. Wellhausen, J. The Arab Kingdom and Its Fall, Beirut, 1963, 224.
\textsuperscript{2} Tabari, Ta’rikh VI, 435-6/II,1192-4.
\textsuperscript{4} Cresswell, K. A. C., ‘The legend that al-Walid asked for and obtained help from the Byzantine Emperor. A suggested explanation,’ JRAS (1956), 145.
\textsuperscript{5} Al-Baladhuri, Futâh I, 5-6.
Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasri in charge of Mecca, and he, al-Walid made a pilgrimage. `Umar b. `Abd al-`Azīz, with twenty men of the Quraysh, welcomed his arrival. He, al-Walid entered Medina, visited the rebuilt mosque, gave a speech and led the Friday prayer. Some said that the chief of Mecca at that time was not Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasri as mentioned by al-Wāqīḍī, but `Umar b. `Abd al-`Azīz himself who had challenged and prevented al-Walid when he wished to remove the rostrum of the Prophet from Medina to Damascus. `Umar b. `Abd al-`Azīz disagreed with him and prevented him.

Now, `Umar became the bitter enemy of al-Walid, the caliph. He asked al-Ḥājjāj to show him two men with whom he could replace `Umar. Al-Ḥājjāj suggested `Uṯmān b. Ḥayyān for Medina and Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasri for Mecca. `Umar b. `Abd al-`Azīz then stepped down and went to al-Sinwāy (Ijī, a place where he lived outside Medina on the road to Syria.

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

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

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1 Tabari, Ta'rikh VI, VI, 464/II, 1231.
2 Tabari, Ta'rikh VI, 465-6/II, 1232-3.
3 Tabari, Ta'rikh VI, 467/II, 1234.
5 Al-Jahiz, al-Bayān III, 225.
his brother Sulaymān in Palestine in order to dismiss him and offer him a lot of money. However, Sulaymān refused. Even so, al-Walid hurriedly wrote to the officials, the leaders, poets and all the common people informing them of his intention and ordering them to swear allegiance to 'Abd al-'Azīz. However, only al-Ḥajjāj, Qutayba and certain distinguished people agreed with him. Al-Ḥajjāj acted in advance without the certainty that al-Walid’s policy would be successful when he wrote to his agents ordering them to dismiss Sulaymān, among them Abū ‘Āsim al-Ziyādi al-Kalbi and Muḥammad b. Qāsim in India.

Sulaymān had lately clashed with al-Walid in the case of Yazid b. Muhallab who, in the year 90/709, escaped from al-Ḥajjāj’s prison and sought Sulaymān’s protection. The story is as follows: al-Ḥajjāj felt jealous of Yazid b. Muhallab who, according to a senior scholar of the People of the Books, would govern ‘Irāq after him. He was not sure that Yazid would do so in his presence or after his death, but he was, in any case, not happy at that. So, he wrote to ‘Abd al-Malik provoking him that Yazid and his family were Zubayrites. Yazid b. Muhallab at that time was the governor of Khurasān. ‘Abd al-Malik actually knew that there was nothing wrong with Yazid’s and his family’s obedience. Because al-Ḥallāj warned him that they would disloyal, ‘Abd al-Malik permitted him to dismiss Yazid, and agreed to put Qutayba b. Muslim in his position. It was in the year 85/704.

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

2 Tabari, Ta’rikh VI, 499/507/II, 1272-5/1284.
3 Ibn al-Athir, al-Kāmil IV, 106.
4 Tabari, Ta’rikh VI, 393-5/II, 1138-41.
and sought protection from Sulaymân b. 'Abd al-Malik in Palestine. Al-Ḫajjāj sent messengers to Qutayba b. Muslim in Khurasân, to the governors of the provinces and to the commanders of the frontiers informing them of the news and ordering them to watch and make preparation in case Yazid b. Muhallab and his brothers should arrive. Finally, al-Ḫajjāj knew that they had come to Sulaymân, so he informed al-Walid who then promised, that if Sulaymân sent Yazid b. Muhallab to him, he, al-Walid would leave him, Yazid in peace. Sulaymân wrote to al-Walid to persuade him telling him that three million of the money were with him, Sulaymân, and he gave Yazid b. Muhallab protection. As both Sulaymân and al-Walid were about to fight each other, Yazid offered his surrender. So, Sulaymân negotiated by letter with al-Walid who delightedly forgave Yazid and then wrote to al-Ḫajjāj ordering him to do so. Yazid then returned to Sulaymân, teaching him astronomy, and serving him with good food, thus becoming an honourable man in the sight of Sulaymân.

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

¹ Tabari, Taʾrīkh VI, 448-453/II, 1208-1216.
² Tabari, Taʾrīkh VI, 499/II, 1274.
9. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik

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

He was the son of Wallāda bint al-'Abbas, and was born in the year 60/679. He was educated by his mother’s family the ‘Abs tribe (‘Abs b. Baghiḍ) in the desert, the traditional form of Arabic education, so he became fluent.

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

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1 Dayr Murrān was in the palace Yazid b. Mu‘awiyah had been with his beloved wife Umm Kulthūm when his father forced him to lead the army to invade the Byzantines. See al-Ḥamawi, Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abd Allāh, Mu’jam VIII, 533-4. See also Ya‘qūbī, Ta’rikh III, 30/32.
2 Tabarī, Ta’rikh VI, 505/II, 1281.
3 Tabarī, Ta’rikh VI, 419/II, 1174.
5 Tabarī, Ta’rikh VI, 419-20/II, 1174.
6 Ibn Qutayba, al-Mu‘ārif, 360.
7 Tabarī, Ta’rikh VI, 497/II, 1273.
8 Ibn Qutayba, Al-Mu‘ārif, 361.
9 Tabarī, Ta’rikh VI, 451/II, 1213-4.
al-‘Āṣi, and Dāwūd was the son of a female slave.¹

Ṭabarī states that Sulaymān liked marriage, but he does not mention how many wives he had. Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh records three of them, the above mentioned Umm Aḥān bint Aḥān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-‘Āṣi, Umm Yazīd bint ‘Abd Allāh b. Yazīd b. Mu‘awiyah by whom he had Yazīd, al-Qāsim and Sa‘īd, and ‘Ā’isha bint ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān the caliph, by whom he, Sulaymān had Yahyā and ‘Ubayd Allāh. He had a number of sons born from female slaves. Among them were Dāwūd the above mentioned and al-Ḥārith.²

Ya‘qūbī states that Sulaymān had twelve sons. They were Yazīd, Qāsim, Sa‘īd, ‘Uthmān, ‘Abd Allāh, ‘Abd al-Wāhid, Ḥārith, ‘Amr, ‘Umar and ‘Abd al-Rahmān. Ya‘qūbī does not repeat the names Ayyūb and Dāwūd here as he mentions them in the other parts of his book.³

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

¹ Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, Nasab 165-6.
² Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, Nasab 165-6.
³ Ya‘qūbī, Ta‘rīkh III, 37.
⁴ Tabari, Ta‘rīkh VI, 530/II, 1315.
The most important candidate was 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, Sulaymân’s nephew, who was unemployed and who had moved to al-Suwayda outside Medina after being dismissed by al-Walid. He, 'Umar, a young leader of whom the Umayyads were very proud, had been educated in religion and it was predicted that he would be a caliph.

Evidently, Sulaymân was among the Umayyad caliphs who desired to make their own sons successors. Although 'Abd al-Malik obliged him to make Yazid and Marwàn successors, as mentioned above, Sulaymân was not interested in implementing it. In the year 98/716 when his commander of the army, Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik was far away in Byzantine territory, death came to Marwàn b. 'Abd al-Malik who was, according to Musţâb b. 'Abd Allah, on his way to perform the pilgrimage when he died in Wâdî al-Qura. Tabari reports that he died on his way home after leaving Mecca in Sulaymân’s time. The significance of Marwân’s death was that Sulaymân found a reason to nominate his own son Ayyûb rather than his other brother Yazid. He not only refused to make Yazid his successor but he also expected a misfortune would happen to him, Yazid his brother and he hoped Yazid would die. Unfortunately, Ayyûb died first. After that Sulaymân wanted to put Dâwûd in the position. In the year 97/715 he encharged him, Dâwûd to lead the summer raid and in

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2 The prediction that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz would be the caliph was actually attributed to 'Umar b. al-Khattâb who said that one of his descendants, on whose face there would be a scar, would fill the world with justice. Tabari and Ibn Sa’d also state that Nâfi' heard 'Abd Allâh the son of 'Umar b. al-Khattâb saying on many occasions that the caliph would come from a descendant of 'Umar, whose face would bear a scar, and who would fill the world with justice. 'Umar b. al-Khattâb was a man of reliable opinion and whose dream become true, when Sâriya b. Zanân led the army which invaded Fasâ in Persia, 'Umar had a dream about the fighting in which it seemed as though the Muslim army were being seized by the enemy. While describing the dream in his speech, 'Umar shouted ordering: 'Sâriya, the hill, the hill!' He then told the audience that God had soldiers some of whom would reach them, (the Muslim army). The story continues that Sâriya heard the order as if 'Umar was near him, so he commanded the army to move up to capture the hill near them, and finally they defeated their enemy. When 'Umar b. al-Khattâb woke up one morning, he recounted his dream saying repeatedly: 'Who would be a descendant of 'Umar, be named 'Umar and follow 'Umar’s practice?' See Ibn Qutayba, al-Ma’tirif, 362, Tabari, Ta’rikh VI, 566/II, 1362, Ibn Sa’d, al-Tabaqât al-Kabîr V, 243, Ibn al-Athîr, al-Kaml III, 21-2 and Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Sirat 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, Damascus 1966, 22-3.
3 Musţâb b. 'Abd Allah, Nasab 162.
4 Tabari, Ta’rikh VI, 531-2/II, 1317.
98/716, when death came to his first successor Ayyūb, he ordered him, Dāwūd to invade the Byzantines. When the news of Ayyūb’s death reached Yazīd b. Muhallab he had finished invading Jurjān he then came to al-Rayy. Someone slowly recited a poem indirectly to Yazīd saying that Dāwūd would succeed Ayyūb’s place.

As soon as he came to power, Sulaymān reorganized his government. According to Tābarī, in the year 96/714, he dismissed the provincial governors who had a special relationship to al-Ḥajjāj. They were ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān, the governor of Medina and Khālid b. Ābd Allāh al-Qasri, the governor of Mecca. They were al-Ḥajjāj’s candidates when al-Walīd b. Ābd al-Malik ordered him to name two people to replace ʿUmār b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. Sulaymān then put Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm in ʿUthmān b. Ḥayyān’s place in Medina as well as putting Ṭalḥa b. Dāwūd al-Ḥadrāmi in Khālid b. Ābd Allāh’s place in Mecca. Six months later, he replaced Ṭalḥa b. Dāwūd with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ābd Allāh, a member of the Umayyad family who belonged to the branch of Abī al-ʿĪs. The other governor involved in the dismissal was Yazīd b. Abī Muslim, al-Ḥajjāj’s client, the governor of ʿIrāq. Sulaymān replaced him with Yazīd b. Muhallab who then put Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in charge of taxation, put his brother Ziyād b. Muhallab in charge of ʿUmān and also put himself in charge of the army.

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

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1 Tābarī, Taʿrīkh VI, 550/II, 1341.
2 Tābarī, Taʿrīkh VI, 545/II, 1335.
3 Tābarī, Taʿrīkh VI, 505/II, 1282.
4 Tābarī, Taʿrīkh VI, 522/II, 1305.
5 Tābarī, Taʿrīkh VI, 529/II, 1314.
6 Al-Balādūrī, Futūḥ I, 273.
7 Tābarī, Taʿrīkh VI, 506/II, 1282-3.
and asked him what he would do if he came to power and had the same presents. ‘Umar said they were the worldly materials and he would give them to the people, and Sulaymān said: ‘May God be witness.’

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

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

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

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1 Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, Sirat 118-119.
2 Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, Sirat 139-141.
returned home. Eventually, he felt unwell, and in his own hand he wrote his orders for one of his sons, whose name Tabari does not mention, and who was under age. Realising this, Rajā' said that he should choose a suitable candidate as successor in order to preserve his soul in his grave. He promised to think about it and pray to God that he would make the right choice.

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

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

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1 Tabari, Tu’rikh VI, 547/550-1/II, 1337/1341.
2 Tabari, Tu’rikh VI, 550-1/II, 1342-3.
3 Yaqūbi, Tu’rikh III,37.
4 Tabari, Tu’rikh VI, 546/II,1336.
As soon as Sulaymān’s wife learned of his death, she ordered the chief of police to gather Sulaymān’s family together in the mosque in order that they might swear allegiance a second time. There Rajā’ announced the news publicly and read out the orders. Hearing ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz’s name, Ḥishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik refused to swear allegiance, but Rajā’ forced him to do so. Ḥishām then had no alternative.¹

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

¹ Tabari, Ta’rikh VI, 552/I1, 1243-4.
² Barthold, W. W. ‘Caliph ‘Umar II and the Conflicting Reports on his Personality’ Islamic Quarterly XV (1971), 70.
10. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz

ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was 37 years old in the year 99/717, when he became caliph succeeding Sulaymān b. ʿAbdal-Malik who had died in Dāhiq. Son of Umm ʿĀṣim b. ʿĀsim b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb the caliph, he was born in the year 62/681.

According to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbdal-Hakam, ʿUmar spent most of his youth in Medina studying in religion after which he went to Egypt. As soon as his father ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz died, in the year 84/703, ʿAbdal-Malik invited him, ʿUmar to Damascus and gave him his daughter Fāṭima in marriage.

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

According to Yaʿqūbī, ʿUmar had nine sons. They were ʿUbayd Allāh, ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, ʿĀṣim, Zayd, Maslama, ʿUthmān, Sulaymān, and ʿAbd al-Rahmān. However,
Ibn Sa’d reports differently that he had thirteen sons. He, Ibn Sa’d agrees with Ya’qūbī on only four sons namely ‘Ubayd Allāh, ‘Abd Allāh, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, ‘Āṣim. He differs from Ya’qūbī who states nine sons namely Bakr, Ibrāhīm, Ishāq, Ya’qūb, Mūsā, ‘Abd al-Malik, al-Walid, Yazid and Zabbān. Most of them were born to him, ‘Umar, during his caliphate. Ibn Sa’d mentions that Ishāq, Ya’qūb and Mūsā were the sons of Fāṭima bint ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, that ‘Abd Allāh and Bakr were the sons of Lamis bint ‘Ali, that Ibrāhīm was the son of Umm ‘Uthmān bint Shu‘ayb, and that ‘Abd al-Malik, al-Walid, ‘Āṣim, Yazid, ‘Ubayd Allāh, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and Zabbān were the sons of female slaves. Tabari records only three of them: ‘Abd Allāh, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and ‘Āṣim. They were young boys who had been involved in politics during Yazid b. al-Walid’s time.

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

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

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1 Ibn Sa’d, Tabaqāt al-Kabīr V, 242-3.
2 Ibn Sa’d, Tabaqāt al-Kabīr V.
3 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 284/295/305/II, 1854/1869/1882.
4 Tabari, Ta’rikh VI, 429/II, 1185.
5 Ibn Sa’d, Tabaqāt al-Kabīr V, 282.
6 Tabari, Ta’rikh VI, 550/II, 1341.
likely to play any part in 'Umar's government.

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

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

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

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1 Tabari, Tārīkh VI, 454/482/11, 1227/1255.
2 Al-Iṣbahānī, Hilyat V, 267.
3 Ibn Sa’d, Tabaqāt al-Kabīr V, 52.
4 Tabari, Tārīkh VI, 482/11, 1254.
successor, he came to 'Umar and told him that he had taken the cause of action in order to save the treasury. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-‘Aziz then offered to resign, but 'Abd al-‘Aziz persuaded 'Umar otherwise, because he thought there was nobody more entitled to power than 'Umar, and he then swore allegiance to him. 'Abd al-‘Aziz was the son of Umm al-Banin bint 'Abd al-‘Aziz, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-‘Aziz's sister who had married the caliph al-Walid, therefore 'Abd al-‘Aziz b. al-Walid was 'Umar's nephew.\(^1\)

In the year 99/717, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-‘Aziz made important changes in both his government and the provinces. When he came to power, he ordered Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik, the commander of the army fighting the Byzantines, to stop invading and to bring the Muslim army back.\(^2\) He also sent the same order to his commander 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Nu‘aym, who was in Transoxiana. He said that, the Muslims' expansion was great in size.\(^3\) He preferred to reform the Muslim community rather than continue the expansion. He claimed that al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik in Syria, al-Ḥajjâj in 'Irâq, 'Uthmân b. Ḥayyân in Ḥijâz and Qurra b. Sharîk in Egypt all ruled the people unjustly.\(^4\)

'Umar put 'Adi b. Artât al-Fazâri in charge of Basra and 'Abd al-Ḥamîd b. 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Qurashi in charge of Kûfa. He also put al-Jarrâh b. 'Abd Allâh in charge of Khurasân.\(^5\)

Yazid b. Muhallab, the corrupt governor under Sulaymân b. 'Abd al-Malik, escaped from the province taking with him everything he could. However, he was arrested by 'Umar's officer, 'Adi b. Artât al-Fazâri and put in prison.\(^6\)

‘Umar hated Yazid b. Muhallab and his family calling them tyrants.\(^7\) Al-Balâdhuri states

5. Tabari, *Tu’rikh* VI, 554/II, 1346.
that Yazid had huge sums of money after conquering Jurjan. He wrote to Sulayman b. ‘Abd al-Malik informing him that he had twenty five million dirhams. On his way to visit Sulayman, Yazid lost the letter, which was discovered by ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz.1 When later he came to power, ‘Umar ordered him, Yazid to send the money to the public treasury, but he refused.2

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

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

2 Ta’rīkh VI, 557-8/II, 1350-2.
3 Barthold comments that ‘Umar used the word ‘river’ as the comparison of Islam. See Barthold, Islamic Quarterly, XV (1971), 93-4.
4 Abû al-Faraj, al-Aghānî IX, 247-8.
5 Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, Sirāt, 58.
money. One of Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik’s sons demanded the land from ‘Umar, who refused and returned it to treasury property.¹

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

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

¹ Al-Iṣbahānī, Hilyat V, 271-2.
² Al-Iṣbahānī, Hilyat V, 267.
³ Al-Iṣbahānī, Hilyat V, 282.
⁴ Ibn Sa’d, Ṭabaqat al-Kabir V, 254
⁵ Q: 2: 44.
⁶ Ibn Sa’d, Ṭabaqat al-Kabir V, 254.
diamond. ‘Umar judged cases on simple evidence because he was aware of the corruption and unjust actions of the governors.

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

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

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1 Al-Iṣbahānī, Hilyat V, 283.
2 Al-Iṣbahānī, Hilyat V, 251-2.
3 Ya’qūbī, Ta’rikh, 42.
4 Q: XVI; 90. See also Ibn al-Athir, al-Kāmil IV, 154.
5 Al-Iṣbahānī, Hilyat V, 283.
6 Al-Iṣbahānī, Hilyat V, 310.
'Abd al-Ḥamid's army. This event forced 'Umar to assist the army with Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik leading the Syrian army.\(^1\)

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

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

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\(^1\) Ṭabarî, Ta'rīkh VI, 555/11, 1347-8.
\(^2\) Ṭabarî, Ta'rīkh VI, 555-6/11, 1348-9.
\(^4\) Mus'ab b. 'Abd Allāh, Nasa'ī, 182. Ismā'il was among the four sons of 'Amr b. Sa'id al-Ashdaq, Sa'id, Umayya and Muḥammad. See Ṭabarî, Ta'rīkh VI, 795.
10. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz

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

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

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11. Yazîd b. ‘Abd al-Malik

Yazîd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, son of ‘Atika bint Yazid b. Mu‘awiyah, came to power in the year 101/723 succeeding ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz. At that time he was 29 years old.²

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

Yazîd had two wives, but our sources do not record the dates when he married them. They were Umm al-‘Hajjâj bint Muhammad b. Yusûf b. al-‘Hakam, al-‘Hajjâj b. Yusûf’s niece, by whom he had two sons al-Walid and Yahyâ, and Sa‘da bint ‘Abd Allâh b. ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmân b. ‘Affân by whom he had a son ‘Abd Allâh. He also had seven sons namely Ghamr, ‘Abd al-Jabbâr, Sulaymân, Abû Sufyân, Hishâm, Dâwûd, and ‘Awwâm’ who were the sons of female slaves. However, Yazîd’s first wife was Umm al-‘Hajjâj by whom he had al-Walid. When he became caliph, al-Walid was thirteen years old and was the oldest among his sons.⁴ Yahyâ, al-Walid’s brother was around ten or eleven years old. We have no record of the rest of his sons. Some were born to him before he became caliph and others were born during his reign as caliph.

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¹ Ta‘bārī, Ta‘rīkh VI, 420/II, 1174.
² Ta‘bārī, Ta‘rīkh VI, 574/II, 1372.
³ Ta‘bārī, Ta‘rīkh VI, 532/II, 1317.
⁴ Ta‘bārī, Ta‘rīkh VI, 564/II, 1360. VII, 253/II, 1810.
⁶ Ta‘bārī, Ta‘rīkh VI, 434/564/II, 1192/1359.
11. Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik

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

As soon as he came to power, Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik immediately dismissed Abi Bakr b. Muhammad b. 'Arnr al-Ansari as governor of Medina and put 'Abd al-Rahman b. al-Dahhak al-Fihri in the position. According to Tabari, he accused Abi Bakr as unfaithful. However, there is no further information about the treachery. Abi Bakr b. Muhammad al-Ansari had served under the Marwanid caliphs since 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz governed Medina. In the year 87/705 'Umar made him judge for the town. In the year 96/714 Sulayman appointed

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1 Ya'qubi, Ta'rikh III, 48.
2 Yazid b. al-Walid was born in the year 93/719. See Tabari, Ta'rikh VI, 476/II, 1247.
3 Tabari, Ta'rikh VI, 553/II, 1345.
4 Tabari, Ta'rikh VI, 574/II, 1372-4.
5 Tabari, Ta'rikh VI, 433/II, 1191.
11. Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik

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

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

We know that 'Umar was not welcomed by all the Marwanid family. From the moment he came to power, he refused to give any privileges to any of their members and made radical changes in the government of the provinces. A few days before his death, the Kharijite representatives questioned him about Yazid, whom they called the godless successor. He said that that was not his decision and promised to think about it. The members of the Marwanids were anxious about losing their power over the public money and that 'Umar might remove Yazid, their successor. As soon as he held power, he made changes to his policies. Ya'qūbi claims that he replaced all the governors of the provinces who served for 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz.1 The claim however is not true. According to Tabari, among other governors who served under 'Umar were Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ḥazm, the governor of Medina, 'Abd al-Ḥamid b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭābih, the governor of Kūfa, 'Adī b. Arfāt, the governor of Baṣra, Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Muhājir, the governor of Ifriqiyya, ‘Abd al-'Azīz b. ‘Abd Allāh, the governor of Mecca and al-Jarrāḥ b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥakami, the governor of Khurasān. In fact, Yazid dismissed only Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ḥazm, the governor of Medina and ‘Abd al-'Azīz b. ‘Abd Allāh, the

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1 Tabari, Ta’rikh VI, 522/11, 1305.
2 Tabari, Ta’rikh VI, 554/11, 1346.
4 Ya’qūbi, Ta’rikh III, 45.
governor of Mecca replacing them with ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḍahyāk, and Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Muhājir, the governor of Ifīqiyya and he confirmed Muḥammad b. Yazīd as the candidate chosen by the people of the province. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the governor of Kūfā, ‘Adī b. Arṭāt, the governor of Baṣrā, al-Jarrāḥ b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥakamī, the governor of Khurasān continued their services for Yazīd.

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

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

2 Ṭabarī, Taʿrīkh VI, 578/11, 1379.
3 Ṭabarī, Taʿrīkh VI, 585/11, 1390.
Marwan b. al-Ḥakam’s nephew,’ who was married to Maslama’s daughter in charge of Khurasan. This was in the year 102/720.

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

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

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1 Sa‘īd Khudhayna b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. al-Ḥarīth b. al-Ḥakam b. Abū al-‘Ās. See Ṭabari, Ta’rikh VI, 517/II, 1297.
3 Ṭabari, Ta’rikh VI, 575-6/II, 1375.
4 Ṭabari, Ta’rikh VI, 576/II, 1376.
5 Ṭabari, Ta’rikh VI, 585/III, 1390. Ibn al-Athir, al-Kāmil IV, 177.
6 Ibn al-Athir, al-Kāmil IV, 177-8.
7 Al-Balādhuri, Ansāb VIB, Jerusalem 1993, 5.
fourteen years old, three years older. So, Maslama suggested that he made al-Walid successor after Hishām. He agreed.  

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

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

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1 Ta‘bīrī, Ta‘rikh VI, 434/11, 1192.  
2 Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kānīl IV, 177-8. See also al-Baladhuri, Ansāb VI, 6.  
3 Ya‘qūbī, Ta‘rikh III, 48.  
4 Ya‘qūbī, Ta‘rikh III, 48.
12. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Ṭabari, Taʾrikh VII, 25/II, 1466.
² Ṭabari, Taʾrikh VI, 551/II, 1343.
³ Ṭabari, Taʾrikh VI, 552/II, 1344.
⁵ Ṭabari, Taʾrikh VII, 138/II, 1635.
female slaves. His first wife was Umm Ḥakim bint Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-‘Āṣī by whom he had Abū Shākir, Yazid and Muḥammad. His second wife was ‘Abda bint ‘Abd Allāh (al-Uswār) b. Yazid b. Mu‘āwiya by whom he had ‘Abd Allāh, and his third wife was Umm ‘Uthmān bint Sa‘īd, the descendant of ‘Uthmān the caliph, by whom he had Marwān. By female slaves, we know of the sons named Mu‘āwiya, Sa‘īd, Sulaymān, ‘Abd al-Rahmān and Quraysh.1 Al-Balādhurī and Ţabari state that Abū Shākir was Maslama’s familiar name.2

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

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2 Al-Balādhurī, Ansāb VIB, 2. Ţabari, Tu‘rikh VII, 210, II, 1742.
b. al-Walid. He was twelve years old.

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

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

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states however that he led the summer raid for only six years, in the year 107/725, 1
111/729, 112/730, 114/732, 116/734 and 117/735. He also invaded the Byzantines in
the year 109/727, 110/728, 113/731, 115/733 and 118/736. According to another of
Tabari’s report, it was Sulaymān b. Hishām led the pilgrimage seasons in the year 117/735, in
the years 120/742 and 124/746 he led the summer raid, and in the year 118/736 alone
with his brother Mu‘āwiya, he invaded the Byzantines. Sa‘id b. Hishām led the summer
raid only once in the year 111/729.

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

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1 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 40/II, 1487.
2 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 67/II, 1526.70/II, 1530.
3 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 70/II, 1530.
4 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 90/II, 1561.
5 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 93/II, 1564.
6 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 97/II, 1573.
7 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 46/II, 1495.
8 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 54/II, 1506.
9 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 88/II, 1560.
10 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 92/II, 1562.
11 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 109/II, 1588.
12 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 99/II, 1573.
13 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 139/199/II, 1635/1727.
14 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 109/II, 1588.
15 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 67/II, 1526.
16 Al-Balāduri, Futuh II, 525.
17 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 26/II, 1467-8.
Hishām dismissed him, Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī.¹ In the year 120/737, Hishām appointed Yusūf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqāfī,² the governor of Yemen, by letter as governor of ‘Irāq replacing Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī.³

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

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

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¹ Ṭabari, Ta’rikh VII, 142-7/I, 1641-7.
³ Ṭabari, Ta’rikh VII, 149-50/I, 1652.
⁴ Abdul Bari, ‘Economic aspects of the Muslim state during caliph Hishām,’ Islamic Culture 46 (1972), 298-9.
⁵ Ṭabari, Ta’rikh VII, 151-2/I, 1655.
⁷ Ṭabari, Ta’rikh VII, 210/I, 1743.
of his rule, Hishām treated him with respect and honour as his successor. In the year 116/734, he charged him to lead the people making pilgrimage, and in the year 122/739, he ordered him to burn the head of Zayd b. 'Ali who had been killed and whose head was sent to Damascus. However, this close relationship did not continue any longer. Shortly after, al-Walid showed his lack of shame and his habit of being suddenly and frequently drunk.

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

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

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1 Tabari, Taʾrikh VII, 209/II, 1741.
2 Tabari, Taʾrikh VII, 98/II, 1512.
3 Tabari, Taʾrikh VII, 188-9/II, 1713.
4 Tabari, Taʾrikh VII, 209/II, 1741.
5 Tabari, Taʾrikh VII, 209/II, 1741.
6 Muṣāb b. ‘Abd Allāh, Nasab, 163.
the sons of Hisham b. Isma'il al-Makhzumi and his other special friends.¹

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

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

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

¹ Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 209-10/II, 1741-2.
² Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 211/II, 1743.
³ Abū al-Faraj, al-Aghtami VII, 4-5.
⁵ According to Abū al-Faraj, it was Abraq. Abū al-Faraj, al-Aghtami VII, 10.
⁶ Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 211/II, 1743.
⁷ Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 212/II, 1745.
Hishām was worried that the people would not approve al-Walid to be their caliph.¹ Al-Balādhūrī states that Hishām asked Abū al-Zubayr (Naṣṣās), his advisor about this. Abū al-Zubayr said that they would approve al-Walid because the oath of allegiance was an obligation upon them. Hishām said that al-Walid would be punished in hell for his sins, therefore he, the wrongdoer, was not fit to be caliph. Hishām quoted that the Prophet had said, one who rules - even for three days - would not be punished in hell. If the people approved al-Walid, the sinner, as Hishām claimed, as their ruler, the Prophet’s tradition which he quoted above then was not true.² However, in the year 125/742,³ death came to him, Hishām at Rašāfa.

¹Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 215/11, 1747.
²Al-Balādhūrī, Ansāb VIB, 23.
13. Al-Walîd b. Yazîd

On the night on which Hishâm died, al-Walîd b. Yazîd went out with his companion Abû al-Juhayr al-Mundhir b. Abî 'Amr for a walk. Two messengers came to him telling the news of Hishâm's death and delivering a letter from Salîm b. Abî Ra'himân, the master of the chancellery. The power for which he had long waited, had at last come to him. At that time he was 37 years old.

Al-Walîd b. Yazîd was the son of Umm al-Ḥajjâj bint Muḥammad, the daughter of al-Ḥajjâj b. Yusûl's brother. His father, Yazîd b. Abî Ra'himân was the grandson of Yazîd b. Mu'tawiya through 'Āṭika bint Yazîd whom Abî abî Ra'himân had married and by whom he had Yazîd, who was also called Yazîd the son of 'Āṭika.

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

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1 Tabârî, Ta'rîkh VII, 215/II, 1750-1.
2 Abû al-Faraj, al-Aghânî VIII, 3.
3 Wellhausen, J., The Arab Kingdom, 312.
4 Abû al-Faraj, al-Aghânî VII, 4.
5 Abû al-Faraj, al-Aghânî III, 81.
6 Abû al-Faraj, al-Aghânî 81.
It is not clear how many sons he had when he became caliph. According to Tabari, at that time he had al-Hakam and ‘Uthmān; two young boys under age - less than fifteen years old. Al-Hakam was the son of a female slave and ‘Uthmān was the son of ‘Ātika bint ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abū Sufyān. He probably had two wives in addition to his female slaves. Firstly, ‘Ātika bint ‘Uthmān the above mentioned, and secondly Umm ‘Abd al-Malik bint Sa‘īd the descendent of ‘Uthmān, the caliph, by whom he had Sa‘īd. By female slaves he had Yazid, al-‘Abbās, Fihr, Lu‘ayy, Mūsā and others, beside al-Hakam the above. According to Ya‘qūbi, he had fourteen sons, and most of them were obviously born to him by female slaves.

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

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1 Tabari, Taʿrīkh VII, 253-4/II, 1811-12.
2 Tabari, Taʿrīkh VII, 232/II, 1776.
3 Muṣʿab b. ‘Abd Allāh, Nasab, 167.
4 Yaʾqūbi, Taʿrīkh III, 63.
5 Tabari, Taʿrīkh VI, 434/II, 1191.
6 Tabari, Taʿrīkh VI, 493/II, 1268.
7 Tabari, Taʿrīkh VI, 590/II, 1395.
8 Tabari, Taʿrīkh VII, 216/II, 1751.
Marwān b. Muḥammad was the grandson of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam the former caliph whom he, al-Walid confirmed in his position as governor of Adhārbayjan and Arminiyya, the provinces he had governed since Hishām's time. Yazid b. al-Walid was intelligent and pious and had a deep influence over the people. Muʿāwiya and Sulaymān, two sons of Hishām, also had more experience in invasion since they had served as commanders of the army for their father. In spite of that, al-Walid did not employ them. However, they were among the members of the Umayyad family who had grounds to claim the caliphate in the future.

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

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

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1 Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VII, 179/II, 1698.
3 Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VII, 216/II, 1751.
4 Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VII, 215/II, 1750-I.
Al-Walid had to make sure that each governor of the provinces was responsible to him and ready to put his new policy into practice. For this purpose, he confirmed the Qaysi Yusuf b. 'Umar as governor of 'Irāq, and Naṣr b. Sayyār as governor of Khurasān. Both had served as governors of the provinces since Hishām’s time. He also appointed ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad, son of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yusuf al-Thaqafī, his cousin, as governor of Damascus. He had replaced Ibrahim b. Hishām b. Ismā‘īl al-Makhzūmī, as governor of Medina, Mecca and Ta’if, with his, al-Walid’s uncle, Yusuf b. Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Thaqafī.

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

As soon as Yusuf b. Muḥammad b. Yusuf al-Thaqafī replaced Ibrahim b. Hishām, Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik’s maternal uncle as governor of Medina, Mecca and Ta’if, someone handed to him, Yusuf b. Muḥammad, Ibrahim and Muḥammad, who were two sons of Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik. They were tied up in their cloaks and were brought to Medina. Yusuf b. ‘Umar then killed them. They had been charged with having taken large sums of
money, thus al-Walid had ordered him, Yusuf b. Muhammad to kill them.¹ In addition, al-Walid also put Yazid b. Hisham al-Afsqun b. ‘Abd al-Malik in prison.² The families of both Hisham and al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik branded al-Walid the caliph an unbeliever. They also said that he had engraved the names of one hundred men among the Umayyads on one hundred linked iron chains which symbolised his intention to kill them.

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

¹ Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 226-7/II, 1768.
² Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 232/II, 1776.
³ Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 231/II, 1775.
⁴ Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 258-60/II, 1819-22.
property in 'Irāq by force.¹

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

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

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

² Ṭabarī, Ta‘rikh VII, 218/II, 1755.
⁴ Ṭabarī, Ta‘rikh VII, 232/II, 1776.
⁵ Ya‘qūbi, Ta‘rikh III, 61.
⁶ Abū al-Faraj, al-Aghānī VII, 70.
⁷ Ṭabarī, Ta‘rikh VII, 252-3/III, 1810.
14. The Third Fitna

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

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

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

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

¹ Tabari, *Ta‘rikh* VII, 231/11, 1776.
Mu'awiya and strengthened their relationship.¹ Sa'îd had attempted to remind Mu'awiya that he would become powerful only by strengthening the unity of the Umayyads. Similarly, as we have discussed earlier, 'Umar b. al-Walid, Yazid’s brother had warned al-Walid that he would be attacked by rebels if he kept destroying Hishâm’s and al-Walid’s families. It therefore seems that the unity of the entire Umayyad family was destroyed.

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

Al-Walid was the son of Umm al-Ḥajjâj bint Muḥammad, the niece of al-Ḥajjâj b. Yusuf al-Thaqafi.⁶ Yazid b. ‘Abd al-Malik, his father, destroyed Yazid b. Muhallab who, during the time that he governed 'Irâq for Sulaymân, punished the family of Abû ‘Uqayl b. Mas‘ūd.⁷ Yazid b. Muhallab had many Yemenite followers who supported his rebellion.

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¹ Al-Balâdhuri, Ansâb IV, 615.
³ In note 4, 105-6 of 'Umar b. ‘Abd al-'Azîz before, Sa'îd b. 'Amr has been mentioned. According to Ibn Hajar statement, Sa'îd and Marwân b. al-Hakam were sitting together with Abû Hurayra in the mosque of Medina. Abû Hurayra said that he heard the Prophet was saying, ‘The Muslims would be damaged by power of young boys of the Qurayshs.’ This was in the time of Mu'awiya as caliph. See Ibn Hajar, Fath al-Bâri XI, 115.
⁴ Kennedy, The Prophet, 112.
⁵ Tabari, Ta'rikh VII, 215/21, 1747.
⁷ Tabari, Ta’rikh VI, 506/21, 1282-3.
14. The Third Fitna

against Yazid b. ‘Abd al-Malik. Although Yazid b. Muhallab was killed and his head was brought to the caliph, his Yemenite supporters were still alive. As soon as al-Walid confirmed the Qaysi Yusuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafi in his position as governor of ‘Iraq and ordered him to kill the Yemeni Khalid al-Qasri, they transferred their anger against Yazid b. ‘Abd al-Malik to his son al-Walid.

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

However, Yazid made a secret move among the people, by concealing al-A‘naf al-Kalbi, Yazid b. ‘Anbas al-Saksaki and a group of the leadership and noblemen whom Yazid b. ‘Anbas trusted. They summoned the people, who agreed and secretly gave the oath of allegiance to Yazid. Yazid with his client, Qatan then returned to ‘Abbas renewing his request, but ‘Abbas warned him that he would bring him tied up to al-Walid if he returned again with the same consultation. ‘Abbas sent his messenger to Qatan, a mountain area placed between the Rumma and the Asad, to prevent Yazid, but Yazid did not want to
stop his campaign. When Bishr b. al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik held conversation with 'Abbās about the movement, 'Abbās anxiously addressed his words to the Marwanids that God had allowed them to be destroyed. However, he wished God would protect them from the great fitna and that they would return to the pillars of Islam.

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

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

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1 Tabari, Ta'rikh VII, 237/II, 1784-5.
2 Tabari, Ta'rikh VII, 239/II, 1787-8.
3 Tabari, Ta'rikh VII, 238/II, 1786-7.
4 Tabari, Ta'rikh VII, 239/II, 1787.
al-Jushami.  

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

Yazid gathered more than two hundred of his companions and captured the mosque, seized Kathîr b. 'Abd Allâh al-Sulami, the chief of police who was drunk, and seized the treasurers and the postmaster. Moreover, he ordered his followers to arrest all the people whom he feared, including Muḥammad b. 'Ubayda, the client of Sa‘id b. al-‘Āṣ who was at Ba‘labakk and 'Abd al-Malik b. Muhammad, the governor. According to Ṭabari, 'Abd al-Malik b. Muhammad protected himself in his residence at Qāṭān. Yazid made 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Maṣād leader of about two hundred fighters - horsemen - in order to seize the governor. 'Abd al-Rahmân then offered him a promise of safety and he permitted them to enter his house. There they found two saddlebags each containing thirty thousand dinars. 'Abd al-Rahmân was given the chance to take half or all of the money for himself,
but he refused in honesty and delivered it to Yazid. In any case, Yazid plans worked smoothly and before midday, the people had already sworn allegiance.

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

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

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

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1 Ṭabari, Tawrkh VII, 242-II, 1793-4.
4 Al-Hamawi, Mu‘jam III, 356.
5 Ṭabari, Ta’rīkh VII, 244/II, 1796-7.
6 Ṭabari, Ta’rīkh VII, 244-5/II, 1797-8.
14. The Third Fitna

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

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

¹ Ṭabari, Ta’rikh VII, 245-6/11, 1798-9.
² Ṭabari, Ta’rikh VII, 246/11, 1799-1800.
15. Yazid b. al-Walid

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

He was son of a female slave, Shâh Āfrîd bint Fayruz b. Yazdîgird b. Shahriyâr b. Kislâ, the descendent of Sasanid king Yazdîgird who was captured by the Muslim army when they conquered Khurasân.² They then sent her to Al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik as a gift. Al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik married her by whom he had Yazid.³

The nickname ol’Yazid was al-Naṣiq - the decreaser. It was because, according to al-Wâqidi, he cut back the increase of ten dirhams in the allowance which al-Walid had decreed for certain groups of the people. Yazid returned it to what it had been in the time of Hishâm b. ‘Abd al-Malik. ⁴ Tabari also reports that Marwân b. Muḥammad abused him by calling him al-Naṣiq, meaning the Stupid One. Since that time the people called him al-Naṣiq.⁴

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

¹ Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 298/11, 1874.
² Tabari, Ta’rikh VI, 476/11, 1247, Ta’rikh VII, 298/11, 1874.
³ Neither Tabari nor Ibn Hazm mentions anything about this marriage. However, al-Walid had married her by taking her in possession. In relation to this case al-Saraklî states that, in ‘Ali b. Abî Tâlib’s time as caliph, a man had given ’Ubayd Allâh b. al-Harr his daughter as a gift. The man confirmed this with two witnesses and ‘Ali b. Abî Tâlib approved it legally. This means that the way of possession authorised ’Ubayd Allâh b. al-Harr having sexual intercourse with her. See Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 298/II, 1874 and Ibn Hazm, Jamhîrat, 89. See also al-Saraklî, Shams al-Dîn, al-Maksûf, Cairo 1946 (1324AH), V, 60.
dead. Yazid seems to have claimed proudly that he was a descendant of the king of Persia as well as of Marwan the caliph, from whom he claimed to have inherited leadership. According to Tabari, he was not among the Sunnites, but tended to the doctrine of the Qadarites.¹

Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh reports that he, Yazid b. al-Walid married Umm Hishām bint Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, his cousin, soon after he became caliph, but he never had sexual intercourse with her.² Ibn Ḥazm states, he had married a Kalb woman by whom he had Abū Bakr, ʿAli and ʿAbd al-Muʿmin. Yazid had other sons: Khālid, al-Walid, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Muhammad and al-Aṣbah, but he. Ibn Ḥazm does not mention who their mothers were. Khālid and al-Walid were killed by Marwān b. Muhammad. Yazid had another son ʿAbd Allāh, the son of a female slave.³ However, we have no further information about their age when Yazid became caliph.

Earlier in the discussion of al-Walid b. Yazid, some members of the Umayyad family were mentioned. Shortly after al-Walid had been overthrown, some newcomers appeared and served under Yazid b. al-Walid. ʿAbbas, Ibrahim and ʿUmar were Yazid’s brothers. ʿAbbas at last became an important advisor to whom Yazid referred regarding his affairs.⁴ Ibrahim served him as governor of al-Uṣūl.⁵ According to Yaʿqūbī, Yazid b. al-Walid made Ibrahim his successor as soon as he came to power.⁶ What office ʿUmar held is not clear.⁷ Yazid b. Sulaymān was not only the chief of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik’s family in...

¹ Taḥrīr, Taʾrīkh VI, 498-9/11, 1274 and VII, 298/11, 1874.
² Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh, Nasab, 167.
³ Ibn Ḥazm, Jamāliyat, 90.
⁴ Taḥrīr, Taʾrīkh VII, 282/11, 1851.
⁵ Taḥrīr, Taʾrīkh VII, VII, 268/11, 1833-4.
Palestine but also the Palestinian people's protection.\(^1\) Sulaymān b. Hishām, the prisoner of al-Walīd in Amman escaped from prison as soon as al-Walīd was murdered, took the money from the treasury of the area by force, and came to Damascus blaming al-Walīd.\(^2\) He came to Yazīd and served in the army.\(^3\)

\`Abd Allāh, \`Abd al-`Azīz and `Āshīm, sons of \`Umar b. \`Abd al-`Azīz, were newcomers in Yazīd's time. \`Abd Allāh governed `Irāq, `Abd al-`Azīz governed Medina and \`Āshīm served as advisor for his brother \`Abd Allāh.\(^4\) Sa`īd (al-Khayr) b. \`Abd al-Malik the caliph had been the governor of Palestine for al-Walīd. After the murder of al-Walīd, Sa`īd b. Rawḥ b. Zinbāt the local leader, forced him, Sa`īd al-Khayr b. \`Abd al-Malik to step down, so he joined Yazīd b. al-Walīd's side.\(^5\) Finally Marwān b. Muḥammad, who had served as governor of Adhārbayjan and Arminiyya for Hishām\(^6\) and al-Walīd, finally agreed with Yazīd to govern the provinces for the third time.\(^7\) Apart from Marwān, they were sons of former caliphs who had the grounds for a claim to the caliphate in the future. However, Marwān was the strongest of them, the most skilful commander of the army and had long experience in administration of the provinces.

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

\(^1\) Tabārī, Ta`rikh VII, VII, 266/II, 1831.
\(^3\) Tabārī, Ta`rikh VII, 263/II, 1827.
\(^4\) Tabārī, Ta`rikh VII, 284/II, 1854.
\(^5\) Tabārī, Ta`rikh VII, 295/II, 1869.
\(^6\) Tabārī, Ta`rikh VII, 2305/II, 1882.
\(^7\) Tabārī, Ta`rikh VII, 266/II, 1831.
\(^8\) Tabārī, Ta`rikh VII, 179/II, 1698.
\(^9\) Tabārī, Ta`rikh VII, 283/II, 1853.

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the murder of al-Walid. They investigated the event immediately and when they knew that ‘Abbās b. al-Walid had been involved in it, they attacked and destroyed ‘Abbās’s house, stripped his wives, arrested his sons and put them in prison, and sought ‘Abbās, who at this time went to Yazid b. al-Walid. Then, they rebelled against Yazid and sent a letter to the army of Ḥims summoning them to take part in the revenge for al-Walid’s murder, and the army agreed to support them. They also drew up an agreement among themselves that they would either refuse Yazid, and swear allegiance to al-Walid’s sons and successors if they were still alive, or that they, the people of Ḥims would give their allegiance to someone else whom they considered to be the best candidate for caliph, on condition that he would pay their and their children’s yearly allowance. They made Mu’tāwiya b. Yazid b. Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūni their leader. Mu’tāwiya b. Yazid then wrote to Marwān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik the governor of Ḥims for al-Walid b. Yazid. The governor, Marwān submitted to the wishes of the people. 3

The news of the rebellion came to Yazid, who offered to solve their problem by negotiation. He encharged Ya’qūb b. ‘Umayr b. Ḥāni’, a Ghaylānī, 1 to lead the messengers. However, they refused the offer and expelled the messengers. They had approved their successors, the sons of al-Walid b. Yazid. 4 Thus, Yazid had to take further action in order to break up their rebellion. He ordered Masrūr b. al-Walid and al-Walid b. Rawḥ to lead a large group of the army, most of whom belonged to the tribe of ‘Āmir of the Kalb.

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

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1 Crone, Slaves, 97. As we have mentioned before, Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūni was a commander of the Syrian army after Muslim b. ‘Uqba’s death. He fought against ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in Mecca.
3 Ya’qūb b. ‘Umayr was a Ghaylānī and was among the followers of Yazid b. al-Walid. See Crone, Slaves, 140.
fight against the rebellion.' Yazid was lucky when in the critical situation Sulaymān b. Hishām came to him, delivered the money he had taken by force and gave the oath of allegiance. So, Yazid asked him to join Masrūr b. al-Walid and al-Walid b. Rawḥ in Ḥimṣ.3

Although Yazid's army defeated the rebel troops, they had come near to clashing among themselves. Sulaymān b. Hishām's men were on one side, the Dhakwān were grouped to another side and the tribe of ‘Āmir of the Kalb were grouped against both divisions. As they were about to fight against each other, they finally agreed to stop their clashing on condition that they would all support and be loyal to Yazid b. al-Walid.1

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

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

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1 Ṭabarī, Taʿrīkh VII, 264/11, 1828.
2 Ṭabarī, Taʿrīkh VII, 263/11, 1827.
3 Ṭabarī, Taʿrīkh VII, 265-6/11, 1830.
4 Ṭabarī, Taʿrīkh VII, 266/11, 1831.
Sa‘id and Ḍibān, two sons of Rawḥ b. Zīnba‘ and others to swear allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Walid and that they agreed.¹ He also reports that Yazīd charged ʿUthmān b. Dāwūd al-Khawlānī, who was accompanied by Ḥudhayfa b. Saʿīd, to persuade Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik and Yazīd b. Sulaymān. Finally, they agreed to swear their allegiance.²

Marwān b. Muḥammad was the most powerful challenger to Yazīd’s power. He had disagreed with Yazīd’s radical action since the beginning of his movement. After Yazīd came to power, in the year 126/743, Marwān wrote to al-Ghamr b. Yazīd, al-Walid’s brother, urging him to take revenge. He, Marwān, was ready for help. He had with him a group of skilful troops who obeyed him wholeheartedly and who were daring enough to do their task. He stated proudly that he would not resemble either Muḥammad, his father, or Marwān, his grandfather, unless he fought against the Qadaris who had caused the Syrian people to break their allegiance.¹

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

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

¹ Taḥārī, Taʿrīkh VII, 267/II, 1832.
² Taḥārī, Taʿrīkh VII, 267-8/II, 1832-3.
⁴ Taḥārī, Taʿrīkh VII, 268-9/II, 1834-5.
his departure to conquer Harran and Jazira and put Sulayman b. 'Abd Allâh b. 'Uthmân in charge of the area. He wrote to Marwân, his father, telling him about this and asked him to come to Harran immediately.¹

Before leaving Arminiyya, Marwân b. Muhammam made preparations and made out that he was seeking revenge for al-Walid. He charged Ishâq b. Muslim al-'Uqayli, the chief of Qays, and Thâbit b. Nu'aym al-Judhâmi, the Syrian chief of the Yemenites, to govern the frontier. Thâbit b. Nu'aym al-Judhâmi was a prisoner of Hishâm b. 'Abd al-Malik. Marwân b. Muhammam had asked Hishâm’s permission to take him as his friend and bring him to Arminiyya as his companion.² He was disloyal to Marwân and secretly asked the local commanders to leave their frontier post and go back to their area, making himself their leader. He also persuaded the Syrian people who were with him to separate from Marwân b. Muhammam and join him. However, Marwân b. Muhammam forced them to join his army until he came to Harran and permitted them to go back to their area, but he held Thâbit b. Nu'aym al-Judhâmi with him.³

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

² Tabari, *Tu'rikh* VII, 296/II., 1871.
Yazid’s request and paid off Yazid’s debt. However, in another statement, Tabari says that as Marwan was about to march on Damascus, Yazid’s letter came to him offering that he should be the governor of Jazira, Arminiyya and Adharbayjan, if he swore allegiance. Marwan obviously agreed.

The people of Damascus finally reached agreement and swore allegiance to Yazid who then organised the government of the provinces. He appointed Muawiya b. Yazid b. Husayn as governor of Ḥimṣ, Ibrahim b. al-Walid, his brother as governor of Urduq, Dhib’ān b. Rawḥ as governor of Palestine, and Masrur b. al-Walid as governor of Qinnasrin.

Some said, when the Syrian people established their obedience to Yazid b. al-Walid, he urged ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. Hārūn b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Daḥya b. Khalifa al-Kalbi to govern ‘Irāq, but he refused because he demanded an army to support him. Thus, Yazid appointed Mansur b. Jumhūr to the position. Ahū Mikhnaf said that Mansur b. Jumhūr had left al-Bakhrā on the day in which al-Walid b. Yazid was killed. As soon as he came to ‘Irāq, Yusuf b. ‘Umar ran away. The following month, Mansur came to al-Ḥira, seized the treasury and distributed allowances and rations to those who were entitled to them. He also arrested Muhammad b. Nubata the previous governor for al-Walid, and put him in prison, and put Ḥurayth b. Abī al-Jahm in charge of Wāsit. He put Jarir b. Yazid in charge of Baṣra and ordered the people of the various areas of ‘Irāq to give the oath of allegiance to Yazid.

Mansur b. Jumhūr was a supporter of Ghaylān and joined Yazid’s cause only because of

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1 Tabari, Taʾrikh VII, 283/2, 1852-3.
3 Tabari, Taʾrikh VII, 266/2, 1831.
4 Tabari, Taʾrikh VII, 268/2, 1833-4.
5 Tabari, Taʾrikh VII, 270/2, 1836.
6 Tabari, Taʾrikh VII, 270/2, 1836/2, 1836-7.
his Ghaylani beliefs. He hated the murderer of Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, so he made sure he was present at the murder of al-Walid. When Yazīd made him governor of ‘Irāq, he, Yazīd advised him to fear God and that he should not kill anybody. He was probably the most important leader under Yazīd b. al-Walid. Yazīd made him governor of ‘Irāq including Khurāsān, but Naṣr b. Sayyār refused to give up his post as governor of the area to Maṅsūr’s agent. When the Azd tribe of Khurāsān frightened Naṣr b. Sayyār that Maṅsūr himself would enter Khurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār said in his speech that if so, he would cut off Maṅsūr’s hands and feet. Naṣr then put his agent in charge of Rabi‘a and Yemen, made Ya‘qūb b. Yahyā b. Ḥudayn governor of upper Tukhāristān, appointed Mas‘ada b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Yashkuri to Khurāsān and made al-Mağhira b. Shur‘ba al-Jahdhami governor of Qūhistān. He ordered them all to do their best for the people, and he called on them to swear allegiance to Yazīd. Someone else whom, according to Tabari, Naṣr b. Sayyār put in charge of Khurāzīm was ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sulami who gave a speech saying that he was not a rough Bedoin and would use his power correctly.

Tabari states that Maṅsūr sent a man from Balqayn to Khurāsān, but a client of Naṣr arrested the man and broke his nose. Naṣr b. Sayyār took responsibility for treating his injury. Yazīd b. al-Walid then dismissed Maṅsūr b. Jumhūr and replaced him with ‘Abd Allāh, the son of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, because he thought the people of ‘Irāq respected him.

In the year 126/743 itself, Yazīd b. al-Walid fell ill. Someone suggested to him to appoint a successor. Tabari reports that the Qadarītes strongly urged Yazīd b. al-Walid to make

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1 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 270-1/II, 1837.
2 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 277-8/II, 1845-7.
3 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 279/II, 1849.
4 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 280/II, 1850.
5 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 284/II, 1854.
Ibrāhim, his brother, and 'Abd al-'Aziz b. al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, his cousin, his successors. It was not clear why the Qadarites suggested to Yazid to make both Ibrāhim and 'Abd al-'Aziz his successors. They were members of the Umayyad family. Ibrāhim was a Qadarite but there is no evidence that 'Abd al-'Aziz also was among the Qadarites. Shortly after, Yazid died in Damascus.²

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16. Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd

Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd became caliph succeeding his brother Yazīd b. al-Walīd who died in the year 126/743. The sources are silent as to the age when he was born and as to how old he was when he died. Taking into account the fact that he was Yazīd’s younger brother, his age was probably not much different from his brother’s. His brother Yazīd was thirty three years old when death came to him. He, Ibrāhīm may have been around thirty years old when he came to power.

Ya’qūbī reports that his mother was Su‘ād, but Ibn Khallikān reports that she was Ni‘ma. Some say, she was Ḥashf. Historians do not mention his wives. Ibn Ḥazm only reports that he had five sons. They were Isḥāq, Ismā‘il, Ya‘qūb, Mūsā and ‘Ubayd Allāh. He was, according to Tabari, a weak caliph who, like his brother, tended to the doctrine of Qadarites.

As soon as he became caliph, disagreement occurred among the Syrian people who split into three divisions. One swore allegiance to him as their caliph, the other made him their amir, while the third division did nothing until Marwān b. Muḥammad arrived.

On the death of al-Walīd b. Yazīd, Marwān b. Muḥammad, the governor of Arminyya and Ādharbayjān went with his troops into Jazīra where the people swore allegiance secretly to him. As we have mentioned before, he planned to rebel against Yazīd b. al-Walīd, but he eventually changed his mind after the rebel caliph confirmed him as governor of Jazīra in addition to Arminyya and Ādharbayjān. However, as soon as Yazīd b. al-Walīd died and Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd succeeded him, Marwān b. Muḥammad renewed his revenge. He made

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2 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 295/II, 1869.
3 Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 299/II, 1875.
Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd sent an army under the command of his cousin Sulaymān b. Hishām to fight against Mawān. The two sides met at ‘Ayn al-Jarr, near Damascus. Mawān summoned them to stop fighting and release the two sons of al-Walīd: al-Ḥakam and ‘Uthmān, from the prison of Damascus. Mawān promised that the two boys would not take revenge against those who had put their father al-Walīd to death. However, they refused, and went on fighting. Mawān therefore had to use his experience of fighting and his skilful army in order to defeat Sulaymān’s side, and he won the victory. A great number of prisoners were brought to Mawān, who made them swear allegiance to the two boys, al-Ḥakam and ‘Uthmān, provided them with money, and released them. Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik along with a small company of supporters escaped.¹

Before Mawān reached Damascus, Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd held a meeting with his advisors and his commanders of the army. They discussed the action they had to take in order to stop Mawān b. Muḥammad taking power by force. Their conclusion was to kill both al-Ḥakam and ‘Uthmān, the sons of al-Walīd b. Yazīd and Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī.

¹ Tabari, Ta’rīkh VII, 300/11, 1876-7.
² Tabari, Ta’rīkh VII, 300/11, 1876-7.
They entrusted Yazid b. Khālid al-Qasrī with the task. However, Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī hid in the prison. As they were about to set fire to the prison, Marwān b. Muḥammad entered Damascus. Ibrahim b. al-Walīd then escaped. Sulaymān b. Hishām also escaped with the money of the treasury and divided it among the Syrian troops accompanying him.1 Ṭabarī, in another report states that it was ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥajjāj, Ibrahim’s successor who took the public money and then escaped.2

The sources differ in their reports of Ibrahim’s action when Marwān b. Muḥammad arrived. Yaʿqūbī states that Ibrahim resigned and swore allegiance to Marwān, to whom the people of Damascus also paid obedience.3 Ṭabarī, in one statement, says that Ibrahim b. al-Walīd and Sulaymān b. Hishām, as mentioned above escaped. He, in another statement, says that Ibrahim b. al-Walīd and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥajjāj fought against Marwān b. Muḥammad. Ibrahim b. al-Walīd then escaped, but ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥajjāj fought until he was killed.4 Ibrahim b. al-Walīd held power for only seventy days.5

Marwān b. Muḥammad pacified Damascus, and then returned home to Harrān. Ibrahim b. al-Walīd and Sulaymān b. Hishām sought a promise of safety from him. Sulaymān b. Hishām, his family and clients who lived in Tadmur came to Marwān b. Muḥammad to give the oath of allegiance.6

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2 Ṭabarī, Taʿrīkh VII, 311/II, 1890-1.
3 Yaʿqūbī, Taʿrīkh III, 64.
4 Ṭabarī, Taʿrīkh VII, 304/II, 1881.
5 Ṭabarī, Taʿrīkh VII, 299/II, 1875.
6 Ṭabarī, Taʿrīkh VII, 312/II, 1892.
17. Marwān b. Muḥammad

Marwān b. Muḥammad became caliph in the year 127/744 when he was 51 years old. Some say, he was born in the year 73/692, but Ṭabarānī states that he was born in the year 76/695.¹

He came to power after defeating ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Walid, the weak caliph. When Ḫabūl b. al-Walid succeeded his brother Yazīd b. al-Walid, Marwān had probably continued delaying revenge in the name of the two sons of al-Walid, Al-Ḥakam and ʿUthmān, the legal successors who were in prison in Damascus. However, he, Marwān did not put himself forward as a candidate for the caliphate.²

As we have mentioned, ʿAbd Ṣulaymān b. Hishām and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥajjāj, İbrāhīm’s successor ran away as soon as Marwān entered Damascus. Marwān lodged in ʿĀliya. Ṭabarānī states that while ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥajjāj took the public money, the clients of al-Walid b. Yazīd attacked him, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥajjāj and killed him. Then, they dug up Yazīd b. al-Walid’s grave and put his dead body on a cross at the gate of Jāhiya. The dead bodies of al-Ḥakam and ʿUthmān, the two successors of al-Walid b. Yazīd, were brought to Marwān, and Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd b. Muḥāwiya al-Sufyānī the prisoner came to him, greeted him as a caliph and told him that the boys had made him caliph after them, and then he swore allegiance to him, Marwān b. Muḥammad.³ He, Abū Muḥammad proved the fact of the appointment with al-Ḥakam’s poem, in which he, al-Ḥakam expressed his feelings about how Yazīd had badly treated his brother ʿUthmān and himself. If his brother ʿUthmān and he were murdered, Marwān b. Muḥammad should

³ Musʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh, Nasab 131.
⁴ Ṭabarānī, Taʾrīkh VII, 311/II, 1890-1.
succeed them to power. 1 Abū Mūhammad’s action of swearing allegiance to Marwān b. Mūhammad was followed by Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd, the grandson of Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr and also the chiefs of the Ḥims people. 2

Little is known about Marwān’s sons or how old they were when he became caliph. We also have no record of Marwān’s wife. Ya‘qūbī only states that he had four sons. They were ‘Abd al-Malik, ‘Abd Allāh, ‘Ubayd Allāh and Mūhammad. 3 Tabari mentions three of them, ‘Abd al-Malik, ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Ubayd Allāh. 4 Ibn Ḥazm reports that Marwān had ten sons including four of the above. The names of these other sons were ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, ‘Uthmān, ‘Abd al-Ghaffār, Yazīd, Abū ‘Uthmān and Abān. However, he, Ibn Ḥazm does not mention their mothers or how old they were. 5

Tabari and Ibn al-Athīr report that when Marwān was murdered, ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Ubayd Allāh escaped and entered the land of Ḥabxinia. They were fought by the Ḥabxinian people and ‘Ubayd Allāh was killed. ‘Abd Allāh, with a few followers, escaped. He survived until the time of al-Mahdī. Finally, he was sent to the Abūāsid caliph by Naṣr b. Mūhammad al-Asḥath, the governor of Palestine. 6 However, the coming of the Abūāsid power signified the end of continued power for his line in the future.


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1 Tabari, Taʾrikh VII, 311-12/11. Usb 1-2.
2 Tabari, Taʾrikh VII, 312/11. 1892.
3 Yaʿqūbī, Taʾrikh III, 71.
4 Tabari, Taʾrikh VII, 563/11. 204-5.
5 Ibn Ḥazm, Jamāliyya, 107.
6 Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil IV, 332.
Tabari and Ibn al-Athir report that 'Abd al-'Aziz was the son of former caliph, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz. He had governed Medina for Yazid, and continued his service for Marwan as governor of Medina, Mecca and Ṭā‘if. We have mentioned earlier that 'Abd al-Waḥīd b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik played his part as governor of Medina and Mecca for Marwan. According to Al-Baladhuri, the governor of Mecca and Medina for Marwan was not 'Abd al-'Aziz but 'Abd al-Waḥīd b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik. However, Tabari also states that 'Abd al-Waḥīd b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik later held the position following 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Umar's two year period as governor. Abān b. Yazid b. Muḥammad b. Marwan was Marwan's nephew. He served as governor of Ḥarrān for Marwan. Finally, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar had been governor of 'Irāq for Yazid b. al-Walid. He opposed Marwan and joined al-Dāḥḥāk b. Qays the Kāhījite.

Marwan followed the practice of the Umayyad caliphs who desired to make the caliphate hereditary in order to secure power for their line. During his time as caliph he trained his sons in public affairs. According to Tabari, in the year 126/743 he encharged 'Abd al-Malik to lead the summer raid. When he marched on Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid, he made 'Abd al-Malik his representative over forty thousand of the army in Raqqah. He also made 'Abd Allāh his representative over the Jazira when he himself besieged Ḥims.

Soon after pacifying Damascus, Marwan arranged his government of the provinces. He used not only members of the Umayyad family but also the chiefs of various tribes to

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2 Muṣʿab b. ‘Abd Allāh, Nasab, 166.
3 Muṣʿab b. ‘Abd Allāh, Nasab, 166.
7 Tabari, Taʾrikh VII, VII, 300/II, 1876.
8 Tabari, Taʾrikh VII, 345/II, 1939.
support his government. According to Tabari, he appointed Al-Walid b. Mu‘awiya, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwân’s nephew, as governor of Urdun.\(^1\) ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz as mentioned above was governor of Mecca, Medina and Ta‘it\(^2\) and two years later, in the year 129/746 Marwân replaced him with ‘Abd al-Wahid b. Sulaymân b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwân.\(^3\) In the following year, in the year 130/747 ‘Abd al-Wahid b. Sulaymân ran away into Syria as soon as Abû Hanzâ, Mukhtâr b. ‘Awf the Khârijite of the Ḥârûriyya entered Medina.\(^4\) Among other members of various tribes who held positions as governors of the provinces under Marwân were ‘Umar b. Hubayra of the ‘Abs tribe who was governor of Iraq,\(^5\) Al-Mughira b. ‘Abd Allâh of the same tribe as ‘Umayr b. Hubayra, who was governor of Egypt,\(^6\) Zâmil b. ‘Amr al-Jabrâni of the Yemenite who was governor of Damascus and al-Hudhayl b. Qays of the Tamîn tribe who was governor of Išbahân.\(^7\)

Marwân seems to have moved the capital from Damascus to Harrân, which he made his residence and the new capital of the Umâyyad empire. Ya‘qûbî mentions that he built his palace in the place called Dahâb al-Bayn and spent some 10 million dirhams on it.\(^8\) The new capital city was likely very important for him and for the future of his successors since Damascus had become a city of his enemies, the Yemenites, whereas Harrân was the city of the Qâqis, his supporters.

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5 Ibn Hazm, Jamharat, 255.
6 Ibn Hazm, Jamharat, 257.
7 Ibn Hazm, Jamharat, 208.
The decision of keeping the future succession within his own line was Marwan’s special programme. As soon as Syria had settled down Marwan gathered all the members of the Umayyad family in Dayr Ayyub, a village in the Hawran area of Damascus. He appointed ‘Ubayd Allah as first successor and ‘Abd Alläh as second successor and gave them Umm Hisham and ‘A’ishah, Hisham b. ‘Abd al-Malik’s daughters in marriage. Although ‘Abd al-Malik was the oldest of Marwan’s sons, Marwan thought that he was not fit to be successor. Thus, Marwan made ‘Abd Alläh and ‘Ubayd Alläh his successors for the future throne.

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1 Al-Ḥamawi, Mu’jam VIII, 409.
3 Ṭabarī, Ta’rikh VII, 563/III, 204-5.
Conclusion

This thesis has contributed to the history of the succession of the Umayyad dynasty starting with Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyân and ending with Marwân b. Muḥammad. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān did not nominate any successors. Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyân was the first among the Umayyads who appointed his own son, Yazid as successor. However, Yazid b. Mu'awiya was not the first among the Arab Muslims who succeeded his father to power. The first was Hasan b. 'Ali who came to power as soon as his father 'Ali died on the decision of 'Ali's followers.

Yazid b. Mu'awiya continued his father's practice when he made his own son Mu'awiya his successor. Marwân b. al-Ḥakam followed this practice with an additional successor. In other words, Marwân nominated his two sons 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-'Azīz as his successors. The second successor would hold power after the first successor died. However, when 'Abd al-Malik came to power he changed the policy. He attempted to secure power for his four sons and his policy clearly survived up to his son Hishām.

However, each caliph among 'Abd al-Malik's sons tried to change the previous policy of succession. For example, al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik desired to make his own son 'Abd al-'Azīz his successor rather than his brother Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik. When Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik became caliph he put 'Abd al-Malik's covenant upon him aside and made his own son Ayyūb his successor. Unfortunately, Ayyūb died young and Sulaymān had no more mature sons as replacements. Finally, he made 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz a candidate outside his own line his successor and made Yazid, his brother second successor and this only for the purpose of keeping the unity of the Marwanid family.

Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik seems to pay his respect to his father who desired to empower his four sons when he, Yazid made Hishām his successor. Soon after, he changed his mind.
wanting to make his own son al-Walid his successor. When he was about to confirm this policy, Maslama, his brother, persuaded him to keep Hishām as his successor and make al-Walid successor after Hishām. In his turn, Hishām also worked hard to sack al-Walid and made his own son Maslama Abū Shākir his successor. However, his ambition failed and al-Walid finally came to power and made his two young sons 'Uthmān and al-Ḥakam his successors. Al-Walid’s successors however were assassinated when Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid succeeded his brother, Yazid b. al-Walid the rebellious caliph. Finally Marwān b. Muḥammad who came to power by force nominated 'Abd Allāh and 'Ubayd Allāh his own sons as his successors.

The summary above shows clearly the trend of the whole picture of the Umayyad succession to the caliphate. Muʿāwiya b. Abi Sufyān introduced the policy of succession within the family since he believed that the fact that ‘Uthmān died without any successor had caused a civil war among the people. The Umayyad caliphs who followed, continued the practice in order to secure power for their own family. Among them were caliphs who nominated their brothers as their successors and there were some caliphs who in particular tried to keep power within their narrow blood lines by making their own sons successors. This narrow line policy seems to result from time to time in a weak candidate, in the form of a young son or in the case of a candidate who died unexpectedly, a practice which was warned against by the Qurʾān. For these reasons, ‘Abd al-Malik’s pattern was better than Muʿāwiya’s.

In fact, since the time of Muʿāwiya b. Abi Sufyān there is no evidence of special power or influence held by members of the Umayyad family over certain caliphs with regard to the nomination of a successor. Although the Umayyad members had played their parts in strengthening their power their influence was minimal. They merely advised as to the nomination of a successor. Only Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik in the case of Hishām b. ‘Abd
al-Malik, had persuaded Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik successfully to keep Hishām as his successor, and then made his, Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik's son al-Walid successor after Hishām. However, Ya'qūbi reports, that Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasri, a member outwith the Umayyad family, persuaded Yazid to keep Hishām in his position of successor. In return, when Hishām came to power, he appointed Khālid as governor of 'Irāq. There was in addition, another member outwith the Umayyad family whose advice had helped 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in his decision as to the successors. Muhammad was 'Abd al-Malik's scribe who suggested that 'Abd al-Malik made Sulaymān successor after al-Walid.
The Members of The Umayyad Family


‘Abbās b. al-Walīd was the son of a Byzantine woman (Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh* VII, 592/II, 1398). Little of his background is recorded. Ṭabarī states that he died of the plague when he was in the prison of Harrān in the year 132/754 (*Ta’rikh* VII, 436/II, 43).


‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-Āṣ b. Umayya. His date of birth and death are unknown and there is no record of any wives. According to
Appendix

Tabari’s statement, he served as governor of Egypt for ‘Abd al-Malik, his father on the death of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. Marwân in the year 85/707 (Tabari, Ta’rikh VI, 413/II, 1165).

‘Abd Allâh b. Marwân b. Muḥammad b. Marwân b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-‘Āṣ b. Umayya. The date of his birth is not recorded. According to Tabari, he was among the Marwân b. Muḥammad’s followers, against whom the Abyssinian people fought when they entered the land of Abyssinia in order to escape from ‘Abd Allâh b. ‘Ali. He himself escaped for the second time, but unfortunately, he fell into the hands of Naṣr b. Muḥammad, the governor of Palestine who then took him to al-Mahdî the ‘Abbasid caliph. He married ‘Ā’isha, the daughter of Hishâm b. ‘Abd al-Malik. (Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 314/II, 1895 and 437/III, 46).


‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. al-Ḥajjâj b. ‘Abd al-Malik was the second successor of Yazid b. al-Walid (Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 295/II, 1869). The date of his birth and names of any wives...
are not recorded. Ṭabarī states that he died in the year 126/748, murdered by Marwān b. Muḥammad. (Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VII, 299/304/II,1875/1881).


ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. There is no record of the date of his birth and death. Nor do we have a record of any wives. In the year 126/748, Yazīd b. al-Walīd made him governor of Medina (Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VII, 295/II,1870), Mecca and Ṭāif (Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VII, 299/II, 1875). In the year 127/749, Marwān b. Muḥammad confirmed him as governor of the regions (Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh VII, 329/II, 1917).


ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. The date of his birth is unknown as are the names of any wives. Al-Iṣbahānī states generally that he died in ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz’s time. (Al-Iṣbahānī, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh, Hilyat V, Cairo 1935. 627).

Appendix

Tabari states that he died in the year 31/653. (Tabari, *Ta'rikh* IV, Cairo 1963, 292/1, 2871), while al-Baladhuri says that he died in the year 30/652, five years before the murder of 'Uthman the caliph. (al-Baladhuri, *Ansab* IV 13).


Ibrahim b. Hisham b. Isma'il b. al-Walid al-Makhzumi b. Mughira b. Abi al-'Ash b. Umayya. He was the brother of Umm Hisham whom 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan married and by whom he had Hisham the caliph. (Mus'ab b. 'Abd Allah, *Nasab*, 328). In the year
Appendix


Maslama b. ʿĀbd al-Malik. According to Miles, he died in the year 75/697, but Ibn Ḥajar gives two reports as regards the year of his death. Firstly, he refers to Khalīfa who said that it was in the year 120/742 and secondly, he refers to Muḥammad b. ʿĀbid who said that it was in the year 121/743. (Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhib X, Beirut 1968, 144. See also Miles, GC, ‘A Byzantine Bronze Weight in the Name of Bishr b. Marwān,’ Arabica IX (1962), 113).

(Ṭabarî, Ta’rikh VII, 90/11, 1561). According to Muṣ‘ab he and his brother Ibrāhīm were
imprisoned for life by Yūsuf b. ‘Umar, but Ṭabarî states that he was killed by Yūsuf in the
same time as Ibrāhīm’s murder in the year 126/748. (Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, Nasab, 326.
Ṭabarî, Ta’rikh VII, 260/11, 1822).

Sa‘īd Khudhayna b. ‘Abd al-‘Azîz b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam b. Abî al-‘Āṣ. He was
governor of Khurāsān after the murder of Yazīd b. Muhallab in the year 96/718. (Ṭabarî, Ta’rikh VI, 517/11, 1297). He married Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik’s daughter whose name
is unknown. (Ṭabarî, Ta’rikh VII, 605/11, 1418). The date of his birth and death are not
known.

Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ. There is no record of his date of birth. According to al-Baladhuri’s
statement, when his father al-‘Āṣ was killed in the Battle of Badr in the year 2/624, he was
still a child. (Al-Baladhuri, Ansâb IV, 434). Ibn Sa‘d states that at the death of the Prophet
in the year 10/632, he was about nine years old. (Ibn Sa‘d, Muhammad, Tabaqât al-Kabîr
V, Beirut 1957, 31). It can thus be assumed that, he was probably born in the second year
of Hijrah (2/624), before the Battle of Badr took place. He married only once, to Umm
al-Banîn bint al-Ḥakam, the daughter of Marwân b. al-Ḥakam, the caliph. (Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abd
Allāh, Nasab 178). The sources provide conflicting reports on the date of his death.
Zettersteen states that it was in 53/675, 57/679, 58/680 or 59/681 (Zettersteen, K. V.,
to Al-Baladhuri and D. S. Powers, it was in 59 (678-9.) (Al-Baladhuri, Ansâb IV, 434.
Powers, DS. The History of al-Ṭabarî: The Empire in Transition, XXIV, New York 1989,
46. Note: 171).

Sa‘īd b. ‘Uthmân b. ‘Affân, the caliph, governed Khurāsān in the year 56/678
(Ṭabarî, Ta’rikh VI, 304/11, 177. Al-Baladhuri, Ansâb IV, 116/616). The date of his birth is
not recorded. He married Umayma bint al-Asyham al-Kinânîyya (Al-Baladhuri, Ansâb IV,
6. Al-Balādhuri states that Sa‘id was murdered, but he does not mention the date of the event (Al-Balādhuri, Ansāb IV, 616-617).


‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abi Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya. Little is known about his early life. According to Ṭabarī’s statement he was very young when Yazīd b. Mu‘awiya made him governor of Medina. In the year 63/685, when the people of the town rebelled against him and expelled all the Umayyads, he had no idea what action to take and quickly sought the support of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. (Ṭabarī, Ta‘rikh V, 482/II, 405-6).

Al-Walīd b. ‘Utba b. Abi Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya. Little of his early life is known. His first involvement in politics was in the year 58/680 when Mu‘awiya b. Abi Sufyān put him in charge, as governor of Medina (Ṭabarī, Ta‘rikh V 309/II, 181). As soon as Yazīd b. Mu‘awiya came to power, he confirmed al-Walid as governor of the town and ordered him to force ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar and ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr to give the oath of allegiance (Ṭabarī, Ta‘rikh V 338/II, 216-7). In the year 60/682, Yazīd dismissed him, al-Walīd (Ṭabarī, Ta‘rikh V 399/II, 295), but in the year 61/683, he restored him to the
position. It is likely that Yazid was experiencing hard times during the beginning of his rule. In the year 62/684, he dismissed al-Walid for second time (Tabari, Ta’rikh V 479/II, 402) and replaced him with an inexperienced young man, ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān (Tabari, Ta’rikh V 482/II, 405).

Yahya b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-‘Āṣ b. Umayya was Marwān the caliph’s brother. The date of his birth and death are not recorded. According to al-Baladhuri, he married Zaynab bint ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. (Al-Baladhuri, Ansāb V, 163). Ibn Ḥazm states that he had eight sons. They were Marwān, Yūsūf, Sulaymān, ‘Abd al-Salām, Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, Salama and Ḥabīb. However, he does not mention their mother (Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat, 109). In the year 75/697, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān appointed him as governor of Medina (Tabari, Ta’rikh VI, 202/II, 863), but later on, in the year 78/700 he dismissed him (Tabari, Ta’rikh VI, 321/II, 1035). However, his daughter Umm Ḥakim married Hishām, son of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 67/II, 1527).

Yazīd b. Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, was the chief among his brothers and sisters, the descendents of Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik in Palestine. The date of his birth and death have not been found and the names of any wives are also unknown (Tabari, Ta’rikh VII, 266/II, 1831).
Appendix

Table 1

![Genealogy Diagram]

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Appendix

Table 2

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+----------------+----------------+----------------+----------------+----------------+
| Umayya         | Abū al-'Iṣ     | Al-'Aṣ          | Abū al-'Aṣ      | Ḥarb           |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
| Al-Ḥakam       |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
| MARWĀN         | Yahyā          |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
| Al-Ḥarith      | Bishr          | 'Abd al-'Aziz  | Muḥammad        | 'ABD AL-MALIK  |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
| 'Abd al-Malik  | 'Abd al-Malik  | 'UMAR          | MARWĀN II       |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
| 'Abd al-'zīz   |                |                |                |                |
| Khālid         | 'Abd Allāh     | 'Abd Allāh     |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
| Sa'id Khudhayna| 'Abd al-'Aziz  | 'Ubayd Allāh   |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
| 'Abd Allāh     | Maslama        | AL-WALID       | SULAYMAN        |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
| Al-Ḥajjāj      |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
| 'Abd al-'Azīz | YAZID III      | IBRAHIM        |                | AL-WALID       |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
|                |                |                |                |                |
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Appendix

Table 3

- Umayya
  - Abū al-'Īs
  - Al-ŢĀṣ
  - Abū al-ŢĀṣ
  - Ḥarb
    - 'Affān
    - Mughīra
    - Al-Ḥakam
      - 'Uthmān
      - Al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī
        - Sā'id
        - Abān
        - Ismā'īl
          - Hishām
            - Ibrāhīm
            - Muḥammad
Table 4

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