



EARLY HISTORY OF ISLAM

UNIT: 24

AN OUTLINE OF EARLY HISTORY OF ISLAM

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ISLAMIC CORRESPONDENCE COURSE

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FOREWORD

Muslim communities all over the world are faced with a variety of challenges in their Dawah activities. One major challenge relates with the area of education. It is not easy to develop, in every community, an educational institution which may provide professional assistance and back up to members of community in acquiring Islamic knowledge and information. In some Muslim communities full time educational institutions have been established. In others, educational needs of the community are met through weekend programmes, seminars, symposia and other such activities.

Some Muslim communities have given serious thought to programmes of distance teaching, however, such programmes have not been materialized with proper know-how and professional assistance.

The Dawah Academy, at a humble level, is in the process of developing a series of correspondence courses in English and other languages. In order to develop a suitable introductory course on Islam as the way of life, we are introducing, at this point, material selected from existing Islamic literature.

Our next step will be to produce our own material in view of the needs of Muslim communities in various parts of the world. This will have two levels: first general level and second a post-graduate course on Islam. The present selection from Islamic literature deals with first level. This covers a variety of topics dealing with Islam as a complete way of life. We hope this course will provide initial information on important aspects of Islam.

We will greatly appreciate critical comments and observations of participants on this course. This will help us in development of our own material for both levels of study. Please do not hesitate to write to us if you have some suggestions to improve the material or methodology. Address all your observations at the following:

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AN OUTLINE OF EARLY HISTORY OF ISLAM (ABBASIDS)

1. Organization of the 'Abbàsids Propaganda

The 'Abbàsid, Imàm Muhammad ibn 'Ali, saw that the transfer of authority from one house to another must be preceded by preparing the minds of the people. He realized that any sudden change might end in failure and he was far-sighted enough to know that great precautions were necessary. He asked his followers to promote propaganda in the name of the chosen man of the house of the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) (Al-Ridà min 'Ali Muhammad). He called upon the people to support the house without specifying any particular person, by using an ambiguous expression which might equally be applied to the descendants of 'Ali (RTA) and of 'Abbàs. It was only in strict secrecy that the propaganda was made in the name of the house of the latter since the designation of the name of the Imàm might expose him to oppression from the Umayyads. He found both Kùfa and Khuràsan good centres for spreading the cause, Shi'ism, and believed in the divine right of kings, which had prevailed in Persia since the Sassànid period.¹ Furthermore, the Persians had suffered much under the Umayyads.

In one of his addresses the 'Abbàsid Imàm Muhammad ibn 'Ali described the popular mood of the various Umayyad provinces in these words recorded by Muqaddasi:² "Kùfa and its sawàd³ are 'Ali's partisans, those of Basra are Uthmàniyya,⁴ who maintain neutrality, those of Mesopotamia are true Harùriyya,⁵ those of Syria know no one except Mù'àwiya and (nothing except) obedience to the Banù Umayya, those of Mecca and Medina believe only in Abù Bakr and Umar. You have, therefore, to turn your efforts towards Khuràsàn. There, are found brave men of strong hearts, unaffected by passions and not distracted by heterodoxies. There also is found an army of brave strong men, of huge stature, thick moustaches and beards, with tremendous voices which inspire terror and fear."

This Imàm apparently understood the task of speaking for the cause. He appointed twelve chiefs (*naqibs*), assisted by fifty-eight missionaries, and confided to them the task of promoting the cause in secret, or pretending to spread it in the name of the house of Hàshim as a whole, in order to beguile the 'Alids. The missionaries soon succeeded in winning over a number of influential supporters. The Abbàsìd views can be divided into two parts:

The first part started at the beginning of the first century of the Hijra era and ended by the alliance of Abù Muslim of Khuràsàn. The spread of this cause 'did not imply any force at that time, for the missionaries frequented the Muslim provinces for trade or pilgrimage to Makkah.

The second part was started by the joining of Abù Muslim to the Abbàsìd cause, and here the dispute between the Umayyads and the Abbàsìds increased. This initiated the series of wars which ended in the fall of the Umayyads.

The intention of the Abbàsìd leader Ibràhim to the Khuràsànìd Abù Muslim fell into the hands of Marwàn II, the last of the Umayyad Calìphs. In this letter Ibràhim ordered his general to kill everyone in Khuràsàn who spoke Arabic. This incident resulted in the arrest of Ibràhim, his imprisonment in the city of Harràn, and finally his murder. Then Abù Salama undertook the task of spreading Abbàsìd propaganda. When Ibràhim knew that this death was imminent, he nominated his brother Abù 'l-Abbàs as his successor, and conferred on him the task of promoting the propaganda and of moving to Kùfa. Meanwhile, Ibràhim's messenger hurried to Humayma, the Abbàsìd headquarters and placed his will in the hands of Abu'l-Abbàs, who headed towards Kufa accompanied by the chieftains of the Abbàsìd house, among whom were his brother Abù Jatar, the future caliph, Mansùr, his nephew, Isà ibn Musa and his uncle, 'Abd Allàh ibn 'Ali.

Yazid (ibn 'Umar ibn Hubayra), the leader of the Umayyads, was defeated in the outskirts of Kùfa and forced to retreat to Wàsit. Abù Salama encamped with his soldiers in Kufa in 132/749. Toward the end of this year, the black banner,⁶ of the Abbàsids waved over the forts of Damascus. This marked the fall of the Umayyad Empire and transfer of power to the Abbàsids.

The first Abbasid Caliph, Abù'l-Abbàs al-Saffàh,⁷ entrusted to his uncle, 'Abd Allàh, the fight against Marwàn II, the last Umayyad caliph. He pursued him to the Lower Zàb River in Iraq where many of Marwàn's men were killed and drowned. Marwàn retreated to Mawsil where he was defeated. He managed to escape to Harràn and crossed the Euphrates. 'Abd Allàh encamped at the gate of Harràn, seized the exchequer of Marwàn, and proceeded to Damascus. He besieged the city, and after capturing it, pursued Marwàn who had moved to Fustat in Egypt. The Abbàsid caliph wrote to his uncle, entrusting his brother, Sàlih ibn 'Ali, with the task of killing Marwàn. Marwàn proceeded to the village of Bùsir, in the province of Fayyùm, where he was killed by the Abbàsid soldiers. His head was sent to the Abbàsid Caliph.

2. Establishment of the Abbàsid Caliphate:

(A) Reign of Saffàh:

The members of the house of Abbàs and the chief Muslim leaders swore allegiance to Abù al-Abbàs (al-Saffah) as their caliph, although his brother Abù Ja'far was older. The reason was that Abù al-Abbàs' mother was an Arab, whereas the mother of Abù Ja'far was a slave girl.

Saffàh then moved to Anbàr, west of the Euphrates and ten leagues from the future Abbàsid capital of Baghdad. He spent the greater part of his reign fighting the Arab leaders who supported the Umayyads. He eliminated them, except for Abd ar-Rahmàn who soon afterwards

established the Umayyad dynasty in Spain. Saffāh also determined to purge some of his supporters. He killed Abū Salama, well known as the vizier of the house of the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.), as well as Ibn Hubayra, one of the leaders of the Umayyad Caliph Marwān II after granting him his freedom. Before he was able to kill the great general Abū Muslim, Saffāh himself died.

The caliphate of Saffāh lasted four years and nine months. He died in 136 A.H. in Anbār which he had established as the seat of his government. He was no more than thirty-three years old. Some have held that he was twenty-nine.

(B) Reign of Mansūr:

i) System of the Abbàsīd Caliphate:

Before the first Abbàsīd Caliph, Saffāh, died, he named as successor his brother 'Abū Ja'far, then Isa Ibn Mūsa. Isa sent Abū Ja'far news of his brother's death and swore allegiance to him.

The second Abbàsīd Caliph, who assumed the title of Mansūr, laid the foundations of the government which was adopted in the early Abbàsīd period. These had prevailed in the East and were familiar to the Persians since the time of Xerxes. The Abbàsīds were able to rule their empire in much the same way that the Sassānīds had done before.

Under the Abbàsīds the caliphate developed as a political system. This dynasty came into existence with the support of the Persians who bore ill-will towards the Umayyads for social and political discrimination. The Abbàsīds followed the example of the Umayyads in proclaiming their sons, brothers or even both, as their successors. The Persian believed in the theory of the divine right of kings. The Abbàsīd Caliph was in their point of view a person who ruled them and derived his supreme authority

directly from God and not from the people. This becomes apparent from Mansûr's words: "I am the Sultàn of God on His earth". This differs as a political system from the caliphate which, under the first four caliphs, derived its authority from the people.

The Abbàsids established their right to exercise supreme power because they were the inheritors of the house of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.). They tried to maintain the caliphate as a theocratic dynasty in which supremacy lay in the hands of the theologians. They took a keen interest in maintaining this concept because their powers were based in it. They did not desire to be accepted as mere monarchs but also as religious heads, so that their subjects would realise that their government was a religious one. The Abbàsids replaced the Umayyads, whom pious men had condemned as worldly people, interested only in their court in Damascus and their palaces in the desert. The Abbàsids claimed a divine authority and maintained a religious aspect.⁸ They took as their insignia the Prophet's cloak and sceptre when the Caliphate oath of allegiance was given to them or when they attended religious ceremonies.

The Abbàsid caliphs also assumed title of "Imām", leader of the Muslim community, in order to emphasize the religious significance of the caliphate. This title (leader, Amīr) had been applied only to the person who led the Muslims in prayers under the Orthodox and the Umayyad Caliphs, while the other major Muslim group, the Shī'ites or adherents of 'Ali's cause had used it for the members of the 'Alid house.⁹

The Abbàsids adopted the Umayyad traditions in proclaiming more than one crown prince. Indeed they went too far in adopting this rule. The first Abbàsid Caliph (Saffāh) proclaimed his brother, Abû Ja'far (Al-

GENEALOGY OF THE EARLY ABBASID CALIPHS
(132-232/750-847)

Hashim
Abd al-Muttalib
Abbas
Abd Allah
Ali

Muhammad	Abd Allah	Musa	Dawud	Sulayman
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Ibrahim	1. Saffah (132/750)	2. Mansur (136/754)	3. Mahdi (158/775)
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4. Hadi (169/785)	5. Harun (170/786)	Ibrahim	Mansur
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6. Hadi (193/809)	7. Ma'mun	8. Mu'tasim (218/833)
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9. Amin (193/809)	Muhammad	10. Mutawakkil (232/833)
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Mansùr), and his nephew ('Isà ibn Mùsà) as his successors, one to follow the other. When Mansùr became caliph, he excluded 'Isà and proclaimed his son Mahdī as his first successor and appointed Isa as second crown prince. Again, when Mahdī became caliph, he excluded 'Isà and proclaimed his sons Hādī and Hārùn as his successors. Hādī, in turn, intended to exclude his brother, Hārùn, who was urged to relinquish his title as crown prince to Hādī's son, Ja'far. However, Hādī died before carrying out his plan.

When Hārùn sat on the throne of the caliphate he appointed his three sons: Adīn, Ma'mùn and Mu'taman as his crown princes, divided his empire among them, and gave each of them the chance to defend his rights.¹⁰ This procedure naturally led to revolts and civil wars after Harun's death. The Caliph Wàthiq, however, abandoned this practice. When he was asked in his last illness to recommend his son (Muhammad) to succeed him, he did not approve but said: "God will not behold me assume it (the Caliphate) alive and dead," thus following the example of the Orthodox Caliph 'Umar I and the Umayyad Mu'awiya II.

It is evident that this policy provoked hatred among the members of the ruling house; because no sooner did each caliph assume his power than he endeavoured to oppress those who had supported his rival. The rivalry that arose among the members of the ruling house threatened the integrity of the Abbàsid dynasty.

However, the system of appointing one or two crown princes was continued in order to maintain succession to the caliphate in the Abbàsid house. It also gave rise to the pomp and glory which surrounded the Abbàsid Caliphs and which differed from the simplicity which characterized the Umayyad house. Another difference between the Umayyad and the Abbàsid Caliphates was this: the Arab element exercised absolute authority under the Umayyad rule while the authority of the Persian element prevailed under the Abbàsids. The seventh Abbàsid

Caliph Ma'mun was the son of a Persian woman, and he himself married a Persian woman.

ii) Important Events in Mansûr's Reign:

Mansûr is considered the second founder of the Abbàsîd dynasty as was 'Abd al-Malik with respect to Umayyad dynasty. During Mansûr's reign great events took place:

Perhaps the most difficult problem which Mansûr had to overcome was the appearance of the 'Alid party, now relying on the sword after it had been dependent upon diplomacy and intrigue. As we shall see later, the defeat of Muhammad the Pure Soul, and his brother Ibrâhim, became this Caliph's chief concern until he defeated the 'Alid's in the great battle of Bâkhrâ om 145 A.H. (762 A.D.). Among the difficulties that Mansûr had to overcome was that the Râwandis worshipped him as a God. He, however, looked upon them as heretics.

In the reign of Mansûr, the city of Baghdad was founded and became the capital of the Abbàsîd Empire and the centre of trade and culture.

The author Fakhri¹¹ describes the Caliph Mansûr in these words "Mansûr was the greatest and the most determined, wise, learned, and the soundest of monarchs. He was a good administrator, dignified, good natured in private, and one of the most forbearing of men in play or jest. But when he put on his robes and went out to preside over the public council, his eyes reddened and his attributes became different. One day he said to his children; 'My children! When you see that I have assumed my robes and emerged to council, do not let any one approach me.'"

However, after the fall of the Umayyad dynasty in Damascus, the influence of the Abbàsîds was generally weakened in Spain. Conflict

among the Arab tribes was rampant even before the fall of the Umayyads. The Abbàsids persecuted the members of the Umayyad house which caused many Arabs to abandon their cause. 'Abd al-Rahmàn, a member of the Umayyad house, was able to escape from the hands of the Abbàsids by fleeing to Spain, where he established the Umayyad dynasty.

Abd al-Rahmàn has given us an account of the difficulties which he had to face on his way to Spain through Egypt and North Africa. He was pursued by the 'Abbàsid governors of these lands, but he benefitted by the dissensions which prevailed among the Arabs in Spain. He exchanged messages in expressing his wishes and offers, until he was able to secure the allegiance of the southern Arab tribes of the Yemenites, capturing Spanish town after town until he entered Cordova and overthrew its Abbàsid governors.¹²

The Abbàsid Caliph Mansùr was aware of the critical situation which 'Abd al-Rahmàn had produced. He did his best to stop him. On the outskirts of Seville the forces of the two monarchs met in a campaign which ended in the defeat of the Abbàsid troops and the death of their leader.¹³

The secession of Spain from the 'Abbàsid empire greatly affected the influence of the 'Abbàsid Caliph, Mansùr, who failed to restore 'Abbàsid authority to this country. He, therefore, attempted to attract Abd al-Rahmàn. He dispatched his messengers to him, and often expressed an appreciation of his capacity, and his will, which enabled a man — lonely and desolate — to establish a realm in distant lands. He called him the hawk of the Quraysh, the great tribe of Mecca to which the Prophet Mohammed (p.b.u.h.) belonged.¹⁴ Mansùr also frequently spoke of the Umayyad prince as his equal.¹⁵

When Mansùr's policy failed, he diverted his attention to Pepin the king of the Franks in the hope that he might help him against 'Abd al-

Rahmàn. He dispatched his ambassadors who remained several years at Pepin's court returning in the company of Frankish ambassadors. These ambassadors returned to Pepin overloaded with the valuable presents of the East. However, the negotiations did not produce any results. They only stirred 'Abd al-Rahmàn's fear that the Franks might attack his country.¹⁶ He did not attempt to display his military potential to the Abbàsìd Caliph. Although Mansùr did not succeed in putting an end to Abd al-Rahman's power, he succeeded in laying the foundation of the policy which his successors followed after him.

iii) The Foundation of Baghdad:

Saffah, the first 'Abbàsìd caliph, did not take Damascus, the capital of the Umayyads, as his own. He resided in his own castle at Anbàr, the old Persian town on the eastern side of the Euphrates. The castle was renamed Hāshimiyya after his grandfather Hashim (ibn Abd Manaf). When Saffah died in 136/754, his brother Mansur built another castle named Second Hashimiyya or the Hashimiyya of Kūfa, to distinguish it from the first Hāshimiyya.¹⁷ As this town was near Kufa, the centre of Shī'ite activities and the headquarters of rebellious Arab tribes, the Caliph found it no longer suitable as the capital. He then chose the site of Baghdad.

Baghdad was an old town built by the Persians on the western bank of the River Tigris north of the junction of the Saràt canal and the Tigris. It was also a market frequented by traders from Persia and China.¹⁸ Engineers, masons and craftsmen were brought from Syria, Mosul, Basra, Kūfā, and Wàsìt to assist in rebuilding the new town.

A plan was described on the ground with lines of cinders. Along the outlines balls of cotton saturated with naphta were set on fire. On these lines were dug the foundations of the double walls, with a deep ditch outside, filled with water, and a third innermost wall around the central

area. The whole thus formed concentric circles, with four equidistant gateways left in each of the circuits of the walls. In the centre of the town the Caliph Mansûr built his Gold Palace. From the four gates of the inner wall round the central area, four highroads radiated like the spokes of a wheel, each in turn passing through the gateways in the double walls, and finally crossing the ditch.¹⁹ Buildings of similar shape and style were constructed along these highways.

In order to relieve the pressure on Baghdad people of high rank were granted private quarters or fiefs. These quarters, which were named after the man or the group residing in them, soon became thickly populated. The suburbs of Baghdad were divided into four quarters, each having a chief entrusted with the task of establishing a market in his specific quarter. These suburbs soon flourished and the mosques and baths increased in number.²⁰

The foundation of the Round City or Baghdad, however, did not circumvent the effects of internal rebellion. Revolts broke out when Mansûr's soldiers fought against him at the Golden Gate of Baghdad. Therefore, he decided to establish Rusâfa, the eastern part of Baghdad, where he settled in a palace, encamped with a section of his army. Thus, each of the two parts of the city became a separate town, and when the inhabitants of either side created any disturbance, he could strike them with the other side.

Rusâfa was originally built as headquarters for the army. It was called the Rûsafa of Baghdad or Eastern Baghdad, because it was situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris. Both Baghdad and Rusâfa extended so far that they became like two small towns each close to the other. In 156/775 Karah was built on the west side of Baghdad, and the markets were transferred to it. As Ibn Rusteh states, the western side of Baghdad, Karah, was double the eastern side, Rusâ, so far as its area and buildings were concerned.

Thus in the early 'Abbàsid period, Baghdad became the most important city of the world, the centre of trade, the headquarters of science and art, and the source of wealth and riches. Its magnificent buildings and its beautiful parks became a well known feature of Muslim art.²⁰

(C) *Mahdī and Hādī*

i) Mahdī's Reforms

Mahdī remained Caliph for the years which were considered a period of transition between the reign of violence and suppression which characterized the rules of the first 'Abbàsid Caliphs and the reign of moderation and leniency which characterized his days and the days of those who followed. Historians state that Mahdī gave back to its owners the property which his father had confiscated, set free the 'Alids, whom his father had imprisoned, pardoned them and bestowed grants upon them. He started his reign with a series of reforms using the treasury which his father had left him and which was adequated in suppressing the Zindīqa, i.e. heretics) and other Muslim dissenters.

Among Mahdī's achievements was the release of many prisoners and the erection of buildings on the road to Mecca. He also built basins and filled them from the wells for the use of caravans. He gave regular gratuities to those imprisoned and those afflicted with leprosy so that they might refrain from begging and prevent the spreading of diseases. He added to the sacred mosque of Madina, but he erased the name of the Umayyad Caliph, Walīd, from its wall and inscribed his name in its place. He also readjusted the mileage system and established the postal service between Makkah, Madina and the Yemen. Later, he also introduced new reforms to these areas. He appointed officials in the various states for the intelligence service to bring news from his governors. This was due to

the sagacity and experience of his vizier, Mu'awiya ibn Yasàr, whom al-Mahdi entrusted with the administration of his empire.

Justice and prosperity prevailed throughout the 'Abbàsid Empire. Among Mahdī's reforms was the transference of land tax to proportionate tribute in kind (muqàsama). Mahdī also fortified the cities, especially that of Ar-Rusàfa in the eastern side of Baghdad, or the Eastern Baghdad as it was called. During his reign, Baghdad became a centre of international trade, and music, poetry, philosophy and literature became prominent. He also established the tradition of covering the Ka'ba with a new curtain every year. He was inclined towards the Sunna, i.e. traditions established by the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.). Therefore, he did away with sanctuaries during the congregation prayer and made the pulpit as small as it had been in the sanctuary of the Prophet (p.b.u.h.). Mahdī also used to preside over the court of grievances, the equivalent of the present supreme court. It is related that when this court convened he said: "show the judges in. If there was no advantage to my acting justly among the grieved and giving them their rights except to show respect for these judges, that would be quite sufficient."

ii) Disturbances in Different Parts of the Empire.

Like his father's, Mahdī's reign was characterized by disturbances in various parts in Syria (161/676). Its leader was defeated and captured, but Mahdī pardoned him. The next year a certain Yashkurī rebelled against him in Mesopotamia, his followers increased and he devastated the land. But he was also defeated and killed. Another rebel from the Banù Tamin tribe stirred unrest in Khuràsàn and seized most of the lands of Rabbi'a and Mudar' but he was likewise defeated.

iii) Wars with Byzantium

Wars between the Arabs and the Byzantines had not ceased since the rise of Islam. The Arabs attempted the capture of Constantinople three times; the first during the reign of the third Caliph, 'Uthmàn; the second in the reign of Mu'awiya I; and the third during the Caliphate of Sulymàn. Civil wars enfeebled the Arabs at the end of the Umayyad period, and the Byzantine emperor Constantine IV seized this opportunity to raid the Muslim lands on the borders of his empire.

With the transfer of the rule to the 'Abbàsids a phase in the wars between the Arabs and the Byzantines passed. These wars became raids, the main object of which was devastation, killing and looting of property. This did not conform to the policy of the Umayyads who had a definite policy of fighting the Byzantines to seize Constantinople. This was due to two main factors: First, the opposition of the Syrians who were loyal to the Umayyads not to the 'Abbàsids. Second, 'Abd al-Rahmàn, the Umayyad, wanted to restore these lands to the Umayyad rule, depending on the loyalty of the interest of the 'Abbàsids in establishing a strong fleet in the Mediterranean to surpass the Umayyad fleet.

The Byzantines began to raid the lands of the 'Abbàsid Empire in the reign of the second Caliph Mansùr. In 137 A.H. (754 A.D.), Constantine IV invaded Syria, captured Malatia and demolished its fortresses. During the next year the Arabs were able to recapture it, repair its fortresses and install a big garrison.²¹ Wars broke out from time to time between the 'Abbàsids and the Byzantines, until Constantine IV sued for peace in 155/752 and offered to pay an annual tribute. In Tabarī,²² we read about summer campaigns in 153, 157 and 158 A.H. (752 — 757 A.D.), i.e. in the last years of this caliph's reign. In the next year, Al-Mahdī marched at the head of a large army to invade the Byzantine territories, reaching Angora.²³ Two years later, the 'Abbàsid troops encountered the Byzantine forces in Dēbiq. The 'Abbàsid general

was eventually defeated and many of his soldiers were killed. The Byzantines were so encouraged by this victory that they raided Hadath and then Mar'ash which they set on fire. The Caliph Mahdī marched at the head of 150,000 men, took Aleppo as his headquarters, sent his son Hārùn (the future Caliph) at the head of a huge army, which included outstanding personalities of the 'Abbàsid Empire such as Yahyà ibn Khàlid the Barmakid, 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Sàlih and 'Isa ibn Mùsa the 'Abbàsid.²⁴

Hārùn invaded the Byzantine territories until he captured the fortress of Samàlo, demolished it, and compelled the Byzantines to pay an indemnity as a ransom for their captives. The Byzantines renounced the terms of peace, and raided the 'Abbàsid territories again. The Caliph al-Mahdī gathered a large army of about 100,000, crossed the River Euphrates, and sent Hārùn at the head of an army. Hārùn reached the coasts of the Bosphorus and forced the Byzantine queen, Irene, widow of the emperor Leo IV and regent of her son Constantine VI, to pay Muslims an annual tribute. He also forced her to establish markets, appoint guides on the roads of the Arab's return to their lands, and to release the Muslim captives. As a result of this invasion a truce of five years was concluded between the two parties. The battles had been so bitter that some historians held that the number of Byzantines killed reached 54,000 and the number of captives counted to 5,000.²⁵

As a result of these victories achieved by the 'Abbàsid Caliph Mahdī, several kings feared him, and some of them swore allegiance to him. Among those were the kings of Kabul, Tabaristàn, Sindh, India, China, Tukhàristàn, Farhgàna, Ashrùsana, Sijistàn, Tibet and the Turks.²⁶

Mahdī did not die a natural death. Mounted on his horse during a hunt, he pursued a gazelle which went into the door of a ruined building. He was knocked down, broke his back, and died immediately.²⁷

iv) Hādī Ascends the Throne.

Hādī was older than his brother Hārùn. His father, Mahdī, made them successors one after the other respectively. Then he thought of giving Hārùn precedence, because he preferred him and joined his mother Khayzuràn in loving him. However, the Caliph Mahdī died before this change was affected. Hārùn was wise enough to hasten in support of his brother when he heard of his father's death.

Hādī inherited his father's hatred for the heretics (Zanàdiqa) and endeavored to suppress them. He carried out his father's desire to save the country from their evils. He thus wasted no energy in striking against the heretics and the dissenters (Khawàrij) who revolted in Mesopotamia, and he killed those whom he captured.

The hatred of Hādī for the Umayyads was no less than his hatred for the heretics and the dissenters. He never felt satisfied because he believed that the members of his house had not taken sufficient revenge on the Umayyads.

Hādī imitated Mansur in what he had done with 'Isa Ibn Mùsa, and decided to exclude his brother Hārùn from succession to the throne. He wanted to force him to relinquish his title to Hādī's son, Ja'far, as his successor. His court encouraged him to do so; but Yahyà Ibn Khalid the Barmakid advised him to abandon this idea, because of the young age of his son and out of respect for the oath which he had taken when his father had named the successors. Thus he should avoid the deposition of his brother from the Caliphate. He also advised him to postpone this matter until his son grew older and then to ask his brother, Hārùn, to abandon his rights to the succession.²⁸ But Hādī did not listen to Yahyà's advice and imprisoned him.

Hàrùn, however, was inclined to respond to his brother's demand after he had been persecuted by him, and his courtiers had mistreated him. Yahyà the Barmakid advised him to take his brother's permission to go hunting. His brother consented and Hàrùn kept delaying his return until he received the news of his brother's death and of his succession to the throne. Some historians maintain that the decision of Hàdī to exclude his brother, Hàrùn, from succeeding to the Caliphate drove his mother Khayzuràn to plan his death. However, this matter is doubtful. It is unlikely that such a great hostility existed between Hàdī and his mother. Some historians go so far as to say that his mother had used some of her slave girls to kill him. They hold that his mother would have the final word during the reign of her husband Mahdī, so that people would go to her for settling their problems. When Hàdī succeeded to the Caliphate, he did not approve of that and prohibited her from exercising this authority, which explains her antagonism toward her son.²⁹

The caliphate of Hàdī did not last long. He died in Baghdad in 170 A.H. after having remained in the Caliphate for one year, one month and twenty days. Fakhri³⁰ 'says: "The night he died was such a night in which one caliph died, another sat on the throne, and yet another was born. For the Caliph who died was Hàdī, the one who became Caliph was Harun, and the one who was born was Ma'mùn."

3. The Golden Age of the Early 'Abbàsid Period:

(A) *Hàrùn al-Rashīd:*

Harun is considered the most famous of the 'Abbàsid caliphs. In his reign Baghdad reached the climax of its importance: it became the centre of trade and the goal of men of letters. The name of Harun became famous in Europe for the political relations and the bonds of friendship which existed between him and Charlemagne, the king of the Franks. The Arabian Nights, which was translated into many western

languages increased his fame in western countries. These tales are now considered the heritage of every western child. Though he was troubled by internal revolts especially in Mosel and Irriqiyya. (Tunisia), Harun was among the best caliphs: eloquent, learned and generous. He customarily set out on pilgrimage every alternate year, sending a military expedition in the other. In his prayers he would prostrate a hundred times each day, and he made pilgrimage on foot, which no other Caliph had done before. If he set out on pilgrimage, 100,000 jurists of the shariah law and their sons went along with him. In his deeds he used to imitate Abù Ja'far al-Mansùr, and he never refused charity to the needy. He loved poetry and poets, was fond of men of letters and jurisprudents and disliked theological debates.³¹

During Harun's reign Baghdad reached a high state of civilization and prosperity, where great palaces were built, sources of revenue increased, and articles of trade made available from the farthest countries. Suyùtî³² states that Harun wanted to join the Mediterranean and the Red Sea beyond Pelusium (Al-Farmà), the gate of Egypt. Yahyà the Barmakid did not approve of this idea, saying to him:

“The Greeks would kidnap the people from the sacred mosque and would be able to force their way to the Hijàz.” Harun, therefore, abandoned the idea.

i) The Barmakids:

Barmak, the father of the Barmakid family, was the priest of the House of Fire at Balkh. He was the guardian of this house, as Qusayy, the grandfather of the Prophet Muhammad, and his sons were the guardians of the Ka'ba at Mecca before Islam. Barmak and his family adopted the Magian religion which had prevailed in ancient Persia. When Islam appeared, some of them embraced it. Khàlid Ibn Barmak became a vizier during the reigns of Saffàh and Mansùr.

Harun took Yahyà, Khalid's son, as his scribe to consult him in his affairs as the caliph did with minister. When Harun became caliph, he made Yahyà his minister. He and his sons were, as the author Fakhri³³ says : "The blaze on the forehead of its time, the crown of the parting of the age. Proverbs were made from their generosity, caravans set off towards them and hopes depended on them. The world gave them generously of its utmost, and granted them its good fortune to the full. The wares of letters had a brisk sale, and the rank of those who deserved respect and esteem was high. The world in their time was prosperous and the pomp of the realm was evident. They were the shelter of the heartbroken and the refuge of the exiled." About them says Abù Nuwàs: "Farewell to this world if you were missing, O sons of Barmak, those of you who go away at morning or evening."

This was why Hârùn Rashīd bestowed this ministry on the faithful scribe. When he ascended the throne, he entrusted him with the conduct of the affairs of the state, and sought the support of his four sons : Ja'far, Fadl, Muhammad and Mûsa. The author Fakhri³⁴ says: "Yahyà advanced the interests of the state, he filled the gaps, corrected the defects, collected the revenue, populated the farther provinces, and displayed the glory of the caliphate." He was an accomplished scribe, sagacious, intelligent, a man of letters, upright, generous, a sound administrator and a clever organiser.

Fadl, the eldest son of Yahyà, was among the best of the people of his time; he was the right hand of his father, and represented him in most of the important affairs. He had been nurtured by the mother of Hârùn.

When Amīn was born, his father Hârùn assigned to Fadl the task of raising him. In 176 A.H. he dispatched him to fight the 'Alid Yahyà who had revolted in the Daylam province south of the Caspian Sea. Two

years later, Yahyà was appointed governor of Khuràsàn where he suppressed the revolt which rose there. He treated its inhabitants leniently and returned to Baghdad after one year.

The influence of the Barmakids greatly increased in the reign of Harun. However, they met their fate at the hands of their supporter and benefactor. Harun inflicted severe punishment upon them for several reasons, the most important of which was their tendency towards the 'Alids. It may be well to investigate in brief outline the factors which led to the overthrow of the Barmakids, which is considered to be among the most important incidents that occurred not only in the reign of Rashīd but also in the early 'Abbàsid period in general.

Arab historians and biographers differ about reasons which caused Harun to afflict this calamity on the Barmakids, even though he had been brought up by Yahyà ibn Khalid the Barmacid, whom he used to call father! Some assert that Harun was enraged because of the relations between Ja'far ibn Yahyà and his sister, al-'Abbàsa, while others maintain that his antagonism was due to the release of the 'Alīd Yahyà Ibn 'Abd Allāh by Ja'far the Barmakid after having received the Caliph's orders to put him in jail. Another school of thought holds that the Barmakids had exercised absolute authority in conducting affairs of the state and that their collection of riches attracted the people to them. This may have provoked Harun's anger and consequent desire to punish them.

Furthermore, the Barmakids displayed much familiarity that this monarch found unsupportable. They gave their rivals, such as Fadl ibn Al-Rabī' who represented the Arab party grounds to instigate the Caliph against them. The author Fakhri has supplied us with an account which may serve as historic evidence in explaining the collapse of the Barmakids. Harun's Christian physician, Bakhtīshū' said : "One day I went to Harun when he was sitting in his castle, al-Khuld (The Eternity), in the City of Peace (Baghdad). The Barmakids lived on the other bank

of the river Tigris. Harun looked out and saw the throng of horses and the crowds of people at the gate of Yakyà ibn Khàlid. So he said: 'May God reward Yahyà well. He occupies himself with the affairs of the state and frees me from trouble and gives me ample time for pleasure.' Then, I went to him after a while when he had started to change his good feelings towards them. He looked out and saw the horses as he had seen them before, and said: 'Yahyà has achieved complete control of the affairs of state beyond me; the caliphate actually belongs to him, and I have got nothing off it except the name.' 'Bakhtīshà', then said "Therefore, I perceived that he would overthrow them, and so he did immediately after this'." ³⁵

In a word, the collapse of the Barmakid family was due to successive events which had urged Harun not simply to eliminate their influence but also to overthrow them and wipe out every Barmakid trace. Ja'far, the Barmacid, was killed, and the other members of his family followed him later. And with him disappeared every trace of this family which had great influence on the advancement of Muslim civilization, in the sciences and letters, agriculture and trade. ³⁶

ii) Wars with Byzantium

Harun took a keen interest in establishing peace in the 'Abbàsid lands bordering the Byzantine empire. In 181 A.H. (797 A.D.) he marched to Asia Minor where he achieved many victories over the Byzantines. Then he continued his conquests until he reached Constantinople. As a result of these victories, the empress Irene hastened to sue for an armistice in return for a capitation tax. However, Nicephorus, who ascended the throne after Irene, sent Harun a letter revoking this armistice and renouncing the capitation tax which had been paid by Irene. When Harun read that letter, he became so enraged that his companions dispersed out of fear. Then he ordered an inkstand to be brought, and wrote the reply to the emperor's letter in severe terms. He

renewed fight, and continued his raids. He seized the city of Heraclea while the emperor was engaged in suppressing an internal revolt. The pride and boasting of the emperor was ended by a treaty of peace in which he was forced to pay the capitation tax anew.³⁷ The Arab poets made these events subjects of their poems in praise of Harun.

However the Byzantines again renounced the armistice. They pushed their way into 'Abbàsīd territories in the next year, attacking the Muslims in Asia Minor, particularly in Mar'ash and Tarsus. The fact that Harun was occupied with crushing internal revolts in his country helped the Byzantines to achieve victory. Harun marched once again to the Byzantine territories, attacked their forces, seized Heraclea and Tiyana and other important towns, and imposed a capitation tax.³⁸ The Muslim historian, Tabarī,³⁹ adds that the emperor Nicephorus made a condition that Harun was not to demolish certain fortresses such as Sinàn, and that Harun made another condition that the emperor would not repair Heraclea and that he would also pay the Muslims 300,000 dīnars.

The wars which Harun waged against the Byzantines were not confined to Asia Minor but they extended to the Mediterranean. In 190 A.H. (806 A.D.) the 'Abbàsīds invaded the island of Cyprus and took 16,000 of its inhabitants as captives.

Unfriendly relations continued between the 'Abbàsīds in the East and the Umayyads in Spain. Charles Martel the king of the Franks made use of the dissensions between the two houses. He approached the 'Abbàsīd Caliph, Mahdī in order to gain more influence in his country, and thus threaten his rival the Byzantine emperor. Charlemagne reaped the fruits of this policy by winning the friendship of Harun. He sent him a deputy of two Christians and a Jew for facilitating the pilgrimage of the Christians to Jerusalem and for increasing trade between the two countries, thus hoping to acquire the sciences of the East. Harun was

inclined to make an agreement with Charlemagne against the emperor of Constantinople and the Umayyad prince in Spain.

However, these negotiations were fruitless, save that they resulted in sending the keys of the Church of Jerusalem to Charlemagne and the exchange of presents between the two monarchs. Charlemagne became the protector of the Christians who set out on pilgrimages in these lands. Although Charlemagne took no keen interest in this matter, it became important later because it gave the king of the Franks the right to protect the sacred places in Palestine.

Among the presents sent from Harun to Charlemagne which aroused the amazement of the Franks were the elephants which reached Aix-la-Chapelle, the capital of Charlemagne's empire, and the striking water clock which they imagined was a magic machine.

Harun died in 193/809. His caliphate had lasted twenty-three years and six months; he died at the age of forty-four and four months.

(B) Amin-Ma'mùn

Before his death Rashīd proclaimed his son Amin as heir apparent and his other sons Ma'mùn and Mu'taman, as his successors. He wrote a document to this effect, bearing the signatures of the members of his house, the doctors of the canon law and other men of high rank, and he sent a copy of it to be hung up in the Ka'ba in Mecca. Al-Fadl Ibn Al-Rabī', who was of Arab origin, was confirmed in his office as vizier by the new caliph. He induced him to exclude his brother, Ma'mùn, from the succession and proclaim his son Mûsa as his successor. Fadl Ibn Sahl, who represented the Persian element, advised Ma'mùn to reject his brother's proposal.⁴⁰ Conflict arose between Amin and his brother Ma'mùn, which was, as a matter of fact, a party struggle between the 'Abbàsids and the 'Alids on one hand, and the Persians and the Arabs on

the other. This conflict was due to the appointment by Harun of his son, Amīn, as his first crown prince.

Amīn's attitude toward his brother stirred the wrath of the people of Khuràsān and of other Muslim provinces, particularly the inhabitants of Hijāz who revolted against him; the fire of rebellion which led to his death was kindled and brought his caliphate to an end. It was due to the alertness and efficiency of Ma'mun and the negligence and carelessness of Amīn that Baghdad was captured by Ma'mun's troops in 198 A.H. Amīn was killed and his head sent to his brother Ma'mun in Khuràsān.

However, if we examine this revolt more closely, we will find that these catastrophies were due to Harun's policy,⁴¹ First; because he appointed Amin as his crown prince before Ma'mun who was older. Secondly, he gave Ma'mun a great advantage in the lands which he granted him in fief, so that he could resist his brother and overcome him. Amin was to rule Iraq and Syria, Ma'mun, Persia, and Mu'taman, north Africa and Egypt. Thirdly, Amin was inclined to favour his son and exclude his brother, thus breaking his promise, annulling his father's document, and violating the sanctity of the sacred house in Mecca which stirred the Muslims against him.

Ma'mun was proclaimed caliph when he was in Rayy in 198/813. But he remained in Khuràsān until 204 A.H. (819 A.D.). The author Fakhri⁴² describes Ma'mun in these words : "Know that al-Ma'mun was among the greatest caliphs and the wisest of men. He set many new systems in his kingdom; among them the investigation of the science of philosophy and study of literature. He ordered these works to be translated into Arabic and published them. He mastered Euclid and studied the sciences of the ancients, discussed medicine and patronised the men of wisdom who became close to him. Among his innovations was the taxation of the people of the fertile soil of Iraq (Sawād) on the basis of taking one-fifth of their crop in kind after it had been customary to take

one half. Moreover he compelled the people to profess the (Mutazillite belief of) creation of the Qur'an."

In the reign of Amīn no wars between the 'Abbāsīd and the Byzantine empires occurred because he was occupied with the rebellion which had developed between his brother Ma'mūn and himself. When Ma'mūn ascended the throne of the caliphate conflict between these two empires started again. Ma'mūn encouraged Thomas the Slav in his revolt against the emperor Theophilis in Asia Minor, provided him with money and men, and endeavoured to have him crowned by the Patriarch at Antioch. Ma'mūn's manoeuvre, however, was soon discovered and he was, therefore, unable to achieve his end. The Byzantine emperor adopted the same policy towards the 'Abbāsīd caliph. He made the Byzantine territories the abode of the Khurramiyya, the followers of the Persian Bābak al-Khurramī, who revolted against Al-Ma'mūn and declared his independence of the 'Abbāsīd empire for twenty-two years (201-223 A.H., 816-838 A.D.) during which time he spread the doctrines of his sect. However, the Byzantine emperor eventually became uninterested and sued for peace. He sent a letter which Ma'mūn thought insulted his dignity, and rejected the offer to continued peace with the Byzantine emperor.⁴³ In the last year of his reign, Ma'mūn marched at the head of an army to fight his third and last campaign against the Byzantines,⁴⁴ but he succumbed to a fever while he was north of the city of Tarsus. He died at the age of forty-eight, after having named his brother, Abū Ishāq, as his successor. Thus he did well towards his family and himself.

6. End of the Early 'Abbāsīd Period:

(A) *Mu'tasim:*

Al-Mu'tasim was named caliph the day his brother Ma'mūn died (Rajab 18, 218/833-842). At the beginning, the soldiers refused to swear allegiance to him and wanted to declare 'Abbās, son of al-Ma'mūn,

caliph. The latter hastened to swear allegiance to his father's will and the army followed his example.⁴⁵

The author Fakhri⁴⁶ describes Mu'tasim in these words: "Mu'tasim was sound-minded and strongly built. He could carry a thousand pounds and walk with them for some paces. He was characterized by courage, and was called the octagon for eleven reasons: he was the eighth of the sons of 'Abbàs, the eight ('Abbàsid) Caliph; his Caliphate lasted eight years and eight mouths; he died at the age of forty-eight, he was born in Sha'bàn which is the eighth month of the Muslim Calendar. He had eight sons and eighth daughters; he set out on eight military expeditions and left eight million dirhams."

Mu'tasim as we have seen, carried out the will of his brother, Ma'mùn, in making the people declare that the Qur'an was created. His policy towards the 'Alids was no less strict than that of the 'Abbàsid Caliphs before him except Ma'mùn.⁴⁷ His policy of securing the aid of the Turks and bestowing grants on them alone aroused the jealousy and envy of the Arabs towards the Turks. Ujaif, the Arab leader who had achieved a brilliant victory in fighting the Gypsies (Zutt), revolted against the Turkish generals who had mistreated the Arabs.⁴⁸ He decided to dispose of Mu'tasim and tempted 'Abbàs to rebel against his uncle and claim the throne. The Arabs joined the conspiracy and agreed to kill Mu'tasim, Al-Afshīn and Ashnàs if the distribution of spoils which the Muslims had seized from the Byzantines in the famous battle of Amorion was concluded. The news of this conspiracy reached Al-Mu'tasim through one of the conspirators. Al-Mu-tasim withheld water from 'Abbàs. Later, Ujaif,⁴⁹ died.

Mu'tasim's dependence on the Turks had a bad effect on the Arabs. They revolted in Syria under the leadership of Abù Harb the Veiled (Al-Mubarqa') who started a revolt in Palestine shortly before the death of Mu'tasim.⁵⁰

Also among the difficulties with which Mu'tasim was confronted was the revolt of the Zutt who had created disturbance since the reign of Ma'mùn. According to Ibn Khaldun, they were of a mixed race which blockaded the highway of Basra and devastated a wide area of land. They are known as Gypsies and trace their descent to the Indians in Asia, settled on the coast of the Persian Gulf. They seized the opportunity of the conflict between Amīn and Al-Ma'mùn to capture the Basra road.

When Ma'mùn returned to Baghdad, he despàtched one of his generals to suppress them (205 A.H.). In the next year he appointed Dàwùd (ibn Masjùr) governor of Basra and the provinces of the Tigris, Yamàma and Bahren and entrusted to him the task of fighting them. Yet these wars were of no avail; the Gypsies continued their wars against the 'Abbàsids until the reign of Mu'tasim, when they seized the way to Basra, imposed exorbitant taxes on the ships, and prevented food and provisions from reaching Baghdad. This Caliph dispatched his Arab general, 'Ujaif to fight against them. He encamped near the city of Wàsit, blockaded the rivers, surrounded them from all sides, fought them for nine months, and eventually compelled them to sue for security. They numbered 27,000, including men, women and children. The Arab general carried the Gypsies in ships and entered Baghdad with them on Muharram 10, 220/835, where they were interviewed by the Caliph and the men of high rank in his state. He ordered them to be exiled to Asia Minor where they remained until they were captured by the Byzantines in 241/855. Hence, they found their way to Europe where they were known as Gypsies, and usually remained outside the cities.⁵¹

In the reign of Mu'tasim, relations between the 'Abbàsid and the Byzantine empire became worse. Mu'tasim, however, was far-sighted; he directed his attention to the Bàbak's revolt first. The Byzantine emperor seized this opportunity, attacked the city of Zapetra which he set on fire, taking its Muslims as captives. Emperor Theophilus' aim was to rescue Bàbak. Therefore, he captured the Muslim women and made an

example of those who fell in his hands. When this news reached the Caliph, he was enraged. While he was sitting on his throne, he heard that a Hāshimite woman cried while a captive of the Byzantines: "Oh Mu'tasim!". He at once rose and shouted in his place: "War, war is declared." He then mounted his horse,⁵² marched at the head of a huge army, defeated the Byzantines and captured Angora. Next he intended to devastate Amorion where the Emperor Theophilus had been raised. He encamped west of the River Tigris, surrounded by his soldiers under the leadership of a select party of his famous Turkish generals.

At the head of this army, Mu'tasim proceeded to Asia Minor until he reached Amorion, which he besieged killing its inhabitants. It is said that the number of those who were killed was 30,000. He left the city in flames for four days. Its nobility and men of high rank paid heavy ransoms. When Mu'tasim returned to Sāmarrā, which had been his capital since 221/836, the Muslims celebrated his glorious victory and the famous poet Abū Tammām composed a poem in which he praised the caliph.⁵³

For a long period during the reign of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph Mu'tasim (218-227/833-842), a treaty with Nubia was renewed, and the King of Nubia was received in the 'Abbāsīd capital with great magnificence and dismissed with costly presents. The relations between the two countries were restricted and peaceful, except for occasional raids and the withholding of the "baqt" tribute from time to time. The Muslim interest in the country south of Aswan had been confined until then to the export of slaves and later the exploitation of many mines in the Beja (or Bajà) country, on the Eastern bank of the Nile, scattered between the Nubian Nile and the Red Sea in the lands stretching almost between Aswan and Dongola.

(B) Wàthiq:

Wàthiq succeeded his father Mu'tasim in 227/842. The new Caliph imitated his father's policy in depending on the Turks whose number increased and who occupied the important posts in the state. He entrusted to Ashinàs the conduct of the state affairs and crowned him with a crown set with jewels.⁵⁴ Wàthiq also followed his father's policy in supporting the Mu'tazilla and in strictly imposing his religious view which stirred the people of Baghdad to conspire against him.

The governors of the provinces enjoyed great influence in the reign of Wàthiq. 'Abd Allàh Ibn Husayn Ibn Tàhir directed the affairs of Khuràsàn, Tabaristàn and Kirmàn. He entrusted to Ashinàs, the Truk, the affairs of Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt and North Africa. Ashinàs appointed deputy governors to conduct the affairs of these provinces, while he himself remained in Sàmarrà, then the capital of the caliphate.

Weakness and corruption characterized the system of government in the reign of Wàthiq. One night he asked one of his companions to narrate the episode which had led to the collapse of the Barmakids at the hand of his grandfather, Hārūn al-Rashid. When he heard the story and knew how Harun had siezed their property he said: "By God! My grandfather was right, for it is only the weak and the incapable that do not overrule and exercise absolute power." A week had hardly passed before he attacked his scribes and obtained from each of them a sum of money ranging between 14,000 and 1,000,000 dīnārs. This shows the extent of corruption and bribery which prevailed among the important men of this period⁵⁵.

Wàthiq ruled the 'Abbāsīd empire for less than six years. Unlike his predecessors, he did not declare any of his sons as his crown prince. In his last illness he was asked to name his eldest son as his successor, but he did not approve and said: "I do not bear the burden of your affairs

alive and dead." He died in 232/847, and with his death, the golden age of the 'Abbàsid Empire came to an end, perhaps due to the dominating influence of the foreign Turks whose control was repudiated by the Arab peoples.

NOTES

1. Tabari, series II, p. 1933.
2. *Ahsan al-Taqāsīm* (ed. de Uoeje), pp. 293 - 294.
3. The cultivated land which forms the region of Kūfa.
4. The partisans who adhere to the cause of the Caliph 'Uthman who had been murdered in 35 A. H.
5. Deriwed from Harūrā', a village lying in the outskirts of Kūfa, in which the Khawarij settled after they had deserted the fourth caliph 'Ali. Hence they are called Harūriyya or Khawārij. Yàqūt, Buldān, s. v.
6. The Abbāsids are said to have adopted the black colour as their emblem, mourning the death of their leader Ibrāhim at the hand of Marwan II, the last Umayyad Caliph. See Van Vloten, *La Domination Arabe, Le Chi'itisme et Les Croyances Messianiques sous le Chilafat des Umayyades*, translated into Arabic by me, pp. 124 - 126.
7. For this name, see Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 253, n.1, and my *Fatimids in Egypt* (Cairo, 1932), p. 42, n.2, and my *Tārīkh al-Islam*, Vol.II, (5th ed.) p. 20, n.1.
8. Goldziher, *Le Dogme et la Loi de l'Islam* (French translation. Paris, 1920), p. 140.
9. See my *al-Nuzum al-Islāmiyya* (Islamic Institutions) (3rd ed. Cairo, 1962), pp. 50 - 51.
10. Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, vol.II, pp. 215-216.
11. *Al-Ahkam al-Sultāniyya*, pp. 141-142.
12. Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, vol. I, pp. 155 - 156.
13. Ibn al-Athir, Vol. V, p. 232.
14. *Al-'Iqd al-Farid*, Vol.III, pp. 201-202.

15. Maqqari, Vol. I, p. 157.
16. Muir, *The Caliphate*, pp. 400-401.
17. Ya'qùbi, *Kitab al-Buldàn*, p. 37. Tabari, Vol. IX, p. 174. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 1-14.
18. Tabari, Vol. IX, p. 240.
19. *Baghdad*, Vol. I, p. 76.
20. Ya'qùbi, *Buldàn*, pp. 240-249.
21. Hassan, I. Hassan, *Islam*, p. 297.
22. Ibn al-Athir, Vol. IV, p. 22.
23. Vol. V; p. 286.
24. Tabari, Vol. IX, p. 288.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 326, 432. In al-Athir, Vol. VI, p. 22.
26. Finlay, pp. 104-107. The Muslim historian, Tabari (Vol. IX, p. 347), has supplied us with the text of the terms of peace concluded between the 'Abbàsids and the Byzantines.
27. Ya'qùbi, *History*, Vol. II, p. 429.
28. Fakhri, p. 163.
29. Fakhri, p. 180.
30. Tabari, Vol. x, p. 33; Mas'udi, Vol. II, p. 261.
31. *Al-Ankham al-Sultàniyya*, p. 174.
32. Fakhri, p. 175.

33. *Tàrikh al-Khulafà*, p. 189.
34. Ibn Tabàtabà, p. 179 et. seq.
35. *Ibid.* p. 179.
36. Ibn Tabàtabà, p. 190.
37. See my *Tàrikh al-Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 47-53.
38. Tabari, Vol. X, pp. 92-93.
39. Muir, *The Caliphate*, pp. 478.
40. Vol. X, p. 99.
41. Mas'ûdi, *Murûj*, Vol. II, p. 304.
42. Tabari, Vol. X, pp. 174, 184, 190-208.
43. *Al-Ahkam al-Sultàniyya*, pp. 197-198.
44. Both messages are recorded by Tabari, Vol. X, pp. 283-284.
45. Muir, *The Caliphate*, p. 506.
46. Tabri, Vol. X, p. 304.
47. *Al-Adàb al-Sultàniyya*, pp. 209-210.
48. Mas'ûdi, *Muraj*, Vol. II, pp. 348-349.
49. Tabri, Vol. X, p. 356; Muir, *The Caliphate*, p. 514.
50. Tabari, Vol. X, p. 344.
51. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 6.
52. Tabari, Vol. X, p. 356. Muir, *The Caliphate*, p. 514.

53. Ibn al-Athir, Vol. VI, p. 176.
54. Suyûti, *Tarikh ol-Khulafâ'*, p. 223.
55. Tabari, Vol. XI, pp. 10-12.