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HISTORY

OF

THE CALIPHS

BY

JALÁLU'DDÍN Á'S SUYÚṬÍ,

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ARABIC

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

Extensive as is the reputation of as Suyūṭī as a distinguished author and scholar, and unsurpassed for the number and range of the works which in every branch of literature known to his age, his unwearied pen never ceased to produce, we are indebted to the malice or envy of but one of his contemporaries and to his own testimony, for the few details of his life and studies that we possess. Reference to one or other of his multitudinous volumes is made by writers of his own and succeeding times where the kindred subject of which they treat naturally calls for it, but only one contemporary biographical notice of him besides his own, is extant. To these I shall presently refer.

Hāji Khalīfah, at the close of his Lexicon, gives a detailed list of as Suyūṭī's works, prefaced by a column of laudatory epithets which have less the ring of sincere admiration than of conventional panegyric, yet his wonder or his envy might well offer the incense of adulation to the astonishing author of five hundred and four volumes. Kuranic exegesis, Tradition and its cognate subjects, jurisprudence, philology, rhetoric, prose and poetical composition, the phenomena of nature, curiosities of literature, discourses on social questions, criticism, history, biography, all these were fields not too vast for his discursive intelligence and none too minute for his indefatigable industry. Some of his compositions are indeed, nothing more than pamphlets of smaller compass than many an article of a modern Review, but a considerable number, to judge from some of those, about one-fifth of the whole, that have come down to us, must have been of goodly bulk. It would doubtless have been better for his reputation as it would assuredly have been more profitable to the generality of his readers, had he confined his labours to the production of a few works of universal interest and written for posterity rather than for his day. By far the greater part of his writings were on subjects which have no interest to a European student. Two hundred and six works on Tradition and ninety-one on Jurisprudence would, it might be supposed, have been thoroughly exhaustive had not another line been previously written regarding them, yet this
was the contribution of but one author to the store of countless volumes that had already preceded his labours and had been forgotten, to be followed by others as countless and as unremembered.

However much we may regret this misapplied diligence, the age in which as Suyúti lived, naturally moulded his literary tastes and influenced his course of study, and he but reflected its spirit in seeking pre-eminence among the scholarly and erudite of his nation after the manner in which they had attained it. Legal studies, inseparably connected as they are with the religion of the Moslems, were of the utmost consequence from the very infancy of Islám, and at a time when the Crescent waved from the pillars of Hercules to the steppes of Tartary, they formed a necessary part of the education of all cultured minds. Every Moslem author or nearly every one with whom we are acquainted, was either a recognized doctor of jurisprudence or had studied it under some one of its famous masters. No college was founded but we read that its first chairs were those of Tradition and Law. Other branches of knowledge were indeed, far from neglected. Grammar, Medicine and the complicated problems of Inheritance were cultivated with assiduity and success, but with the exception of the first mentioned of this Eastern Trivium, which is rather an instrument of knowledge than an end in itself, they occupied, the second place. In the great Mustanṣiriyah College built on the eastern bank of the Tigris at Baghdad by the Caliph al Mustanṣir and endowed by his splendid munificence, provision was first made, as as Suyúti tells us, for Chairs of the four great Schools of Muḥammadan law. The next was that of Tradition, the third of Grammar, followed by professorships of Medicine and the Law of Inheritance. De Slane in his Introduction to Ibn Khallikán’s Biographical Dictionary has described the system of education pursued during the times of which we write. The young student, he says, commenced his labours by learning the Qurán by heart, and as many of the traditions as he was able to acquire at his native place: to this he joined a slight acquaintance with grammar and some knowledge of poetry. On attaining the age of fourteen or sixteen, he began his travels and visited the great cities where he learnt traditions and received certificates of licence to relate them, from eminent traditionists. He then followed the courses of lectures held in the mosques or colleges, and generally attached himself to one of the professors. He there learnt by heart the most approved works on the dogmas of religion, and studied their commentaries under the tuition of his master. He acquired a knowledge of the different readings of the Qurán and of its orthodox interpretation, whilst he pursued the study of ancient poetry and philology, grammar and rhetoric. The secondary points of jurisprudence, forming the doctrines of the school to which he belonged, next became the object of his study and an acquaintance with
logic and dialectics completed his education. Having obtained from his professors, certificates of capacity and license to teach the works he had mastered, he was eligible for the posts of preacher, Kādhi, Muftī, Imám or professor.

Under a system so universal in its adoption and so rigidly upheld by learned opinion as the sole method of orthodox mental discipline, profitable as a means of worldly advancement as well as the most salutary for the soul, it is not surprising that the literary efforts of as Suyūṭī should bear principally upon those studies to which such an exaggerated importance was attached by his age. Besides the treatises on Jurisprudence and Tradition already mentioned, his commentaries and writings on the Kurán number thirty-five. Philology, Grammar and Rhetoric claim sixty-three of his volumes. Seventy-six were his contribution to general literature, and thirty-three were devoted to history and biography. For this classified list of his writings, we are indebted to his own autobiography in his well-known work entitled Ḥusn al Muḥādhirā fī akhbār i'l Misr wa'l Kāhirah (agreeable colloquy on Miṣr and Cairo). This autobiography has been published with a Latin version by Albert Meursinge in the Prolegomena to his edition of as Suyūṭī's Tabākāt u'l Muḥassirīn (Classes of the Interpreters of the Kurán). But as it is a work not easily accessible and no English translation of the original has as yet appeared I cannot more fitly introduce the author to those interested in his life, than in his own words.

"The author of this work," he writes, "is Abu'l Fadhl A'bdu'r Raḥmán-b-u'l Kamál Abu Bakr-b-Nāṣiriddin Muḥammad-b-Sābihiddin Abi Bakr-b-Fakhir Othmán-b-Nāṣiriddin Muḥammad-b-Sayfiddin Khidhr-b-Najmiiddin Abi's Ṣalāh Ayyūb-b-Nāṣiriddin Muḥammad-b-i's Shaykh Humāmīiddin al Khudhayri al Usuyūṭī."

In recording the narrative of my life in this book, I have but followed the example of recent writers, for it is rarely that any of them has published a history without introducing therein his own biography.† Regarding my ancestor Humāmu'ddin, I have to observe that he was one of the masters of the spiritual life and of the doctors of the mystics. Mention of him will follow in the section treating on the Şūfis. The others who came after him were men of position and authority. Of these, one exercised judicial functions in his own city, another held the office of inspector of markets, another accompanied the Amīr Shaykhū‡ and

* The name is written Usuyūṭī or Sayūṭī indifferently.
† I here omit a list of authors and their works, as irrelevant to the main subject of the writer's life.
founded and endowed a college at Suyúṭ, another was a wealthy merchant, but I know of none who altogether devoted himself to the acquisition of learning except my father, a notice of whom will occur in the section treating of the Sháfi’ite jurisconsults.

As regards our connection with the name of Khudhayri, I do not know to what it can refer save the Khudhayri quarter of Baghdad, and in fact, a person whom I can implicitly trust, told me that he heard my father—may God have mercy on him—say, that his ancestor was a Persian or from the East. The connection therefore is apparently with the quarter above mentioned.

I was born after sunset on Saturday night the 1st Rajab, 849 (3rd October, 1445), and I was carried, my father being then living, to the Shaykh Muḥammad the recluse, a man eminent for sanctity, near the Naṣṣaṭt tomb, who gave me his blessing. I grew up an orphan and I learnt the Qurān before I was eight years of age. I next got by-heart the Umdah, the Minhāju’l Fīkh wa’l Uṣūl and the Alfiyāh of Ibn Mālik. From the beginning of year 64 I began to devote myself to learning. I studied jurisprudence and grammar under a number of doctors and read the law of inheritance with the learned and most distinguished professor of his age in that science, the Shaykh Shihābu’ddīn as Sharīmsālī who used to say that he had arrived at a great age and had passed a hundred by many years. God knows best. I read with him his commentary on the Majmū’u1 and received a certificate of licence to teach the Arabic language in the beginning of the year 66. In this year I became an author. The first work I composed was an exposition of the formula بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم which I submitted to my master the Shaykh u’l Islam A’lamu’ddīn al Bulqīnī who wrote to me in praise of it. I continued to study jurisprudence with him till his death. I also read with him from the beginning the Tadrīb2 by his father, up to the chapter on

* In Upper Egypt on the western bank of the Nile about 27° lat. Yaṣṣūṭ speaks of it as having contained 75 Christian churches and a large Christian population.
† See N. Page 509.
‡ Al Majmū’u il Im’i Farādih, by A’bdullāh Shamsu’ddīn Muḥammad-b-Sharaḍ al Killāi as Shafi’i: died 777 (1375). H. K.
§ My MS. has استفادة and omits the second word. The work referred to will be found in his list under the first heading.
|| Abu’l Baṭāl Shāliḥ-b-Omar-b-Rasālān A’lam u’ddīn al Bulqīnī was born 791 (1388) and died 868 (1463). Meurs. He was named Bulqīnī after Bulqīnī in Egypt in the district of Hauf.

(Excitutus de partibus juris specialibus) anctore Sirāju’ddīn Omar-b-Rasālān Bolckain Shafi’ita, anno 805 (1463) mortuo. H. K.
Procuration. I heard his lectures on the Ḥāwi as Ṣaghīr* from the beginning, to the chapter de Statibus Mulieris; and on the Minhāj from the beginning, to the chapter on the Poor-rate: and on the Tanbih† from its commencement nearly up to the chapter on the Poor-rate; likewise a portion of ar Raḍḥah‡ from the chapter on the Judicial office: a portion of the supplement to the commentary on the Minhāj by az Zarkashi;§ and from the chapter on the Cultivation of Waste lands, to the chapter on Testaments or thereabouts. In the year 67 he granted me a license to teach jurisprudence and to decide on cases proposed to me and was present at my inauguration.||

When he died in the year 68, I resorted to the Shaykh u'l Islám Sharafu’ddín al Munáwi¶ and read with him a portion of the Minhāj. I heard his Expositions on Partition except a few lectures which I missed and I attended his readings from the commentary al Bahjah,** and its marginal notes by him, and from the commentary on the Kurān by al Baydháwi. For traditions and the Arabic language, I read with our Shaykh the learned Imám Taḵ‘i’uddín as Shumunni the Ḥanafite and continued with him for four years. He wrote to me in praise of two of my compositions, a commentary on the Alfiyah of Ibn Málik and the Jama’u’l Jawámi’†† on the Arabic language, and he gave verbal and written testimony of my proficiency in the sciences on more than one occasion. He once acquiesced in my bare statement regarding a tradition, for verily he adduced in his marginal gloss on as Shifa;‡‡ the tradition of Abu’l Ḥamra on Captives and alleged its citation by Ibn Májah. I had occasion to quote it with its ascriptions and I therefore searched Ibn Májah in the place where it was supposed to be, but I did not find it. Then I went through the whole book but did not light upon it. Suspect-

* See p. 514.
† الرىض في الفروع — ee H. K.
‡ See D’Herb, art. Zerkashi.
|| Reference is made to this in the list of his works under the heading “Commentaries and works on the Kurān.”
¶ Abu Zakariya Yahya-b-Muḥammad Sharafu’ddín al Munáwi, died 871 (1466). Meurs.
** Al Bahjah al Wardiyyah a commentary on the Ḥāwi u’s Šaghīr by Zaynu’ddīn Omar-b-Mudhaffār-b-i’l Wardī: died 749 (1348). H. K.
†† جمع الإجواص في إصول الفقه by Tājü’ddīn A’bdū’l Wahāb as Subki: died 771 (1369). H. K.
‡‡ السجّن في تعريف حقوق المصطفى by the Imám Ḥāfīdḥ Abu’l Fadḥl I’yāḍh-b-Mūsa Yaḥsābi: died 544 (1149). H. K. notes on this book at some length and mentions the gloss of as Shumunni.
ing an oversight, I read it through a second time and again found it not. I returned to it a third time but did not discover it. I saw it, however, in the Catalogue of the companions by Ibn Káni', upon which I went to the Shaykh and informed him. On hearing this from me, he at once took up his manuscript and taking a pen, he struck out the name of Ibn Májah and wrote Ibn Káni' in the margin. I was distressed at this and dismayed, on account of the great veneration in which I held the Shaykh, and the contemptuous opinion I had of myself and I said "will you not wait a little, perhaps you may consult the work yourself?" He replied; "No, I relied for Ibn Májah on the authority of Burhán al Halabi." I did not quit the Shaykh until his death, when I attended our Shaykh the learned and most eminent master al Kaffaji* for fourteen years. I studied under him various branches of knowledge such as Kuranic exegesis, the fundamentals of doctrine, the Arabic language, rhetoric and others and he gave me a high diploma. I next attended many lectures of the Shaykh Sayfu-\ddin Ḥanafi\[ on the Kashshaf,\[ on the Taudhīḥ with his gloss thereon, the Talkhi's u'l Miftāḥ and the A'dhūd, and I began to write works in the year 66. My writings up to this time numbered 300 works exclusive of those I obliterated and left unfinished, and they penetrated, praise be to God, the countries of Syria, Hijāz, Yaman, India, Mauritania and Talkrūrå.

§ When I made the pilgrimage, I drank of the water of the well Zemzem with various intentions: among others that I should arrive in Jurisprudence to the eminence of Shaykh Siráju'\ddin al Bulkīnī, and in Tradition to the distinction of the Ḥāfīzh Ibn Ḥajr. From the beginning of the year 71 I gave decisions on points of law and I employed myself in writing traditions from the beginning of the year 72. I acquired a profound knowledge of the seven sciences of Exegesis, Tradition, Jurisprudence, Grammar and the three branches of Rhetoric after the manner of the Arabs and the rhetoricians, and not after the fashion of the Persians and philosophers. What I am conscious of is this, that the proficiency I attained in these six sciences (save jurisprudence) and the writings thereon which I perused, none of my Shaykhs ever reached therein nor were therewith

* So Meurs. points the name محمد بن سليمان الصوفي الأردني الهنفي وفرز بالله. In 863, born 789, died 879. According to the Lubbu'l Lubāb his name refers to 1) الفرج في إجابة بن أَحَبَّ بْن (Al-Aḥab 1.) لْكُلْ مَكَّة وَأَخْرَاهَ أَفْرَدَهُ لَهَا.
† Muḥammad-b-Muḥammad-b-Omar-b-Keṭlu Bogha al Yektamri, died in 881. As Suyutī wrote an elegy on him recorded in the Ḥusn al Muhādīh. Meurs.
‡ The famous commentary of Zamakhshari. The Talkhi's is a work on rhetoric by Kaswini. H. K. mentions several Taudhīḥ. The A'dhūd is a work on grammar by Abu A'li al Farisi composed for A'dhūd u'd Dawlah. H. K.
§ In the extreme south of al Maghrab, according to Yaḥūf, probably in the Saudán.
acquainted, still less those inferior to them. I do not say the same, by Allah, of jurisprudence, for my Shaykh has a deeper insight and a larger grasp of the subject. After these seven branches of knowledge comes in a lower degree my acquaintance with the fundamentals of jurisprudence, with dialectics and grammatical inflexions. Below this, composition and epistolary style and the law of inheritance. Below this, the various readings of the Qurán which I did not study under any Shaykh* and next Medicine, but Arithmetic I found the most difficult to me and the most remote from my inclination, and when I apply myself to a question appertaining thereto, it is as though I strove to support a mountain.

I have now completely acquired, praise be to the Most High, the means of diligently investigating and determining cases referred to me. I say this in acknowledgement of the favour of God and not in vain-glory, for what is the world that one should strive to gain it in glorying, now that the time of departure from it is approaching, and hoariness hath begun, and the best part of life hath passed. And now if I wished to write on every question, a dissertation with its statements and proofs, whether cited or reasoned from analogy, the perceptions of it by the mind, its refutations and vindications, and a comparison between the contrary opinions held regarding it, I should be able to do so by the grace of the Most High, and through Him, not of my own strength and ability, for there is no power or virtue but in God. Whatever God willeth, there is no power to accomplish it save in God Himself.

At the commencement of my studies, I read somewhat of the science of logic, but subsequently the Lord put a dislike of it into my heart, and hearing that Ibn u’s Šaláh† had decided a reference to him on the subject by interdicting it, I abandoned it for that reason, and the Lord supplied its place to me with the science of tradition which is the noblest of all studies. As for my Shaykhs in the relation of traditions whom I heard, or from whom I received certificates of licence, they were numerous. I have adduced them in my Catalogue‡ to the number of about 150. I did not however, devote myself much to the hearing of traditions as I was employed on what was of more importance, viz., the study of their critical examination.”

With these words concludes the autobiography which is followed by a catalogue of the author’s works. I have now to notice the only other memoir of him which we possess, and to which I have already alluded. This is furnished to us by his contemporary Muḥammad-b-Abdi’r Raḥmán-

* 
† See page 431.
‡ There are two of these, called the Greater and the Lesser Mu’jam which are given in his list of works.
b. Muhammad Shamsu'ddin as Sakhawi, and is given by Meursinge in his Prolegomena and translated by him into Latin. This fragment, he states, is taken from the Leyden Codex 518. (Catal N. 1876.) entitled "Luna oriens ex lumine micante" by Ahmad b-Abdi's Salam Kadhi of Manuf. It contains an excerpt of the principal work of as Sakhawi called "Lumen micans hominitibus saeculi novi" and gives amongst the celebrities of that age, the following notice of as Suyuti:

"He was born on the first night of the month of Rajab 849, his mother being a Turkish slave, and he was reared an orphan. He learnt by heart the Qur'an, the Umdah, the Minhaj both the section on the derivative and part of the fundamental principles, and the Al'i'yah on grammar. Having proved his capacity in the year 64, he studied grammar under Shamsu'ddin Muhammad b-Musa al Hanafi Imam of the Shaykhuniyah College, and under al Fakhr Othman al Maaksi,† as Shams al Bami,§ Ibn ul Falati,† Ibn Yusuf one of the most eminent doctors of the Shaykhuniyah, al Burhan al Ajluni, and according to some, under an Nua'mani, with some of them, jurisprudence, with some, grammar. He progressed until he read some works on jurisprudence under al A'lam al Balkini. He then read with al Munawi for a very short time who gave him a lesson in good manners when, pained at his taking a seat at the head of the assembly, he said, "when we were young, we never sat save behind the circle of distinguished personages such as these." On this he broke off§ from him and read altogether with as Sayfu'ddin, as Shumunni and al Kafyayi the Hanafites, somewhat of the sciences, and also, as he asserts, with as Shihab as Sharimsah a part of his commentary on the Majmu' of al Kallai: likewise under al I'zz al Mikati his treatise on the Mikat,|| and under Muhammad b-Ibrahim as Sharwani ar Rumii¶ the phy-

* Othman b-A'bdi'llah b-Othman al Fakhr Abu A'mr al Maaksi born 818 (1415), died 877 (1472). Maaksi is a village on the Nile adjacent to Cairo.
† Muhammad b-Abd al Ma'min al Bami, born 820 (1417) died 855 (1450). Meurs.
‡ Muhammad b-Ali al Kasbi as Shafl, born 824, died 870. Ibid.
§ I do not follow Meursinge in his translation of "anqatu"—"tum vero totum se scientis vovit." This form of the verb bears the meaning of devoting one's self to a thing, but the object is not mentioned and the ordinary signification of the word is here most applicable. The preceding passage is also misunderstood. The speaker is al Munawi not as Suyuti.
|| The Mikat is an appointed place of rendezvous for pilgrims proceeding to Mecca where they first enter into the state of Ihram or prohibition from lawful acts which are at that period unlawful. These stations will be found mentioned in the Jama' Rumuz by Shamsuddin Muhammad al Kohistani. Meursinge's translation of Mikat "horologia" is quite untenable.
¶ Born 778 (1376), died 873 (1468). Meurs.
sician at Cairo, two abridgments on medicine by Ibn u'l Jamá'a'h,* and under al 'azz al Ḥanbali some studies in the fundamental principles of jurisprudence from the Jama‘ u'l Jawámi.’

Here ends what he asserts to have done. He attached himself to me for some time and wrote to me in a long prose epistle the following words, “and verily we presented ourselves uninvited to the feast of his comprehensive bounty, and we made the camel of our affliction kneel in the spacious courtyard of his affluence.”† Moreover he praised me on other occasions in verse and prose as I have elsewhere shown. In the same way, for a very short period he frequented the lectures of az Zayn Kásim al Ḥuwaṣi and al Biká‘i’. He also practised himself in poetry under as Shiháb al Manṣúrī,‡ and he heard traditions from the compilers of tradition then living such as al Ḥamamáwi, al Ḥijázi, as Šáwi, al Muktámi Nashwán and Hájir, and some doctors of Aleppo gave him certificates of licence to relate traditions, among them Ibn Muḥbil. The last who gave him a certificate was as Šaláh-b.-Abi Omar, but nevertheless he had made no profound study of all that I have alluded to. He then travelled to Fayyúm, Damietta, al Mahallah and other places and took down in writing what he had heard from those who professed versification, as al Muḥyi’id-dín-b.-Saḵtí’yaḥ and al A’la-b.-u’l Janádi al Ḥuwaṣi. Thence to Mecca by sea in Rabí’ II, 69 and studied a little under al Muḥyi’id-dín A’bdullá Ḵádir al Máliki and profited by the assistance of our friend Ibn Fāḍhîš among others, and more than one granted him a licence to teach and instruct. Al A’lam al Bulḵí’ni granted him his encouragement until he obtained the chair of jurisprudence in the Shaykhúnıyāḥ mosque which had come down to him from his father and was present with him at some conferences therein.

Then he held himself aloof∥ and affected the airs of a Shaykh and applied himself to the sciences suitable to that profession. Moreover at the time when he used constantly to visit me, he carried off many of my compositions such as اَلسَّمَاء الْمَسِیْحِیةٍ اَلْخَالَالٌ الْمَرْحَیةٍ لِلَّبَالْ صَوْتِ اِبْنَا إِلَیْبَنَا الْعَملاءَ عَلَیْ النَّبِیٌّ, and others I need not enumerate. Nay he took

* Ḥazz’u’d-dín Muḥammad-b-Shara’u’d-dín Abi Bakr, born 759 (1558), died 819 (1416). Ibid.
† As Suŷúṭí means to say that he owed much of solace in his toil to the bounty of as Sakhárwi.
‡ Almad-b-Muḥammad, born 798, died 887. Meurs.
§ The Ḥáfíd, author of a work entitled Durarr as Sunniyyah wa Bahiyah, a treatise on Muḥammadan law, composed 855 A. H. D’Herb.
∥ Meursinge does not find the 7th form this verb and translates it ‘omnes collegit vires suas.’ Lane gives the form and example اَنْجِمَ عَنْ النَّاسِ, ‘he withdrew himself from men.’
from the books of the Mahmad'iyyah College and elsewhere, many ancient compositions which were unknown to many of his contemporaries, on various sciences, altered them slightly, transposed them and gave them out as his own, and prefaced them with pretentious introductions from which the unlearned reader might expect much, but not a part of which was fulfilled. The first he produced was a paper on the interdiction of the science of logic which he had extracted from a work of Ibn Taymiyyah and in the greater part of it he was indebted to my assistance. Upon this many eminent scholars opposed him and even al A'lam al Bulkin rejected him and took from him what he had dictated to him in his lectures on this question, and had it not been for my good offices with a number of these, such as al Anbasi,* Ibn n'l Falati and Ibn Kasim,† the result would have been disastrous.

He also lectured to a number of the common people in the mosque of Ahmad-b-Tulun; moreover he acquired a predominance‡ over some who were themselves good for nothing, so that this was the means of his being favoured by his executor Shihab-u'ddin-b-a't Tabbakh who provided for his being brought up under Barsabai§ Comptroller of the Household. After this he attached himself to Inal al Ashkar,|| president of the order of prefects¶ until that personage appointed him professor of tradition in the Shaykhuniyah College after the death of the Shaykh Othman al Maksi, notwithstanding he had left a son. He was also appointed to the post of lecturer on the Sahihayn of al Bukhari and Muslim although he was unable to fulfil the condition attached to those offices by the endower,**

* A'bdur Rahim-b-Ibrahim-b-Hajjaj Zaynu'ddin al Anbasi, as Shafi'i, born 829, died 891. M.
† Muhammed-b-Kasim-b-Ali Shamsu'ddin al Maksi as Shafi'i, born 817, died 893.
‡ I differ from M. in the translation of this passage. He would omit the second
|| Inal al Ashkar az Zahir. Mention of him is made by Weil first in the reign of Sultan Khush Kadam in 867 (1462) when he was Atabek of Aleppo. In the reign of al Malik al Ashraf Kaitbai, he was transferred from the government of Malatiyah to that of Aleppo, pp. 307, 333.
¶ See Carlyle's edit. of the Maured allatatfat (Cantabrig 1792) for this title. Note 7, p. 41.
** What those conditions were is mentioned in the Husn al Muhaddirah in describing the foundation of the Amir Shaykhu. It was begun in Muharram 756 (Jan. Feb. 1355). Chairs were appointed for the four orthodox doctrinal schools, a chair of Tradition, of Quran reading, lectures (asma'ul) on the Sahihayn and the Shifa'.
and to lecture on Mysticism at the Mausoleum of Barkuk* governor of Syria, which is by the gate of al Karafah at Cairo, through the favour of his townsman Abu Tayyib as Suyuti, and to other posts. All this, though he was not fitted for those offices nor nearly so, and for this reason it was said proverbially, that he undertook what he was not qualified to perform. He then gave a loose to his tongue and his pen against his Shaykhs who were his superiors, even to saying of Kadhi Adhud that he was not of as much consequence as a prick in the foot of Ibn u's Salah, and for this he was reproved by one of the Hanabalite vice-presidents in the presence of their Kadhi. He also disparaged as Sayyid† and ar Radhi on a point of grammar without sufficient foundation, so that he withdrew his statement to a stranger who, when he met him, said, "verily thou assertest that the Sayyid al Jurjani maintains that a letter (حرف) intrinsically hath no meaning either inherent in it or otherwise, but this statement of the Sayyid's testifieth to the falsehood of what thou dost allege." He replied, "verily I have seen no statement of his to that effect, but when I was at Mecca, I conversed with a distinguished person on this subject, he told me what I have asserted and I relied upon his authority." The other answered, "it is strange how any one who is an author himself could depend upon such a statement in connection with such a master." Thus far this assertion. He also said that any one who read with ar Radhi and his grammatical teaching, had never reached such a degree of proficiency as to entitle him to be called moderately acquainted with grammar.

He continued thus displaying his presumption till he declared himself profoundly versed in the seven sciences.§

He further maintained that if all the learned men of the time were to propound thousands of questions to him, he could answer them all by the sole exercise of his reasoning powers, and were he to set them but a tenth part of the same, they would be unable to solve them. He likewise elaborated a work to facilitate the acquisition of the degree of Mujtahid||

The head professor who lectured on Mysticism and the Hanafite theology, was required to be the most learned Hanafite in Egypt, and to be profoundly versed in exegesis and the fundamentals of jurisprudence, and was not to be a Kadhi, and this condition was a general one for all the salaried College officials.

† Abl Hassan A'll-b-Muhammad Zaynu'ddin al Husyini al Jurjani known as Sayyid as Sharif, died 816. Meurs.
‡ حرف has two senses grammatically speaking, one a letter, the other a particle, i. e., what is used to express a meaning and is not a noun or a verb. See Lane.
§ Here follows an extract from as Suyut which has already been translated in the preceding autobiography.
|| This term is employed to denote a doctor who exerts all his capacity for the purpose of forming a right opinion upon a legal question. The title was common in
in order to assert his own claim to it. And how well spoke one of the professors of arithmetic,—"that which he hath confessed* regarding himself in order that it might be inferred that he was impartial, is a proof of his dullness and lack of understanding from the testimony of masters of this science that it is one needing quick intelligence."

And similar to this is the saying of some one that he claimed the rank of Mujtahid to hide his own errors. And to this effect also, are his own words when a certain distinguished person met him and desired to confer with him on some point, "it cannot be that my store of knowledge in scholastic theology is of small account."

The following speech was made to him by another—"inform me regarding the means of acquiring the degree of Mujtadhid. Is there any one living conversant with them?" He replied, "Yes, there are those who have some knowledge of them, but they are not collectively united in one person but dispersed among a number." The other rejoined, "tell me who they are, and we will bring them together for thee, and thou shalt speak with them, and if each one of them confesseth that thou hast a knowledge of his subject and noteth thee as distinguished therein, it is possible that we may allow thy claim." And he was silent and uttered not a word.

He mentions that his compositions number more than 300 volumes, but I have seen some of them consisting only of one page, and those that are less than a "kurrásah"† are numerous. He mentions amongst them a commentary on the Shâtibiyah‡ and the Alfiyah on the readings of the Kurân, notwithstanding his own confession, as has already gone before, that he had studied them under no Shaykh.

Among his writings, the following were fraudulently appropriated from the compositions of our Shaykh.§

the first ages of Islâm, but the principal points having been fixed by the great doctors, the exercise of private judgment in legal questions soon ceased to be recognized. Some later doctors like as Suyûtî claimed the title and the right, but both were refused to them by public opinion. See De Slane I. K. I. p. 201.

* Alluding to as Suyûtî's disinclination to that study.

† A "kurrásah" according to De Slane (Vol. II, p. 98) generally contains 20 pages.

‡ See Note, p. 503.

§ Meursinge understands him to mean here, al Bulghîni, as as Sakhawî speaks of him under this title (شخِصًا) in his biography.
All these are the dissertations of our Shaykh, and would that he had not altered them when he appropriated them, for if he had given them as they were, it would have been more profitable. The works belonging to other authors also, among his compositions are numerous. This would be seen were all the works named at hand, but in any case, he was given to much arrogant boasting. He came to me once and asserted that he had read the Musnad of as Shāfi‘i with al Kammási, and of his own accord communicated to me what contained a falsehood in every part of it. In the same way he related on the authority of al Kamál brother of al Jalál al Mahalli, a dream in which al Kamál proved his untruth. Al Badru’ddín the Ḥanbalite Ḥádhi said to me, “I never saw him reading the Jama’ u’l Jawámi’ with my Shaykh notwithstanding my constant zeal in attendance on him (the Shaykh); but indeed Khayru’ddín ar Ríshi the Naqíb studied it under him.” I said, “perhaps he used to come at the same time.” He replied, “I never observed it.”

He asserted that he composed the Nafhat u’l Miskiyah wa’t Tuḥfat u’l Makkiyah (The Musky Fragrance and the Meccan gift) in one ‘kurrasáh’ when he was at Mecca after the manner of the U’unwání u’s Sharaf of Ibn u’l Muṣrí in a single day, and that he wrote an Alfiyah on tradition superior to the Alfiyah u’l Trákiyat and other things which it would be tedious to mention. Similar to this is his saying (which verifies the adage that forgetfulness is the undoing of falsehood) in one place that he knew by heart a part of the Minháj on Fundamentals, and in another that he knew the whole of it, and that the course of Dictation was discontinued after the death of our Shaykh until he reinstated it. So too his assertion that the first who was appointed to the Shaykhunfiyah College was al Kaṣiyáji, and his remarking to me several times, “by Allah, if the Turkish Superintendent had not appointed him, or had I alone to do in the affair, I would not have preferred him from my knowledge of the special claim of another.” Add to all this the inversions and solecisms in pronunciation that fall from him and what arose from his misapprehension of meaning, through his not frequenting the lectures of the learned nor attending their evening and nightly assemblies, instead of which he worked alone, deep among codices and tomes, and relied upon what had not secured the approval of accurate scholars; moreover he was opposed by all men universally when he claimed the degree of Mujtahid. He composed the following works:

اللغة الجوهري في رد خياء الجوهري —
الكرال علی عبد الإبر - مضمج البحار علي ابن الأبار. الصراع المقابل في
قطع الطويل - القول الجميل في رد علي المجهول —

* See note, p. 540.
† Alfiyah u’l Trákiyat fi Uṣūl u’l Hadith by the Ḥāfídh Zaynu’ddín Abdu’r Raḥím-b’l Ḥusayn al Tráki: died 806 (1403). This and its commentaries are noticed at some length by H. K.
All this during his stay at Mecca, treating discourteously therein the people of Hijáz for which he richly deserved severe reproof, some of these compositions being more foul than others. Of these I have seen only the first which contains great disparagement of al Janjari and much arrogance which in parts shows his folly, nay his rabid rage. The fourth is in refutation of al Burhan an Nuámání* where he reads the words of the Kádhí Iyád at the close of the Shifá وتخصصًا خصصيي in the dual number, after he had written him a paper containing hard and coarse language not proper to be addressed to scholars, which induced al Burhán to procure learned opinion upon it and those who wrote agreeing with his reading were al Amin al Iṣṣiráí, al U’bbádí, al Bámí, az Zayn Kásim al Ḥanafi, al Fakhru’d Dayyimi and the writer of this memoir. Al Burhán wrote a pamphlet he entitled al Kaal al Mufassal fi radd a’la’l Mughaffal. (A clear tractate in refutation of the imbécile); moreover one of the disciples of al Jaujari wrote also in support of him but al Jaujari† was incensed against him who undertook this on account of the praise of the person eulogized that his work contained. As Suymiṭ also wrote a letter to al Ḥamál-b-Abi Sharīf‡ and filled it with unworthy attacks on al Kirmáni. Al Khaṭib al Waziri sent his son to him at Raudhah§ to exhibit his proficiency in study, but he sent him back, alleging as an excuse that he did not fulfill his father's description|| of him on certain points and that his letter for other reasons, likewise, was not satisfactory to him.

* The Imám Ḥāfídhd Abū’l Fadlhd Iyádh-b-Músá Yácháh, called as Sabti because he was a native of Cæuta. He was born in 470 (1077) died in 644 (1149). Among his best known works are a history of Cordova, a devotional work called Asār u’r Ryád, and the Shifa (Note ‡ p. vii). See his life in D’Herb. The words at the close of the Shiifa alluded to are, (texte Meurs.) Et peculiarem nobis facere volet (Deus) peculiarem favorem turbo Prophete nostri ejusque agnissim. Et is here an inf. n. of like خصصيي خصصيي خصصيي خصصيي and which Burhánuddin took it as a dual number. Wejers’ note on this in Meurs. is remarkable. Quo modo vero Burhanoddinus iste ibi in duali numero legere ... equidem plane non intelligo; et magis etiam miror partium studium eorum eruditorum, qui nudá, ut videtur, Sojuti invidiá duci, Borhannodino illi adversus hunc adstipulati, aut certe illi non plane obleonti sunt.

† Muḥammad-b-Abd’l Munîm Shamsuddin an al Jaujari al Káhir as Shafi’: born 822 (1419) died 889 (1484). M. He was the author against whom was directed the first treatise mentioned in the last page.

‡ Abū’l Haná Muḥammad al Ḥamálu’d’din-b-Abi Sharīf as Shafi’: born 822 Meurs.

§ A place, according to Meursinghe where as Suyuti had an estate.

|| I must differ from Meursinge’s rendering of this, “ non posse se patri ejus (in responso suo) omnes quos oportet titulos dare.”
When a certain student once spoke of the impiety of Ibn u'l A'rabi, he replied, "verily war is announced† that shall come upon him from God, though the judge can find nought against him and he himself deprecates examination of his writings for points which he judges orthodox in which the believer and discernor of true doctrine cannot concur with him." Moreover he reported of him that he said, "it is forbidden to examine my words." As Suyūṭi was one of those who adopted this tenet (of Ibn A'rabi's) from A'budullāh Muḥammad-b-Omar al Mağhrabi who lived near the Karākiṣa al Ḥasani College whose lectures he attended for some time. More might be said, but were I to discuss all that regarded him, I should transgress due limits. To be brief, he wrote hastily‡ without reflection: I never knew him to be anything but vain and overweening, even towards his own mother, so that she used constantly to complain of him, and his conduct continued to grow worse in this respect,—may the Most High inspire him with rectitude.

The Caliph favoured him and appointed him Shaykh of the Baybarsiyah College in succession to al Jālāl al Bakri,§ after which his zeal abated, may became concealed, so that he sought retirement from the world according to what he himself says, "I gave up lecturing and resolving cases of law and turned myself to the Most High." Before this time he asserted that he had a dream in which the prophet upbraided him, and his Vicegerent as Siḍḍīḳ ordered him to be imprisoned for a year, that he might revert to lecturing and expounding the law when he took it upon himself to abandon them, and that he asked pardon and desisted from his purpose: so that if any one came to him with a case, though he were

* Muḥyiddīn-b-A'li a most voluminous writer on Sufism, a native of Murcia: born 560 (1165), died 638 (1240). Consult Haj. Khal and the Ṭabāṣṣat al Muḥass. of as Suyūṭi, edit. Murs, also De Slane. I. K. Vol. IV, p. 351. In Suyūṭi's notice of him it is stated that some of his expressions were not altogether orthodox and that though outwardly confirming to the faith, he had some peculiar views on doctrine, but ad Daḥabī excuses him on the ground that his writings on Sufism and his anastirities, had disturbed his intellect, and he imagined things that had no existence. See also D'Herb. art. A'rabi.

† Referring to Kur. II, فارقنا لحرب من الله ورسوله (be apprized of war that shall come upon you from God and his apostle.) Meaning, "you threaten him with war from God on account of his impiety, though the temporal judge can find nothing to substantiate the charge; and he himself deprecates examination of his writings to prove him unorthodox by wresting his words from their proper sense." The Arabic of this passage is obscure and probably corrupt.

‡ I cannot concur in Moursinge's translation "Et hoc celeriter describi potest."

§ A'budu'l Baḳa Muḥammad-b-A'bdullāh Raḥmān ad Dahrāṭ, known as Jālāl u'ddīn al Bakri; born 807 (1404), died 891 (1488). M. The Caliph who appointed him must have been al Mutawakkil 'alā llāh Abū'l I'zz who died in 903.
about to drown at the time, he would take it to write his decision thereon. It was not long after this, that he said what has gone before.

"Al Muhyi'ddin-b-u'l Mujhayzil left him when he experienced from him great ill-treatment, after he had acted towards him previously with generosity and he has related instances of his extravagant pretensions which the circumstances themselves verify. As an example, he requested al Burhán'u'ddin al Karaki to appoint him to conduct a judicial case which was under his charge. The latter complied and on his own part furnished in addition a duplicate of the original process. As Suyútî went to him accompanied by al A'lamu'ddin Sulaymán al Khalifáti to take it, and he never thanked him nor uttered a word expressive of his obligation. He on one occasion related to Muhyi'ddin after as Sunbáti's death, a circumstance showing his injustice. He said, "why hast thou told me of this only after his death?" As Suyútî replied, "that thou mayest know the hearts of men." And this notwithstanding his great kindness to him, especially during the time of the high prices when there was a dearth of bread and food in the Shaykhúniyah, and he used to give him a dinár weekly as he states himself. In the same way a certain Turk left him, whom from a Ḥanafite he had made a Shāfī'ite, notwithstanding that as Suyútî had begun by showing great kindness and courtesy towards him. Al Maghrabi likewise abandoned him, the same who used to assert his great sanctity, and also al Fath al Ḥarn.*

An instance of his arrogance, is his saying to one of his attendants, "when I receive the office of Ḥádhi, I will appoint thee to such and such a thing, nay thou shalt obtain every thing."

Subsequently in the year 898, the Shaykh Abu'n Najá son† of Shaykh Khalaf opposed him and publicly exposed his deficiencies and faults, and he was humbled by him and greatly abased. The Imám al Karaki spoke highly of Abu'n Najá as I have fully shown in the Ḥawádidh.‡ Previously to this as Suyútî wrote a work entitled, "the Cautery in refutation of as Sakháwí," in which he opposed what is affirmed in the Šaţih,§ although I never touched upon the subject save some time before.

* Meursinge conceives that these were all instances of persons who were at first attached to as Suyútî but were afterwards driven from him by his violence and harshness.

† Abu'n Najá-b-Khalaf al Miṣrî as Shāfī'î, born 849. He used to hold assemblies in the mosques and other public places to which he drew large numbers even from the quarters where as Suyútî lived, and even lectured in Suyútî's own college the Baybarsiyah. M. note 183, p. 43.

‡ Meursinge supposes that this is the name of a book (De rebus gestis) by as Sakháwí but of which no mention is made by Ḥájí Khalifáh.

§ Meursinge translates في الصبح "inter vera." I understand Šaţih to signify the authentic traditions that are known under that name.
may my course towards it having been to speak neither in affirmation or denial. Let us praise God the Distributer of understanding."

The Compiler* adds, "The Sulțān al A‘ādil Ṭūmānī Bāi† removed him from the post of professor of the Baybarsiyah on Monday the 12th Rajab 906 (1st February 1501) when a number of the Sufi Shaykhs of the Madrassah held a meeting against him on account of his niggardliness with them and his hostility to them by depriving many of them of their stipends and appointing others thereto. He received many humiliations such as judicial mandates, annoyances, interdictions: and other similar things occurred. In the professorship after him was appointed Laishin al Bilbisi, known as Ibn u'l Ballán, on Monday the 26th of the said month, although there were others superior to him in desert, but fortune prevails over merit. Yet he was in no way at ease, fearful lest Jalālu’ddin (as Suyūṭi) should disturb him by asserting that al A‘ādil had forced him publicly to forego his right. And indeed this move of al Jalālu’ddin actually took place though not persisted in, and thus the position of al Bilbisi was insecure. After this Jalālu’ddin’s affairs became tranquil and he turned aside from this office and that of professor of tradition in the Shaykhuniyah with a view to a life of withdrawal from worldly affairs, and he broke off all connection with society by residing at Raudhah, and I have heard that a number of the principal nobles used to visit him whom he did not rise to greet.

The professorship of the Baybarsiyah was offered to him on the death of al Bilbisi on Saturday the 25th of Dāl Hijjah 909, but he declined it and al Kamālu’ddin at Tawīl assumed it on Monday the 27th of the said month after he had expended largely, it is said, on that account. Jalālu’ddin continued in retirement till he died on Thursday the 18th Jamada I, 911 (17th October 1505). May the Lord have mercy upon him and upon us."

Having now given as Sakhawi’s strictures on as Suyūṭi, I cannot in justice refrain from presenting to the reader the latter’s opinion of his critic, and for this I am indebted to Meursinge who has extracted the following notice from a work of the historian’s, entitled相當ان وینافع زمان (the choicest of the great and sons of the Age), Cod. 416th, p. 94.

"Muhammad-b-A’bdīr Rahmān-b-Muhammad-Abi Bakr-b-Othmān b-Muhammad as Sakhawi Shamsuddin, the traditionist, the historian, the calumniator, was born in 831 (1427-8) and attended while he was yet young, the dictations of the Ḥāfidh Ibu Ḥajr who fostered in him a love of the science of tradition. He frequented his classes and wrote out

* The word قلت here indicates the termination of as Sakhawi’s narrative and that what follows is by the author who has extracted it.

† One of the Circassian Mamelukes who reigned three years and a half, 906-9 (1501-3). M.
many of his compositions with his own hand. He studied under very many collectors of traditions in Egypt, Syria and Hijaz and he selected and extracted them for himself and for others, notwithstanding his misreading of them and his being destitute of all knowledge, so that he was good for nothing but in the mere science of tradition. Then he fell upon history and dissipated his life therein and devoted all his efforts to it, and lacerated therein the reputations of men and filled it with their misdeeds, and all that had been imputed to them whether true or false, and asserted that he was thus doing a necessary duty, viz., apportioning blame or praise, whereas this is manifest folly and error and blasphemy against God.

Moreover he was guilty of a fragrant violation of right and was under the burden of many sins, as I have shown in the preface to this book. I mention this only that no one may be seduced by him or trust to any thing that is in his historical writings defamatory of men, especially the learned, or pay heed thereunto. He died in Shaa’bán 902.” (April 1497.)

The Leyden copy of the work from which this is taken, Meursinge believes to be the only one existing in Europe, and he proposed to himself to treat further of it on some future occasion as it contains memoirs more or less full, of the distinguished men of as Suyūṭī’s age. Whether he ever fulfilled his intentions I do not know, and am therefore unable to give further particulars regarding the irregularities alluded to at the close of the above extract. This is, however, of little importance. The recriminations of authors are little to their credit, and are read with indifference when the passions and jealousies which evoked them are hushed and forgotten. The supplement to as Sakhāwī’s narrative bears unwilling evidence of the reverence in which as Suyūṭī was held at a time when, retired from the world, he still received the unsolicited visits of the great. His petulant notice of the historian’s just criticism of Burbānu’dūn’s reading of the Shīfah of Kādhi I’yād, and the evident jealousy which induced the learned referees to side with Burbān, his hints of the disapproval with which Bulḵīnī and Munāwī regarded our author who nevertheless speaks of them in his Ḥusn al Muḥādhirah in terms of unqualified esteem, sufficiently prove the unfairness and suggest the untruthfulness of the writer. His rancour against the historian was probably caused by as Suyūṭī’s criticism of his work the Dhu’l Lāmi’, in his pamphlet entitled the Cautery, and the name not indistinctly hints that the iron was applied red hot. Possibly previous differences may have made his duty a grateful one, and a critique undertaken in this spirit, would not be altogether just. The angry retort of his patient, however, inflicted as keen a wound as he received and the passing satisfaction of an incisive and now forgotten criticism, was more than avenged by the immortality of his victim’s reply.
The length to which these hitherto little known particulars of as Suyūṭī's life have unavoidably led me, precludes any extended notice of the work which is here presented to the public. The sources whence the author derived the materials for his history are indicated by him at its close, and if their treatment does not discover any evidence of originality of design, it has at least the merit of condensing into a readable compass, not only the principal events which occurred during the reign of each Caliph, but the personal details and sketches of court life and manners which are often wanting in Abu'l Fida but which lend their chief interest to the lively narrative of Masa'ūdi. To the dignity of a history according to the European acceptation of the term, it has indeed no pretensions. To investigate the relations of cause and effect, to trace the growth and development of communities and assign the reasons of their arrestation or decline, to discuss the social, political and religious questions which disturb the tranquillity or affect the fortunes of states, to analyze the characters of public men and the influences which bear on their conduct; to paint vivid descriptions of battle-scenes and pageantries of state; to survey the arts, manufactures, trades and products of a country and all that constitutes and adorns its national life, this ideal epic of poetry and philosophy, no Eastern historian has ever attempted. Historical science in its infancy among the Moslems as De Slane has shown, began with oral traditions transmitted from one Ḥāfīdū to another, together with the series of authorities for each independent fact, till their accumulated store became too burdensome for retention by memory. They were then committed to writing in the form of a collection of statements supported by lines of ascription reaching to the original narrators who were in most cases eye-witnesses of what they related. A subsequent writer suppressed the ascriptions to a large extent, marshalled the facts and blended the disconnected traditions into one continuous but bulky history. Such were Ibn u'l Ṭabārī. Then came the abridger who condensed the work of his predecessor into a simpler and smaller volume while the greater work was consigned to veneration and decay in some public library. Such were Abu'l Fida and as Suyūṭī. De Slane has, I think, unfairly censured these last-mentioned writers. He considers them to have done nearly as much injury to their predecessors as Justin and Florus have done to Livy and Tacitus. I do not admit the justness of the parallel nor perceive its relevancy. Justin's history, is a compilation of extracts rather than an abridgment of the lost books of Trogus Pompeius whose guides were exclusively Greek, and who treated in the main but with voluminous digressions, of the rise, decline and fall of the Macedonian monarchy. Though Justin has been censured for omitting much from his original that was worthy of record, yet that original was professedly not Tacitus, whose
Histories and Annals are concerned with the period between the second consulship of Galba and the death of Domitian, and from the death of Augustus to the death of Nero. It is true that the Editio Princeps of Florus published about 1471, bore the title, "Titi Livii Epitoma," but it is not regarded by modern scholars as an abridgment of Livy, but a compilation from various authorities epitomizing the leading events from the building of the city to the rise of the Empire. The Epitomes of the books of Livy have been ascribed to Florus, and with equal probability to Livy himself. There is no internal testimony in favour of either conclusion, and external evidence is altogether wanting.* It is difficult, therefore to perceive in what way the assumed injury has been affected. The parallel applied to the Esterus fails in a similar manner. Their merit would perhaps be slight, were it confined to their condensation, however judicious, of a single work, but this is far from being the case. Abu'l Fida cites no less than fourteen authors, and as Suyūṭī, twelve, to whose voluminous pages they are indebted for their materials. The greater number of the works which they mention have perished, and it is to their labours we owe the preservation of much that would otherwise have been irretrievably lost. Reiske's eloquent commendation of Abu'l Fida is a just and sufficient testimony to his eminence, and his concluding words will suffice me for any panegyric of as Suyūṭī,—ipse usum eum commendabit, quare laudibus ejus celebrandis parcam.

The MSS. from which the text of this work was edited, which is but one among the many services of the accomplished Orientalist Colonel Nassau Lees to the world of letters, were the following—

MS. belonging to Maulvie Muḥammad Wajīh, Head Professor of the Calcutta Madrassah: this copy is now missing.

" the property of Maulvie Abd'us Shukūr of Jounpore. Likewise missing.

" in the possession of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. This latter is the only one with which I have been able to collate the text. Another MS. is mentioned by Weil in his history of the Abbaside Caliphs in Egypt (note, p. 122, Vol. II,) and numbered Cod. Goth. N. 321, which I have not seen.

The system of transliteration of Arabic proper names adopted by me, is the same now in general use throughout India. The following letters alone present any difficulty, and are thus represented:

* Consult. Ramsay's art, on Livy in William Smith. Cl. D.
Some proper names of persons, such as Omar and Othmán, and those of certain towns and countries, the corrupt spelling of which has been consecrated and fixed by custom, are left unaltered.

In concluding, I have to acknowledge my indebtedness to Maulvie Kabíruddín Ahmad whose wide range of reading and intelligent acquaintance with the historical, philosophical and doctrinal literature of the Arabs have been of great service to me. In what pertains to the accuracy of the translation and the manner of it, I must leave to the criticism of the learned, the correction and removal of defects in both, of which I am only too conscious, but which with the best endeavours, I have failed to amend.

H. S. J.
After the praises of God, of Him who promises and performs, and who threatens and forgives,—and blessings and peace upon our Chief, Muhammad, Prince of the nobly born, progenitor of the Caliphs—and upon his family and Companions, the possessors of magnanimity and good faith, I proceed to give in this slight historical sketch, a biographical account of the Caliphs, the Princes of the Faithful, who have stood in authority over the people from the age of Abu Bakr the Witness to the Truth—may God approve him—up to this my time, according to the order of their reigns one after another. And I have mentioned in the lives of all them, the remarkable occurrences which happened during the reign of each, and the chief doctors of the faith, and the illustrious personages who lived during their time.

Many circumstances instigated the composition of this work: among them, that a collection of the biographies of the chiefs of the faith, and those endowed with virtue, was desirable and would be welcome, and in truth, there are those who have compiled histories in which they have introduced these distinguished men, but unsystematically, and without giving a full account of them, and their completion would entail prolixity and weariness. For this reason I was desirous of separately detailing each class of men in a work apart, which would be more advantageous for those who wished for particulars of any one class, and easier to consult. Thus I have set apart one book for the prophets—upon whom be the benediction and peace of God,—and another for the Companions of the Prophet; abridged from the “Isāba” of the Shaykhul Islām Ibn Hajar;—and another comprising the various commentators of the Qurān; and an
abridged work on the lives of the Huffádh,* epitomized from the Taḥákát of ad-Dhahabi; and a voluminous work on the grammarians and philologists, any similar to which had not been before composed; and a book on those learned in the fundamentals of the faith,—and a voluminous work on those famed for sanctity; and another on the doctors of the Law of Inheritance; and another on Rhetoricians; and another on Writers, that is, authors of prose composition; and another on those celebrated for calligraphy;† and another on the Arab poets whose works are authorities in the language, and these comprehend the greater number of eminent men of the nation.

I rest satisfied, regarding doctors of Law, with what other men have written on that subject, on account of its abundance, and independence of any further information thereon,—and I have likewise contented myself with what the Taḥákát of ad-Dhahabi‡ contains on the Readers of the Qurán. The Kádhis are included among the preceding, and therefore, among personages of distinction, the history of the Caliphs alone remains unwritten, notwithstanding the eagerness of men for accounts of them. I have therefore set apart this book for them but have not included in it, any who disputed the Caliphate by force of arms, and did not succeed to power, such as many of the descendants of Ali and a few of the House of Aḥbās: neither have I made mention of any of the Caliphs, the descendants of Uḥayd-ulláh,§ because their authority was illegal for many reasons—among them—this, that they were not of the tribe of the Kūr-aysh, and although the ignorant vulgar have named them Fatimites,

* A Ḥāfiẓ or one who remembers what he has heard or read, is of the 3rd grade of the Traditionists. Of these there are five. The Ḥāfiẓ must know 300,000 traditions by heart, and be able to name the lines of authorities of each.
Consult Ibn-Ṣalábí on tradition.

† The Khattú'l Manúš is a species of handwriting, the invention of which is attributed by Ibn Khall (see life of al-Bawwáb) to Abu Ḥabíl al-Ḥasan brother of Ibn Mukláh, while ad-Dhahabi (Ṭarikhu'l Islám) gives the credit of it to the latter. See De Slane's notes on this handwriting. Art. Ibn al-Azmídi the Kádhí.

‡ Abu ʿAbdulláh Muḥammad a doctor of the Ṣháfi school, surnamed the ‘sun of religion' born at Damascus A. H. 673, (1275) but his ancestors were Turkomán. He was the chief Ḥāfiẓ and Qurán reader of Syria. His works are very numerous. The Taḥákát there mentioned is a biography of the Readers of the Qurán. See Ibn Khall.

§ The founder of this house was Uḥayd-ulláh al-Mahdí who assumed the Caliphate in 296 A. H. (A. D. 908). At the same period Abú'l-Ḥasan was Caliph in Spain, and Al Muḥtadír at Baghúd: "In the 10th century" says Gibbon "the chair of Mahomed was disputed by three Caliphs who reigned at Baghúd, Cairean and Cordova, excommunicated each other and agreed in a principle of discord that a sectary is more odious and criminal than an unbeliever."
nevertheless their ancestor was a worshipper of fire. Kādḥī Abdu'l Jabbār of Basrah says that the name of the ancestor of the Egyptian Caliphs was Saʿīd and his father was a Jew blacksmith of Salamīyah.*

The Kādḥī Abu Bakr al Bākilānī† says that al Kaddāh the grandfather of ‘Ubaydullāh, called al Mahdi, was a fire-worshipper, and ‘Ubaydullāh went to Africa and asserted that he was a descendant of ‘Alī; none of the genealogists recognised him as such, but ignorant people called them Fatimites.

Ibn Khallakān remarks that most of the learned did not hold as valid, the pedigree of ‘Ubaydullāh al Mahdi, the ancestor of the Egyptian Caliphs, insomuch that when al ‘Azīz bi’llāh son of al Mūizz in the beginning of his reign, ascended the pulpit on a Friday, he found there a piece of paper, and in it these lines—

"We have heard a false pedigree
Read from the pulpit in the mosque.
If thou art truly what thou assertest,
Then name thy ancestor up to the fifth‡ generation.
And if thou mean to verify what thou sayest
Then give us thy pedigree like that of at Taīa.§
If not, then leave thy pedigree in obscurity
And enter with us into a common ancestry
For the genealogies of the sons of Hāshim
To them aspires not the desire of the ambitious."

Al ‘Azīz wrote to the Umayyad,|| then ruler of Spain, a letter in which he reviled and satirized him, whereupon the Umayyad replied, saying, "After the usual greetings, verily thou knewest me, therefore hast thou satirized me, and surely if I knew thee, I would answer thee:" and this came sorely upon al ‘Azīz and silenced him from reply, for it meant that he was an impostor and his family unknown.

* The printed edition has نشابة an arrow-maker—the MS. has سليبية of Sulaymish—the latter is probably a copyist’s error for سليبية a small town in the district of Enessa where according to Ibn Khallakān Al Mahdi was born—I have preferred the latter reading.
† Called Bākilānī or vendor of beans. He was of Basrah but long resident in Baghdad and celebrated as a doctor of scholastic theology a voluminous author, died A. H. 403 (1015 A. D.). Ibn Khall.
‡ The text and MS. have سالع instead of رابع. It is clear from Ibn Khallakān that the former is incorrect as al ‘Azīz was fifth in descent from al Mahdi.
§ A contemporary of al ‘Azīz. At Taia’llāh reigned as Caliph at Baghdad in A. H. 363 (A. D. 973) a lineal descendant from Hāshim great-grandfather of Muḥammad.
|| This must have been either Ḥakam or Hishām called al Mustaṣirīg. Ḥakam died one year after the accession of al ‘Azīz and was succeeded by Hishām al Muayyad.
Ad _DUMP_ahi says that authorities are agreed upon this, that Ubayd- 
ul-lah al Mahdi was not a descendant of Ali; and how well spoke his grand-
son al Múizz, the ruler of Cairo, when Ibn Ṭabaṭaba,* the descendant of 
Ali questioned him regarding their origin! He half drew his sword from 
the scabbard and said "This is my pedigree," and scattering gold among 
the nobles and those who were present, said "here are the proofs of my 
nobility."

And among the reasons aforesaid is this, that the greater number of 
them were Magians, beyond the pale of Islám; and there were of them, 
some who reviled the prophets, and among them some who held the use of 
wine lawful, and some of them commanded worship unto themselves, and 
the best of them were heretics, unclean and base, who directed the execra-
tion of the Companions of the prophet—may God approve them—and to 
such as these, homage is not binding and their headship is illegal. And 
Abu Bakr al Bášíání says that Ubaydullah al Mahdi, was a vile Bátini,† 
eager for the subversion of the orthodox faith. He persecuted learned 
men and doctors of law, that he might be able to seduce the people, and 
his descendants followed his ways. They gave a license to wine and for-
nication and promulgated heresy. Ad _DUMP_habi says that al Káim the son 
of al Mahdi, was more wicked than his father, an accursed Magian, who 
openly reviled the prophets, and he adds that the House of Ubaydullah 
was more malevolent towards the Orthodox faith than the Tartars.

Abu'l Hasan al Kábasí‡ says that Ubaydullah and his descendants 
put to death four thousand of the learned and pious, seeking to turn them 
from acknowledging the Companions of the prophet, but they preferred 
death—then, well indeed, had he been only a heretic but he was a Magian. 
(Zíndík.)§

The Kádhí Iyádh tells us that|| Abu Muhammad al Kayruwání, al

* Abu Muhammad Abdu'llah 9th in descent from Ali, a native of Hijás but an 
inhabitant of Egypt. He was a Sharif noted for the nobility of his character, his vast 
possessions and the style in which he lived, born A. H. 286 (A. D. 899) and died 4th 
Rajab at Cairo A. H. 348 (September A. D. 959). Ibm Khall.

† This is the same sect as the Assassins so often mentioned in the history of the 
Crusades, founded by Hassan Saba, known as the Old Man of the Mountain. The word 
signifies possessing inward light and knowledge. See Von Hammer-Gesch-dor 
Assassininen.

‡ A doctor of the Málíki school. A great Traditionist—died A. H. 403, (A. D. 
1012.) Ibm Khall.

§ This term primarily implies an asserter of the doctrine of Dualism, but it is also 
used to signify an atheist or one who denies the world to come and maintains the etern-
ity of the present. Consult. Lane. art ژنید De Sacy, Chrest. Ar. 2nd Ed. II. p. 274.

|| Abu'l Fadíl Iyádh a traditionist—the greatest authority of his age on Arabic 
history and literature. He was educated at Cordova and died in Morocco—A. H. 544 
(A. D. 1160). Ibm Khall.
Kizáni, one of the doctors of the Maliki school was asked as to the case of one compelled by the House of 'Ubayd, namely, the Caliphs of Egypt—to acknowledge their claims or die. He replied "he must choose death and no one can be excused in such an instance: their assumption of authority at first took place before their pretensions were understood, but afterwards flight was imperative and no one through fear of death could excuse his voluntary abiding, forasmuch as residence in a place, the people of which are required to abandon the religious precepts of Islam is not permissible; nevertheless some few doctors of law did remain exceptionally for them, lest a knowledge of their religious ordinances might be wanting to the Muslims and the rulers seduce them from their faith."

And Yusuf ur Ruáyni says that the learned of Kayruwán were agreed that the House of 'Ubayd were in the condition of apostates and Magians, for they declared openly against the law. Ibn Khallakan remarks as follows: "Verily they laid claim to the knowledge of hidden things, and accounts of them regarding this are well-known, for when al 'Aziz one day, ascended the pulpit, he observed a piece of paper in which was written—

Verily we are patient under tyranny and oppression
But not under infidelity and folly;
If thou art gifted with the knowledge of what is hidden
Reveal to us the writer of this letter.

A woman, also, once addressed to him a petition in which was written:
"By Him who hath exalted the Jews through Mísha* and the Christians through Ibn Nastúr, and hath disgraced the true believers in thee, see that thou look into my case," and Mísha the Jew was intendant of the finances in Syria and Ibn Nastúr in Egypt.

Among other reasons is this, that their assumption of the Caliphate, occurred at a time when an 'Abbási Imám was already in possession with priority of allegiance; it was therefore illegal, for a covenant of fealty to two Imáms at the same time cannot be justified, and the first is the rightful one. And again there is a tradition to this effect, that this authority when it shall come into the possession of the children of Abbas, shall not depart from them, until they themselves shall resign it unto Jesus the Son of Mary, or al Mahdi.† It is therefore ascertained that whosoever assumes the Caliphate during their incumbency is a schismatic and a rebel.

For these reasons therefore, I have made no mention of any of the House of 'Ubayd, nor of other schismatics but only of the Caliphs who unite orthodoxy of headship and a covenant of allegiance.

* The readings of the MS. vary in both places where this name occurs.
† The last of the Imáms who it is believed, will appear before the Day of Judgment, to overthrow Dajjál—the Man of Sin that is to come.
I have prefaced the beginning of the book with a few chapters, containing observations of importance and what I have introduced of strange and remarkable occurrences, is taken from the history of the Hāfidh-ād Dahabi, and the responsibility for his own work is upon him, and the Lord is my helper.

In explanation of how the prophet left no successor and the mystery of this.*

Al-Bazzār† in his Musnad (collection of traditions) states on the authority of Ḥudayfah‡ that the Companions of the prophet said: O! Apostle of God, wilt thou not appoint a successor unto us?” He replied, “Verily did I appoint a successor over you, and were you to rebel against the successor appointed by me, punishment would come upon you.”

The two Shaykhs§ have recorded regarding Omar that he said when he was stabbed. “Were I to name a successor, then, verily, he named a successor, who was greater than I.” (meaning Abu Bakr,) “and were I to leave you without one, then, verily, he also hath left you so, who was greater than I,” (meaning the Apostle of God).

Āḥmad and al Bayhaḳī‖ in their Proofs of Prophecy, have related on good authority from Aḥmar-b-Sufyán, that when Ali was victorious on the day of the Camel,¶ he said, “O! men, verily the Apostle of God hath committed nothing unto us in regard to this authority, in order that we might of our own judgment approve and appoint Abu Bakr, who ruled and so continued until he went his way; then Abu Bakr thought fit to nominate Omar who ruled and so continued until the right became estab-

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* As the mention of the lines of authorities for each tradition is of no profit to the general reader, they will be omitted, the first and last alone being given.
† Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn 'Abdu'l Bāqi, surnamed the Kāḍḥi of the infirmary, a great traditionist—flourished about A. D. 1123. The MS. has al Bazzāz of whom I can find no notice as traditionist but only as a teacher of Qurān reading. Another al Bazzār is Abu Bakr Muhammad Abdu'llah-b-Ibrāhīm—a Shāfi’ite doctor, author of the Ghilāniyūt, died A. H. 364.
‡ Abu 'Abdu'llah-b-u'l Yaman, one of the companions died A. D. 656. Ibn Hajar.
§ Al Buhārī and Muslim, the two greatest of the six highest authorities on tradition—the other are at Tirmiẓi, Abu Daūd, an Nasai and Ibn Mājā.
¶ The battle so called from the camel ridden by Ayshah when defeated and taken prisoner by Ali under the walls of Basrah A. Ḥ. 66. See Gibbon, Vol. VI, p. 275. Ed. Mil.
lished.* Then the people sought worldly advantages and events occurred regarding which may the Lord determine.” Al Ḥākin† in his Mustadrak has recorded, and al Bayhaḵī has confirmed it in his “Proofs” on the testimony of Abu Wālī, that it was asked of Ali. “Wilt thou not appoint a successor unto us?” He replied, “The Apostle of God appointed none, shall I therefore do so? but if God desireth the good of the people, He will unite them after me upon the best of themselves, as He united them after their prophet upon the best among them.

Aḏ Ḍahabi remarks that among the heretics there are some idle traditions that the prophet bequeathed the Caliphate to Ali, and verily Huzayl-b-Shurahbīl‡ says, “Did Abu Bakr obey Ali, the legatee of the apostle of God? Abu Bakr would have been glad to have received the bequest from the apostle of God, for then he would have forced Ali to submit.”

Ibn Sa‘ād.§ has recorded on the authority of Ḥasan that Ali said, “When the apostle of God died, he deliberated upon our mode of government, and we found that the prophet had made Abu Bakr take the lead in public prayers. We approved, therefore, for our temporal affairs one whom the apostle of God approved for our spiritual concerns. We thus gave precedence to Abu Bakr.” Al Bukhārī says in his history that it is related on the authority of Safinah|| that the prophet said of Abu Bakr, Omar, and Othmān—“these shall be the Caliphs after me,” but this is not to be followed, says al Bukhārī, because Omar Ali, and Othmān have asserted that the prophet did not appoint a successor.

Ibn-Ḥabān¶ has recorded the above tradition and relates on the authority of Safinah that when the apostle of God built the mosque at Medina, he laid a stone on the foundation and said to Abu Bakr, “Lay thy stone

* For this curious meaning of ضرب بجواره see Lane art. جرن.
† Abu Abdullāḥ Muhammad born at Naysabūr 321 A. H. (933) and held the office of Kādījī under the Samānī rule, and died there A. H. 405 (A. D. 1014). He was the most eminent traditionist of his time. The Mustadrak ala’s Sahihayn (Supplement to the two Sahih of al Bukhārī and Muslim) is the work alluded to. He composed numerous others, on the sciences connected with tradition. Consult, Ibn Khalil.
‡ Of the tribe Aud. He was what is called a Ṭābi or one next in time to the Companions. An Nawawi.
§ Abdullāḥ Muḥammad, b. Sa‘ād of Baṣrah called Kātib-i-Wakīdī from having transcribed and completed the works of that historian. Also author of the Tabakatī Kabīr, died 846 A. D. Im Khall.
|| Abu Abdu’r Rāḥmān Mihrān surnamed Safinah by Muḥammad whose freedman he was, on account of his having carried across a stream some of the Companions with whom Muḥammad was one day walking, Safina signifying a boat. An Nawawi.
¶ Abu Abdullāḥ Muḥammad-b-Yahya-b-Ḥabān, died at Medina A. D. 739, at the age of 74 An. Naw.
by the side of my stone;” then he said to Omar “lay thy stone by the side of the stone of Abu Bakr;” then he said to Othman, “lay thy stone by the side of the stone of Omar.” Then he said “These shall be the Caliphs after me.”

Abu Zaráh says that his authorities are not unreliable, and indeed al Ḥákîm has recorded it in his Mustadrâk and al-Bayhaḵî has confirmed it in his “Proofs” and others besides these two. I remark that there is no contradiction between it and the saying of Omar and Ali that the prophet did not name a successor, for the meaning of these two is that at the time of his death, he did not lay down an authoritative injunction for the succession of any particular one, and this other refers to what occurred at a period antecedent, for it is similar to a saying of the prophet in another tradition, “Obey my law, and the law of the Caliphs after me, the orthodox, the rightly guided,” and to his saying, “Follow those after me Abu Bakr and Omar” and others from among the traditions referring to the Caliphate.

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On the Imáms being of the Kuraysh, and the Caliphate being the prerogative of these.

Abu Dauúd at Ṭayáli̇sî* in his collection of traditions has recorded from Abu Barzah† that the prophet said—“The Imáms shall be of the Kuraysh, as long as they shall rule and do justice and promise and fulfil, and pardon is implored of them and they are compassionate.” And at Tirmidî‡ from Abu Hurayrah§ that the apostle of God said; “the sovereignty shall rest in the Kuraysh and judicial authority with the Auxiliaries, and calling to prayers with the Abyssinians.” And Imám Ahmād in his Musnad from Uṭbah-b-Abdān that the prophet said: “The Caliphate shall rest in the Kuraysh and judicial authority with the Auxiliaries and the office of calling to prayer with the Abyssinians.” His authorities are trustworthy. Al Bazzâr has recorded from Ali Ibn Abi Ṭâlib that the apostle of God said: “The princes shall be of the Kuraysh; the just among them rulers of the just, and the wicked, rulers of the wicked.”

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* Abu Dauúd Sulaymán a Persian by birth resident at Basrah, died A. D. 818. Ibn Khall.
† Abu Barzah Nazlah-b-Ubayd one of the Companions who fought by Muhammad’s side in seven engagements, died during the campaign in Khurasan 684. Ibn Hajr.
‡ Abu Ya’qub Muḥammad called after his birthplace Tirmidî on the banks of the Oxus. He is one of the six great traditionists, died A. D. 892.
§ A well-known Companion of Muḥammad, his real name is a subject of dispute Ibn Ḥajr places his death in A. H. 59.
The Imám Āḥmad* has related on the authority of Safínah that he heard the Apostle of God say; “The Caliphate shall last for thirty years and after it, shall follow a monarchy.” The learned say that in these thirty years are included only the four Caliphs and the reign of al-Hassan. And al-Bazzár from Abu U‘baydah-b-u’† Jarraḥ that the prophet said “Your religion began with the prophetic mission and in clemency: it shall continue with the Caliphate and in clemency; then shall follow monarchy and despotism.” A reliable tradition. Ā’bdullâh-b-Āḥmad records on the authority of Jâbir-b-Samurah from the prophet that he said; “This rule shall continue in honour, its holders overcoming all that opposed them therein, up to twelve Caliphs, all of them of the _YEAR_.” The two Shaykhs and others have recorded this and there are other lines of ascription and readings of it; among them—“this rule shall continue secure,” and “this rule shall remain in force”—and, according to Muslim, “the rule over the people shall continue in force until twelve men shall have ruled them;” and also according to him “this authority shall not come to an end until twelve Caliphs shall have passed away in it from among the people;”—and “Islám shall continue revered and unassailable until there shall have been twelve Caliphs;” and according to al-Bazzár, “the sway of my people shall continue to abide until twelve Caliphs, all of them of the Kuraysh shall have passed away”—and according to Abu Daunîd there is an addition; “and when he returned to his house, there came to him the Kuraysh and they said, “then what will follow?” He replied, “there will follow sedition.” And also according to him, “This faith shall continue to abide until twelve Caliphs shall have been over you, upon all of whom the people shall be gathered together:” and according to Āḥmad and al-Bazzár from Ibn Masa‘ûd who was asked, “How many of the Caliphs shall rule this people?” He replied: “We asked the Apostle of God concerning them, and he answered “Twelve, like unto the number of the chiefs of the children of Israel.” Kâdîh I‘yâd says that the meaning of the twelve Caliphs in this tradition and in those resembling it, is perhaps this, that they would flourish during the period of the glory of the Caliphate and the vigour of Islám, and the integrity of its government, and the gathering of the people around him who assumed the vicegerency, and

* The Imám Abu A’bdullâh Āḥmad as Shayhání-al-Marwazi (native of Marw) was the son of Muhammad-b-Hanbal, born at Baghdad A. H. 164 (A. D. 780), a traditionist of the first class. It is said he knew by heart a million of these traditions, al-Bukhâri and Muslim were his disciples. His persistence in refusing to declare the Qurâń created is well-known. He died at Baghdad A. H. 241 (855).

† Abu U‘baydah commonly called the son of al Jarraḥ—but incorrectly according to Ibn Hajr and an Nawawi who maintain that his father was A’bdullâh and his grandfather al Jarraḥ.
these conditions were found in those round whom the people gathered until the sway of the children of Umayyah was troubled and discord fell among them in the reign of Walid-b-Yazid, and thus it continued among them until arose the Abbaside power and they overthrew their sovereignty."

The Shaykh u'l Islám Ibn Ḥajr in the "Commentary on al Bukháři says;"—the words of the Kádhi ʿYádī are the best that have been uttered on this tradition, and the most important, on account of their confirmation of his remark on some of the lines of ascription of the authentic tradition, "upon all of whom the people shall be gathered together:" and the elucidation of this is, that the meaning of gathering together, is their submission to do him homage, and this very thing came to pass, for the people gathered round Abu Bakr, then Omár, then Othmán, then Aʿlī until occurred the affair of the "two Arbitrators" at Siffin,* and Muʿáwiya assumed the Caliphate from that day.

Then the people gathered round Muʿáwiya at the time of the treaty with al Ḥasan; then they united upon his son Yazid and the authority of al Ḥusayn was never established—nay—he was killed before its accomplishment. Then when Yazid died, discord fell among them until they gathered round Abdu'l Malik-b-Marwán, after the death of Ibn uz Zubayr. Then they gathered round his four sons, al Walíd, and Sulaymán, and Yazid and Hishám; and between Sulaymán and Yazid, there intervened Omar b-Aʿbdi'l Aʾzíz. These, therefore, are seven, after the orthodox Caliphs, and the twelfth is Walid-b-Yazid b-Abdi'l Malik, round whom the people gathered when Hishám, his father's brother died. He reigned about four years. Then they rose up against him and slew him and dissension prevailed and things were changed from that day, and it never happened after that, that the people gathered round any Caliph, for the reign of Yazid-b-Walid, the same who rose against his cousin al Walid-b-Yazid, was not long: for there marched against him before he died, the son of his father's uncle, Marwán-b-Muḥammad-b-Marwán. When Yazid died, his brother Ibrahim reigned but Marwán slew him; thereupon the sons of Aʾbbás made war upon Marwán until he was slain. Then the first of the Caliphs of the children of Abbás was as Saffáḥ, but his reign was not protracted by reason of the multitude of those who went out against him. Then his brother al Mansúr held sway, and his reign was long, but the remote west passed away from them through the conquest of Spain by the

* Abu Músa ASha'ri on the part of Aʾlī and Aʾmr b-nʾl ʿAṣ on the part of Muʿáwiya. The plain of Siffin, says Gibbon, which extends along the western bank of the Euphrates, is determined by DʾAnville (l' Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 29) to be the Campus Barbaricus of Procopius.
descendants of Marwán, and it continued in their hands predominant over it, until they afterwards assumed the Caliphate—and things came to such a pass that nothing remained of the Caliphate in the provinces but the name, after it had been that in the time of the children of A'budul Malik b-Marwán, the Khutbah was read in the name of the Caliphs in all the regions of the earth, the east and the west, the right hand and the left, wherever the true believer had been victorious, and none in any one of all the provinces, was appointed to hold a single office, except by order of the Caliph.

Regarding the immoderate lengths to which things went, verily in the fifth century in Spain alone, there were six persons who assumed the title of Caliph and together with them, a descendant of U'baydu'lllah ruler in Egypt and an A'bbási in Baghdád, exclusive of those who claimed the Caliphate in the regions of the earth, of the descendants of A'li and the schismatics.” He adds, “perhaps this interpretation is the meaning of the prophet’s words “there will follow sedition,” that is, slaughter arising from sedition openly occurring and continuous, and such actually occurred. And it has been also said that the meaning of it is, the appearance of the twelve Caliphs during the whole duration of Islam until the day of judgment, acting according to the truth, although their reigns may not follow in succession one after another; and this confirms what has been recorded by Musaddad in his Musnad-i-Kabir from Abu’l Khulid who says, “This people shall not perish until there shall have been from among them, twelve Caliphs, all of them labouring in the way of salvation and the true faith, and among them, two shall be of the family of Muhammad.” According to this, therefore, the meaning of his words “there will follow sedition” is, the troubles foretelling the resurrection by the coming of Dajjál and the issue thereof—(here he ends).” I observe that according to this, of the twelve Caliphs, are accounted for, the four and al Hasan and Mu’áwiyyah and Omar Ibn A’bdill’ A’ziz: these are eight and it is probable that there may be added to them, al Muhtadi of the House of A’bbás, for he is among them what Omar-b-A’bdil A’ziz is, among the children of Umayyáh, and in the same way, ad Dháhir,* on account of what was vouchsafed unto him of rectitude of conduct, and there remain two who are to be awaited, one among them being al Mahdi, for he is of the family of Muhammad, upon whom be the blessing and peace of God.

* Ad Dháhir bi’amri’lláh.
On the traditions premonitory of the Caliphate of the children of Umayyah.

A't Tirmiđi relates on the authority of Yusuf-b-Saa'd that a man stood up before al Hasan the son of A'li, after he had sworn allegiance to Mu'á-wiyah, and said, "Thou hast blackened the faces of the true believers," and he replied "Reproach me not, may the Lord have mercy on them, for the prophet saw the children of Umayyah on his pulpit, and it troubled him: then was revealed to him "Verily we have given thee al Kauthar"* and there was also revealed to him—"we sent down the Kurán on a night of power and what shall make thee understand how excellent the night of power is: the night of power is greater than a thousand months"† "in which the children of Umayyah shall possess the Caliphate, O Muḥammad." Al Kásim says, "I have computed and lo! it is a thousand months, no more and no less." At Tirmiđi says "this but once recorded tradition, I know only from the tradition of al Kásim who is reliable but his master is unknown." Al Ḥákím has given this tradition in his Mustadrak (Supplement) and Ibn Jarír in his Commentary—but the Ḥáfidh Abu'l Hajjáj and Ibn Kathir say that it is unreliable.

Ibn Jarír‡ in his Commentary has related on the authority of the grandfather of Abu Sahl that he said, "the Apostle of God saw the children of al Ḥákam-b-Abîl A’âs leap upon his pulpit with the leap of apes, and that troubled him and he never brought himself to smile until his death, and God revealed to him concerning it, "We have appointed the vision which we showed thee only for an occasion of dispute unto men."§ The authorities are weak, but there are concurring testimonies from the traditions of A'budulláh-b-Omar, and Ya’la-b-Murrah, Ḥusayn-b-A’li and others. I have quoted it with its authorities in the Commentary and Musnad, and alluded to it in my work, the "Reasons of Revelation.

* Kur. VIII.—Al Kauthar is a stream in Paradise—the word signifies "abundance of good." Hence the gift of wisdom. See Sale.
† Kur. XVIII—the concluding sentence is not in the Kurán.
‡ Abu Ja’far Muḥammad-b-Jarír at Tabari is the author of a great Commentary on the Kurán and a famous history. He was a master of the highest authority (Imám) on various branches of knowledge, such as tradition, jurisprudence and the like—born A. H. 224 (838-9) at Amul in Tabaristan and died at Baghdad A. H. 310 (A. D. 923) Ibn Khalil.
§ Kur. XVII. This verse is generally supposed to refer to the prophet’s journey to heaven, which was the occasion of much dispute amongst his followers until confirmed by the testimony of Abu Bakr. See Sale.
On the traditions annunciatory of the Caliphate of the children of A’bbás.

Al Bazzár has related from Abu Hurayrah that the Apostle of God said to A’bbás—“in ye shall rest prophecy and sovereignty;” and at Tirmiḏi from Ibn A’bbás, that the Apostle of God said to A’bbás, “when it shall be the morning of the second day, come to me, thou and thy son, that I may invoke upon thy descendants a blessing by which, may God profit thee and thy son;” and he went at dawn and I went with him and he clothed us with a mantle; then he said, “O Lord! vouchsafe unto A’bbás and unto his son, an outward and inward mercy; leave them not in sin; O Lord, preserve him in his son.” Thus has at Tirmiḏi quoted it in his “Jámi’,” and Razín* al A’bdari has added to the end of it, “and make the Caliphate abiding in his posterity.” I observe that this tradition, and that which precedes it, are the best that have come down on this subject.

At Ṭabarání† records that the Apostle of God said, “I saw in vision the children of Marwán taking possession of my pulpit, one after another, which troubled me, and I saw the children of A’bbás taking possession of my pulpit one after another and that gladdened me;” and Abu Nua’yun‡ in his Ḥuliyyah, from Abu Hurayrah, that the Apostle of God came forth, and there met him A’bbás and he said, “Shall I not give thee good tidings, O father of excellence?” who replied ‘Yea, O Apostle of God,’ and he said. “Verily God hath begun this authority with me and will fulfil it in thy posterity.” (The ascription is unreliable.) There has also come down a tradition of A’li’s on authorities still weaker than this, quoted by Ibn...

* Abu’l Hasan Razín-b-Mu’áwiyah-b-A’mmár a member of the tribe of A’bdu’ d Dár, a native of Saragossa in Spain, was Imám to the Maliki school at Mecca. His work is generally designated Kitáb-i-Razín, in which he assembled and classed all the traditions contained in the Sahih of al Bukhári, and Muslim, the Muwáta of Málík, the Jámi’ of at Tirmiḏi and the Sunan of Abu Dauḍ, died at Mecca A. H. 525 (A. D. 1130.) Ibn Khall. De Slane.

† Abu’l Kásím Sulaymán b-Aḥmad of the tribe of Lákhm, the chief Hásfód of his time—born at Tabariya in Syria and having settled at Isfahan continued there till his death on Saturday 25th of Dū’l Ka’adah A. H. 380 (September A. D. 971) at the age of about one hundred. His Dictionary (Mu’jam) of the traditionists is the best known of his works, the large (kabír), small (ṣaghír) and medium (ausát) editions of which are frequently alluded to. Ibn Khall.

‡ Hásfód Abu Nu’áym Aḥmad b-A’bdulláh author of the حليمة الأولياع or ornament of the Saints “containing the lives of the principal Muslim Saints, born in Rajab 336 (A. D. 948) and died at Isfahan in Safar 430 (A. D. 1038). Ibn Khall.
A’sákir* from the ascription of Muḥammad-b-Yunas al Karimi (and he was a fabricator of traditions) up to Aʿlī, that the Apostle of God, said to Aʿbbás. “Verily God hath begun this authority with me and will fulfil it in thy posterity.” And the same has been handed down in the tradition of Ibn Aʿbbás quoted by al Khāṭīb† in his history, and the reading of it as follows: “With ye shall begin this authority and in ye shall it be fulfilled,” and this will appear with its ascription in the life of al Muḥtadī bīllāh. It has also come down in the tradition of Aʾmmār-b-Yāṣir, quoted by al Khāṭīb, and Abu Nuaʿym records in the Ḥuliyah on the authority of Jābir-b-Abdū’l-lah, that the Apostle of God said; “there shall be kings of the posterity of Aʿbbás, who shall be the rulers of my people; may God glorify the faith through them.” Also in his “Proofs” from Ummuʾl Fadhl‡ who said “I was passing by the prophet when he exclaimed—“verily thou art pregnant of a boy and when thou givest him birth, then bring him to me,” and when I gave birth to him, I went to the prophet and he called out the Aḏān in his right ear, and the Ikāmah in his left, and he made him drink of his spittle and named him Abdū’l-lah and said to me “depart with the Father of the Caliphs.” I made this known to Aʿbbás and he spoke of it to the Apostle who said, “he is what she told you; he is the Father of the Caliphs among whom shall be as Saffāh and among whom shall be al Mahdi, and among whom shall be one who shall pray together with Jesus the Son of Mary, upon Him be peace.”

Ad Daylamij in his Musnad uʾl Firdaus has related from Ayesha a tradition ascribed to the prophet—“It shall come to pass that the children of Aʿbbás shall possess a standard, and it shall not depart from their hands

* Abuʾl Kāsim Aʿlī, surnamed Thikatuddīn, a native of Damascus and chief traditionist of Syria who acquired a superiority in that science that no other had ever attained, born A. H. 499, (1105) died at Damascus A. H. 571, (A. D. 1176). Ibn Khalil.
† Háfīdih Abu Bakar Aḥmad-b-Aʿlī known as Alkhāṭīb or the preacher, a native of Baghdad who composed a history of the city and is the author of nearly one hundred works. Though a doctor of law, he made tradition his principal study, born A. H. 392 (A. D. 1002) and died A. H. 463 (A. D. 1071). Ibn Khalil.
‡ The “Mother of Excellence,” the name of the wife of Aʿbbás and also of his daughter, the former is here meant.
§ The Ikāmah is a sentence which is said after the conclusion of the Aḏān or call to prayer and which announces that prayers have begun. This ceremony is still occasionally performed at the birth of a child—but is not obligatory.
|| Abu Shujāʿa Shīrāyish-b-Shahrār-b-Shīrāyish-b-Fanna Khusran of Hamadān ad Daylam. He was the author of a history of Hamadān and the “Musnad uʾl Firdaus.” Háfīdih Yahya-b-Mandah says of him that though fairly well read, his knowledge of traditions was imperfect, and he could not distinguish between good and untrust-worthy ones and therefore his Firdaus is full of idle tales, died A. H. 509. Bustān uʾl Muhaddithīn.
as long as they shall uphold righteousness." And Darâkûtnî* in his "Afrâd" from Ibn A'bâs that the prophet said to A'bâs, "When thy posterity shall inhabit the Sawwâd† and clothe themselves in black and their followers shall be the people of Khurasân, dominion shall not cease to abide with them until they resign it unto Jesus, the Son of Mary." Aâmûd b-Ibrahim is a worthless authority and his master is unknown and the tradition is so little reliable that Ibn u'l Jauzi‡ has mentioned it in his "Fabrications"—but there is evidence for it in a tradition ascribed to the prophet, quoted by at Tabarâni in the "Kabûr"—"the Caliphate shall abide among the children of my paternal uncle, and of the race of my father, until they deliver it unto the Messiah." (A'd Daylamî has quoted it from Ummî Salîmah§ with a different ascription).

Al U'kâyli|| records in his book of "Invalid authorities," a tradition ascribed to the prophet "the children of A'bbâs shall reign two days for every day in which the children of Umayyah shall reign, and two months for every month." Ibn u'l Jauzi has quoted this in his 'Fabrications' and has invalidated it on account of the untrustworthiness of Bakkâr,¶ but it is not as he has said, for verily, Bakkâr should not be accused of falsehood nor fabrication; moreover Ibn A'di says of him, that he is among the doubtful authorities whose traditions are recorded, and has added 'I hope there is no harm in accepting him as an authority;" and on my life, the purport of this tradition is not far from the truth, for the Abbaside

* Abu'l Hasan A'li-b-Omar. A Hâfûz of great learning and a Shâfî doctor, was a native of Baghdad—the name Darâkûtnî means belonging to Daru'l Kûn (cotton house) a quarter of Baghdad, born A. H. 306 (A. D. 919) and died A. H. 385 (A. D. 995).

† The towns and villages of Babylonian T'râk.

‡ Abu'l Faraj Ibn u'l Jauzi a celebrated preacher and doctor of the Hanbalites. His compositions are so numerous that it is said (with some exaggeration) that he wrote 180 pages a day; and the parings of his pens were gathered up into a heap and in pursuance of his last orders, were employed to heat the water with which his corpse was washed. Born about A. H. 508 (1114-5), died at Baghdad A. H. 597 (A. D. 1281). His "Fabricated Traditions"—is in 4 Vols. Ibn 'Khail. Sââdi of Shiraz mentions him in the Gûslân as having counselled him to forego profane music, the neglect of which advice was avenged on the sensitive ears of the poet, at a convivial meeting as therein related.

§ One of the prophet's wives.

|| De Slane so writes the name, but in a note (Vol. IV, p. 199.) he remarks that according to Ibn Duma'd should be pronounced A'kil. This is so in respect of the son of Abu Talib and A'kil-b-Mu'karrin the Companion, but U'kâyli was the eponymous ancestor of a branch of the Hawâzin who were of the tribe of Kays. See the Muntaha'I Arab.

¶ One of the authorities in the line of ascription.
rule, at the time of its splendour, and the extension of its authority throughout the countries of the earth, towards the rising and the setting sun, besides the remote west, may be placed between the year one hundred and thirty and odd and the year 290 when al Mu'tadid reigned, and in his time, its organisation was broken up, and the whole west seceded from its sway: then followed dissension and trouble in his government and after him, as will appear. Thus the period of the glory of their sovereignty and their dominion was about 160 years, and that is double the reign of the illustrious children of Umayyah for that lasted 92 years, from which **must be deducted** nine years, during which, the authority was vested in Ibn u'z Zubayr: thus there remains 83 years and a fraction and that is a thousand months exactly and so I have afforded confirmation of the tradition.

Az Zubayr-b-Bakkár* records in his 'Muwaffakiyát,' from Ibn Abbás, that he said to Mu'áwiyah "ye shall not reign a day, but we shall reign two, and not a month but we shall reign two months, and not a year but we shall reign two years:"

and, "the black standards shall be for us, the people of the prophetical House;" and, "their overthrow shall not come save from the side of the west." Ibn A'sákir relates in his history of Damascus from Ibn A'bbás† that the Apostle of God said to him "O God, defend A'bbás and the son of A'bbás," and he said this three times: then he exclaimed, "O uncle, dost thou not know, that al Mahdi shall be of thy descendants,—the prospered of God, happy, and approved. " (al Karimi‡ is a fabricator). Ibn Saa'd records in his Tabašt (classes) from Ibn A'bbás, that al A'bbás the son of A'du'l Mu'talib, sent to the children of A'bdul Mu'talib, and he gathered them together about him and A'li held a place in his estimation which no other possessed, and al A'bbás said—"O son of my brother, verily I have formed an opinion and I do not wish to determine anything regarding it until I have sought counsel of thee;" then A'li said—"What is it?" He replied. "Go to the prophet and ask of him, in whom shall rest this authority after him and if it rest in us, we

* Abu A'bdullâh az Zubayr, a member of the tribe of Kuraysh. He was Kadhî of Mecca and composed the genealogies of the Kuraysh, a standard authority on the subject. He also taught traditions and died at Mecca A. H. 256 (A. D. 870) aged 84. Ibn Khall. He named the book mentioned in the text after his son al Muwaffâk to whom he dedicated it. Masudí Tome VII. p. 91.

† Abu'l A'bbás A'bdullâh son of A'bbás uncle of Mūhammad, born three years before the Hijrah. He was considered the ablest interpreter of the Korán of his day and the most learned in the traditions, the legal decisions of the first three Caliphs, the law, and the sciences of poetry and arithmetic. Appointed governor of Basrah by the Caliph A'li, died at Ta'if A. H. 65 (A. D. 687) aged 70. Ibn Khall. Do Siana.

‡ Al Karimi is one of the authorities in the line of ascription.
shall not resign it, by Allah, while there remaineth of us a chief upon the earth, and if it rest in other than us, we shall never seek it.” A’li said, “O uncle, in whom shall abide this authority save in thee, and will any contend with you regarding this authority?”

Ad Daylami in his Musnad u’l Firdaus, records a tradition ascribed to the prophet “When God willeth to form any one for the Caliphate, he toucheth his forehead with His right hand.”

On the dignity of the prophetic mantle which the Caliphs wore in succession to the very last.

As Silafi,* in his Tuyūriyát, has quoted, with its ascription to al Aṣma‘i,† on the authority of Ibn A’mr-b-i’l A’la, that when Kaa’b b-uz Zubayr read out before the prophet his poem beginning Bānūt Su’ád,‡ he threw to him the mantle that was upon him; and when Mu’áwiyyah reigned, he wrote to Kaa’b saying, “sell me the mantle of the Apostle of God for ten thousand dirhams,” but he refused, and when Kaa’b died, Mu’áwiyyah sent to his children on offer of twenty thousand dirhams, and he received from them the mantle, the same which was in the possession of the Caliphs of the House of A’bbás, and this has been related by others. But ad Ḍahabi says in his history; “regarding the mantle in the possession of the Caliphs of the House of A’bbás, verily Yūnas-b-Bukayr relates from the account of the expedition of Tabák of Ibn Ishákh, that the prophet gave a mantle to the people of Aylah,§ with his letter, the same that he wrote

* Abu’l Ṭabír Ahmad, called as Silafi after his grandfather, from the Persian (Sch lab) three lips—he received this name as one of his lips was split and appeared double. He was a Hāfíd and taught traditions and was appointed President of the College called after him, founded in A. H. 546 (1161) by al Aádil as Sallár at Alexandria; born at Isphahan 472 A. H. (1079) and died A. H. 576 (1180). Ibn Khall. The printed edition has Turyát for Tuyuriyát.

† Abu Sa’íd A’bdul Malik the celebrated philologist, a native of Basrah, but removed to Baghdad in the reign of Harún u’r Rashíd. He was a complete master of the Arabic language and was consulted by al Mamún on all doubtful points of literature; for his numerous treatises, consult Ibn Khall, born A. H. 122 (740), died at Basrah 216 (831).

‡ This well-known poem was recited before Muḥammad on the poet’s embracing Islam. He had written some satirical verses on the prophet, who in consequence ordered his followers to put him to death if they caught him. Kaa’b not caring to indulge his wit at the expense of his life, made his submission. The poem begins with the praise of his mistress Su’ád and ends with an entreaty of pardon.

§ On the Red Sea, the Elana of Ptolemy.
to them granting them immunity and Abu'l A'bbás as Saffáh purchased it for 300 dinars.” I remark that that which Mu'áwiyyah bought was lost in the decline of the House of Úmâyrah. The Imám Aḥmad b-Ḥan-bal records in his “Zuhd” from U’rwah-b-uz Zubayr* that the garment in which the Apostle of God went out to meet deputations was a mantle from Hadhramaut, its length four cubits, and its breadth two cubits and a span, which was in the possession of the Caliphs, and it became thread bare, and they lined it with stuffs and it used to be worn on the festivals of Adhká and Fiṭr. Verily this mantle was in the possession of the Caliphs, and they inherited it in succession, and wore it upon their shoulders, on state occasions, whether in assembly or mounted cavalcade, and it was upon al Muktadir when he was slain, and was stained with his blood, and I think it was lost during the irruption of the Tartars—“for we belong to God and unto him shall we return.” (Kur II.)

On some observations which occur scattered throughout these biographies, but the mention of which here in one place is most suitable and advantageous.

Ibn u'l Jauzi narrates that according to as Šúli,† it is said that every sixth Caliph who ruled over the people was deposed, and adds “I reflected on this and observed it with wonder. The supreme authority was vested in our prophet; then there arose Abu Bakr, and Omar and Othmán, and A'li and al Ḥasan—and he was deposed. Then Mu'áwiyyah and Yazíd-b-Mu'áwiyyah and Mu'áwiyyah-b-Yazíd and Marwán, and A'budu'l Malik-b-Marwán and Ibn u'z Zubayr and he was deposed. Then al Walíd and Sulaymán and Omar-b-A'bdíl A'zíz and Yazíd and Hishámn and al Walid and he was deposed. After this the dominion of the House of Umâyrah ceased, and as Saffáh reigned, and al Munsár and al Maḥdí and al Ḥádí and ar Rashíd and al Amin and he was deposed. Then al Mámún. and al Mu'aṭṭasim and al Wáthīq and al Mutawakkil and al Muntoṣir and al Musta'ìn and he was deposed. Then al Mu'aťazz and al Muḥtadi, and al

* Abu A'budu'llah, one of the seven great jurisconsults of Medina. His father az Zubayr b-A'wwám was one of the ten Companions to whom Muḥammad promised Paradise. His mother was Asma-d. of Abu Bakr—born A. H. 22 (642-3), died A. H. 93 (711-2). Ibn Khall.

† Abu Bakr as Šúli known as the chess-player. He was an accomplished scholar and traditionist. He became one of the Caliph ar Rádži’s boon companions and was intimate with al Muḳtafi and al Muktadir. He composed numerous works; the chief science he cultivated was biography, died at Baṣrah A. H. 335 (A. D. 986-7). Ibn Khall.
Mua'tamid, and al Mua'tadhid and al Muktafi and al Mu'ktadir and he was deposed, and again a second time and then put to death. Then al Kâhir and ar Râdhi and al Muttaqi and al Mustakfi and al Mu'ti' and at Tâii' and he was deposed. Then al Kâdir and al Kâim and al Mu'ktadi and al Mustadhir and al Mustarshid and ar Râshid and he was deposed." This is the end of the narration of Ibn u'l Jauzi. A'd Dahabi says that what al Jauzi has mentioned is defective in several points. One of them is his statement, that A'bdu'l Malik was succeeded by Ibn u'z Zubayr, but this was not the case, for Ibn u'z Zubayr was fifth and after him came A'bdull Malik. Either both of them must be fifth, or one was the true Caliph and the other a rebel, for unto Ibn u'z Zubayr was sworn a prior allegiance, and therefore the Caliphate of A'bdull Malik was legally established only from the time when Ibn u'z Zubayr was killed. The second point is, his omitting to count Yazid An Nâkis and his brother Ibrahîm who was deposed and Marwân; for thus computing them, al Amîn would be the ninth. I remark that it has already been said, that Marwân falls out of the account, because he was a rebel, and also Mu'âwiya-b-Yazid, for allegiance was sworn to Ibn u'z Zubayr after the death of Yazid, and Mu'âwiya opposed him in Syria: these two are therefore one, and the authority of Ibrahîm, he who succeeded Yazid An Nâkis was not completely established, for some acknowledged him as Caliph, and others did not so acknowledge him; and there were some who claimed for him the supreme power, but not the Caliphate, and he ruled but for forty or seventy days. Therefore according to this computation, Marwân the Ass,* was the sixth, for he was the twelfth from Mu'âwiya, and al Amîn after him, the sixth. Thirdly, the depositions are not confined to every sixth, for al Mua'tazz was deprived of office and likewise al Kâhir, al Muttaqi and al Mustakfi. I reply that his statement is not affected by this objection because the meaning is, that as regards every sixth, the deposition is undoubted, but he does not deny that there were others besides them who were deposed as well. He adds in addition to what Ibn u'l Jauzi has stated, that after ar Râshid, reigned al Mu'ktafi and al Mustanjiid and al Mustadhi, and an Nasir and al Dâhir and al Mustanšir who was the sixth but was not deposed. Then al Mustašim, and he was the same whom the Tartars slew, and was the last of the sovereign Caliphs. The Caliphate was interrupted subsequently for three years and a half; then al Mustanšir afterwards was elected,

* "Before his accession to the throne" says Gibbon "he had deserved by his Georgian warfare, the honorable epithet of the Ass of Mesopotamia. He had been governor of Mesopotamia and the Arabic proverb praises the courage of that warlike breed of asses who never fly from an enemy. The surname of Mervan may justify the comparison of Homer (Iliad x 557) and both will silence the moderns who consider the ass a stupid and ignoble emblem."
but he did not actually assume the Caliphate, for he was acknowledged in Egypt and he marched into Irāk and encountered the Tartars and was killed likewise, and the Caliphate remained in abeyance a year. Then it was established in Egypt, and the first of the Caliphs was al Ḥākim, then al Mustakfi, then al Wāthik, then al Ḥākim, then al Muaḍḍahid, then al Mutawakkil who was the sixth and was deposed. Then reigned al Muaṭṭasim but he was deposed after fifteen days and al Mutawakkil recalled. He was again deposed and al Wāthik acknowledged: then al Muaṭṭasim and he was deposed, and al Mutawakkil recalled who continued to reign until his death. Next al Mustaʿīn, and al Muaṭṭahid and al Mustakfi, then al Kāim, who was the sixth from al Muaṭṭasim the first (who was also al Muaṭṭasim the second) and he was deposed. Then al Mustanjid the reigning Caliph, the fifty first of the Caliphs of the House of Aʿbbās.

Note. It is said that the House of Aʿbbās is distinguished by a beginning, a middle, and an end—The beginning was al Mansūr, the middle al Māmūn and the end al Muaṭṭahid. The Caliphs of the House of Aʿbbās, were all of them the children of concubines, except as Saffāh, al Mahdi and al Amīn, and no Hāshimite, the son of a Hāshimite woman, ever ruled the Caliphate except Aʿlī-b-Abī Ṭālib and his son al Ḥasan, and al Amīn (so says as Sāli)—and no one whose name was Aʿlī ever held the Caliphate except Aʿlī the son of Abu Ṭālib and Aʿlī al Muktaṣr (ad Ḏahabi). I remark that the greater number of the names of the Caliphs occur but once, and few twice, and those most frequently recurring are Aʿbdūllah, Aḥmad and Muḥammad,—and all the surnames of the Caliphs occur singly up to al Mustaʿṣim, the last of the Caliphs of Irāk—Then recur the surnames of the Caliphs of Egypt—thus al Mustaṣīr recurs, and al Mustakfi, and al Wāthik, and al Ḥākim, and al Muaḍḍahid, and al Mutawakkil, and al Muaṭṭasim,* and al Mustaʿīn, and al Kāim, and al Mustanjid. All of these recur but once, except al Mustakfi and al Muaḍḍahid which recur once oftener, for among the Aʿbbāsid Caliphs, three are called by those two names.

Not one of the Caliphs of the House of Aʿbbās is distinguished by a surname of the House of Uʿbayd, except al Kāim, al Ḥākim, ad Dāhir and al Mustaṣīr, but as regards al Mahdi and al Mansūr, the assumption of these surnames by the House of Aʿbbās preceded the rise of the House of Uʿbayd. And some writers have mentioned that none surnamed al Kāhir was prosperous, either among the Caliphs or the temporal sovereigns, and I add also, al Mustakfi and al Mustaʿīn, by which surnames two of the House of Aʿbbās were distinguished, and those two were deposed and expelled but al Muaḍḍahid is among the most glorious of surnames and the

* The text has Mustaʿṣim incorrectly. The MS. is accurate in the name.
most blessed for him who was called by it. No one held the Caliphate after
the son of his brothers, except al Mustakfi after ar Rashid, and al Mus-
tanbir after al Mua'ta'sim. Ad Dahabi states this, and adds that no three
brothers possessed the Caliphate, except the sons of ar Rashid, viz., al Amin,
al Maman, and al Mua'ta'sim, and the sons of al Mutawakkil, viz., al Mus-
tanbir, al Mua'tazz, and al Mua'tamid, and the sons of al Muktadir, viz.,
ar Raddhi, al Muktafi and al Mutasi'. He continues, that four of the sons
of A'budl Malik governed the state, and that no parallel to this is to be
found, except among temporal sovereigns. I remark that a parallel case
to it occurs among the Caliphs after the prophet, for four, nay five of
the sons of al Mutawakkil Muhammad, held the Caliphate, viz., al Mustanin,
and al Mua'tadayid, and al Mustakfi, and al Kaim and al Mustanid the
reigning Caliph. No one ruled the Caliphate during the lifetime of his
father except Abu Bakr as Siddik, and Abu Bakr at Tasi'-ul Mutsi',
whose father was struck by paralysis and who voluntarily abdicated in
favour of his son.

The learned say that the first who governed the Caliphate while his
father was alive, was Abu Bakr, and he was the first who appointed a
successor, and the first who instituted a public treasury and the first who
named the Kuran al Mushaf. The first who was called, prince of the
Faithful, was Omar-b-ll' Kha't'tab, and he was the first who made use of
the scourge, and the first who established the date from the Flight, and
the first who ordered the prayers called at Tarawih,* and the first who
established the public registers.

The first who interdicted pasturage from encroachment, was Othman,
and he was the first who assigned lands on feudal tenure, that is to say,
the first who did so to any extent, and the first who made the addition of
the call to prayer on Fridays, and the first who sanctioned a stipend for
the criers to prayer, and the first who was confused in speech while reading
the Khu'tbah, and the first who appointed a chief Officer of Constabu-
larly.

The first who during his lifetime named an heir to succeed him,
was Mu'awiyah, and he was the first who introduced eunuchs into his ser-
vice. The first who ever caused the heads of criminals to be brought before
him was A'budl-llah-b u'z Zubayr. The first who caused his name to be
struck on the coinage, was A'budl Malik-b-Marwan. The first who pro-
lhited his being addressed by name was al Wali'd-ll' Malik.

The first introduction of surnames, was by the House of A'bbas. Ibn
Fadhi'l'llah says that some think that the House of Umayyah had sur-

* A form of prayer performed at some period of the night, in the month of Ramad-
han, after the ordinary prayer of nightfall consisting of twenty or more re'kahs,
according to different persuasions. Lane's Lex. Art. تذكریه
names similar to those of the House of A'bbás. I remark that certain writers assert the surname of Mu'áwiyyah to have been an Násir li dín'lláh, and the surname of Yazíd, al Mustanṣır, and that of Mu'áwiyyah his son, ar Ráji' il-l Hášk, and that of Marwán, al Mútamin bi'lláh and that of A'bdull Malik, al Muwaffak li' amrilláh, and that of his son al Walid, al Muntasikm bi'lláh, and that of Omar b-A'bd'll A'zíz, al Ma'súm bi'lláh, and that of Yazíd-b-Abdi'l Malik, al Kádir bi Şána' i'lláh, and that of Yazíd an Nákis, as Shákir li anu'mílláh.

The first time that public opinion became conflicting and disunited was in the reign of as Saffáh. The first Caliph who gave access to astrologers and acted according to the judgments of the stars was al Mansúr, and he was the first who employed slaves in offices of trust and gave them precedence over Arabs. The first who ordered the composition of polemical writings to refute the enemies of the Faith was al Mahdí. The first before whom men walked with swords and maces, was al Hádi. The first who played at polo in the open plain was ar Rashíd. In the reign of al Amin, the Caliph was first addressed by word and in writing, by his surname. Al Mua'tasim was the first who employed Turks in the office of the public registers. Al Mutawakkil was the first who ordered a distinguishing garb for Jews and Christians. The first whom the Turks adjudged to death was al Mutawakkil: and from this is seen the confirmation of the prophetic tradition as quoted by at Tabárání by a respectable line of ascription, from Ibn Masa'dd who stated that the Apostle of God said, "Molest not the Turks, as long as they leave ye unmolested, for verily they who shall first take from my people their kingdom and the things which the Lord hath conferred upon them, are the sons of Kántúra."*

The first who invented large sleeves and diminished the size of the head-dress was al Musta'ín. Al Mua'tazz was the first Caliph who introduced ornaments of gold on riding animals. Al Mua'tamid was the first Caliph treated with severity and kept under restraint and guarded. The first who ruled the Caliphate among minors was al Muktadír. The last Caliph who kept the troops and public effects under his personal direction was ar Radhí, and he too was the last Caliph, whose poems were collected into a Diwán, and the last Caliph who uniformly read the Khutbah and prayed before the people, and the last Caliph who sat in company with boon companions, and the last Caliph whose expenses and gifts and rewards, retinue, and stipend, and treasury and meats and drinks and festal assemblies, and chamberlains, and other affairs were conducted after the manner of the

* Banu Kántúra, Turks or Nubians according to the Muntshul ul Arab, or as some say Kántúra was the name of a slave of Abraham's, from whom the Turks are descended.
early Caliphate; and he was the last Caliph who went journeying in garments like unto the Caliphs of former times.

The first time that surnames recurred was after the reign of al Mustaṣir, he who ruled after al Mustaṣim. (This is mentioned in the Awā'il of al A'skari*). The first Caliph who reigned during his mother's lifetime, was Othmān-b-Affān, then al Hádi, and ar Rashīd, and al Amīn and al Mutawakkil, al Mustaṣir, al Musta'in, al Mu'aṭtazz, al Mu'aṭadḥid and al Mu'tūr. No one held the Caliphate during the lifetime of his father, except Abu Bakr as Siddīk, and to him-may be added at Tā'ī. A's Sūlī says: "I know of no woman who gave birth to two Caliphs, except Wilādah, the mother of al Walīd and as Sulaymān, the two sons of Abdu'l Malik; and Shāhīn, the mother of Yazīd an Nākīṣ and Ibrahim, the two sons of al Walīd; and Khayzurān, the mother of al Hádi and ar Rashīd." I remark, that there may be added, the mother of al A'bbās and Ḥamzah, and the mother of Dauūd and Sulaymān, the children of the last Mutawakkil.

Those who assumed the title of Caliph, of the House of U'bayd, were fourteen: three in Africa, al Mahdī, al ʿĀkām, and al Mašārīr, and eleven in Egypt, al Miʿizz, al Aʾīz, ad Dhāhir, al Mustaṣir, al Mustaʿli, al ʿĀmir, al Ḥāfīdḥ, ad Dhaḥīr, al Fāzī and al Aʾadhīd. The beginning of their rule was in the year two hundred and ninety and odd, and its extinction in the year 567.

Ad Dahābi says that this may be called the Magian or the Jewish dynasty, but not that of the descendants of Aʾlī, or the Bāṭinite† not the Fāṭimite, and they were fourteen violaters of covenants not successors to the vicegerency, (here he ends).

Those who assumed the title of Caliph among the descendants of Umayyah in the West,‡ were in a better position than the descendants of

† U'baydu'llah, the founder of this dynasty, claimed descent from Ismāʿīl-b-Jaa'far the seventh Imam of the posterity of Ali, and his descendants are termed by the Oriental writers, the Isma'ilites of the West to distinguish them from another branch of the same race, the Isma'ilites of the East. These latter were the famous assassins, called also Bāṭinis from their mystical interpretation of the Qurān, under whose terrible daggers, the East crouched for two hundred years.
‡ The Arabs termed Spain and Africa, indifferently, the West (Al Maghrab)—The word "Afrikiyā," which they sometimes use, is not the whole but only a portion of al Maghrab. For its divisions, consult D'Herbelot.
U'baydu'llah in many ways, as regards orthodoxy, and tradition and justice and merit, and knowledge, and battling and warring with infidels, and they were many in number, so that there were together at one time in Spain, six persons, each of them calling himself Caliph.

Some former writers have compiled histories of the Caliphs: among them, that by Niftawayh the Grammariam, in two volumes, up to the reign of al Káhir, and the Aurák of as Súli, in which he has mentioned the Abbasides only up to*—with which I am acquainted, and the history of the Caliphs by Abu'l Faqih Aḥmad-b-Abi Ṭábir al Marwazi, al Kátit one of the most excellent of poets who died in the year 280 A. H.; and the history of the Abbaside Caliphs by Amir Abu Músa Harún-b-Muḥammad al A'bbási.

Al Khatib in his History, records with authorities from Muḥammad b-A'bbád that none of the Caliphs knew the Kurán by heart, except Othmán-b-A'ffán and al Máinún. I remark, that that restriction is not to pass unchallenged, for Abu Bakr knew it accurately also, and several authors have made this clear, among them an Nawawi in his Tahdib u'l Asmá; and of Ali likewise it is handed down by one line of tradition that he had the whole of it by heart, after the death of the prophet. Ibn u's Sá'a'i says—"I was present at the ceremony of allegiance sworn to the Caliph ad Dhábir, and he was, seated at the window of a chamber in a white robe, and about him a cloak of camel's hair, and upon his shoulders, the mantle of the prophet: the wazir was standing in front of him upon a pulpit, and the Comptroller of the Household upon a step below him, and he was taking the covenant from the people: and the words of the covenant were, "I do homage to our lord and master the Imám, to whom obedience is a bounden duty upon all men, Abu Naṣr Muḥammad ad Dhábir bi'amr'lláh according to the book of God, and the law of the prophet and the decision of the prince of the faithful, and verily there is no Caliph but he."
Abu Bakr as Siddîk.

Abu’Bakr as Siddîk, the vicegerent of the apostle of God whose name is A’bdullah-b-Abi Kuhafah Othmán, b-A’ámir, b-A’mr, b-Kaa’b, b-Saa’d, b-Taym, b-Murrah, b-Kaa’b, b-Luwayy, b-Ghâlib, al Kurayshi, at Taymi, unites with the genealogy of the Apostle of God in Murrah.”*

An Nawawi in his Tahdib says “What I have stated regarding the name of Abu Bakr being A’bdu’Uah, is correct, and well known. It is said also, that his name was Atîk (the Liberated), but the truth upon which all the learned are agreed is, that al A’tîk was his surname, not a name, and he was surnamed al A’tîk on account of his exemption from hell fire* as has come down in the tradition given by at Tirmidi: and it is also said, on account of the “itâkat” of his countenance, that is to say, its comeliness and its beauty. It is said likewise that there is nothing in his genealogy which can be found fault with. Musâ’b-b-uz Zubayr and others say, that the people concurred in naming him as Siddîk (Witness to the Truth), because he hastened to testify to the Apostle of God, and steadfastly adhered to truth, and there never escaped from him on any one of the many events of his life any remissness or hesitation, and he held exalted positions in Islâm. Among those events, were his conduct regarding the Nocturnal journey, and his steadfastness and reply to the unbelievers regarding it, and his flight with the Apostle of God, and his forsaking his family and children, and his being with the Apostle in the cave, and throughout the whole journey: then his exhortations on the day of Badr, and the day of Hudaybiyah† when the delay in entering Mecca, was the occasion of grave

* Murrah

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† Nine others are included by Muḥammad as sharing this distinction, Omar, Othmán, A’li, Taḥhah, az Zubayr, Saa’d Ibn Abi Wakkas, Sa’id, Abu U’baydah, and A’bdur Rahman-b-Àuf.

‡ “Muḥammad” says Sale “when at Hudaybiyah sent Jawwâs-b-Ommeyya the Khazaife to acquaint the Meccans that he was come with a peaceable intention
doubts to others: then his weeping when the Apostle of God said "Verily, God hath given his servant a choice between this world and the next:" then his firmness on the day of the death of the Apostle of God, and his reading the Khutbah to the people and consoling them: then, in the contention regarding the oath of allegiance, his undertaking the charge for the good of the true believers: next, his diligence in despatching the army of Usánah-b-Zayd to Syria, and his determination regarding it: then his rising up to oppose the apostates, and his dispute with the Companions, until he overwhelmed them with arguments and God opened their hearts as He had opened his heart to the understanding of the truth, viz., to do, battle with the apostates: then his fitting out the army for Syria for his conquests and sending it succour: lastly the conclusion of this career by an important action which was among the best of his good deeds, and the most glorious of his titles to honor, and that was, his appointing Omar as his successor over the true believers: and what virtues, and dignities, and excellencies without number belong not to the Witness to the Truth?" (an Nawawi). I add that I am desirous of enlarging upon the biography of as Siddîk to some extent, mentioning therein much of what I know of him regarding his life, and I shall arrange this in sections.

Regarding his name and surname an allusion to which has already preceded.

Ibn Kathîr* says, that all admit that his name was A'bud'illah-b-Othmân, except the narration of Ibn Saa'd on the authority of Ibn Sirîn,† which asserts his name to have been A'tîk whereas the truth is that it was his surname. Then there is some disagreement as to the time of his being so surnamed, and the reason of it: for some say that it was on account of to visit the temple, but they refusing to admit him, he sent Othmân whom they imprisoned and a report ran that he was slain whereupon, Muhammed called his men about him and they took an oath to be faithful to him even to death.'

* The Háïdî I'mâdu'ddin Isma'îl-b-Abdu'llah ad Damaashkî died in 774 A. H. The name of his well known history is the "Bidâyah wa'l Nihâyah fi't Târikh"—"the beginning and the end of history." Consult. Hâj. Khal.

† Abu Bakr Muhammad a native of Basrah. He was born A. H. 53 (A. D. 653 4) two years before the death of the Caliph Othmân and died at Basrah A. H. 110 (A. D. 729). He was a draper by profession, delivered traditions on the authority of Abu Hurayra and others and was skilled in the interpretation of dreams. Ibn Khall.
the "i'tâkat" of his countenance that is, its beauty—but Abu Nu'aym al Fadlîl-b-Dukayn says, that it was on account of his priority* in merit—and also it is said, on account of the nobility of his pedigree, that is its purity, as there is nothing in his lineage that can be accounted a stain, and it is said too that he was first so named and afterwards called A'bdu'lllah. At Tabarani relates from al Kâsim-b-Muhammad† that he questioned Ayesha as to the name of Abu Bakr, and she replied, "A'bdu'lllah;" then he said that the people called him A'tîk; she answered that Abu Kûhâfah had three sons whom he named A'tîk, Mua'tâk, and Mua'ytak.

Ibn Mandah‡ and Ibn A'sâkir record on the authority of Mûsâ-b-Ṭalhah that he said, "I asked my father Ṭalhah, why Abu Bakr was called A'tîk?" he replied, "his mother had no son surviving and when she gave him birth, she took him to the temple and exclaimed, 'O God! if this one is granted immunity from death, then bestow him upon me.'" At Tabarani records from Ibn A'bbâs, that he was called A'tîk from the beauty of his countenance, and Ibn A'sâkir from Ayesha that she said "the name of Abu Bakr, that by which his family called him, was A'bdu'lllah, but the name of A'tîk superseded it"—and in one reading, "but the prophet named him A'tîk."

Abu Ya'la§ records in his Musnad (likewise Ibn Sa'd and al Ḥâkim) and confirms it on the testimony of Ayesha, that she said. "By Allah verily I was in my house on a certain day and the Apostle of God and his Companions were in the courtyard, and a curtain between me and them, and lo! Abu Bakr came up, and the prophet said, "he who would rejoice in looking upon one exempted from hell fire, let him behold Abu Bakr," and verily his name, that by which his family called him was A'bdu'lllah but the name of A'tîk superseded it." And at Tirmidî and al Ḥâkim from Ayesha, that Abu Bakr went to the Apostle of God and he said. "O! Abu Bakr, thou art exempted by the Lord from hell fire," and from that day, he was called A'tîk. Al Bazzâr and at Tabarâni record on good authority from A'bdu'lllah-b-u'z Zubayr, that the name of Abu Bakr was A'bdu'lllah, and the Apostle of God said to him "thou art exempted by the Lord from hell fire;" thus he received the name of A'tîk.

* A'tîk signifying also ancient, noble.
† Grandson of Abu Bakr one of the most eminent of the Tâbi'is and of the seven great jurists of Medina. Ibn Khall.
‡ Abu A'bdu'lllah-b-Mandah a celebrated traditionist and a Hâfidh of high authority, author of a history of Isphan, died A. H. 301, (A. D. 913-4). Ibn Khall.
§ Hâfidh Abu Ya'la Ahmad author of a well known collection of traditions and of works on ascetic devotion and other subjects, born at Molâ A. H. 210 (826) died A. H. 307, (919-20). De Slane, I. K.
As regards as Siddık, it is said that he was so called in the time of ignorance, because he was distinguished for his love of truth. (Ibn Mandah*); and also because he hastened to certify to the truth of the prophet with regard to what he announced.

Ibn Ishāḳ† records on the authority of Hasan al Baṣrī‡ and Katādah,§ that the first time he was known by it was the morning after the “Nocturnal Journey.” Al Ḥákim relates in his Mustadrak (Supplement) on the authority of Ayesha, that the idolaters went to Abu Bakr and said “What dost thou think of thy companion, who pretends that he was borne by night to Jerusalem?” He replied, “and did he say that?” They answered “yes;” then he said “Verily he hath spoken the truth, and indeed I would testify to him in more than that, even to the announcement of his journey to Heaven, going in the morning and returning in the evening,” and for this he was called the Witness to the Truth. (The authorities are good).

Sa’īd-b-Manṣūr narrates in his “Traditions” from Ibn Wahab, the freedman of Abu Hurayrah that when the Apostle of God returned on the night of his Nocturnal journey, he arrived at Du Ṭu‘ajj and said, “O! Gabriel, verily my people will not believe me.” He replied “Abu Bakr will testify to thee, for he is a Witness to the Truth.”

Al Ḥákim in his Mustadrak, (Supplement) records on the authority of Nazāl-b-Sabrāth that he tells us, “I said unto ‘Ali, O Prince of the Faithful tell me of Abu Bakr.” He replied “The Lord named that man as

* So the MS.; the text has Ibn Massada who was one of al Mamún’s vizirs, an elegant writer but not stated by Ibn Khallakán to be a traditionist.
† Muḥammad-b-Ishāḳ-b-Yasār the freedman of ʿAyās-b-Makramah. Yasār was one of the prisoners taken al Aynû’Tamr, sent by Khālid-b-Walid to Abu Bakr at Medina. He is held by the majority of the learned to be a sure authority on tradition and his work the “Maghâzi wa’s Siyar (conquests and expeditions) bears a high character. He went to the Caliph Abu Ja’far al Manṣūr at Hira and put the Maghâzi in writing for his use and the learned of Kufa heard him read and explain that work; died at Baghdád A. H. 151, (768). Ibn Khall.
‡ Abu Sa’īd al Ḥasan of Basrah one of the most eminent of the Tabi’īs, his mother was a slave of Umm Salimah one of the prophet’s wives. He was born at Medina two years before the death of the Caliph Omar and died al Basrah A. H. 110 (728). Ibn Khall.
§ Katādah-b-Dyáma as Sadāsī, a native of Basrah and one of the Tabi’īs, blind from birth, but of the greatest learning, much consulted by the Ummeyyad family on points of history, genealogy and poetry, born A. H. 60, (679-80), died at Wāṣîṭ A. H. 117, (735-6). Ibid.
†† A village near Mecca, not to be confounded with the valley of Túa or Tawa, according to Salq, where Moses saw the burning bush, (Kūr xx.) consult Yākūṭ Mua’j. Bul.
Şiddik by the tongue of Gabriel and by the tongue of Muḥammad. He was the vicegerent of the Apostle of God in public prayers. He approved him for our spiritual concerns, and we have acquiesced in him for our worldly government.” (The authorities for this are good). And Dara-ḵuṭni and al Ὺākim from Abu Yahya.* “It is beyond computation how often I have heard A’li say upon the pulpit that the Lord named Abu Bakr, as Şiddik upon the tongue of Gabriel;” and at Tabarani on good unexceptionable authorities from Ὺākim-b Saa’d, “I have heard A’li declare and confirm by oath, that God undoubtedly revealed from Heaven, the name of Abu Bakr as as Şiddik.

In the tradition relative to the Battle of Ohud, the prophet said, “Be at peace, for verily unto you there is given a prophet, a witness to the truth and two martyrs.”

The mother of Abu Bakr was the daughter of his father’s uncle. Her name was Salma, the daughter of Sakhar, b-A’āmir, b-Kaa’b and she received the surname of the “mother of goodness” (Ummu’l Khayr).

On his Nativity and place of birth.

He was born two years and some months after the birth of Muḥammad for he died when he was sixty-three years of age. Ibn Kathir says, that what is recorded by Khalifah-b-u’l Khayyāt,† on the authority of Yazid-b-u’l Aṣamm, viz., that the prophet said to Abu Bakr “Verily am I the greater or art thou?” and he replied “thou art greater, but I am older in years,” is a tradition of an imperfect line of ascription and cited but by one authority, for the contrary is notorious, and indeed confirmed on the authority of Ibn A’bbás.

His birthplace was Mecca which he never left except to trade, and he was the possessor of great wealth in his tribe, and a man of perfect generosity, courtesy, and benevolence among them; as Ibn u’l Dughannah says, “Verily thou art affectionate to thy kindred and speakest the truth in what thou narratest, and acquiest what others are denied and givest help in worldly troubles, and art hospitable to the stranger.” An Nawawi says that he was one of the chiefs of the Kuraysh in the time of Ignorance, and one of their councillors, and beloved among them, and the wisest in

* The MS. has Abu’l Hayya. There are no less than eleven of this name given by Ibn Hajar as being acquainted with Muḥammad.
† Abu A’mr surnamed Shabāb a native of Basrah and author of the Tabakât, was a Hāfizh versed in history and of great talents. Al Bukhari gives traditions on his authority, died A. H. 240, (A. D. 854-5). Consult, Ibn Khall—who omits the def. article before Khayyāt.
the direction of their affairs; and when the true faith came, he chose it above all things and entered it with the most perfect submission.

Az Zubayr-b-Bakkár and Ibn Asákir record on the authority of Ma’ruf-b-Kharrabád, that Abu Bakr as Šiddik was one of ten amongst the Kuraysh to whom attached pre-eminence both in the time of Ignorance, and Islám: for upon him lay the settlement of blood-money and fines, and that was because the Kuraysh had no king upon whom the direction of all affairs might devolve: moreover in each tribe there existed a general jurisdiction exercised by its several chiefs, and to the Banu Háshim pertained the right of Siqáyah and Rifálah,\* the meaning of which is, that no one might eat or drink except of their food and their drink; and to the Banu A’bud’ Dár, the office of door-keeper and guardian of the Kaa’bah, and the Banner and the Council, that is to say, no one might enter the Kaa’bah except with their permission, and when the Kuraysh fastened on the banner of war, the Banu A’bud’ Dár bound it for them, and when they assembled together for any purpose either to confirm or to annul, their gathering could not take place except in the Hall of Council and nothing could take effect, save done therein and it appertained to the Banu A’bud’ Dár.

Abu Bakr was the most abstinent of men in the time of Ignorance. Ibn A’sákir records with accurate authorities from Ayesha; “by Allah, Abu Bakr never recited poetry,† whether in the time of ignorance or Islám, and indeed he and Othmán forbore from wine even in the time of Ignorance;” and Abn Nua’ym records from her on excellent authority, “Verily Abu Bakr denied himself wine in the time of Ignorance;” and Ibn Asákir from Abdu ‘llah-b-u’z Zubayr, “Abu Bakr never recited a verse;” and from

* Rifálah was a contribution which the tribe of the Kuraysh made in the time of Ignorance, for the purpose of purchasing for the pilgrims, wheat and raisins for the beverage called b-kharrablid. Each gave according to his ability, and thus they collected a great sum in the days of the assembling of the pilgrims. And they continued to feed the pilgrims until the end of those days; the “Siqáyah” was the supplying this beverage and Rifálah, these provisions. Lane.

† The Kurán though not directly forbidding yet discredits the profession of verse making. ما علمائنا الشعر ولا ينفع له “We have not taught (Muhammad) the art of poetry nor is it expedient for him,” Kur. XXXVI. Sale remarks that this was in answer to the infidels who pretended that the Kurán was only a poetical composition. Again الباء يتبعهم الخارون “Those err who follow the steps of the poets.” But the learned have determined that moral, didactic and religious poetry is permissible. There are verses imputed to the great Sháfi’i in which he declares that were not men of his cloth prohibited from writing poetry, he would have surpassed Labid.
Abu'l A'aliyah ar Riahi, that it was asked of Abu Bakr in an assembly of the Companions of the Apostle of God "didst thou ever drink wine in the time of Ignorance?" he replied "God forbid," and they said, "why not?" He answered, "I sought to preserve my reputation and retain my decorum, and verily he who drinketh wine destroyeth his reputation and his decorum." The narrator says that when this reached the apostle of God, he said, "Abu Bakr hath spoken truly Abu Bakr hath spoken truly," twice. This tradition is wanting in regularity of transmission and is cited but by one authority both as regards authorities and the text.

On his outward description.

Ibn Sa'id relates on the authority of Ayesha that a man said to her, "describe to me Abu Bakr," and she replied, "he was a man of a very fair complexion, of slender build, thin cheeked and with a stoop; he could not keep up his lower garments from slipping over his loins; he was lean, with eyes deep set, his forehead prominent, and the backs of his hand fleshless. Such is his description. He states also on her authority, that Abu Bakr made use of the tinctures of hinna* and katam; and on the authority of Anas, that when the apostle of God went to Medina, there was none among the companions with grizzled hair, except Abu Bakr, and he dyed it with hinna and katam.

On his embracing the faith.

At Tirmidhi, and Ibn Haban in his Sahih, (authentic traditions) record on the authority of Abu Sa'id† al Khudri, that Abu Bakr said "Have not I the greatest claim among men to it," that is, the Caliphate; "was not I the first to embrace the faith? was it not I who did such a thing? was it not I who did such another thing?" And Ibn A'sakir on the ascription of al Harith from 'Ali, that he said, "the first who embraced the faith

* Lawsonia inermis,—the Katam is a herb which mixed with cypress is used as a tincture.
† Abu Sulayt Anas b-Abi Anas, one of the Banu Najjar, he was a companion of Muhammad and fought on his side at Badr. De Slane I. K.
‡ Abu Sa'id Saa'd b-Malik of the tribe of Khudra a Companion and an Ansar of the third class. At the age of 13, he accompanied his father to Ohud who fell at that battle. The son accompanied Muhammad in twelve expeditions, died at Medina A. H. 74 (693-4). De Slane I. K.
among the men was Abu Bakr"; and Khaythamah* on accurate authorities
from Zayd-b-Arkam,† "the first man who prayed with the prophet, was
Abu Bakr as Siddik" and Ibn Saa’d on the authority of Abu Arwa ad
Dausi the Companion, that the first who embraced Islam was Abu Bakr as
Siddik.

At Tabarani in his Kabin, and 'Abdu'llah b-Ahmad in the "Zawaidu'
Zuhd," record on the authority of as Shaa‘ibi‡ that he said, "I asked Ibn
A’bbás what man was the first to embrace Islam?" he replied, "Abu Bakr
as Siddik. Hast thou not heard the words of Hassán§ where he says?

"When thou rememberest the affliction of a faithful brother,
Then remember too thy brother Abu Bakr and what he hath done.
The best of men, the most pious and most just of them
Save the prophet and the most faithful in performing what he hath
undertaken.
The second,|| the follower, the place of whose witnessing is extolled
And the first among those who have borne witness to the prophets."

Abu Nu’aym records on the authority Furát-b-Sáib that he said, "I
inquired of Maymún-b-Mihrán saying, ‘is Ali the most excellent in thy
opinion, or Abu Bakr, or Omar?’" He trembled so that the staff fell from
his hand and then replied "I never thought that I should live to the time
when any one should be compared to those two—to God be attributed their
good deeds—they two were the chief in Islam." I said “then was Abu
Bakr the first to embrace Islam or Ali?” he answered “By Allah, verily
Abu Bakr believed in the prophet in the time of Buhayra, the monk¶ on

* Abu Khaythamah Zuhayr an eminent traditionist of Nasá who settled at Bagh-
dad and died A. H. 234 (A. D. 849). De Slane I. K.
† One of the Companions, accompanied Muhammad in seventeen expeditions set-
ted at Káfih and died there A. H. 56 or as some say 68, An Nawawi.
‡ Abu Amr A’ámir sprang from Himyar and was accounted a member of the tribe
of Hamdán of which Sha’sb is a branch. He held high rank among the Tablí’s and
was distinguished for his learning, born about A. H. 19, died A. H. 104 (722). Ibn
Khall.
§ Hassán-b-Thábit was one of the poets who espoused the cause of Muhammad.
His son A’bdur Rahmán lived under Mu’áwiyah and used to address complimentary
poems to Ramla, daughter of that Caliph. De Slane I. K. For his elegy on Muham-
|| Abu Bakr, is referred to in Kur IX as "the
الثاني أسردنا إذا هماني الغار
second of the two when they two were in the cave."
¶ Muhammad was reclining under a date tree says Ibn Hajr, while Abu Bakr was
conversing with Buhayra. The latter asked him who it was, that was seated there;
he replied that it was Muhammad the son of A’bdulláh. "Then by Allah, said
Buhayra, he is the prophet for none has taken shelter under that tree since the time
of Jesus the Son of Mary." This impressed itself on Abu Bakr’s mind and was the
the occasion of his meeting him." Accounts vary as to priority in Islam between him and Khadijah when he procured her marriage with the prophet,* and all this was before A'li was born, and verily there are many among the Companions and their immediate successors, and others who say, that he was the first to embrace Islam, indeed, some of them assert that there is universal assent to this. Again, it is said that A'li was the first to join the true faith, and some say, Khadijah, but there is a reconciliation of these accounts, in that Abu Bakr was the first to embrace the faith among, men, A'li among children and Khadijah among women and the first who pointed out this reconciliation, was Abu Hanifah from whom Na'aym quotes it.

Ibn Abi Shaybah† and Ibn A'sákir record on the authority of Sálím-b-Abi Jaa'd that he said, "I asked of Muḥammad-b-Hanifah,—was Abu Bakr the first of the people to adopt Islam?" He replied—"no." I said, "for what reason then is he exalted and preferred, so that no one speaks of any but Abu Bakr?" He replied, "because he was the most excellent of them in Islam, from the time he embraced the faith until he attained to his God." And Ibn A'sákir on a reliable ascription from Muḥammad-b-Saa'īd-b-Abi Waḳḳāṣ,‡ that he said to his father Saa'īd,—"was Abu Bakr as Śiddīk the first of you in embracing the faith?" He said, "No, for there were more than five in the faith before him but he was the best of us in Islam."

Ibn Kathir says, "it is clear that Muḥammad's family believed before every other—his wife Khadijah, his freedman Zayd and the wife of Zayd Umm-i-Ayman and A'li and Waraḳah." Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of I'sa-b-Yazīd that Abu Bakr said, "I was seated in the courtyard of the Ka'bah where Zayd-b-A'mr-b-Nufayl was sitting, when there passed by him Umayyah-b-Abi Šalt§ and he said, "How art thou, thou cause of his early conversion. I may add that Ibn Hajr discords as erroneous the opinion held by Ibn Aṭhir (and adopted by Sprenger) that this Buhayra was the same person as the one who figures in a deputation to Muhammad from the king of Abyssinia forty years afterwards.

* By assisting Muḥammad with money on that occasion as is generally believed.
† The Háṣidh Othmān a native of Kufah, died A. H. 239 (A. D. 853-4). He composed a commentary on the Qurān and a collection of traditions; 30,000 persons are said to have attended his lessons. De Slane I. K.
‡ Abu Ishāk Saa'īd-b-Abi Waḳḳāṣ, a descendant of A'bdu Manāt was by his own account the third convert to Islam, he being then 17 years of age. He fought in all the prophet's battles; his death occurred between A. H. 50-6. De Slane I. K.
§ He was a poet of some reputation of the tribe of Ṭahkīf. Ibn Hajr says that he was an enquirer after truth, but more for the curiosity of the discovery than with intent to follow it. "His verses," said Muḥammad "are pious enough but his heart
O seeker after good?" He answered "well." The other said "hast thou discovered anything?" He replied 'No:' then the other said—

"Every religion in the day of judgment: save that founded of God in truth, shall perish,"

But regarding the prophet, he that men look for, shall he be from among us or from among you?" Abu Bakr continues, "and I, had not heard before that of a prophet expected who was to be sent." He adds. "Then I went out to Waraka'-b-Naufal* and he was one who constantly watched the heavens and muttered frequently to himself and I stopped him and related to him the circumstance. He said "Yea—O! son of my brother, I am skilled in the scriptures and in knowledge; know, that this prophet, he whom men await, shall be by descent of the most noble of the Arabs. I am likewise skilled in genealogy, and thy tribe is by descent, the most noble among the Arabs." I said. "O uncle, and what will the prophet say?" He replied, "he shall speak that which hath been said to him, and know, that he shall not oppress nor be oppress-ed nor desire you to oppress each other." Therefore when the Apostle of God was sent, I believed in him and testified to him."

Ibn Iṣḥāḳ says, that he heard from Muḥammad-b-Abdī' r Raḥmān-b-Abdi'lllah b-i'll Ḥaṣin at Tamīnī that the Apostle of God said, "I never called any one to the true faith but there arose in him an aversion to it, and an irresolution and deliberation, except Abu Bakr who delayed not from it when I spoke to him, and did not hesitate therein." Al Bayhaḵī says "and this was because he had been accustomed to behold the proofs of the prophetic mission of the Apostle of God, and to hear its traditions, before his call, and when the prophet summoned him, then verily thought and deliberation had passed by for him and he at once embraced Islām." He then records on the authority Abu Maysarah† that when the Apostle of God went forth, he used to hear one calling to him "O Muḥammad," and when he heard the voice he would turn fleeing: he told this in secret to Abu Bakr who was his intimate friend in the time of Ignorance."

Abu Nua'aym and Ibn A'sákir record on the authority of Ibn A'bbás that the Apostle of God said, "I never spoke to any one regarding Islām but he denied me and rejected my words, save the son of Abu Ḥuḍāfa and is unbelieving." There is a doubt whether he was ever converted, but by some he is considered a Companion. His excuse for not testifying to the prophet was, that he had once hinted to his tribe that he himself was likely to be the prophet to come.

* A cousin of Muḥammad's said to have been a convert to Christianity and to have been acquainted with the Scriptures, and to have transcribed some portions of the Gospels into Hebrew or Arabic. See Muir, Vol. II. p. 51.
† The freedman of al A'bbás-b-Abdī' l Muṭṭalib. Ibn Hajr.
And al Bukhári from Abu’d Darda* that the apostle of God said, “will ye not leave unto me my companion? verily I said, O! men, I am the apostle of God unto ye all, and ye said “thou liest,” and Abu Bakr said “thou hast spoken truly.”

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On his companionship with the prophet and the expeditions which he accompanied.

The learned say that Abu Bakr accompanied the prophet from the time he embraced Islám to his death, and never separated himself from him either in journeying or residence at home, except when he had permission to depart on account of pilgrimage or war; and he was present with him in all his expeditions, and accompanied him in his flight, and forsook his family and children with cheerfulness for the sake of God and his Apostle, and he was his companion in the cave. The Lord called him, “the second of the two when they two were in the cave” when the prophet said to his companion, “be not sad for God is with us,” and he assisted the Apostle of God on other occasions. Splendid, were his services in the wars: he was steadfast on the day of Ohud and the day of Hunayn when the people fled, as will appear in the chapter on his courage.

Ibn A’sákir records on the testimony of Abu Hurayrah, that the angels took part in the battle of Badr and they said “See ye not as Siddík with the Apostle of God in a shed?” And Abu Ya’la and al Hákim and Ahmad from A’li that he said, “the Apostle of God said to me and to Abu Bakr on the day of Badr, “with one of you two is Gabriel and with the other Michael.” And Ibn A’sákir from Ibn Sirin, that A’badu’r Raḥmán the son of Abu Bakr on the day of Badr was on the side of the idolaters, and when he was converted to Islám, he said to his father, “verily, thou wert exposed as a mark to me on the day of Badr, but I turned away from thee and did not slay thee.” Abu Bakr said, “as to thee, hadst thou come before me, I should not have turned away from thee.”

* One of the Companions. The particulars of this narration will be found in Bukhári’s as Šāhīb. Vol. VI, Kitabu’l Manákhīb.
On his bravery, for he was the bravest of the Companions.

Al Bazzar records in his Musnad from A’li that he said; Tell me who is the bravest of men;” they said “thou art.” He replied “Verily I never encountered any one but I was even with him, but tell me, who was the bravest of men?” They said, “we know not; who is he?” He said “Abu Bakr, for verily on the day of Badr, we made for the Apostle of God a shelter from the sun, and we said, “who shall, remain with the Apostle of God lest any of the idolaters fall upon him?” then by Allah, not one of us approached except Abu Bakr who brandished a sword over the head of the Apostle of God; no one attacked him but he attacked him likewise: he is therefore the bravest of men.” Ali said. “I saw the Apostle of God assaulted by the Quraysh, and one threatened him and another shook him violently and they said, “thou art he who maketh of the gods, one God;” he added, “and by Allah not one of us approached except Abu Bakr who struck one and threatened another and pushed aside another and said “woe unto ye—will ye slay a man who saith—my God is Allah?” then A’li lifted up the mantle that was on him and wept, so that his beard was wet with tears and he said “I conjure ye by Allah, to say whether was the true believer* of the family of Pharaoh the better or Abu Bakr?” and the people were silent, and he said, “do ye not answer me? by Allah, a single hour of Abu Bakr is better than a thousand hours of the believer of the family of Pharaoh, for that man concealed his faith and this man pro-claimed it.”

Al Bukhari records from U’rwah-b-uz Zubayr that he said, “I asked of A’bdullah-b-A’mr-b-il A’as† what was the greatest violence that the idolaters had offered to the Apostle of God; he replied “I saw U’kbah-b-Abi Mua’yt go towards the prophet who was praying and throw his cloak about his neck, and throttle him violently, whereupon Abu Bakr came and drove him from him and said, “will ye slay a man who saith—my God is

* This person, according to tradition, was an Egyptian and Pharaoh’s uncle’s son, but a true believer, who finding that the king had been informed of what Moses had done, and designed to put him to death, gave him notice to provide for his safety by flight. He is mentioned in the Korán. Chapters XXVIII and XL. See Sale.
† Abu Muhammad or Abu A’dur Rahmán, the Companion. An Nawawi says that the name A’as commonly so spelt, should be more properly written A’asi. He was 12 or 13 years younger than his father and was converted to Islam before him and received no less than 700 traditions from Muhammad. His devotion and learning were universally acknowledged. The date of his death is differently stated, according to some as early as 55 A. H. according to others in 73. Consult An Nawawi and Ibn Khall.
Allah? and in truth he hath come to you with manifestations from your God!" And al Haytham-b-Kulayb in his Musnad from Abu Bakr, "On the day of Ohud, all the people forsook the Apostle of God and I was the first to return to him;"—the rest of the tradition will appear in the Musnad as he has related it. And Ibn A'sákir from Ayesha, "when the prophet gathered the Companions together there were thirty-eight persons. Abu Bakr then entreated the Apostle of God to declare himself openly, but he said "O! Abu Bakr we are only a few;" but Abu Bakr did not desist from importuning the Apostle of God, until he declared himself. The Muslims were scattered round about the Mosque each man among his kindred, when Abu Bakr rose before the people preaching, and he was the first who summoned the people to God and to his Apostle; then the idolaters fell upon Abu Bakr and upon the Muslims and beat them with heavy blows round about the Mosque"—the rest of the tradition will follow in the biography of Omar.

Ibn A'sákir records from A'li, that when Abu Bakr was converted, he declared his faith and summoned the people to God and to his apostle.

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On his spending his substance on the Apostle of God for he was the most generous of the Companions.

The Lord hath said, "But he who strictly bewareth idolatry and rebellion, shall be removed far from the same: (hell fire)—who giveth his substance in alms" &c. to the end of the Sûra. (Kûr XCVI). Ibn 'u'l Jauzi says that the learned are agreed, that this was revealed regarding Abu Bakr. Ahmad records on the authority of Abu Hurayrah that the Apostle of God said, "No wealth hath ever availed me, as hath availed me the wealth of Abu Bakr," and Abu Bakr wept and said—"I and my wealth are they not for thee O! Apostle of God?" Al Khaṭīb relates a tradition imperfect in regularity of transmission, on the authority of Sa'id-b-u'l Musayyab,* and adds that the Apostle of God made use of the substance of Abu Bakr as if it were his own.—And Ibn A'sákir from Ayesha with different authorities, and from U'rawah-b-uz-Zubayr, that on the day when Abu Bakr was converted, he had forty thousand dirâs—and according to another reading, forty thousand dinârs, and he spent them upon the Apostle of God.

* Abu Muhammed Sa'id-b-u'l Musayyab, Kurayshi, one of the seven great jurisconsults of Medina. He was the chief of the first series of Tâbi'is—he married the daughter of Abu Hurayra and related traditions on his authority, born A. H. 15—16, (636-7), died at Medina A. H. 91, (A. D. 709-10). Ibn Khall.
Abu Sa'id al An'âbî records on the authority of Ibn O'mar, that on the day when Abu Bakr was converted, he had in his house forty thousand dirhams, and when he set out for Medîna at the time of the Flight, he had no more than five thousand, all of which he spent upon the manumission of slaves, and in aid of Islâm. And Ibn A'sâkîr on that of Ayesha, that Abu Bakr gave freedom to seven slaves all of whom had suffered persecution for the sake of God.

Ibn Shâhîn* records in his "Sunnah," and al Baghawî† in his commentary on the Qurân, and Ibn A'sâkîr from Ibn O'mar,‡ that he said, "I was near the prophet, and by him was Abu Bakr, and upon him a garment of goat's hair, and he had pinned it together on his breast with a skewer; then Gabriel came down to him and said 'O Muhammad, how is it that I see Abu Bakr wearing a garment of goat's hair which he hath pinned on his breast by a skewer?" He replied "O! Gabriel, he spent his substance upon me before the conquest of Mecca." Gabriel said "Then the Lord sendeth him His benediction and saith, "Say unto him—art thou content with me in this thy poverty or angry?" Abu Bakr said, "Can I be angry with my God? I am content with my God—I am content with my God—I am content with my God," (related only by one authority and its ascription is untrustworthy).

Al Khâtîb records also a weak ascription, through Ibn Omar to the prophet, who said, "Gabriel, upon whom be peace, came down to me and upon him was a coarse garment fastened together with a skewer, and I said to him "O! Gabriel what is this?" He replied, "Verily the Lord hath commanded the angels to fasten their garments in heaven as Abu Bakr fastens his upon earth." Ibn Kathîr remarks that this is excessively untrustworthy and adds that were it not that this and the preceding

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* The Hâshîh Abu Hâfîz Omar b-Shâhîn of Baghdad composed works computed at 330 in number, among them a Commentary on the Qurân and a collection of traditions, died A. H. 385, (A. D. 996). De Slane I. K.

† Abu Mu'âmmad al Husayn—known as al Farrâ al Baghawî, a Shâfi'i doctor, Traditionist and Commentator on the Qurân, died A. H. 510 (A. D. 1117) at Marwar-râd. Baghawî is the relative adjective, irregularly formed, derived from Bagh or Baghshâr a town in Khorasân. (Ibn Khâtîb). There is also a traditionist Abu'l Kâsim al Baghawî, a Hâshîh of great repute, died A. H. 317, (A. D. 929). De Slane I. K.

‡ Abu A'bdur Râjîmân, A'bdullâh-b-Omar i'l Khâtîb one of the most eminent of the Companions for his piety, learning and contempt of the world. During the civil wars which raged among the followers of Islâm, he remained neutral, occupied in the duties of religion. For a period of sixty years, persons came from all parts to consult him, and his generosity was so great that he would frequently distribute 30,000 dirhams, in charity on the days in which he gave audience. Died at Mecca A. H. 73 (692-3) aged 84. De Slane I. K.
tradition have been handed down by so many people, the rejection of the
two would be advisable.

Abu* Dauúd and at Tirmiđi relate on the authority of Omar-b-u’l
Khattáb, that he said, “the Apostle of God commanded us to give alms
and that was in proportion to the property I possessed, and I said to
myself, “to-day I will surpass Abu Bakr if I am to surpass him on any
day, and I brought half of my property.” Then the Apostle of God said
“what hast thou kept for thy family?” I replied, “The like unto that;”
and Abu Bakr came with all the property that he had, and the prophet
said, “O Abu Bakr! what hast thou kept for thy family?” He replied,
“I have reserved for them God and his prophet;” then I said, “I shall never
surpass him in anything.” (At Tirmiđi says that the tradition is good and
trustworthy.)

Abu Nua’ým records in his ‘Ḥuliyah,’ on the authority of al Ḥasan al
Basri that Abu Bakr brought his alms to the prophet secretly and said,
“O Apostle of God this is my alms and with God belongeth for me the
world to come;” then Omar brought his offering and showed it openly and
said, “O Apostle of God this is my alms, and for me belongeth with God
the world to come.” The Apostle of God exclaimed “there is the same
difference between your offerings as between your words.” (The ascription
is good but interrupted in transmission.) And at Tirmiđi from Abu Huray-
rah, that the Apostle of God said, “I have never been under obligation
to any one but I have requited him, save Abu Bakr, and verily he hath put
obligations upon me, which God will requite unto him on the day of
resurrection, and the wealth of none hath ever availed me, as hath availed
me the wealth of Abu Bakr.”

Al Bazzár records on the authority of Abu Bakr that he said, “I
brought my father Abu Ḫuḥáfah to the prophet who said, “why didst
thou not leave the Shaykh where he was that I might go to him?” It
said “it is his duty rather to go to thee.” He answered, “I would be
considerate towards him for the kindesses of his son towards me.” And
Ibn A’sákír from Ibn A’bbás that the Apostle of God said “No one hath
benefited me in greater measure than Abu Bakr, who hath aided me with
his person and his substance and hath given me his daughter in marriage.

* Abu Dauúd Sulayman b-u’l Asháth of the tribe of Aṣd, as Sijistání, was a Háfídh
in the traditions, eminent for his piety and holy life. He was one of the earliest who
compiled a book of traditions (Kitab u’s Sunan). He was born A. H. 202 (817-8) and
† The text has ُلُ meaning “Abu Bakr said.”
On his learning, for verily he was the wisest of the Companions and the most sagacious of them.

An Nawawi says in his “Tabqib” (and I have copied it from his work). “The learned of our time have adduced in proof of his great wisdom his words in the tradition verified in the “Saheihayn,”* “by Allah I will oppose by force every one who maketh a difference between prayers and alms;† by Allah, if they withhold from me as much as the halter of a camel which they used to pay to the Apostle of God, I will oppose them by force for withholding it.” The Shaykh Abu Ishâk has brought forward this and other things in his Tabakât, (classes) in testimony that Abu Bakr was the wisest of the Companions, for they all of them, with the exception of him, fell short of comprehending the wisdom of this course. He then explained to them in his discussion of it with them, that his judgment was the right one, and they were converted to it. It has been related to me on the authority of Ibn Omar, that he was asked who used to decide cases for the people in the time of the Apostle of God. He answered, “Abu Bakr and Omar, I know of no others besides those two.” And the two Shaykhs record on the authority of Abu Sa‘îd al Khudri that he narrates, that the Apostle of God addressed the people and said “God, the Holy and Most High, hath given unto one of his servants a choice between this world and the things which are His, and that servant hath chosen that which is with the Lord God;” and Abu Bakr wept and said, “my ancestry male and female be thy ransom,” and we wondered at his weeping because the Apostle of God had spoken regarding a servant that had been given a choice, but it was the Apostle of God himself who had been left to choose, and Abu Bakr was wiser than we were. Then the Apostle of God said. “Abu Bakr has been the most generous of men towards me, in his Companionship, and worldly goods, and were I to choose a friend besides my God, I would assuredly choose Abu Bakr, but the brotherhood of Islam and its affection†

* The two works entitled Sâhîh of al Bukhâri and Muslim.
† Referring to the people of Hira and Yaman who after the death of Muhammed accepted prayers to be an article of faith, but rejected alms-giving. The council having assembled to consider this recusancy, the Companions were in favor of letting it pass as a matter of little moment, but Abu Bakr strongly insisted on repressing this heresy on the spot lest the dangerous example should be followed by others to the peril of the rising faith.
‡ This termination of this sentence is not in the printed text or MS, which is abrupt and incomplete, but I find it supplied by al Bukhâri in his Sharah on the authority of Ibn A’bbâs.
is sufficient for me. There shall not remain a door* but it shall be closed except the door of Abu Bakr.” (These are the words of An Nawawi.)

Ibn Kathir says, that as Siddik was the best read, that is the most learned of the Companions in the Kurân, inasmuch as the prophet gave him precedence of the Companions, as Imam in public prayers by his words, “the most learned of the people in the Kurân shall be their Imam.” At Tirmidi records from Ayesha, that the Apostle of God said, “it is not expedient for a people among whom is Abu Bakr that another than he should act as Imam to them.” He was withal the most skilled in the traditionary law, so that when the Companions referred to him on several occasions he came out before them; with a relation of the sayings of the prophet, which he recollected and brought forward when there was necessity for it, and which they knew not; and how could it be otherwise for verily he was constantly in the society of the Apostle of God from the beginning of his mission till his death; and withal he was one of the most acute-minded of the servants of God and the most learned of them, and although there are but few traditions recorded, orally transmitted from him, on account of the fewness of his days and his death following quickly on that of the prophet, yet had his life been prolonged, assuredly they would have been far greater in number, and the narrators would not have left a single tradition of his but they would have transmitted it, but these, in his day, were the Companions, none of whom had occasion to relate on his authority, an event in which they themselves had taken part with him: they therefore related on his authority only what they did not themselves know.

Abu'l Kasim al Baghawi records on the authority of Maymun-b-Mihrau, that Abu Bakr, when a plaintiff came before him, used to look into the book of God, and if he found in it that which would decide between the claimants, he decided according to it, and if it were not in the Book, and he was aware of a tradition of the prophet respecting such a case, he decided according to it; but if it embarrassed him, he would go forth and ask of the true believers and say, “such a one and such a one came to me; now do ye know whether the Apostle of God passed judgment on such a case?” Then sometimes a number of the people would gather round him, all of them relating a decision of the Apostle of God in such a matter, and he would say, “Praise be to God who hath set amongst us

* The Commentators give various interpretations of this passage: the most probable opinion is, that the doors spoken of, are those of the Mosque built by Muhammad at Medina and one of which opened on to his house, another on to that of Abu Bakr, and the like with Omar and Ali; and the closing of all but Abu Bakr’s door, was a secret allusion to his succession to the Caliphate.
those who bear in mind traditions from the prophet.” But if it embarrassed him to discover a tradition of the Apostle of God concerning it he would assemble the chiefs of the people, and the chosen among them and consult them, and if their opinions concurred in one decision, he would decide accordingly. Omar used to do likewise, and when he was unable to find a decision in the Qurân or traditional usage, he would look to see if there were a judgment by Abu Bakr in such a case, and if he discovered that Abu Bakr had adjudged such a matter, he would decide according to that judgment; otherwise, he would summon the chiefs of the people, and when they had concurred in a decision, he acted according to it. As Śiddîk was also the most learned of men in the genealogy of the Arabs, more especially that of the Kuraysh.

Ibn Ishâk records on the authority of Yakúb-b-U’tbah, who had it from an Ansâr Shaykh that Jubayr-b-Mu’tim* was amongst the most learned of the Kuraysh in the pedigrees of the Kuraysh and the Arabs in general, and he used to say, “verily I learnt genealogy from Abu Bakr who was one of the most learned in genealogy of the Arabs.” And further, as Śiddîk was skilled in the science of the interpretation of dreams, and he used to interpret dreams in the time of the prophet, and indeed Muhammad-b-Sîrin says (and he was by common consent, the first in this science) that Abu Bakr was, after the prophet the best interpreter of dreams of this nation. (Ibn Saa’d.)

Ad Daylamì records in his Musnadu’l Firdans, and Ibn A’sakir on the authority of Samurah,† that the Apostle of God said “I have been commanded to cause dreams to be interpreted by Abu Bakr.”

Ibn Kathîr says that he was one of the most eloquent of men, and the best preacher among them. Az Zubayr-b-Bakkâr says “I have heard certain of the learned declare that the most eloquent preachers, among the Companions of the Apostle of God, were Abu Bakr as Śiddîk and A’li-b-Abi Tâlib;” and the saying of Omar will appear in the tradition of Sakjîfah.‡

* Abu Muhammad or Abu A’di Jubayr-b-Mu’tim, a Companion, of the tribe of Kuraysh; was converted before the Khybar Expedition and some say on the day of the conquest of Mecca; died at Medina, A. H. 54 and some say 59. An Nawawi, T. A.

† Abu Sa’îd Abu Muhammad or Abu A’bu’l’lah Samurah-b-Jundab the Companion—fought at Ohud and other battles, by the side of the prophet—resided at Basrah where he acted as governor during the absence of Ziyád b-Abihi at Kûfâ; died at Basrah 58 or 59. An Nawawi.

‡ As Sakjîfah was a building in Medina belonging to the Banu Saa’d, where after the death of the prophet, the rival claims of the fugitives of Mecca and the auxiliaries of Medina to elect a successor were urged with a fierceness, perilous to the common cause.
He was likewise the most learned of men in the knowledge of the Lord, and the most God-fearing of them: his utterances regarding that and regarding the interpretation of dreams and his preachings will all of them follow in a future section. Among the proofs which point to his being the wisest of the Companions, is the tradition on the truce of Hudaybiyah,* when Omar inquired of the Apostle of God regarding that truce and said “why should we accept dishonor in our religion?” and the prophet answered him: then he went to Abu Bakr and inquired of him regarding that which he had asked of the Apostle of God, and as Saddik answered him with the same answer as the prophet’s exactly.” (Al Bukhari and others.)

He was withal, the most judicious of the Companions in counsel and the most perfect of them in wisdom.

Tamám ar Rázi records in his “Fuwaíd” and Ibn A’sákir from A’b-du’llah-b-A’mar-b-i’ll A’ás that he narrates, “I heard the Apostle of God say—Gabriel, came to me and said “verily God commands thee to take counsel of Abu Bakr.” And At Tabarání and Abu Nua’ym and others, from Mu’ád-b-Jabal,† that when the prophet desired to send Mu’ád to Yaman, he took counsel of some of the Companions, among them, Abu Bakr, and Omar and Othmán and ‘Alí and Usayd-b-Hudhayr, and each one of the number gave his opinion: then the prophet said, “what dost thou think, O Mu’ád?” (Muád continues) I said I approve what Abu Bakr hath spoken: the prophet exclaimed “verily the Lord in the heavens above willeth not that Abu Bakr should err.” Ibn Usámah relates this in his Musnad thus, “verily the Lord in heaven willeth not that Abu Bakr as Siddik should err upon earth;” and at Tabarání records in his Ausat from Sahl-b-Saa’d‡ as Sá’di that the Apostle of God said “verily the Lord willeth not that Abu Bakr should err,” (his authorities are trustworthy).

An Nawawi says in his Tahdib, that as Siddik was one of the Companions who knew the Kurán by heart, and a number others, among them Ibn Kathir in his commentary, have stated the same. But the tradition

* “According to Jellálu’d-dín, says Sale, fourscore of the infidels came privately to Muḥammad’s camp with an intent to surprise some of his men, but were taken and brought before the prophet who pardoned them and ordered them to be set at liberty, and this generous action was the occasion of the truce struck up by the Kuraysh with Muḥammad.”

† Of the tribe of Khazraj, a native of Medina and one of the Companions, died A. H. 18 (A. D. 639) aged thirty-three (and some say, thirty-four, and thirty-eight) of the plague at Emmaus. An Nawawi.

‡ Abu’l ‘Abbas or Yahya Sahl-b-Saa’d one of the Companions and a native of Medina; delivered 188 traditions, died at Medina A. H. 88 (A. D. 707). His name was Huzn and he was called Sahl by the prophet to avoid the ill-omen of its meaning. Huzn signifying “grief,” and “Sahl,” “easy”—“facile.” An Nawawi, T. A.
of Anas which says "Four persons collected the Kurán in the time of the Apostle of God," means, four among the auxiliaries, as he has explained in his work Al Ittikán;* but what Ibn Abi Dau'd says, on the authority of as Shas'bi, viz., that Abu Bakr died and the Kurán was not collected, is either to be rejected or interpreted to mean, its collection into a book according to the arrangement adopted by Othmán.

On his being the most eminent of the Companions and the most virtuous.

The Sunnis are agreed that the most eminent of men, after the Apostle of God were, Abu Bakr, then Omar, then Othmán, then A'li, then the rest of the ten,† then the rest of those engaged at Badr, then the rest of those engaged at Ohud; then the rest of the people of the Covenant;‡ then the rest of the Companions. Abu Mansûr al Bagdhâdi§ relates this as a fact upon which all are agreed.

Al Bukhârî narrates on the authority of Ibn Omar that he said, "we were making a choice among men in the time of the Apostle of God, and we preferred Abu Bakr, then Omar, then Othmán;" and at Tabarâni adds in the "Kabîr" "and the prophet knew of this and did not disapprove it."

Ibn A'sâkir records on the authority of Ibn Omar, that he said, "we (and among us was the Apostle of God) gave the preference first to Abu Bakr, then to Omar, then to Othmán, then to A'li;" and from Abu Hurayrah, "we, a gathering of the Companions of the Apostle of God, being a considerable number together, said the most distinguished of this people after their prophet, are Abu Bakr, then Omar then Othmán—then we were silent."

* كتاب الإذان في علوم القرآن
† Called عشة مبشرة or the ten to whom joyful tidings are given. See note, page 25.
‡ Those whom he called together al Hudaybiyah and who swore to be faithful to him till death.
§ Abu Mansûr 'Abdu'l Kâhîr a native of Baghdad, a dogmatic theologian of the Shafî'i school, well acquainted with general literature and versed in a number of other sciences particularly arithmetic; a book of his on the latter bears the name of at Takmîla. He was likewise skilled in the law of inheritance and composed poetry, died at Isfarîn A. H. 429, (A. D. 1037-8) and was interred by the grave of his master Abu Ishâk. Ibn Khall.
At Tirmidhi records from Jábir-b-A’bdulláh* that Omar said to Abu Bakr “O best of men after the Apostle of God,” and Abu Bakr replied—nay, thou if thou speakest thus, then verily, I have heard the prophet say “the sun hath never risen upon a man better than Omar.” And al Bukhari from A’lí-b-Abi Ţalib, “I said to my father—who among men is the best after the Apostle of God?” He replied “Abu Bakr.” I said “who after him,” he replied “Omar,” and I feared lest he should say Othmán. I continued “then thou.” He answered “I am nothing but one among the true believers.” And Aḥmad and others from A’lí, “the best of this people after its prophet is Abu Bakr and then Omar.” Ad Ḍahabi says “this hath come down in regular transmission from A’lí, therefore may God curse the heretics† how ignorant are they!”

At Tirmidhi and al Ḥákim record on the authority of Omar-b-u’l Khaṭṭáb that he said, “Abu Bakr is our chief and the most excellent of us, and the most beloved among us of the Apostle of God.” And Ibn A’sá-kir from Aḥmu’d-Abá Layla, that Omar ascended the pulpit and said, “know that the most eminent of this people after its prophet is Abu Bakr, and whosoever speaketh otherwise is a slanderer: upon him be the retribution that over taketh the slanderer,” and that A’lí said, “let not any one prefer me in merit to Abu Bakr or Omar, or I shall scourge him according to the punishment of the law for the slanderer.”

Aḥmu’d-Abá Layla in his Musnad, and Abu Nua’yım and others, record with different authorities from Aḥmu’d Darda, that the Apostle of God said, “The sun hath never risen and hath never gone down upon one more eminent than Abu Bakr, save he were a prophet;” and in another reading “upon one of the true believers, after the prophets and Apostles, more eminent than Abu Bakr.” And the same from the tradition of Jábir with the reading “The sun hath never risen upon one amongst you more eminent than he,” At Ṭabarání and others record this and it has evidences from other sources which determine its accuracy or trustworthiness and indeed Ibn Kathír hath pointed out its absolute authenticity.

* Abu A’bdulláh Jábir-b-A’bdílláh as Salami-al Ansbári, embraced Islam one year before the first pact, made with Muhammad al Ḍakhâba (Abul Feda, Tom 1, page 52) and was present at the second; died A. H. 78 (A. D. 697-8) aged ninety-four years. De Slane, I. K.

† The Shiás and such as maintain the pre-eminence of Ali over his three predecessors.

‡ Abu I’sa Aḥmu’d-Abá Layla one of the principal Tábi’ís born at Kháfah where his father had settled, 8 years before Omar’s death. He died A. H. 83. An Nawawi.
At Ṭabarānī records from Salimah-b-u'l A'kwāś* that the Apostle of God said "Abu Bakr as Siddīq is the most eminent of men, save it be a prophet;" and in his Ausat from Sa'ād-b.-Zurārah, that the Apostle of God said, "The holy spirit Gabriel announced to me,—"the best of thy people after thee is Abu Bakr."

And the two Shaykhs from A'mr-b-u'l A'āś, "I said 'O Apostle of God, who among mankind is the most beloved by thee?" He replied "Ayesha." I said "among men?" "Her father." I said "then who?" he replied. "Then Omar-b-u'l Khattāb." This tradition without the "then Omar" has come down in the narrative of Anas and Ibn Omar and Ibn A'bbās.

At Tirmīdī, an Nasāį,† and al Ḥākim record on the authority of A'bdu'llah-b.-Shaḳīq that he narrates, "I said to Ayesha—which of the Companions of the Apostle of God was most beloved by him?" She answered "Abu Bakr," I said "which next?" She replied "Then Omar" I said "which next?" She answered Abu U'baydah-b-u'l Jarrāḥ. And at Tirmīdī from Anas, that the Apostle of God said of Abu Bakr and Omar, "These are the chief of the adult dwellers in paradise, of those who have been the first and of those who will be the last, save they be prophets and Apostles,"‡

At Ṭabarānī records in his Ausat on the authority of A'mmār-b.-Yāsir§ that he said, "whosoever giveth precedence to any one of the Companions of the Apostle of God over Abu Bakr and Omar, verily he putteth a slight upon the Fugitives and Auxiliaries." And Ibn Sa'īd on

* Salimah-b-u'l A'kwāś, one of the Companions. He swore allegiance to Muḥammad on the day of Hudaybiyah and accompanied him in seven of his expeditions. He used to reside at Medina, but on the death of Omar, he left it for Rabāḍah and returned to Medina a few days before his death, A. H. 74 (693) at the age of 80. An Nawawi.

† The Ḥāfẓī, Abu A'bdu'r Raḥmán, chief traditionist of his age and author of a Sunan or collection of traditions, was an inhabitant of old Cairo. He was a great advocate of the rights of A'li and was maltreated by the mob on that account, under the effects of which he died A. H. 303, (A. D. 916). Born at Nasāį a city of Khorasān A. H. 214-5, (A. D. 829-30). He composed a work called the Al Khaṣāis (characteristics) on the merits of Ali. Ibn Khall.

‡ The Muḥammadan doctors place the Apostles higher in degree than the prophets. The two words "prophet apostle," are employed only for those who bear the double character. By the latter they signify, one whose divine mission is testified to by a sacred book whereas the prophethical office alone is not always so distinguished. The Prophet Apostles are four, Moses, David, Jesus, Muḥammad.

§ One of the Companions, who fell in the battle fought (A. H. 37) between A'li and Mu'āwiyyah at Siffin. Ibn Khall.
the authority of az Zuhri,* that the Apostle of God said to Hassán-b-Thábit. "Hast thou said anything in verse of Abu Bakr?" He answered "yes." Then he said "speak and I will listen," and he repeated this verse—

"The second of the two in the glorious cave and verily
The enemy went round about it when they ascended the mountain
And verily they knew that he was the beloved of the Apostle of God:

Who held no one his equal among the people."

and the Apostle of God laughed so that his back teeth were visible, and said, "thou hast spoken truly, O Hassán, he is as thou sayest."

Ahmad and at Tirmídi record from Anas†-b-Málik that the Apostle of God said, "The most compassionate of my people unto my people is Abu Bakr, and the most zealous of them in upholding the commands of God, Omar, and the most truly modest among them, Othmán, and the most learned of them in things lawful and unlawful Mu'ád-b-Jabal, and the most skilled in the law of inheritance, Zayd-b-Thábit,‡ and the most learned of them in the Qurán Ubayy-b-Kaa'b,§ and in every people, there is one that is confided in, and the trusted one of this people is Abu U'haydah-b-u'l Jarráh." Abu Ya'la has taken this from the tradition of Ibn Omar and added to it "and the best of them in adjudication, A'li." Ad Daylami quotes this in his Musnad u'l Firdaus from the tradition of Shaddád-b-Aus

* Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Shiháb of the Kuraysh, one of the most eminent of the Tábi'ís, jurists and traditionists of Medina. He saw ten of Muhammad's Companions. He was made Kádhi by Yasid-b-Abdi'l Malik and died A. H. 124 (A. D. 742) at the age of seventy-two or three. Ibn Khall.

† Abu Hamzah, Anas-b-Málik surnamed "the servant of God's Apostle." خادم رسول لله was one of the most eminent of the Companions. At his mother's request Muhammad prayed for his spiritual and temporal prosperity, through which the riches of Anas multiplied, his date trees bore fruit twice a year and he was the father of 78 sons; he was 10 years in his master's service and on his death removed to Basrah. He died A. H. 83 (A. D. 711-2). De Slane, I. K.

‡ Abu Sa'id-Zayd-b-Thábit a Companion and native of Medina. He was Muhammad's Secretary and used to commit his dictation of the Qurán to writing and carried on his master's ordinary correspondence and afterwards acted in the same capacity under Abu Bakr and Omar. He was one of the three to whom Abu Bakr committed the task of collecting the Qurán. He was celebrated for his knowledge of the law of inheritance among other subjects and had the charge of the public treasury in the Caliphate of Othmán. He died at Medina A. H. 54. An Nawawi.

§ One of the Companions, present at the second pact of al A'kabah; fought at Badr and other engagements. Muhammad recited to him the 98th Sura of the Qurán as he said, at the express divine command, an honour which no other Companion shared with him; died at Medina before A. H. 30 in the Caliphate of Othmán. An Nawawi, T. A.
and added "and Abu Ḍarr,* the most devout of my people and the most sincere, and Abu'd Darda, the most pious of my people, and the most God-fearing and Mu'āwiya-b-Abi Sufyān, the most benign of my people and the most munificent." And verily my most erudite master Al Kāfij† was asked whether these characteristics were at variance with those before given, and he replied that there was no contradiction.

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On what has been revealed in the verses of the Kurān in his praise and his witnessing to the truth and other matters regarding him.

Know, that I have seen a work of a certain author on the names of those regarding whom there hath been a revelation in the Kurān, but inaccurate and incomplete and, I therefore myself composed a work on that subject, comprehensive, exhaustive and accurate and I extract from it here, whatever refers to Aḥ Siddīk.

The Lord said, "The second of the two when they two were in the cave: when he said unto his Companion, "be not grieved for God is with us. And God sent down his security upon him." (Kur. c. ix.) The true believers are agreed that the Companion mentioned is Abu Bakr, and there will appear a tradition from him on this subject.

Ibn Abī Ḥātim records from Ibn A'bbās concerning the divine words "and God sent down his security upon him," that he said, "that is, upon Abu Bakr, for as to the prophet, the security never ceased to be with him." And from Ibn Masa'ūd,‡ that Abu Bakr purchased Bilāl§ from Umayyah-b-Khalaf and Ubayy-b-Khalaf, for a cloak and ten pieces of money and he set him free for the sake of God: then God revealed. "By the night when it covereth" (Kur XCI) to the words "verily your endeavours is different" that is the endeavour of Abu Bakr and Umayyah and Ubayy.

Ibu Jarir records from A'amir-b-A'bdu'l-lah-b-iz Zubayr that Abu Bakr used to give manumission in Meccato slaves of the true faith, and thus

* Jundub-b-Junādah Abu Ḍarr Ali Ghaffāri, one of the Companions of an ascetic life and one of the earliest converts. There is much variance of opinion regarding his real name. He died at Rabāda a village three miles from Medina A. H. 32. For particulars of his life consult Ibn Hajr, and an Naw.

† This name is written Kāfij by by Meursinge. See Introduction.

‡ A'bbu'l-lah-b-Masa'ūd-b-Ghāfūl. A eminent Companion and one of the Fugitives both to Abyssinia and Medina and a trusty confidant of Muḥammad's whom he accompanied on all his expeditions. Some say he died at Kūfah, others, at Medina about A. H. 32, being a little more than sixty years of age. An Nawawi.

§ Muḥammad's Abyssinian caller to prayer.
he used to set free old women and other women when they embraced Islam
and his father said to him, “O my son, I see that thou freest weak women,
but if thou wilt to free strong men, they would stand by thee and protect
thee, and repel harm from thee.” He replied, “O father I desire the
things which are of God.” He adds “I was told by some of my family
that this verse was revealed concerning him “now who is obedient and
feareth God” (Kur. XCII)—to the end.

Ibn Abi Ḥaṭīm and at Ṭabarānī record from U’rwhah that Abu Bakr
freed seven slaves, all of whom had suffered persecution for the sake
of God and regarding him was revealed, “but he who strictly bewareth idolatry
and rebellion shall be removed, far from the same” to the end of the Sura
(Kur. XCII). Al Bazzār records from A’bdullāh-b.-Uz-Zubayr, that this
verse, “by whom no benefit is bestowed on any that it may be recompensed,”
to the end, (Kur. XCII) was revealed concerning Abu Bakr; and al
Bukhārī records from Ayesha that Abu Bakr never violated an oath until
God revealed the atonement for an oath violated (Kur. V).

Al Bazzar and Ibn A’sākir record from Usayd-b.-Ṣafwān (who enjoyed
the Companionship of the prophet) that A’li said, “and he who brought the
truth was Muḥammad and Abu Bakr as Siddīk testified to him.” Ibn
A’sākir says, “this is the tradition regarding this reading but perhaps it is
a reading of A’li’s.*

Al Ḥākim records from Ibn A’bbās regarding the words of God,
“and consult them in the affair” (Kur. III.), that they were revealed con-
cerning Abu Bakr and Omar. And Ibn Abi Ḥaṭīm from Ibn Shaudab
that the verse “but for him who dreadeth the tribunal of his Lord are
prepared two gardens,” (Kur. LV), was revealed regarding Abu Bakr, and
there are other ascriptions which I have mentioned in the Reasons of
Revelation.

At Ṭabarānī records in his Ausaṭ from Ibn Omar and Ibn A’bbās that
the divine words “and the good man among the faithful” (Kur. LXVI)
were revealed concerning Abu Bakr and Omar. And A’bdullāh-b.-Abi
Ḥamīd in his Commentary, from Mujāhid,† that when “verily God and
his angels bless the prophet” (Kur. XXXIII) was revealed, Abu Bakr said,
“O Apostle of God! God hath never revealed to thee a blessing but he
hath included me in it.” Then was revealed this verse “it is he who
is gracious to you and his angels intercede for you.” (Kur. XXXIII.)

* * That is with the words “b’il Ḥaḍīk.” The word in the Kurān is “Ṣidīk” and
not “Ḥaḍīk”—ازْي جاء بالصديق وكصدق. Kur. XXXIX.
† The celebrated Imam and Tābi’i Abul Ḥajjāj Mujāhid-b.-Jubayr, was a doctor
of high authority on jurisprudence and Kurānic interpretation. A’bdullāh-b.-Omar
respected him to such a degree that he held his stirrup when he mounted on horse-
back, died A. H. 101, (A. D. 719-20). De Slane I. K.
Ibn A'sákîr records from 'Ali-b-u'l Ḥusayn, that the following verse was revealed regarding Abu Bakr, Omar and A’li, “and we will remove all grudges from their breasts; they shall be as brethren sitting over against one another on couches” (Kur. XV); and from Ibn A’bbâs, that, “we have commanded man to show kindness to his parents” down to the words “this is a true promise which they are promised in this world” (Kur. XLVI) was revealed regarding Abu Bakr aṣ Şiddîk; and from Ibn U’aynah,* that God had chided all the true believers through the Apostle of God, except Abu Bakr alone who had escaped from the reproach ; and he recites the words “if ye assist not the prophet, verily God will assist him as He assisted him formerly when the unbelievers drove him out of Mecca, the second of the two when they two were in the cave.” (Kur. IX).

On the traditions handed down regarding his merit coupled with that of Omar over and above what has preceded.

The two Shaykhs record from Abu Hurayrah that he said, "I heard the Apostle of God say, “ whilst a shepherd was in the midst of his flock, a wolf rushed upon it and carried off from it a sheep and the shepherd pursued it. The wolf turned to him and said "who will be a protector to it on the day of resurrection?—the day when there will be no other shepherd than myself;”† and as a man was driving an ox which he had laden, it turned to him and spake and said "verily I was not created for this, but I was created for tillage" and the people cried out. “ Good God, that an ox should talk!” The prophet said, “I believe in it and likewise do Abu Bakr and Omar;” and Abu Bakr and Omar were not there, that is, they were not present in the assembly, but he bore witness for them both as to their belief in it, because of his knowledge of the perfection of their faith."

At Tirmiḏi records from Abu Sa’id al Khudri, that the Apostle of God said, “there was never a prophet but he had two ministers from the dwellers in heaven, and two ministers from among the dwellers on earth,

* Abu Muhammad Sufyán b-U’aynah, born at Káfah A. H. 107 and taken by his father to Mecca where he died A. H. 198 (814 A. D.) He was an Imám of learning, piety and of a mortified life, distinguished for the exactitude of the traditions which he handed down. Ibn Khall.

† "Saḥâ” in Yakût (Musa’jam u’l Buldân) is a valley in Palestine in which tradition says, mankind will be assembled for the judgment. This very tradition is quoted in proof—but it also stated that there are other interpretations—what they are I cannot discover. In Ḳūstūlānî’s commentary on al Bukhârî this tradition is noted but without explanation. See also Lane, art. Suq.
and my two ministers of the dwellers in heaven, are Gabriel and Michael, and my two ministers of the dwellers on earth are Abu Bakr and Omar.” The Traditionists and others record from Sa‘īd-b-Zayd, “I heard the Apostle of God say, “Abu Bakr shall be in paradise and Omar shall be in paradise, and Othmán shall be in paradise and A‘lī shall be in paradise,” and he mentioned the whole of the ten;* and Al Tirmiḍī from Abu Sa‘īd “verily the dwellers in the lofty mansions (of paradise)—they that are below them shall see them as ye see the stars shining in the horizon of the sky, and verily Abu Bakr and Omar shall be among them;” and from Anas, that the Apostle of God went out to his Companions, of the Fugitives and Auxiliaries, and there were seated among them Abu Bakr and Omar, but none of them raised his eyes to him except Abu Bakr and Omar, and they remained gazing upon him and he upon them, and smiling upon him and he upon them.

Al Tirmiḍī and al Ḥākim record from Ibn Omar that the Apostle of God went forth one day and entered the mosque, with Abu Bakr and Omar, one of them upon his right hand and the other upon his left, and he held their hands and said, “thus shall we arise on the day of judgment;” and at Tirmiḍī from Ibn Omar, that the Apostle of God said, “I shall be the first from whom the earth shall be rent asunder, then Abu Bakr and then Omar;” and he and al Ḥakim record, confirming it on the authority of Ibn Ḥandhalah that the prophet looked upon Abu Bakr and Omar and said, “these are my hearing and my sight.”

Al Bazzār, and al Ḥākim record from Abu Arwa ad Dauṣi,† that he said, “I was with the prophet when Abu Bakr and Omar approached and he said “praise be to God who hath strengthened me with ye two.” And Abu Ya‘lā from A‘mmār-b-Yāsir, that the Apostle of God said, “a little while ago, Gabriel came to me and I said “O Gabriel, recount unto me the merits of Omar b-u‘l Khaṭṭāb,” and he answered “if I were to relate to thee the merits of Omar, the narration of his merits would not be ended during the period in which Noah tarried with his people, for verily Omar is a good work amongst the good works of Abu Bakr;” and Aḥmad from A’bdūr Raḥmān-b-Ghanam, that the Apostle of God said to Abu Bakr and Omar “if you were agreed upon a counsel, I would not oppose you.”

* See page 25. Note †
† Ibn Ḥajr can give no account of this person beyond the mention of one or two traditions (including this with a slightly different reading) on his authority. His name and genealogy are unknown—he is supposed to have been present with the prophet at the affair of “Kaḥkara t-u‘l Kudr” and, died at the close of Mu‘āwiya’s reign.
Ibn Saa’d relates on the authority of Ibn Omar that he was asked who used to give decisions in the time of the Apostle of God, and he replied, “Abu Bakr and Omar, and I know of no others besides those two;” and from Abu’l Kasim-b-Muhammad, that Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman and A’li used to decide cases in the time of the Apostle of God; and at Tabarani, from Ibn Masa’ud that the Apostle of God said, “every prophet hath a chosen one among his people, and verily my elect from among my Companions, are Abu Bakr and Omar;” and Ibn A’sakir from A’li that the Apostle of God said, “may God have mercy upon Abu Bakr who hath given me his daughter in marriage, and bore me to the city of refuge (Medina) and gave freedom to Bilal—may God have mercy upon Omar who ever speaketh the truth though it be bitter, for the speaking of the truth hath left him without a friend—may God have mercy upon Othman before whom the angels are abashed—may God have mercy upon A’li—O God encompass him with the truth whithersoever he goeth.”

And at Tabarani records from Sahl that when the prophet returned from his last pilgrimage, he ascended the pulpit and blessed God and glorified Him and said, ‘O people,’ verily Abu Bakr hath never done me a wrong, therefore know this of him. O people, verily I am content with him and with Omar and Othman and A’li and Talhah and az Zubayr and Saa’d and Abdu’r Rahmân-b-A’uf, and the First Fugitives, know this of them.”

A’bdullah b-Ahmad records in the “Zawaid u’z Zuhd” from Ibn Abi Hâzim, that a man came to A’li-b-ul Hâsyan and said, “what place did Abu Bakr and Omar hold near the Apostle of God?” He replied “that which they hold at this moment.” And Ibn Saa’d from Bistam-b-Muslim, that the Apostle of God said to Abu Bakr and Omar, “no one shall have authority over you two after me;” and Ibn A’asâkir, a tradition relating direct to the prophet through Anas, “love towards Abu Bakr and Omar is faith, hatred towards them is infidelity;” and from Ibn Masa’ud, “love towards Abu Bakr and Omar and a knowledge of them is an injunction of the law;” and from Anas, direct from the prophet, “verily I hope for the same benefit to my people, by their profession of love towards Abu Bakr and Omar, that I hope for them by their profession of faith “there is no God but God.”

* Abu Muhammed A’bdur Rahmân b-A’uf of the Kuraysh a native of Medina, one of the ten to whom paradise was assured, died A. H. 32, aged 72. An Nawawi.
† The first fugitives to Abyssinia who were driven by the persecution of the Kuraysh to seek shelter with the king (Najashi) of that country. There were eleven in number, and four of them were accompanied by their wives. See Muir’s Life of Muhammed, Vol. II, p. 128.
On the traditions handed down referring exclusively to his merit, over and above what has preceded.

The two Shaykhs record on the authority of Abu Hurayrah that he said, “I heard the Apostle of God say,” he who repeatedly giveth of the things that are his, for the sake of God, shall be summoned through the gates of paradise in these words: “O servant of God, this is good for thee to enter by,” and he who is of those who pray, shall be summoned through the Gate of Prayer, and he who is of those who have fought for the faith, shall be summoned through the Gate of Religious War, and he who is of those who give in alms, shall be summoned through the Gate of Alms, and he who is of those who fast shall be summoned through the Gate of Fasting—that is† the Gate of Satiety.” Then Abu Bakr said, “it cannot be necessary that one should be summoned though these gates—shall, then, one be summoned through them all?” And he answered, “yes, and I hope that thou wilt be among them, O Abu Bakr”; and Ibn Dauúd and al Hákim from Abu Hurayrah that the Apostle of God said, “but thou, O Abu Bakr, shall be the first of my people to enter paradise;” and the two Shaykhs from Abu Sa’íd that the Apostle of God said, “he who hath laid me under the greatest obligation of all men both with his person and his goods, is Abu Bakr, and if I were to take a friend other than my Lord, I would surely take Abu Bakr, but the brotherhood of the faith is sufficient.”

Al Bukhári records on the authority of Abu’d Darda that he said, “I was sitting with the prophet when there came forward Abu Bakr, and greeted him and said, “verily a dispute arose between me and Omar and I was hasty with him, but afterwards I repented and besought him to forgive me, but he refused, wherefore I have come to thee,” and he said “May God have mercy upon thee, O Abu Bakr” three times. Afterwards, verily Omar repented and went to the house of Abu Bakr, but found him not, and he hastened to the prophet and the face of the prophet became flushed with wrath so that Abu Bakr was afraid, and he fell upon his knees and said twice, “O Apostle of God, I was more intemperate than he.” The prophet exclaimed to the bystanders “verily, the Lord sent me unto you as a prophet, and you said, “thou liest,” and Abu Bakr said, “thou hast spoken truly,” and he comforted me with the service of his person and his goods; then will ye not leave me to me my Companion?” this he said twice and

* My authorities for this sense of the word زرجه in are Turbushti and Tibi, see the Commentary of Kusuláni on this tradition.
† The MS. omits “the Gate of Fasting.” The printed text is correct here: the words من باب العيدام being in al Bukhári—where it is explained as I have translated it.
after that he was troubled no more." Ibn A’di records a similar account from the tradition of Ibn Omar in which is the following, "the Apostle of God said," afflict me not in my Companion, for verily the Lord sent me as a guide unto salvation and the true faith and you said, "thou hast lied," and Abu Bakr said, "thou hast spoken truly," and had it not been that the Lord had named him "Companion," verily I would have taken him as an intimate friend but the brotherhood of Islam is sufficient." And Ibn A’sákir from al Miqdám* that A’kil† the son of Abu Tálib, and Abu Bakr were reviling each other and he adds that Abu Bakr used to be a great reviler as well as a great genealogist but that he had learned courtesy of manner from his Companionship with the prophet and he turned away from A’kil and complained to the prophet, and the Apostle of God rose up before the people and said, "will ye not leave unto me my Companion, what is your worth and his? By Allah there is not a man among you, but darkness is upon the door of his house, save the door of Abu Bakr, and verily upon his door, there is light—and by Allah, verily ye said to me, "thou hast lied," and Abu Bakr said "thou hast spoken truly," and ye withheld your possessions, but he gave unto me that which he had, and ye reviled me, but he cherished me and followed me." And al Bukhári from Ibn Omar that the Apostle of God said, "he who traileth his garments haughtily, the Lord will not look upon him on the day of judgment," and Abu Bakr said "should either of the two sides of my garment trail loosely, must I be careful of that?" The Apostle of God replied "thou art not he who doeth that in pride." And Muslim from Abu Hurayrah, that the Apostle of God said, "who among you hath begun the day fasting?" And Abu Bakr replied "I have;" then he said "who among you hath fed the poor to-day?" Abu Bakr replied "I;" then he said, "who among you, hath visited the sick to-day," and Abu Bakr replied "I;" then the Apostle of God said "these things shall not come together in a man, but he shall enter paradise." Verily this tradition hath been handed down through the narration of Anas-b-Málík and Abdu’r Raḥmán-b-Abi Bakr, and‡ has mentioned this tradition of Anas and at the end of it "paradise shall surely be thy portion." And al Bazzár records the tradition of A’bdu’r

* Al Miqdám-b-Ma’di Karib, one of the Companions—he resided at Emessa, and related forty-seven traditions regarding his master, died in Syria A. H. 87 at the age of 91. An Nawawi.
† Abu Yazid or Abu Isá the 2nd son of Abu Tálib; he fought unwillingly on the side of the infidels al Badr, and was taken prisoner and was converted before Hudaybiyáh. He was a distinguished genealogist. He was quick in repartee says an Nawawi, and generally silenced his antagonist. He died in the Caliphate of Mu’áwiya, having lost his sight—and was buried at al Bakí’ the cemetery at Medina.
‡ The M.S. has here a blank and the printed text does not supply the omission.
Rahmán and its words are these, "the Apostle of God read the prayers in the morning: then he turned to his Companions and said "who, among you, hath begun the day fasting?" Omar replied 'O! Apostle of God, I did not purpose to myself, during the past night, to fast, thus I have become this morning as one who hath broken his fast,"* and Abu Bakr said "but I purposed to myself during the night to fast, and thus I have risen fasting." Then the prophet said "Hath any among you visited the sick to-day?" and Omar replied, "O Apostle of God, we have not gone forth from here, how then can we have visited the sick?" but Abu Bakr said "I heard that my brother† Aʻbudr Rahmán-b-Aʻuf was sick and I went round that way to him, to see how he was this morning." Then he said "hath any one among you fed the poor to-day?" and Omar replied "we have been praying, O Apostle of God, and have not gone forth," but Abu Bakr said, "I entered the mosque when, behold! there came a beggar, and I found a piece of barley bread in the hand of Abūr Rahmán and I took it and gave it to him," and he said, "Rejoice with the good tidings of paradise;" then he spoke a word which comforted Omar, and Omar knew that he should never purpose to do a good work but Abu Bakr would be before him in it."

Abu Yaʻla records from Ibn Masaʻíd, that he said "I was in the mosque praying when there entered the Apostle of God, and with him Abu Bakr and Omar and he found me praying and he said, "ask—it shall be granted unto you," then he said "whosoever wishes to read the Qurán in a fresh and joyous manner, let him read it with the reading of the son of Umm Aʻbd."‡ Then I returned to my house and Abu Bakr came to me and gave me the good tidings regarding what the prophet had said; then came Omar and he found Abu Bakr going forth, having already been before him and he said "verily thou art the foremost in good." Ahmad records on good authority from Rabíʻh-ull Aslami,§ that he said, "a disputation arose between me and Abu Bakr, when he said to me a word which I disliked, and he repented and said to me, "O Rabíʻh return it to me likewise, so that there may be retaliation." I replied "I shall not do so." He answered "Thou shalt say it or I shall call up against thee, the Apostle of God.""

* The mere act of abstaining from food during the day, does not constitute a fast religiously speaking. The intention to fast, must precede the abstention to make it efficacious. During the long fast of the Ramadhlán the intention is pre-supposed and need not be daily renewed.
† The term brother is, as is well-known, applied to all of a tribe indiscriminately without reference to consanguinity.
‡ The mother of Ibn Masaʻíd.
§ Rabíʻh-b-Kaaʻb-b-Málik al Aslami Hijázi, one of the Companions, settled at Medina and died at Harrah in A. H. 63. Ibn Hājr.
I said, "I will not do so," and Abu Bakr departed and there came some men of the tribe of Aslam and they said to me, "may God have mercy upon Abu Bakr! for what reason hath he called up against thee the prophet, he being the one that hath said to thee what he hath said?" And I replied, "know ye not who is Abu Bakr as Siddik? he is the "second of the two"—and he is the grey beard of the Muslims—look to yourselves that he turn not and see ye abetting me against him, lest he angered and the Apostle of God come and be wroth on account of his anger, and the Lord be wrathful on account of the anger of those two, and Rabii’h perish;" and Abu Bakr departed and I followed him alone until he came to the Apostle of God and he related to him the story as it occurred: then the prophet lifted up his head towards me and said," O Rabii’h, what hath happened between thee and as Siddik?" I replied, "O Apostle of God such and such a thing happened and he said to me a word which I disliked, then he said to me, "speak to me as I have spoken, so that there may be a retaliation," and I refused." Then the Apostle of God said "good, do not return it, but say ' the Lord have mercy upon thee, O Abu Bakr: '" then I said "the Lord have mercy upon thee O Abu Bakr."

Al Tirmiḍī records and approves a tradition on the authority of Ibn Omar, that the Apostle of God said to Abu Bakr "Thou shalt be my Companion at the Pool,* as thou wert my Companion in the Cave; and A’bdullah-b-Ahmad from Ibn A’bbás,† that the Apostle of God said, “Abu Bakr was my Companion and my Comforter in the cave;” and al Bayhaki from Hudayfah‡ that the Apostle of God said "verily there is a bird in paradise whose flesh taketh like that of Bactrian Camels;“ Abu Bakr said, “it is then delicate of flavour, O Apostle of God”—he replied, “he who eateth of them shall enjoy them and thou shalt be of those who shall eat of them:” and Abu Ya’la from Abu Hurayrah, that the Apostle of God said, “I was borne towards the heavens, and I passed no heaven, but I found therein my name, Muḥammad the Apostle of God and Abu Bakr as Siddik as my vicegerent.” Its authorities are weak, but the same has been handed down in the tradition of Ibn A’bbás, Ibn Omar, Anas, Abu

* Salsabûl, the fountain in paradise where the prophet is believed to give drink to the faithful who are thirsty.
† These words "from Ibn Abbás” are omitted in the printed edition but supplied by the MS.
‡ Abu A’bdullah Hudayfah-b-u’l Yamán. He and his father were both at the battle of Ohud when his father was accidentally killed by his own side. He was much trusted by Muhammad and employed on secret and important negotiations. He was engaged in the campaign of Nahawand and commanded the troops at the capture of Madâin, Ray and Dinawar. Omar made him governor of Madâin where he died in A. H. 36, forty days after the assassination of Omar. An Nawawi, T. A.
Sa'id and Abu'd Darda with weak ascriptions, but supporting each other reciprocally.

Abu Abi Ḥātim and Abu Nua'yīm record on the authority of Sa'id-b-Jubayr* that he said, "I was reading this verse before the prophet—"Oh thou soul which art at rest," (Kur. LXXXIX), when Abu Bakr said "O Apostle of God surely this is a good saying," and the Apostle of God replied, "yea, verily, the angel shall say it to thee at the time of thy death." And Ibn Abi Ḥātim from A'Āmir-b-Abdīllah-b-i'z Zubayr that he said, that when the verse, "and if we had commanded them, saying, slay yourselves," (Kur. IV) was revealed, Abu Bakr said, "O Apostle of God, didst thou command me to slay myself, I would do so," and he replied "thou speakest truly." And Abū'l Қāsim al Baghwā from Ibn Abi Mulaykhah, "the Apostle of God and his Companions went into a pool and he commanded that every man should swim towards his friend;" he adds, "and every man swim until there were left the Apostle of God and Abū Bakr, and the Apostle of God swam towards Abū Bakr and embraced him and said, "were I to choose an intimate friend until such time as I saw the Lord face to face, verily I would take Abū Bakr, but he is my Companion." Wakī'† has followed him on the authority of A'bdu'l Jabbār-b-u'l Ward, (states Ibn A'sākir,) and Abū'l Jabbār is trustworthy, and his master, was the Imam Ibn Abi Mulaykhah but it is irregular in transmission and narrated but by one authority. I remark that at Tabarānī has recorded it in the "Kabir" and Ibn Shāhīn in the "Sunnat" in a different manner, but in uninter rupted succession from Ibn A'bbās. Ibn‡ Abī'ḍ Dunya records in the "Makarimu'l Akhlāq," (noble qualities) and Ibn A'sākir, according to the ascription of Șādaḵah-b-Maymūn al Қarashi, from Sulayman-b-Yasār.§

* Abū A'bdu'l-lah or Muḥammad Sa'id-b-Jubayr-b-Hishām al Asādi was a black and a client by enfranchisement to the tribe of Wālība-b-u'l Hārith. He was an eminent Tābi'i and a native of Kūfah. He learnt his traditions from Ibn Omar and Ibn A'bbās. He was put to death by Ḥa[j]a[j]-b-Yusuf for his revolt against Abū'l Malik-b-Marwān, and the last hours of Ḥajjāj were said to have been tormented by his victim's apparition. His death took place in A. H. 95 (A. D. 714) and was followed in the same year by that of his murider. Ibn Khall.

† Abu Suflīyān Wakī'-b-u'l Jarrāḥ, born at Kūfah A. H. 129 an eminent jurisconsult and traditionist. He studied under Abū Ḥanīfah and used to decide points of law. He made the pilgrimage 70 times and on returning from the last, he died at Fāyḍ, a town midway between Mecca and Kūfah A. H. 197 (A. D. 812-3). De Slane, I. K.

‡ Abū Bakr A'bdu'l-lah-b-Muḥammad-b-U'bayd a member by adoption, of the Kuraysh, and surnamed Ibn Abī'ḍ Dunya, composed works on ascetic and other subjects, and was a traditionist. He was preceptor to some of the Abbaside family and one of his pupils was al Mu'a'thadid. He received a pension of fifteen dinārs a month. Died A. H. 281, (A. D. 894). De Slane, I. K.

§ A Tābi'i and one of the seven great jurisconsults of Medina and a traditionist of repute, died A. H. 103. An Nawawi.
that the Apostle of God said, "virtuous qualities are three hundred and sixty in number; when God desires a good servant, he creates in him one of these qualities through which, he may gain admission to paradise." Abu Bakr said "O Apostle of God is there in me one of them?" He replied, "Yes, the sum of them all." And Ibn A’sákir according to another ascription through Șadâkâh from some other, "virtuous qualities are three hundred and sixty;" and Abu Bakr said "have I any of these?" He replied, "all of them are in thee, therefore I give thee joy, O Abu Bakr." And Ibn A’sákir, according to the ascription of Mujamma’-b-Yâkûb the Auxiliary, from his father, who said, "there was a circle of the people round the Apostle of God, clustered together, so that they were as walls around him, but the seat of Abu Bakr among them was vacant, and no one among the people sought to take it, and when Abu Bakr came, he sat down on that seat, and the prophet turned his face towards him and directed to him his discourse, and the people listened." And from Anas that the Apostle of God said, "the love of Abu Bakr, and gratitude towards him is incumbent upon every one of my people." And he records the same from the tradition of Sahl-b-Sa’îd. And from Ayesha, direct from the prophet, "all men shall be judged excepting Abu Bakr."

On what has been handed down of the sayings of the Companions and pious early Muslims* regarding his merit.

Al Bukhârî records on the authority of Jâbir, that Omar-b-u’l Khaṭ-tâb said, "Abu Bakr is our prince." And al Bayhâkî in the "Shaa’b u’l I’mân" (people of the faith) from Omar, that he said, "if the faith of Abu Bakr were weighed against the faith of mankind, it would surely outweigh them." And Ibn Abi Khaythamah and A’bdu’llah-b-Ăhmâd in the Zawâid uz Zuhd (Profusions of Piety) from Omar that he said, "verily Abu Bakr was ever foremost and conspicuous—verily I would were a hair on the breast of Abu Bakr" (Musaddad in his Musnad); and "I would wish to be in paradise that I might behold Abu Bakr" (Ibn Abi’d Dunya and Ibn A’sákir); and "the fragrance of Abu Bakr is sweeter than the fragrance of musk" (Abu Nua’ym).

Ibn A’sákir records from A’lî that he went to Abu Bakr and found that he was reciting the praises of God, and he said "no one shall look

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* According to Abu’l Mahásîn السلف السالم is particularly applied to Ayesha, Abu Bakr, Omar, Othmán Țalîhah, az Zubayr, Mu’awiyah and A’mr-b-u’l A’âş; السلف الصالح is applied to the first chief persons of the Tâbi’îs. Lane.
upon God, with the record of his deeds in his hand,* who is dearer to me than this praiser of the Lord.” And from 'Abdu'r Raḥmān-b-Abi Bakr as Ṣiddīk that the Apostle of God said, “Omar, the son of al Khaṭṭāb hath told me that he never attempted to precede Abu Bakr in a good deed, but Abu Bakr was before him in it.” And at Ṣabārānī in his Ausaṭ from A’lī that he said, “by Him in whose hand is my life, I never sought to be foremost in any good action, but Abu Bakr anticipated me in it,” and from Juḥayfah, that A’lī said, “the best of men after the Apostle of God, are Abu Bakr and Omar—never shall there be joined together love of me and hatred towards Abu Bakr and Omar in the heart of a true believer.” And in the “Kabīr” from A’mr, that he said, “three among the Kuraysh are the most comely of the Kuraysh in face, the best of them in disposition, the most constant in heart; if they converse with thee, they will not lie to thee, and if thou speakest with them, they will not give thee the lie, Abu Bakr as Ṣiddīk, Abu U’baydah-b-’l Jarrāḥ and Othmān-b-A’ffān.” Ibn Saw’d records on the authority of Ibrahim† an Nakhā’ī, that Abu Bakr was named the Compassionate on account of his benignity and clemency. And Ibn A’sākīr from ar Rabī’-b-ʿAnas, that it is written in the Primeval Record; ‡ “Abu Bakr is like unto rain which wherever it falleth, it doeth good.” Also that ar Rabī’ said “I looked among the Companions of the prophet, but I found not a prophet that had a Companion like unto Abu Bakr as Ṣiddīk.” And from Az Zuhri, “among the virtues of Abu Bakr was this, that he never doubted concerning God a single moment?” And from az Zubayr-b-Bakkār, “I heard several of the learned say that the preachers among the Companions of the Apostle of God were Abu Bakr and A’lī.” And from Abu Hasīn, “there was never begotten of Adam among his progeny, after the prophets and Apostles, any more eminent than Abu Bakr, and verily Abu Bakr on the day of Apostasy§ stood up as a prophet among the prophets.”

Ad Dīnāuri records in the “Mujālisat,”|| and Ibn A’sākīr from as Shaa’bī, that he said, “the most pure, the most High God hath

* It is the Muḥammadan belief that at the last day, every man shall stand before the judgment seat holding in his hand the record of his actions inscribed in it by the “Kāṭibayn” or the two attendant angels who are with each man during his life.

† Abu I’mrān Ibrahim-b-Yazīd an Nakhā’ī native of Kūfah and celebrated as an Imām and doctor. He died A. H. 95 or 96 (A. D. 713-4) aged 49. Nakhā’ī is from Nakhā’ a great branch of the tribe of Madhij in Yaman. Ibn Khall.

‡ Called also لوح محفوظ the Guarded Tablet, existing before all time in which is inscribed everything destined to occur.

§ See note †, page 40.

|| A work partly on tradition, partly historical, with extracts from poetical authors by Ahmad-b-Mardān ad Dīnāuri of the Māliki school who died A. H. 113. Ittihāfu’n Nabala, by Ṣadiq Ḥasan Khan of Bhopal.
distinguished Abu Bakr by four qualities, by which He hath distinguished none other among men: he named him 'the Witness to the Truth,' (as Şiddîk) and hath named 'The Witness to the Truth' none other besides him, and he was the Companion in the Cave with the Apostle of God, and his associate in his flight, and the Apostle of God commanded him to read the prayers, the Muslims being witnesses." And Ibn Abî Dauûd* in the Kitâbu'l Masâbih from Abu Ja'far, that Abu Bakr used to hear the secret converse of Gabriel with the prophet but did not see him. And al Ḥâkim from Ibn u'l Musayyab, † that Abu Bakr stood to the prophet in the place of a Wazîr, for he used to consult him in all his affairs, and he was the second to embrace Islam, and the second in the Cave and the second in the shed on the day of Badr, and the second in his sepulchre, ‡ and the Apostle of God never gave precedence of him to any one.

On the tradition and the verses of the Kurân indicative of the Caliphate of Abu Bakr and the sayings of the doctors thereon.

At Tirmîdî records with approval, and al Ḥâkim likewise, confirming it on the authority of Huḍayfah that the Apostle of God said, "Follow these two after me, Abu Bakr and Omar." And Abu'l Ḥâmid al Baghawî on good authority from A'bdullâh-b-Omar, "I heard the Apostle of God say, 'there shall be twelve Caliphs succeeding me, but Abu Bakr shall tarry but a little while.'" There is unanimity regarding the correctness of the first part of this tradition, handed down in several lines of ascription, and indeed the explanation of it hath already gone before in the beginning of this book. In the "Saḥîhayn" it is stated regarding the preceding tradition, that when the prophet was preaching near upon the time of his death and said, "God hath given his servant a choice," and at the end of the tradition§ "there shall not remain a door but it shall be closed save the door of Abu Bakr," and in another reading

* Abu Bakr A'bdullâh-b-Abî Dauûd was a Hâfîdh of the first eminence at Bagdad, son of the great traditionist Abî Dauûd. He died A. H. 316 (A. D. 928). Ibn Khallaḳân says that he composed a work called "Kitab u'l Masâbih (the Book of Lanterns). Both the printed text and MS. have "Kitab u'l Masâhif" which must be an error.

† His father's name must be pronounced Musayyab, says Ibn Khallaḳân, (as being the passive participle of the verb Sayab) but it is said that Sa'id pronounced it Musayyib (active participle) because he had said "may God reward (sayab) him who pronounces my father's name Musayyib."

‡ His tomb at Medîna is between the tomb of the prophet and that of Omar.

§ See p. 41.
of those two authorities, "there shall not remain a wicket in the mosque, 
but the wicket of Abu Bakr," the learned assert that this was indicative 
of his Caliphate, for he used to go forth through it to prayer with the 
Muslims." Indeed this reading has come down in the tradition of Anas 
and its words are these, "Close ye these doors leading into the mosque, 
except the door of Abu Bakr."

The two Shaykhs record on the authority of Jubayr-b-Mu'tim that 
he said, "a woman went to the prophet, and he commanded her to come 
to him another time; she said, 'suppose I come and find thee not?' (as 
if she spoke of his death). He answered, 'if thou findest me not, then 
go to Abu Bakr.'” Al Hâkim records and verifies the tradition on 
the authority of Anas that he said, "the Banû Muṣṭaliḵ* sent me to the 
Apostle of God, saying, 'ask him—to whom must we give our poor-rate 
after his death?' and I went to him and asked him, and he said 'unto 
Abu Bakr.'” And Ibn A'sâkir from Ibn Abbás that he said, "a woman 
went to the prophet to ask something and he said to her 'come again 
another time.' She replied 'O Apostle of God, if I come and find thee 
not?' (referring to his death). He said 'if thou comest and findest me 
not, then go to Abu Bakr, for verily he shall be Caliph after me.'” And 
Muslim from Ayesha, “the Apostle of God said to me in his last illness 
'call to me thy father and thy brother that I may write a testament, for, 
verily I fear lest the covetous should covet and speak, saying, 'I am the 
most worthy,' but God and the true believers will reject all save Abu 
Bakr.'” And Âḥmad* and others record the same from her with other 
ascriptions: according to one of them, she said, “the Apostle of God in 
his illness of which he died, said to me, 'call to me A'budu'r Rahmán the 
son of Abu Bakr, that I may write a testament in favour of Abu Bakr, so 
that none may oppose him after me,' then he said, 'nay, leave it, God 
forbid that the true believers should be at strife regarding Abu Bakr.'” 
And Muslim from Ayesha, that she was asked whom the Apostle of God 
would have named as a successor, if he had appointed one: she replied 
"Abu Bakr." It was said to her "whom next after Abu Bakr?" she 
answered "Omar." They said to her "whom after Omar?" She replied

* The Banu Muṣṭaliḵ (descended) from Muṣṭaliḵ-b-A'mr-b-Rahîl-b-Khârijah) 
dwelt in the district of Kudayd, between Mecca and Medina near the sea coast. In 
A. H. 5, this tribe rebelled against Muhammad, but were brought to obedience 
by his marching against them in person, with Omar and defeating them. Raudhât u's Şafa, 
Muhammad-b-Khawand Shâh. It was on his return from the expedition that Ayesha 
was by an accident, left asleep by the side of the road and discovered next morning 
by Safwân-b-u'l Mu'aṭtal and brought to camp. To save her reputation was the object 
of the 24th Chapter of the Kurán.
“Abu U’baydah-b-u’l Jarráh.” And the two Shaykhs from Abu Músa* al Asha’ri that he said, “the prophet fell ill and his sickness increased, and he said, ‘command Abu Bakr to read prayers before the people.’ Ayesha answered, ‘O Apostle of God, verily he is a man of soft heart: when he rises up in thy place, he will be unable to pray before the people.’ Then he said, ‘command Abu Bakr to pray before the people,’ but she only repeated what she had said. Again he exclaimed, ‘command Abu Bakr to pray before the people—verily ye are the mistresses† of Joseph’—and the Apostle went to him himself. Thus he prayed before the people during the lifetime of the Apostle of God.”‡ In one of the traditions from Ayesha, the reading is, “I frequently returned to this subject with the Apostle of God and nothing induced me to this frequent recurrence, but that it did not come into my mind that the people would ever be satisfied that any man should stand in his place after him, and that I saw that no one would stand in his place but the people would take it as an ill omen, therefore I hoped that that might turn the Apostle of God from naming Abu Bakr.” And in the tradition of Ibn Zama’a it is recorded, that the Apostle of God ordered them to read the prayers, and Abu Bakr was not present, but Omar came forth and prayed, then the Apostle of God cried out, “No—no—no—God and the Muslims will not suffer any but Abu Bakr to pray before the people.” And according to the tradition of Ibn Omar, “Omar recited the Takbir and raised his head angrily and said ‘where is the son of Abu Kuţáfah?’” The learned say that in this tradition is the clearest proof that as Şiddik was the most eminent of the Companions absolutely, and the most deserving of the Caliphate among them and the best of them in the office of Imám. Al Asha’ri says, “it is indeed undoubtedly ascertained that the Apostle of God commanded as Şiddik to pray before the people in the presence of the Fugitives and the Auxiliaries, by his words, ‘he shall stand as Imám before the people who is the best read of them in the Book of God.’ This proves that he was the best read, that is the most learned of them in the Qurán: and verily the Companions themselves were convinced that he was the most deserving of the Caliphate, and among these was Omar (and the words of Omar will follow in the section on the covenant of allegiance) and among them was also A’li.”

* A’bdullah-b-Kays Abu Músa al Asha’ri—such is his name given by Ibn Hajr. He was the arbitrator (see page 10) at Siffin on the part of A’llí. He had served as governor under Muhammad, Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman and A’llí, and died in A. H. 60 (A. D. 670-1). Ibn Khall.

† Meaning “enticers to evil.” The MS. and printed edition have إنكى إنكى إنكى for إنكى إنكى إنكى. Lane gives the tradition with إنكى إنكى إنكى.

‡ Here follows a list of other authoritics for this tradition which to avoid the tedious repetition of names, I have omitted. The few whom these could interest are not likely to look for them in an English translation.
Ibn A'sákir records on his authority that he said, "verily the prophet commanded Abu Bakr to pray before the people and indeed I was present, and I was not absent and was suffering from no illness;* and we accepted for our temporal affairs what the prophet had approved for our spiritual concerns." The learned say that Abu Bakr was recognised for his fitness for the Imamate during the time of the prophet. And Aḥmad and Abu Dauūd and others record on the authority of Sahl-b-Saa'd, that there was a feud in the tribe of A'mr-b-A'uuf and the prophet arrived and went to them after midday, that he might make peace between them, and said, "O Bilál—if the time of prayers should be at hand and I come not, then command Abu Bakr to pray before the people;" and when the time for afternoo prayers came, Bilál announced the prayers and then commanded Abu Bakr, and he prayed.

Abu Bakr as Sháfi'i† records in the "Ghilániyát" and Ibn A'sákir from Ḥafṣah‡ that she said to the Apostle of God, "when thou wert ill, thou gavest precedence to Abu Bakr:" he replied, "It was not I who preferred him, but God who preferred him." And Ibn Saa'd from al Ḥasan, that Abu Bakr said, "O Apostle of God, I never cease to see myself in vision treading in the courtyards of men:" he replied, "thou shalt be among men as a road for them:" he added, "and I see on my breast what are like unto two spots." He replied "those are two years."§

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Abu Bakr that he said, "I went to Omar and there were some people engaged in eating in his presence, and he cast his eyes upon a man, the bindmost of the number, and said, 'what dost thou find of events before thy time in the books thou readest?'" He replied 'the vicegerent of the Apostle, will be his witness to the truth'" (Siddīk). And from Muḥammad-b-u'z Zubayr, that he said, "Omar-b-Abdi'l A'zīz sent me to al Ḥasan of Basrah, to ask him concern—

* That is to say that he was an eye-witness in the full possession of his senses.
† Abu Bakr Muḥammad-b-A'bdullah-b-Ibrahim known as al Bazzār, as Sháfi'i, died, A. H. 354. The Ghilániyát is a collection of traditions written from the dictation of the author's Shaykhs. It received its name probably from Abu Ṭālib Muḥammad-b-Muḥammad-b-Ibrahim-b-Ghilan, who taught the traditions. He died in A. H. 404. Itūḥāfu'l Nubala.
‡ The daughter of Omar-b-u'l Ḥattaṭāb: her first husband was Ḥasan-b-Ḥudayfah who fought at Badr and died at Medina—she was then offered by her father to Abu Bakr and Othmān successively who both declined the proposal. Omar, mentioning this circumstance to Muḥammad, he replied, "One shall marry Ḥafṣah who is greater than Othmān (meaning himself) and one shall marry Othmān who is greater than Ḥafṣah" (meaning his own daughter Umm Kuṭlibām). Abu Bakr afterwards excused himself to Omar by saying that his knowledge of his master's predilection for Ḥafṣah, was the cause of his declining, otherwise he would gladly marry her. Ibn Hajr.
§ Signifying that they were prophetic of the duration of his Caliphate.
ing certain things,” and I went to him and said to him, “Satisfy me regarding that in which people differ—did the Apostle of God name Abu Bakr his successor?” and al Hasan who was seated, stood erect and said, “can such a thing be in doubt! thou hast no father. Yea, by that God than whom there is no other God, verily he named him his successor, for he was undoubtedly the most learned in divine knowledge and the most devout towards Him and the most steadfast in His fear, inasmuch as he would have died for its sake, even though He had not commanded him thereunto.”* And Ibn A’di records from Abu Bakr-b-A’yyásah† that he narrates, “ar Rashid said to me, O Abu Bakr how did the people come to appoint Abu Bakr as Siddık successor?” I said, “O prince of the faithful, God was silent and his apostle was silent, and the true believers were silent.” He replied, “By Allah, thou hast but increased my anxiety.” I said;‡ “O prince of the faithful, the prophet fell ill during eight days and Bilál went in to him and said, ‘O Apostle of God, who is to pray before the people?’ He replied, ‘command Abu Bakr to pray before the people;’ and Abu Bakr prayed before the people during the eight days, and the divine inspiration continued to descend upon Muḥammad, but the Apostle of God was silent on account of the silence of the Lord, and the Faithful were silent on account of the silence of the Apostle of God;—this pleased him and he said ‘May God bless thee.’”

Some of the learned have deduced the Caliphate of as Siddık from the verses of the Kurán. Thus al Bayhaḵi records from al Ḥasan of Basrah regarding the divine words, “O true believers, whoever of you apostatized from his religion, God will certainly bring other people to supply his place whom He will love and who will love Him” (Kur. V), that he said, “this, by Allah, signifieth Abu Bakr and his Companions, for when the Arabs apostatized, Abu Bakr and his Companions waged war with them, till he brought them back to Islám.” And Yunas-b-Bukayr, from Katádah, that he said, “when the prophet died the Arabs apostatized,” then he goes on to relate the expedition of Abu Bakr against them till he says, “and we used to declare that this verse was revealed regarding Abu Bakr and his Companions, “God will certainly bring other people to supply his place,

* “If we had commanded them saying ‘Slay yourselves or depart from your houses,’ they would not have done it.” Kur. IV.
† Abu Bakr Sálím-b-A’yyásah an eminent Traditionist and native of Kúfah. Eighteen days after the death of ar Rashid, Ibn Ayyásah died at Kufah, A. H. 193 (809) at the age of ninety-eight. Ibn Khalil.
‡ The text has “he said” meaning the narrator. In similar instances in future, the English idiom will be followed, to avoid breaks in the narrative and references to footnotes.
whom He will love and who will love Him.” And Ibn Abi Ḥātim, from Jūaybar, regarding the divine words, “say unto the Arabs of the desert who were left behind, ye shall be called forth against a mighty and a war-like nation (Kur. XLVIII), that he said, “these were the Banu Ḥunayfah.”* Ibn Abi Ḥātim and Ibn Ṭuwayphah† say that this verse is a proof of the Caliphate of Abu Bakr as Šiddik for it was he who summoned the people to fight against them. The Shaykh Abul Ḥasan al Aša’ri‡ relates “I heard Abul A’bbás-b-u’s Shurayh say, that the Caliphate of Abu Bakr is predicted in this verse of the Kūran;” he adds, “for the learned are agreed that after its revelation there were no wars to which the people were summoned except those wherein Abu Bakr summoned them§ and the people, to the reduction of the apostates and those who refused tribute.” He continues “this is demonstrative of the right of the succession of Abu Bakr and the duty of allegiance to him, since God has declared that he who turneth away from it “shall be punished with a grievous punishment.” (Kur. XLVIII).

Ibn Kathir says, “they who interpret the word ‘nation’ as being the Persians and Greeks, for them it is sufficient that it was as Šiddīk who fitted out an army against them, and the final settlement of their affairs was left in the hands of Omar and Othmān, for those two were but branches of as Šiddīk.” The Most High says, “God promiseth unto such of you as believe and do good works that he will cause them to succeed the unbelievers in the earth” (Kur. XXIV); this verse, says Ibn Kathir, is applicable to the Caliphate of Abu Bakr.” Ibn Abi Ḥātim records in his Com-

* They inhabited al Yamāmah and were the followers of Musaylama Muḥammad’s rival. Sale, p. 412.

† Abū Muḥammad Ab’du’llah-b-Muslim-b-Kutaybah, was a grammarian and philologer of eminence. He taught traditions in Baghdad. He was author of very numerous works on a variety of subjects. His father was a native of Marw; but he himself was born at Baghdad, or as some say at Kūfah. A. H. 213, (828-9), died A. H. 270 (884). Ibn Khall.

‡ Abul Ḥasan Ali al Aša’ri drew his descent from Abū Muṣā one of the prophet’s Companions. He was an able defender of the Sunnite doctrines and the founder of the sect called Aša’irī. Abū Bakr al Bakilānī was a great supporter of his peculiar views. He was born in Basrah, A. H. 270 (883-4) and died at Baghdad between A. H. 380 and 340, (941-52). He was at first a Mīzāzī but made a public renunciation of his belief in freewill and the creation of the Kūrān in the mosque at Basrah and wrote in refutation of that school. His works are 55 in number. Ibn Khall.

§ That is “the Arabs who were left behind” mentioned in the above verse. These were the tribes of Aslam, Juhaynah, Muzaynah and Ghifār who being summoned to attend Muḥammad in the expedition of Ḥudaybiyah, stayed behind and excused themselves by saying that their families must suffer in their absence, whereas in reality, they wanted firmness in the faith and courage to face the Kūraysh. Sale, p. 414.
mentary on the authority of Abdu'r Raḥmān-b-Abdīl Ḥamīd al Mahdī, that the jurisdiction of Abu Bakr and Omar is to be found in the Book of God according to the word of God, “God promiseth unto each of you as believe and do good works, that he will cause them to succeed the unbelievers in the earth.” And al Khaṭīb from Abu Bakr-b-A’yyāsh, that Abu Bakr as Ḫiddīḵ is mentioned in the Kurān as the successor of the Apostle of God, for the Most High God says, “to the poor Fugitives”* &c., to his word “these are men of veracity.” He therefore whom God calls “truthful” cannot lie: and the Companions used to address him “O vicegerent of the Apostle of God.” Al Bayhaḵī records on the authority of az Za’faranī† that he relates, “I heard as Shāfi’i say, “the people concurred in the Caliphate of Abu Bakr and that was, because men were in perplexity after the death of the Apostle of God, but they found not beneath the expance of heaven a better than Abu Bakr, and they placed him in authority over them.”

Asad u’s Sunnah in his Fadḥāl, (excellencies) records on the authority of Mu’āwiyyah-b-Kurrah † that he said, “the Companions of the Apostle of God never doubted that Abu Bakr was the Vicegerent of the Apostle of God, and they never called him anything but vicegerent of the Apostle of God, and they in no case concurred in what was false or erroneous.”

Al Ḥākim records and confirms it on the authority of Ibn Masa’ūd that he said, “the Muslims never approved a thing to be good, but it was good in the sight of the Lord, and they never judged a thing to be pernicious, but it was pernicious in the sight of the Lord, and verily all the Companions concurred in appointing Abu Bakr successor.” And al Ḥākim, records, ad Ḍahabi verifying it on the authority of Murrah-b-u’l-Tayyib that he said, “Abu Sufyān§-b-Harb went to A’li and said, “how is it that

* “A part also belongeth to the poor Muḥājerin who have been dispossessed of their houses and their substance, seeking favour from God, and his good will and assisting God and his Apostle. These are men of veracity” (Kur. LIX.) Wherefore Muhammad distributed those spoils among the Muḥājerin (Fugitives) only and gave no part to the Auxiliaries, except only to three of them who were in necessitous circumstances. Sale, p. 445.

† Abu A’li al Ḥasan-b-Muḥammad-b as Sabbāḥ, az Za’faranī, was one of as Shāfi’ī’s disciples. He attained an eminent rank as a doctor of law and tradition, died A. H. 260 (874). Za’faranī is derived from az Za’faranīyyah (the saffron field) a village near Baghdād. The street of this name in the city is called after this doctor who lived in it. Ibn Khall.

‡ Mu’āwiyyah-b-Kurrah-b-Iyās-b-Hilāl. He was the father of the celebrated Kādhi Iyās, Kā’di of Basrah, to whom Harīrī alludes in his 7th Makārah, as skilled in the art of physiognomy, see his life in Ibn Khallaḵān; Mu’āwiyyah died A. H. 80 (699).

§ Abu Sufyān Ṣakhr-b-Harb-b-Umāyya of the Kuraysh, the father of the Caliph Mu’āwiyyah.
this authority is with the least of the Kuraysh in insignificance, and the meanest of them? (that is Abu Bakr); by Allah I would like to pour the Kuraysh upon him, horse and foot." He adds, 'Ali replied "verily it is long since that thou hast been hostile to Islám, O Abu Sufyán, but that hurts it not at all; we find Abu Bakr worthy of the Caliphate."

On his covenant of allegiance.

The two Shaykhs record that Omar-b-u'l Khattáb addressed the people on his return from the pilgrimage and said in his exhortation—"It hath come to my knowledge that a certain one among you sayeth, 'were Omar to die, I would swear allegiance to such a one;'—let not any man deceive himself so as to say that fealty to Abu Bakr was hastily given,—although it was even so, yet the Lord prevented the evil consequences thereof; and there is not one among ye to-day behind whom the necks of competitors stop short,* like unto Abu Bakr. Verily he was the best among us when the Apostle of God died. And verily 'Ali and az Zubayr and they that were with them, remained behind in the house of Fátimah and all the Auxiliaries tarried behind us in the porch of the Banu Sá'idah, and the Fugitives gathered round Abu Bakr, and I said to him, "O Abu Bakr come with us to our brethren the Auxiliaries;" and we went, betaking ourselves to them, until we met two worthy men† who told us what the people had done and said "whither are ye going, ye men of the Fugitives?" I said, "we seek our brethren of the Auxiliaries." They answered, "see, that ye do not approach them, but settle your affairs yourselves, ye men of the Fugitives." Then I said, "by Allah, we will go to them;" and we went on till we came up to them in the porch of the Banu Sá'idah—and lo! they were assembled and in the middle of them was a man muffled up in his garments and I said "who is this?" And they said "Saa'd-b-U'bádah"‡—and I said "what is the matter with

* "Vor dem man sich mehr beugte" is Weil's translation of this passage. Leben Muham, p. 350. A'bd'ur Rahmán-b-'Ali as Shaybáni in the Taysíru'l Wusál interprets it, "before whom the necks of riding camels are cut off or stop short." And Ibn u'l Athir, the brother of the historian in the Kitáb u'n Niháyá a treatise on the obscure terms of the traditions, gives it the meaning I have rendered.

† These two were according to Zuhri, "Oweim-b-Sa'dah and Ma'an-b-A'dí." Weil-Leb-Muham, Vol. II, 352; Ma'an was one of those killed fighting at Yemámah against Musaylamah.

‡ Abu Thábit Saa'd-b-U'bádah b-Dulaym of the Banu Sá'idah, native of Medina. He was the standard bearer of the Auxiliaries in their expeditions. He was distinguished for his liberality. He died in Hawrán A. H. 16 and was buried at Mizzah near Damascus. An Nawáwi.
him?” They answered, “He is in pain.” And when we were seated, their preacher arose and glorified God as was befitting unto Him, and said, “and now, I say that we are the Auxiliaries of the Lord and the army of Islam, while ye, O men of the Fugitives, are but a handful amongst us, and verily a party among you have sallied forth seeking that ye may uproot us and exclude us from power.” And when he was silent, I sought to speak, and verily I had embellished a discourse which pleased me, which I intended to speak in presence of Abu Bakr, and verily I feared the want of some severity on his part,* for he was calmer than I and more sedate—Then Abu Bakr said. “Softly with thee,” and I was loth to anger him for he was wiser than I, and, by Allah, he did not omit a word of what had so pleased me in its composition, but he spoke it himself unpremeditatedly and surpassed it, so that I was speechless. And he said, “and now, as to what ye have said of good regarding yourselves, indeed ye are worthy of it, and the Arabs do not recognise this authority except in this tribe of the Quraysh—they are the noblest of the Arabs by descent and tribe, and verily I approve for ye one of these two men whichever ye please.” Then he took my hand and the hand of Abu U’baydah-b-u’l Jarrah. I was not displeased with what he otherwise said, but by Allah, were I brought out that thou shouldst strike off my head, though it hefelle me through no crime of mine, it would be more pleasing to me than that I should rule a people among whom was Abu Bakr. Then a speaker of the Auxiliaries said, “I am of those by means of whose counsel people seek relief†—let there be a ruler from among us and a ruler from among ye, O men of the Quraysh.” Then the confusion increased and voices rose high until I feared a tumult, and I said, “stretch out thy hand O Abu Bakr,” and he stretched out his hand, and I took the oath of fealty to him, and the Fugitives swore allegiance to him; then the Auxiliaries swore allegiance to him, and by Allah, in regard to that for which we assembled, we could find nothing more fitting than to swear fealty to Abu Bakr—we feared that if we separated from the concourse and no covenant were taken, they might conclude a covenant after our departure so that we should either have to hold to a covenant with them which we did not approve, or to oppose them, whence discord would arise.”

An Nasai, Abu Ya’la and al Ḥakim record, verifying it on the authority of Ibn Masa’ud, that when the Apostle of God died, the Auxi-

† Literally “I am their much-rubbed little rubbing-post and their propped little palm tree loaded with fruit” i.e., as many camels seek relief by rubbing themselves against a post, so I am such a post for ye, and I have a family that will aid and defend me. See Lane’s Lex art چُدُل
Auxiliaries said, "let there be a ruler from among us, and from among ye a ruler," whereupon Omar-b-u'll Khaṭṭāb went to them and said—"O ye men of the Auxiliaries, know ye not that the Apostle of God commanded Abu Bakr to lead the people in prayer? now which of ye preferreth himself to Abu Bakr?" The Auxiliaries exclaimed "God forbid that we should take precedence of Abu Bakr." And Ibn Sa'am, al Ḥākim, and al Bayhaqi from Abu Sa'id al Khudri, "the Apostle of God died, and the people assembled in the house of Sa'a'd-b-U'badah and among them were Abu Bakr and Omar, and the preachers of the Auxiliaries arose and a man among them began to speak saying, "O ye men of the Fugitives, whenever the Apostle of God appointed one from among you to any authority, he joined unto him one of us; we think therefore that two men, one from among you, and one from among us, should assume this authority;" and the preachers of the Auxiliaries followed each other after the same manner. Then Zayd-b-Thabit arose and said, "do ye not know that the Apostle of God was of the Fugitives, and we were the Auxiliaries of the Apostle of God, therefore are we the Auxiliaries of his vicegerent, as we were his Auxiliaries." Then he took Abu Bakr by the hand and said "this is your master." Then Omar and afterwards the Fugitives and the Auxiliaries swore allegiance to him, and Abu Bakr ascended the pulpit, and he looked among the chiefs of the people, but beheld not as Zubayr. He therefore summoned az Zubayr and he came and he said, "thou sayest that thou art the son of the aunt of the Apostle of God, and his disciple, dost thou wish to break the staff of the Muslims?" Az Zubayr replied "no blame be laid on thee, O vicegerent of the Apostle of God!" and he rose and swore allegiance to him. Then Abu Bakr looked among the chiefs of the people, and he saw not A'li. He therefore summoned him and he came: then he said "thou callest thyself the son of the uncle of the Apostle of God, and related unto him through his daughter, dost thou wish to break the staff of the Muslims?" He replied "no blame be laid on thee, O vicegerent of the Apostle of God!" and he swore him allegiance.

Ibn Ishāq records on his "Sirat " (record) from Anas-b-Malik that after Abu Bakr had received the covenant of allegiance in the porch of the Banu Sā'idah, when the morrow came, he seated himself at the pulpit, and Omar rose and spoke before Abu Bakr. And he praised God and magnified him and then said;" verily the Lord hath centred your authority on the best among you, the Companion of the Apostle of God, and "the second of the two when they two were in the cave," therefore arise and swear allegiance unto him." And the people swore unto Abu Bakr a general allegiance after the allegiance of the Porch. Then Abu Bakr spoke and praised God and magnified Him, then continued, "and now, O ye people, verily I have received authority over you
though I be not the best among you, yet if I do well, assist me, and if I incline to evil, direct me aright. Truth is a sacred trust and falsehood is a betrayal. He that is weak among you, is strong before me, inasmuch as I shall restore unto him his due, if it please God, and he that is strong among you is weak, inasmuch as I shall take that which is due from him if it please God. A people abstaineth not from warring in the cause of the Lord, but he smiteth them with ignominy, and iniquity is never made manifest among a people, but He afflicteth them with misfortune. Obey me as long as I obey the Lord and his Apostle, and when I turn aside from the Lord and his Apostle, then obedience to me shall not be obligatory upon you. Rise up to your prayers—may the Lord have mercy upon you.”

Abu Mūsā-b-U’kbah in his ‘Maghāzi’ (Battles) records, likewise al Hākim, verifying it on the authority of A’bdūr-Rahmān-b-A’uf that Abu Bakr preached and spoke saying, “by Allah, I was never covetous of this authority, neither by day nor by night, nor desirous of it, nor asked it of God either in secret or openly, but I was in fear of sedition. I have no repose in this authority. Verily I am invested with a mighty office, the power and capacity for which are not in me, save by the assistance of God.” Then Ali and az ’Zubayr said, “we were not incensed but for this, that we were put aside from the consultation, yet we think Abu Bakr the most deserving of that authority among men, for he was the Companion in the Cave, and we indeed recognise his superiority and his excellence, and verily the Apostle of God while he was yet alive commanded him to pray before the people.” And Ibn Saa’d from ’Ibrahim at Taymi* that he said “when the Apostle of God died, Omar went to Abu U’baydah-b-u’l Jarrah” and said “stretch out thy hand, for verily I will swear thee allegiance for thou art the trusted one of this people according to the word of the Apostle of God.” And Abu U’baydah replied to Omar, “never before this have I seen in thee weakness of mind since thou hast embraced Islām. What! wilt thou swear allegiance to me when there is among you as Śu’dīk, and he the second of the two?” And from Muḥammad, that Abu Bakr said to Omar, “stretch out thy hand, verily I will swear thee allegiance,” but Omar said to him “thou art more meritorious than I.” Abu Bakr replied, “thou art firmer than I” and again he repeated it, but Omar said, “then verily thou hast my firmness together with thy merit,” and he swore allegiance to him. And Ahmad from Ḥamīd-b-A’bdīr Rahmān-b-A’uf, “the Apostle of God died, and Abu Bakr was with some of the people of Medina, and he came

* ’Ibrahim-b-u’l Ḥārith-b-Khālid-b-Sakhr at Taymi, of the Kuraysh. According to al Bukhāri, he and his father were among the Fugitives. That he survived Muḥammad is all that is known of him by Ibn Hajr.
and uncovered his face and kissed it and said 'May my father and my mother be a ransom for thee? how sweet wert thou in life and art in death! Muhammad is dead—by the Lord of the Kaabah—‘ and he repeated the tradition’—he adds ‘Abu Bakr and Omar departed leading each other along until they came to the Auxiliaries and Abu Bakr spake and did not omit a thing of what had been revealed regarding the Auxiliaries, nor of what the Apostle of God had said concerning them, but he mentioned it and exclaimed, ‘verily ye know that the Apostle of God said, ‘were the people to march in one valley, and the Auxiliaries marched in another valley, I would march in the valley of the Auxiliaries;’" and verily thou knowest O Saa’d,* that the Apostle of God said when thou wert seated by, “the Kuraysh are the masters of this authority and the good men will follow those of them that are good, and the wicked will follow the wicked among them.” Then Saa’d said to him—“thou hast spoken truly—we are the ministers and ye are the princes.”

Ibn A’śākir records on the authority of Abu Sa’īd al Khudri that when homage was paid to Abu Bakr, he saw some dissatisfaction among the people and he said, “what keeps you back O men? am not I the most deserving of this authority among you? was not I the first to embrace Islam? was not I this and that?” and he mentioned his qualifications. And Ahmad Rafi† u’l Táí that he said, “Abu Bakr told me of the allegiance sworn to him and what the Auxiliaries and what Omar had said to him and he added “then they swore allegiance to me and I accepted it from them, for I feared lest discord should arise and apostasy follow it.” And Ibn Ishák and Ibn A’āṣid‡ in his ‘Magházi,’ from the same, that he said to Abu Bakr, “what brought thee to take upon thyself the government of the people, when verily thou hadst forbidden me to rule over two of them?” He replied “I found no way of avoiding it I feared dissensions among the people of Muhammad.”

And Ahmad from Ḳays-b-Abi Ḥázim, verily I was seated by Abu Bakr as Siddik about a month after the death of the Apostle of God and he was

* Saa’d-b-Ubádah.
† Rafi’-b-A’mr-b-Jábir-b-Ḥaráith at Tá’l. In the time of ignorance he lived as a robber and used to fill ostrich eggs with water and hide them in various places in the desert for his own use, and when he became a convert he became a guide for the Muslims in their expeditions. He had made a particular friend of Abu Bakr at the engagement of Ḳát Salásil, who used to allow him to sleep on his own bedding and gave him some of his own clothes to wear and acted as his spiritual director. He died at the close of the Caliphate of Omar. Ibn Hajr.
‡ The text has A’ūbíd, for A’āṣid. The author’s real name is Abu A’bdulláh Muḥammad-b-A’āṣid of the tribe of Ḳuraysh, a native of Damascus and like Ibn Ishák the author of a Magházi. Kashfu’d Dhunún.
relating the account of it, when the summons to prayer went forth among the people, and the people assembled together and he ascended the pulpit and said, "O men, I would indeed have been glad if another had sufficed for this in my stead, and though you have taken me according to the command of your prophet, I am not capable of performing its duties, for the prophet was indeed preserved from the deceits of the evil one, and inspiration descended upon him from heaven."

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of al Ḥasan of Basrah that when allegiance was sworn to Abu Bakr, he stood up and preached saying, "and now, verily I have been placed in this authority, though I am averse from it, and by Allah, I would have been pleased if any of you had sufficed for it in my stead, but if you charge me to act unto you as did the Apostle of God, I could not undertake it, for the Apostle of God was a servant whom the Lord honored with His inspiration and preserved him thereby from error, and surely I am a mortal and am not better than any one of you—therefore watch over me—and when you see that I am steadfast, then obey me, and when you see that I turn aside from the right path, set me aright. And know that I have a devil that seizes upon me, therefore when you see me enraged, avoid me, for at that time, I cannot be influenced by your counsels or your glad salutations." And Ibn Saa’d and al Khaṭib, according to the narration of Mālik from U’rwah, that when Abu Bakr assumed the supreme power, he preached to the people and he praised God and magnified Him and said, "and now, verily I have been made to rule over you though I am not the most worthy among you; but the Kurān was revealed and the prophet declared the law, and instructed us and we learnt of him; and know, O men, that piety is the most solid goodness, and the vilest of what is vile is vice, and verily the strongest among you before me is he that is weak, inasmuch as I shall take for him what is due to him and the weakest among you before me is he that is strong inasmuch as I shall take from him that which is due by him: O men, verily I am a follower and not an innovator, therefore when I do well, aid me, and if I turn aside, direct me aright. I have spoken, and may God have mercy upon me and upon you." Mālik says, "no one ever becomes Imām except upon this account." Al Ḥākim records in his Mustadrak (supplement) from Abu Hurayrah that when the Apostle of God died, Mecca was convulsed by an earthquake, and Abu Kuḥāfah noticed it and said "what is this." They said, "the Apostle of God is dead." He answered. "It is a momentous thing, who then hath risen up in authority after him?" They said, "thy son." He replied, "will the Banu A’lid Manāf and the Banu’l Mughirah consent to this?" They answered "yes." He exclaimed, "there is no overthrower of that which hath been exalted, and no exalter of that which hath been humbled." Al Wākidī records with
On what occurred during his Caliphate and the chief events that took place during his time, such as the despatch of the army of Usámah, the slaughter of the apostates and those who refused the poor rate, Musaylamah the liar and the collection of the Kurán.

Al Isma'ílī records on the authority of Omar that he said, "when the Apostle of God died, some of the Arabs fell from the faith and they said, 'we will perform the prayers, but we will not pay the poor rate:' I went to Abu Bakr and said, 'O vicegerent of the Apostle of God, conciliate the people and be indulgent to them for they are but on a level with brute beasts:' and he replied, 'I hoped for thy help and thou hast come to me withholding thy aid—thou wert haughty in the time of ignorance and art meanspirited in Islám—wherefore then should I conciliate them by lying verses and deceitful eloquence? Alas! alas! the prophet is dead and divine inspiration is withheld! By Allah, I will do battle with them as long as I can grasp a sword in my hand, even if they deny me the worth of a camel's halter.'" Omar adds, "I found him in this business more energetic and determined than myself, and he governed the affairs of the people with justice—thus many of their difficulties were made easy to me when I came to rule them." And Abu'l Įásim al Baghawi, and Abu Bakr as Sháfi'i in his "Fawáid," (Useful Observations) and Ibn A'sákir record from Ayesha that she said, "when the Apostle of God died, hypocrisy raised its head, and the Arabs apostatized and the Auxiliaries turned away and if

* "Enfin Mahomed mourut un samedi, second jour de la semaine chez les Musulmans dans le moi Rabie premier." I know not on what authority Boulayvilliers makes يوم الإ شدين ("the second day") to be Saturday. See Vie de Mahomed, p. 440.

† Abu Bakr Ahmad-b-Ibrahim al Isma'ílī, a great Sháfi'i doctor, famous for his knowledge of the law and tradition. He was the author of numerous works on tradition. He died in Rajab A. H. 371 (982) aged 94. His son Abu Saa'd, called also al Isma'ílī, studied under his father and became Shaykh of the Sháfi'is in Jurján, died A. H. 396, (A. D. 1005-6) aged 63. De Slane, Ibn Khall.
what fell upon my father had fallen upon the solid mountains, it would have crushed them; and the Companions never disputed a single point, but he was prompt with its advantages and its merits. They said 'where is the prophet to be buried?' and we found no one who had any knowledge regarding this; but Abu Bakr exclaimed, 'I heard the Apostle of God say, no prophet died but he was buried under the bed in which he expired.' "Aysha adds, "they disputed regarding his inheritance, and they found no one who had any information on this point; but Abu Bakr exclaimed, 'I heard the Apostle of God say, 'we, the Company of the prophets are not inherited of—that which we leave is the portion of the poor.'"

Some of the learned say that this was the first disagreement that occurred among the Companions, for some of them said, "let us bury him in Mecca, the city wherein he was born," and others said, "nay, in his mosque," and others "nay, in the cemetery of Medina," and others "nay in Jerusalem, the Sepulchre of the prophets," until Abu Bakr informed them of what he knew. Ibn Zunjawayh says, that as Siddīk was the single authority for this tradition among the Fugitives and Auxiliaries, and they had recourse to him for it. Al Bayhaki and Ibn A’sákir record on the authority of Abu Hurayrah, that he said, "by Him, than whom there is no other God, if Abu Bakr had not been appointed Caliph, God would not have been worshipped,"—this he said a second, and again a third time; then they said to him, "how so, O Abu Hurayrah!" and he said, "verily the Apostle of God sent Usámah-b-Zayd at the head of seven hundred men to Syria and when they reached Dū Khushub* the prophet died, and the Arabs round about Medina apostatized, and the Companions of the Apostle of God gathered about Abu Bakr and they said, "recall these— will you send these against the Greeks while the Arabs around Medina have apostatized?" but he said, "by Him, than whom there is no other God, were dogs to drag the wives of the prophet by their feet, I would not recall an army despatched by the Apostle of God, nor would I dismount a standard that he had bound." He therefore despatched Usámah, who so acted that he never passed in his march by a tribe inclined to apostatize but they said, "were there no strength in them, such as these would not have gone forth from among them, but let us leave them to encounter the Greeks;" and they encountered them and defeated them and slew them and returned in safety whereupon those others remained steadfast in Islám." And from U’rwah, "the Apostle of God kept saying in his illness, 'despatch the army of Usámah.' He therefore set out until he reached "Jurf,"† and the prophet's wife Fatimah sent to him saying, "hasten not, for verily the Apostle of God is grievously sick," and he did not proceed

* A valley about one march from Medina. Yákút, M. B.
† Three miles from Medina on the road to Syria.
until the Apostle of God died and when he was dead, Usámah returned to 
Abu Bakr and said, "verily the Apostle of God sent me forth but we were 
under different circumstances to what you are now—verily I fear lost the 
Arabs apostatize and if they apostatize, they should be the first to be 
attacked, and if they do not apostatize I will set forth, for with me are 
the chiefs of the people and the most distinguished amongst them." Then 
Abu Bakr preached to the people and said, "by Allah, were* a bird of prey 
to carry me off, it would be more pleasing to me than that I should set 
about anything before the command of the Apostle of God: he therefore 
despatched him."

Ad Ḍahābī says that when the death of the Apostle of God became 
known round about, many of the Arab tribes apostatized from Islám and 
refused the payment of the poor rate, and Abu Bakr as Siddîq set out to 
attack them, but Omar and others counselled him to abstain from attacking 
them, but he said, "by Allah, if they deny me so much as a camel’s halter 
or a kid which they used to pay to the Apostle of God, I will war against 
them for the refusal of it;" then Omar said, "how canst thou war against the 
people, when verily the Apostle of God said, "I have been commanded to do 
battle against men until they confess that there is no God but God, and verily 
Muḥammad is the Apostle of God, and whoever confesseth it his property 
and life are safe from me, save in the claim and account of God therein." 
Abu Bakr replied, "by Allah, I will surely oppose by force those who dis-
tinguish between prayers and the poor rate, for the poor rate is a due from 
property and verily the prophet said "save in the claim therein." Omar 
says, "then, by Allah, I saw it was nothing else than that God had dis-
posed the heart of Abu Bakr to combat them and I knew that it was just." 
And on the authority of U’rwah, "Abu Bakr set out with the Fugitives 
and Auxiliaries until they reached Naṣa’a over against Najd, and the Arabs 
fled with their families and the people addressed Abu Bakr, saying, "re-
turn to Medina and to the children and women, and set a man in command 
of the army," and they did not desist until he returned and appointed 
Khálid-b-u’r’l Walîd and said to him, "when they shall have embraced the 
faith, and paid the poor rate, then let any among you who so wishes, 
return," and he went back to Medina.

Ad Darakuṭni records on the authority of Ibn Omar, that when Abu 
Bakr set forth and was mounted upon his camel, A’li-b-Abi Ṭalîb took it 
by the bridle and said, "whither goest thou, O Vicegerent of the Apostle of 
God? I say unto thee that which the Apostle of God said unto thee on the 
day of Ohud, 'sheath thy sword and make us not anxious for thy person'— 
and turn back to Medîna, for, by Allah, if we suffer loss in thee, Islám will

* Meaning were he carrion and a feast for birds of prey.
never be set in order." And from Handhalah-b-A'li-al Laythi, that Abu Bakr despatched Khálid and commanded him to war against men for five objects; whosoever refused any one of these, he should attack him as he would attack any who had refused all the five, viz., the confession of faith "verily there is no God, but God and—verily Muḥammad is his servant and his apostle—the institution of prayers—the donation of the poor rate, the fast of Ramaḍhán. Khálid and those who were with him, then went forth in Jumáda’ ‘I A‘khír and he attacked the Bání Asad and Ghaṭfán and slew whom he slew, and captured whom he captured, and the rest returned to Islám; and of the Companions who were slain in this affair were U’káshah*- b-Miḥsán and Thábit-b-Akram.

In Ramadán of this year, died Fátimah daughter of the Apostle of God, the chief of women upon earth, her age being four and twenty. Ad Ğahábi says that the Apostle of God had no descendants but by her, for the posterity of his daughter Zaynab† became extinct (so says az Zubayr-b-Bakkar) and Umm Aya'man‡ died a month before her.

In the month of Shawwádl died A'bdulláh the son of Abu Bakr as Siddík. After this Khálid set out with his army for Yamáma to attack Musaylamah the liar towards the end of the year. The armies met and the investment§ lasted some days. At length Musaylamah the liar, God curse him, was slain—Waḥshi the slayer of Hamzah killed him.

Among the Companions that fell in this engagement were Abu Huḍayfah-b-U'thab, Sálim his freedman, Shu'ja'’-b-Wahab, Zayd-b-u'l Khattáb- A'bdulláh-b-Sahl, Málik-b-A'mr Ğufayl-b-A'mr a'd Dausi, Yazíd-b-Kays, A’ámir-b-Bukayr, A'bdulláh-b-Mákhrámah, Sáib-b-Othmán-b-Madha’án, Ubád-b-Bashir, Maa'n-b-A'di, Thábit-b-Kays-b-Shamás, Abu Dujánah Simák-b-Harb, and others amounting to seventy.|| Musaylamah on the

* One of the Companions held in much favour by Muḥammad. At Badr his sword broke and Muḥammad gave him a dried palm branch which became in his hand a sword with a white blade and a firm handle with which he returned to the battle. He was one of the 70 to whom Muḥammad promised paradise without the judgment being held regarding them. He was 44 years old when Muḥammad died. An Nawawi.
† She married her aunt's son A'bu'tl Afsí-b-i'r Rabí' al A'bahamí. Ibn Hajr.
‡ His foster-mother Barakah, an Abyssinian slave girl who tended Muḥammad on the death of his father A'bdulláh, and continued in the capacity of his nurse after the death of his mother Amina. She married Zayd-b-Hárirthá. Ibn Hajr.
§ The followers of Musaylamah retired into a garden called the "Hádikatu'l A'hdí'r Rahman, and afterwards 'Hádikatu'l Mawt, or the garden of death, and there defended themselves to the last. According to the account of Waḥshi quoted in the Raudhat u's Safa he allows Ibn Amára a share in the death of Musaylamah as they both attacked him at the same time. Hamzah the uncle of Muḥammad was slain at the battle of Ohud.
|| These were only the principal men among the fallen, for says Gilbon "in tho
day he was slain was a hundred and* fifty years old, his birth having taken place before that of A’bdu’llah the father of the prophet.

In the year 12 A. H. as Siddik sent al A’la-b-u’l Hadhrami to Bahrain where they had apostatized, and the armies met at Jawatha, and the Muslims were victorious. Then he sent A’kramah-b-Abi Jahl to A’mmán where they had also fallen from the faith, and he despatched al Muhajir-b-Abi Umayyah, against the people of Nujayr who likewise had apostatized, and Ziyád-b-Labíd the Auxiliary, against another body of the apostates.

In this year died Abu’l A’asi-b-u’r Rabii’ the husband of Zaynab daughter of the Apostle of God, and as Saa’d-b-Jathhámah al Laythi and Abu Marthád al Ghanawi.

In this year likewise, after the reduction of the apostates as Siddik sent Khálid-b-u’l Walid to the land of Baṣra, who attacked Ubulla and captured it and took Madání Kisra, the one in Irák, partly by treaty and partly by force. During the same, Abu Bakr undertook the pilgrimage and despatched A’mar-b-u’l A’ás and the army to Syria and there occurred the battle of Ajnadayn in the month of the first Jumáda A. H. 13, and the Muslims were victorious and Abu Bakr received the good tidings of it when he was dying. In this battle, there fell A’krahmah-b-Abi Jahl and Hishám-b-u’l A’así and others. In the same year took place the engagement of Marju’s Suffar,† where the infidels were defeated and al Fadhl-b-u’l A’bbás and others were killed.

The Collection of the Kurán.

Al Bukhári records on the authority of Zayd-b-Thábit that he said, “Abu Bakr sent for me at the time of the slaughter of the people at Yamáma, Omar being with him and said ‘verily Omar hath come to me saying, “the slaughter of the men at Yamáma was great and I fear lest first action thy they were repulsed with a loss of twelve hundred men: their defeat was avenged by the slaughter of 1000 infidels and Muselama himself was pierced by an Ethiopian slave with the same javelin which had mortally wounded the uncle of Mahomet.”” Decline and Fall.

* This must be a great exaggeration as it was but a short time before his death that the prophetess Sajáh fell in love with him for the beauty and manliness of his person. After his death she resided with the Taghlabites and was converted in the Caliphate of Mu’áwiyyah. Abu’l Feda Annales, p. 212.

† Close to Damascus. Several skirmishes took place before Damascus, during the siege, little to the credit of the warriors of the Cross. For a detailed account of this period, consult the interesting pages of Ockley.
the loss in action of the readers of the Kurán in the provinces become excessive, and therefore much of the Kurán may be lost unless they collect it together, and verily I think that the Kurán should be collected.” Abu Bakr went on, “and I replied to Omar, how shall I do the thing which the Apostle of God hath not done”? Omar answered “by Allah, it is a good work,” and he did not cease to persist with me in this matter until God enlightened my mind concerning it, and I have come to think as Omar thinks.” Zayd adds, “Omar, was meanwhile seated by him not speaking: then Abu Bakr said, “thou art an intelligent youth and I have no doubts regarding thee, and verily thou wert he who recorded the revelations of the Apostle of God, search therefore for the Kurán and collect it.” And by Allah, had he charged me with the carrying away of a hill from among the mountains, it would not have been weightier upon me than that which he commanded me in the collection of the Kurán, and I said, “how can you two undertake a thing which the Apostle of God hath not done?” and Abu Bakr said, “by Allah, it is a good work,” and I did not cease discussing it with him, until God enlightened my mind in that towards which he had already disposed the minds of Abu Bakr and Omar. And I searched for the Kurán and collected it from scraps of paper and shoulder-blades* and leafless palm branches, and the minds of men until I found from the Sura of Repentance (IX) two verses in the possession of Khuzaymah-b-Thábit which I found with no one else viz., “now hath an Apostle come to you of your own nation” (Kur. IX), to the end. The pages in which the Kurán was collected remained with Abu Bakr until the Lord took him to Himself, then with Omar until the Lord took him to Himself, and afterwards with Hafshah daughter of Omar. Abu Ya’la records on the authority of A’li that he said, “the greatest among men meritng reward for the volumes of the Kurán is Abu Bakr, for he it was who first collected the Kurán between two boards.”

**On the things in which he was foremost.**

Among these are, that he was the first to embrace Islám, the first to collect the Kurán, the first who named it ‘Mus'haf,’ (the Book) the proof of which has been advanced, and he was the first who was called Caliph. Ahmad records on the authority of Abu Bakr-b-Abi Mulaykah, that he said, Abu Bakr was once addressed “O Vicegerent of God.” He replied, “I am

* On comparing the passage with the Sahih of al Bukhári I find a slight difference in the reading in various places: for ‘shoulder-blades’ إكنان, al Bukhari, has thin whitish stones.
the Vicegerent of the Apostle of God and with this I am content.” He was the first who ruled the Caliphate while his father was yet alive, and the first Caliph for whom his subjects appointed a stipend. Al Bukhāri records from Ayesha that she narrates, “when Abu Bakr was appointed Caliph he said, “my people know that my profession* is not insufficient for the provision of my family, but I am busied with the affairs of the Muslims and the family of Abu Bakr will soon consume this property of his while he is labouring for the Muslims.” And Ibn Sa’ad from A’tá-b-u’s Sáib† that he said, “after allegiance had been sworn unto Abu Bakr, next morning he arose and was going to the market place with some mantles upon his arm, when Omar said to him, “whither art thou going?” He replied, “to the market place:” Omar said, “dost thou do this although thou hast been given to rule over the Muslims?” He answered, “whence, then shall my family be fed?” Omar replied, “Come! A’bu U’baydah shall provide for thee:” and they went to Abu U’baydah and he said “I will set apart for thee, the allowance for one man of the Fugitives—neither that assigned to the best, nor to the meanest among them, and a garment for winter and for summer; when thou hast worn a thing out; thou canst return it and take another.” Then he assigned unto him every day, half a sheep and the wherewith to cover his head and his person. And from Maymūn, “when Abu Bakr became Caliph, they assigned to him two thousand dirhams, and he said, “increase the sum for me for I have a family, and you have employed me on other work than my own trade”; so they gave him an increase of five hundred dirhams.”

At Ṭabarānī records in his Musnad on the authority of al Ḥasan-b-A’li-b-Abī Ṭālib that he said, “when Abu Bakr was near unto death, he said, “O Ayesha, behold the camel, the milk of which we have drank, and the platter in which we prepared our food, and the garments we have worn; verily we made use of them when we governed the affairs of the Muslims. When I die, give them to Omar.” When therefore Abu Bakr died, she sent them to Omar, and he said, “the Lord have mercy upon thee, Abu Bakr, for verily thou hast afflicted him who cometh after thee.” And Ibn Abi’d Dunya, from Abu Bakr-b-Hafṣ that he said, “Abu Bakr, when he was near unto death, said to Ayesha, “daughter—we have governed the affairs of the Muslims and have not taken for ourselves either a dinár or a dirham, but we have eaten the fill of our bellies with the coarse flour of their food, and clothed our backs with their rough garments and there doth not remain with us of the booty taken by the Muslims, save this Nubian slave and this camel

* He was by trade a cloth-merchant.
† Abu’s Sáib A’tá-bu’s Sáib-b-Málīk a member of the tribe of Thakif and a native of Káfūh, a traditionist of good authority, died A. H. 136 (753-4). De Slane, I. K.
for drawing water, and this coarse garment, but when I die, send them to Omar." He was the first also, to establish a public treasury. Ibn Sas'd records on the authority of Sahl-b-Abi Khaythamah and others that Abu Bakr had the public treasury at Sunh,* over which no one kept guard. It was said to him "wilt thou not place over it some one to guard it?" He replied, "there is a lock upon it": and he used to give away what was in it till it was empty. But when he removed into the city he transferred it and placed it in his house; and the revenue came in to him, and he used to distribute it amongst the poor and divide it equally amongst them. He used also to purchase camels and horses and arms and give them away for the service of God; and he used to buy garments that were brought in from the desert tracts and distribute them amongst the widows of Medina.

When Abu Bakr died and was buried, Omar summoned the trustees amongst them being A'bdu'r Raḥmān-b-A'uf and Othman-b-A'affān, and entered with them into the treasury of Abu Bakr; and they opened the treasury, but they did not find a thing in it, neither a dinār nor a dirham.

I observe that this tradition refutes the remark of al A'skari in his Awāyil (Beginnings) that the first who instituted a public treasury was Omar, and that neither the prophet possessed a public treasury nor Abu Bakr. Indeed I have refuted this in the work which I composed on the Awāyil. Moreover I have observed that al A'skari himself adverted to it in another part of his book, for he says that the first who superintended the public treasury was Abu U'baydah b-u'l Jarrāh on the part of Abu Bakr. Al Ḥākim says that the first surname in Islām, was the surname of Abu Bakr, Atīk.

The two Shaykhs record on the authority of Jābir that the Apostle of God said to him, "when the tribute comes from Bahrayn I will give thee so much and so much," but when the tribute from Bahrayn came in after the death of the Apostle of God, Abu Bakr said—"he who hath a claim against the Apostle of God or a promise from him, let him come to us," and I went and informed him and he said "take," and I took and found that the promise was for five hundred dirhams, but he gave me two thousand five hundred.

* In one of the suburbs of Medina about a mile distant from the house of Muḥammad. Yaḥūṭ, M. B.
On some examples of his gentleness and humility.

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Anisah,* that she said, “Abu Bakr settled amongst us three years before he was appointed Caliph, and one year after he became so, and the girls of the tribe used to go to him with their flocks and he used to milk them for them.” And Ahmad in the “Zuhd” from Maymán-b-Mihrán that he said, “a man went to Abu Bakr and said ‘peace be to thee, O Vicegerent of the Apostle of God.’” He replied “who among these assembled is he?” And Ibn A'sákir from Abu Šálib al Ghifarí, that Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb was in the habit of ministering at night to an aged blind woman in one of the suburbs of the city, and he used to give her to drink and assist her, and it came to pass that he went to her and found another who was before him with her and who did what she required. He went again another time that he might not be anticipated in attendance on her, and lay in wait for him and behold it was Abu Bakr who was going to her, he being at that time Caliph, and Omar exclaimed “by my life, thou art the man!” And Abu Nu'ay'm and others from A'bud-r Rahmán al Ispahání that al Hasan the son of A'il went to Abu Bakr, who was then on the pulpit of the Apostle of God, and said “come down from the seat of my father,” and he answered, “thou speakest truly for this is thy father's seat”; and he put him on his lap and wept and A'li said, “by Allah, this was not said by my command,” and Abu Bakr said, “thou speakest the truth; by Allah, I did not suspect thee.”

Ibn Saa’d records on the authority of Ibn Omar that he said, “the prophet appointed Abu Bakr to lead the pilgrimage in the first pilgrimage that took place in Islám; then the Apostle of God performed it himself the following year, and when the Apostle of God died, and Abu Bakr became Caliph, he appointed Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭáb to lead the pilgrimage and performed it himself the year following, and when Abu Bakr died and Omar became Caliph, he appointed A'bud-r Rahmán-b-A'uf over the pilgrimage. Subsequently Omar failed not to perform it himself each year till his death, when Othman succeeded to the Caliphate, and he appointed A'bud-r Rahmán-b-Auf over the pilgrimage.”

On his illness, death and last testament and the Caliphate of Omar.

Sayf and al Ḥákím record on the authority of Ibn Omar that the cause of the death of Abu Bakr was through excessive grief for the death

* Daughter of Khubayb-b-Yasáf, one of the Auxiliaries. She accompanied Muḥammad in some of his pilgrimages and related traditions from him. Ibn Hajr.
of the Apostle of God, his body continuing to waste away until he died. And Ibn Saa’d and al Ḥākim on good authorities from Ibn Shihāb, that Abu Bakr and al Ḥārith-b-Kaladah* were eating broth which had been sent as a present to Abu Bakr, when al Ḥārith said to Abu Bakr, “withdraw thy hand, O Vicegerent of the Apostle of God, for by Allah, there is poison in it, that will do its work in a year, and I and thou shall both die on the same day.” And he withdrew his hand, and these two did not fail to sicken until they died on the same day about the close of the year. And al Ḥākim from Shaa’bi that he said, “what can we expect from this vile world when even the Apostle of God was poisoned and poisoned was Abu Bakr?”

And al Wāķidī and al Ḥākim from Ayesha that the beginning of the sickness of Abu Bakr, was that he bathed on Monday the 7th of Jumāda’l Aakhirah, and the day was cold and he took fever for fifteen days and did not come forth to prayers and died on Tuesday the 22nd of Jumāda’l Aakhirah in the thirteenth year of the Hijrah being sixty-three years old (23rd August, 634).

Ibn Saa’d and Ibn Abī ’d Dunya record on the authority of Abu’s Safar that the Companions went in unto Abu Bakr in his sickness and said, “O Vicegerent of the Apostle of God, shall we call unto thee a physician that he may look to thee?” He replied, “verily he hath already seen me.” And they answered “what did he say?” He said, “verily I effect that which I please.”† And al Wāķidī on different authorities, that when Abu Bakr sickened, he summoned A’bdur Rahmān-b-Auf and said, “tell me of Omar-b-u’l Khaṭṭāb.” He replied “thou canst not ask me concerning anything but thou art better acquainted with it than I.” Abu Bakr said “well, even so.” A’bdur Rahmān answered, “by Allah, he is even better than thy opinion of him.” Then he summoned Othmān-b-A’ffān and said, “tell me of Omar-b-u’l Khaṭṭāb” and he answered, “thou knowest more of him than I.” Abu Bakr replied, “Be it so.” The other replied, “verily, my knowledge is that his inward disposition is better than his outward appearance, and indeed there is not his like

* One of Muḥammād’s Companions—of the tribe of Thākīf, and a judge of the Arabs. His wife was al Fā’irīghā daughter to Hammām-b-U’rwah: going into her apartment one morning he found her picking her teeth on which he sent her a sentence of divorce for said he “if you have breakfasted before your time, you are a glutton and if you have passed the night with particles of meat between your teeth, you are a slut.” To this she replied that it was neither one nor the other, but that she was removing the fragment of a toothpick. She afterwards married Yusuf-b-U’tayl to whom she bore the tyrant at Hajjlāj. Ibn Khall.

† Taken with a slight alteration from the Kur. chapters XI and LXXXV.
amongst us." Abu Bakr consulted together with those two, Sa'īd-b-Zayd, and Usayd-b-u'l Hudhayr, and others from among the Fugitives and Auxiliaries, and Usayd said, "verily, I think him the best after thee; he approves what merits approval, and is indignant with what deserves wrath; what he conceals is better than what he suffers to appear, and no one can sway this authority more vigorously than he." Some of the Companions went unto Abu Bakr and one of them spake to him saying, "what wilt thou say to thy Lord, when He asketh of thee regarding the appointment of Omar over us, and verily thou seest his asperity of temper": and Abu Bakr said, "by Allah, dost thou think to terrify me? I shall say O God I have given the best of thy people to rule over them. Tell others from me what I have said." Then he summoned Othmán and said, "write—In the name of God the most merciful and compassionate. This is the testament made by Abu Bakr the son of Abu Kuḥāfah at the close of his life in the world as he is about to leave it, and at the beginning of his life in the next, being about to enter it, a time when the infidel believeth and the sinner gaineth certitude, and the liar speaketh the truth. I have made Caliph over you after me, Omar-b-u'l Khattāb—therefore hear and obey him, and verily I have not been wanting in my duty to God and His apostle and His religion and myself and you: if therefore he acteth justly, then will my opinion regarding him and my knowledge of him be justified, and if he doeth the contrary, then every action receiveth that which it hath earned, and I have intended what is good and know not what is hidden, ‘and they who act unjustly shall know hereafter with what treatment they shall be treated’ (Kur. XXVI) and peace be to you and the mercy of God and His blessing." He then ordered that they should seal the document. After this he commanded Othmán who went forth with the document sealed, and the people swore allegiance and approved it. Then Abu Bakr summoned Omar in private and charged him with what he charged him and Omar left him. Then Abu Bakr lifted up his hands and said, "O God I have wished in this but their good, and I feared discord amongst them, therefore have I done regarding them that which thou knowest and exerted my faculties for them to the utmost; and I have appointed to rule over them the best among them and the most vigorous, and the most zealous of them for that which directeth them aright; and verily what I have recollected of thy commands, I have remembered, therefore put another in my place over them, for they are thy servants and their forelocks* are in thy hands. Instruct, O Lord, their rulers and make him whom thou appointest, to be one of the Orthodox Caliphs and render his subjects righteous towards him."

* By "forelocks" may be also signified the chiefs of the nation.
Ibn Saa’d and al Ḥākim record on the authority of Ibn Maṣa‘ūd that he said, “the most sagacious of mankind were three—Abu Bakr when he appointed Omar as Caliph,—the wife of Moses when she said, “Hire him for certain* wages” (Kur. XXVIII) and the minister of Egypt† when he discerned the character of Joseph from his physiognomy and said to his wife “use him honorably” (Kur. XII). And Ibn A‘ṣākir from Yāsār-b-Ḥamzah that he said, “when Abu Bakr was grievously sick, he stood up over the people from a window and said ‘O ye men, verily I have made a covenant, therefore consent ye to it ;’ and the people said, ‘we consent, O Vicegerent of the Apostle of God;’ then A‘li stood up and said, ‘I shall not consent unless it be for Omar,’ and Abu Bakr replied, ‘verily it is for Omar.’ And Aḥmad from Ayesha that she said, ‘Abu Bakr, when he was nigh unto death said, “what day is this?” ’ They answered ‘Monday:’‡ he said, ‘if I die to-night delay not for me my burial until to-morrow, for verily the dearest to me of all days and nights is that which is nearest of them to the time of the death of the Apostle of God.’ And Mālik from Ayesha, that Abu Bakr gave to her twenty camel-loads of fruit-cuttings of the palms from his property at Ghábah,§ and when he was nigh unto death, he said, ‘O daughter, by Allah, there is not one among the people whose richness is more pleasing to me than thine, and none whose poverty would be more distressing to me after my death, and verily I had given to thee twenty camel-loads of the fruit-cuttings of my palms;—if thou hadst cut them and taken them, they would have been thine, but now they are the property of my heirs, who are verily thy two brothers and thy two sisters—then let them divide it according to the book of God.’ She replied, ‘O father, even had it been so that I had cut them, I would have left them, but surely she, my sister is Asmā’, who then is the other sister?’ He said, ‘the child that is in the womb of the daughter of Khárijah, whom I think is a girl.’ Ibn Saa’d records this tradition and at the end of it adds, ‘the child in the womb of the daughter of Khárijah,|| verily it hath been put into my heart that it is a girl therefore take charge of her with kindness,’ and from her was born Umm Kulthúm.”

* For this story see Kurán XXVIII and Sale’s notes, p. 319.
† His name was Kitfir or Iftir (a corruption of Potiphar) and he was man of great consideration, being superintendent of the royal treasury (al Baydáwi). Sale, p. 189.
‡ According to a tradition attested by an Nawawi and others, on a Monday Muhammad was born, on a Monday he fled from Mecca, on a Monday, he arrived at Medina. His first revelation was made to him on a Monday, and on a Monday he died.
§ Twelve miles from Medina on the road to Syria.
|| Khárijah-b-Zayd-b-Abi Zuhayr one of the Auxiliaries, of the tribe of Khasraj. Abu Bakr married his daughter whom he left pregnant at his death. Ibn Hajar.
Ibn Saa'd records from U'rwah* that Abu Bakr left away a fifth of his property and said, “take of my good that which God taketh of the booty of the Muslims.”† And by a different ascription from the same, that Abu Bakr said, “that I should bequeath a fifth is preferable to me than that I should bequeath a fourth, and to bequeath a fourth is preferable to me than if I bequeathed a third, for he who bequeaths a third, leaves nothing.” And Saa’d-b-Mansur in his Sunnan (Traditions) from ad Dhah-hák,‡ that Abu Bakr and A'li bequeathed a fifth of their property to such among their relations as did not legally inherit from them.

A'budllah-b-Ahmad records in the Zawáid u'z Zuhd from Ayesha that she said, “by Allah, Abu Bakr did not leave a dinár nor a dirham stamped with the name of God.” And Ibn Saa'd and others from Ayesha, “when Abu Bakr was grievously sick, I recited this verse appositely,

‘By thy life, wealth is of no avail to a man:
On the day when the death-rattle is in his throat and his breast is contracted by it.’

and Abu Bakr uncovered his face and said, ‘it is not so, but say and the agony of death shall come in truth; this O man, is what thou soughtest to avoid’ (Kur. L)—behold these my two garments—wash them and shroud me in them, for the living is more in want of new ones than the dead.” And Abu Ya'la from Ayesha, “I went to Abu Bakr when he was at the point of death and I said

‘He whose weeping ceaseth not when he is veiled;
Verily at some time it shall flow forth.’

* U'rwah, was the son of Ayesha's sister Asma who received from Muhammed the title of Dátun Nita'ayn “wearer of the two girdles,” for having torn her veil in two, with one half of which she tied up the wallet of provisions and the water which Muhammed and Abu Bakr took with them in their flight to Medina. She was also the mother of the Caliph 'Abdullah-b-uz Zubayr. Ibn Hajr.

† By the Muhammadan law, a testator can leave away one-third of his property to whom he chooses, the other two-thirds going to his heirs. Abu Bakr appeared to consider that to leave away the utmost the law allowed would have been ungenerous to his heirs. A fifth of the spoils taken in war by the Muslims became the property of the Caliph for the use of the State.

‡ Ad Dhahhák-b-Sufyán-b-Kaab-b-Abdi'llah of the Banu Kilab. He was one of the Companions and was counted for his prowess equal to a hundred horsemen. An Nawawi states that it is a glaring error to call him the son of Kayas, as some authorities do. There were two generals bearing the name of Dhahhák-b-Kayas, mentioned by De Slane (I. K. Vol. IV, p. 212). He was placed by Muhammed at the head of the Banu Salim who numbered at that time 900 men, saying to them that one who was equal to a hundred men was well able to command a thousand.
And he said, 'do not say that, but say "And the agony of death shall come in truth; this, O man, is what thou soughtest to avoid,"' then he said 'on what day did the Apostle of God die,' I answered 'on a Monday': he said, 'I hope for death between this and the night;' and he died on Tuesday and was buried before the day broke.' And A'bdullah-b-Ahmad in the Zawáíd u'z Zuhd on the authority of Bakr-b-A'bdillah al Muzaní, that when Abu Bakr was nigh unto death, Ayesha seated herself near his head and said,

Unto every possessor of camels, do his camels return for water:
And who so spoileth, shall himself be despoiled.

And Abu Bakr understood it and said, "it is not so, O daughter, but it is as the Lord hath said 'and the agony of death shall come'" &c. And Ah-mad from Ayesha, that she recited appositely this verse when Abu Bakr was dying,

"And one so unsullied in honor that the cloud draweth moisture from his face:
The protection of orphans, the defence of widows."

And Abu Bakr said "that must be the Apostle of God." And A'bdullah-b-Ahmad in the Zawáíd u'z Zuhd from U'báda-b- Kháys, that when Abu Bakr was nigh unto death, he said to Ayesha, "wash me these two garments and shroud me in them, for verily thy father shall be one of two men, either robed in the best of garments or stripped by an ignoble stripping." And Ibn Abi 'd Dunya from Abu Mulaykah, that Abu Bakr left as his last commands that his wife Asma the daughter of U'mays, should bathe him, and that A'bdur Rámhán-b- Abi Bakr should help her. And Ibn Saa'd from Sa'id-b-u'l Musayyab, that Omar read prayers over Abu Bakr between the tomb and the pulpit of Mu'hammad and recited the "Takbir,"* four times. And from U'rwhah and al Kásim-b-Mu'hammad, that Abu Bakr left as his last instructions to Ayesha, that he should be buried by the side of the Apostle of God, and when he died, they dug a grave for him and laid his head on a level with the shoulder of the Apostle of God, and the niche of his grave touched the grave of the Apostle of God.† And from Ibn Omar, that Omar, Ta'lhah, Othmán and A'bdur ²

* In prayers for the dead, the "takbír," that is the saying "Allahu Akbar" God is great, is followed the first time, by the recital of the praises of God, the second time by those of Mu'hammed, the third time by prayers for the living and the dead, and the fourth by the salutation of dismissal "peace be to you" &c.
† Mu'hammad, Abu Bakr and Omar lie side by side at Medina, the graves in echellen, so that the head of Abu Bakr's grave rests on a line with the shoulder of that of Mu'hammad: see a diagram of their position in Burton's Pilgrimage, Vol. II, p. 74. The Δ is cut into the side of the grave and the body rests therein.
Rahmán the son of Abu Bakr descended into the grave of Abu Bakr. And he records likewise on several lines of ascription, that he was buried at night. And from Ibn u'l Musayyab that when Abu Bakr died, Mecca was convulsed by an earthquake, and Abu Kuhafah said, "what is that?" they answered, "thy son is dead." He said, "It is a terrible calamity—who has arisen in authority after him?" they replied "Omar;" he exclaimed "He was his companion." And from Mujáhid that Abu Kuhafah returned what he had inherited, from Abu Bakr to the son of Abu Bakr and Abu Kuhafah survived Abu Bakr only six months and some days, dying in Muharram A. H. 14, at the age of ninety-seven. The learned say that none but Abu Bakr ruled the Caliphate during the lifetime of his father, and the father of none but of Abu Bakr inherited from his son as Caliph.

Al Ḥákim records on the authority of Ibn Omar that Abu Bakr ruled two years and seven months; and in the history of Ibn A'sákir, it is stated with the ascription thereof on the authority of al A'sákir, that Khufáf* b. Nudbah as Salami said, mourning Abu Bakr.

Tell every living thing that there is no permanence for it:
And for the whole universe, its decree is destruction.
The goods of men are but as a trust:
Borrowed on the condition of repayment:
And a man strives, but there is one who lieth in wait for him:
The eye mourneth for him and the ardour of the voice.
He groweth old, or is slain, or subdued:
Sickness that hath no remedy maketh him to lament.
Verily Abu Bakr was as the rain
What time Orion causeth not the herbage to grow with moisture.
By Allah, there shall not attain unto the excellence of his days:
Neither the youth that wears the Mízar,† nor one that wears the Rida.

He who strives to attain unto the excellence of his days:
Earnestly, is apart and solitary upon the earth.

* Khufáf b. U'mayr b. Hárith, a descendant of Imrál Kays generally known as Ibn Nudbah, the latter being his mother's name. She was a captive in the possession of his grandfather Hárith, who gave her to his son U'mayr, who had by her Khufáf. He was present at the battle of Hunayn, and at the conquest of Mecca where he carried the standard of the Banu Salim. He shared with Durayd the honor of being the two greatest poets of the Arab chivalry; died in the Caliphate of Omar. Ibn Hajr.
† The Mízar or drawers, covers the lower part of the body, while the Rida is a garment worn over the upper part of the body.
On the traditions related on his authority ascribed to Muḥammad.

An Nawawi says in his Tahdib—"As Şiddîk has narrated one hundred and forty-two traditions from the Apostle of God. The reason of the small number of his narrations is that his death preceded the spreading abroad of the traditions and the solicitude of the Tābi‘is in listening to them, and collecting and preserving them." I observe that Omar has mentioned in the tradition regarding the oath of allegiance* preceding, "that Abu Bakr did not omit a thing of what had been revealed regarding the Auxiliaries nor what the Apostle of God had said concerning them, but he mentioned it": and this is the most complete proof of the extent of his memory of the traditions, and the amplitude of his knowledge of the Qurān,† and I have thought it expedient to inscribe here, consecutively but briefly his traditions, mentioning after each tradition the authorities that have recorded it, and I purpose to follow them out with their ascriptions in a collected form, if it so please God.

1. The tradition of the Flight, (the two Shaykhūs and others.)
2. The tradition, "The waters of the sea are a means of purifying, its dead are lawful to eat." (Dārakūṭnī.)
3. The tradition, "The tooth-stick is a means of purifying the mouth, a cause of approbation to the Lord." (Ahmad.)
4. The tradition that the Apostle of God eat from a shoulder of a sheep and then prayed without performing ablution. (Al Bazzār and Abu Ya’la.)
5. The tradition, "Let none of you perform ablution on account of food that he hath eaten, the eating of which is lawful unto him." (Al Bazzār.)
6. The tradition, the Apostle of God forbade the beating of those who were at prayer. (Abu Ya’la and al Bazzār.)
7. The tradition, "The last prayers the prophet prayed, he prayed behind me, wearing a single garment."
8. The tradition, "He who is rejoiced to read the Qurān freshly, as it was revealed, let him read it according to the reading of Ibn Umm A’bd.” (Ahmad.)
9. The tradition that he said to the Apostle of God, "teach me a prayer, which I may say in my prayers,"—he replied, "O God I have

* See page 71—the word لَوْ should be inserted between وَلَوْ and κατά to make it identical with Omar’s words in the tradition quoted, though neither the MS. nor printed text have it.
† Here follows a list of those who have related traditions on his authority, which I see no profit in transcribing.
wronged my own soul with a great wronging, and none but Thou forgiveth sins, therefore pardon me in Thy clemency, and have mercy on me, for Thou art the Clement and the Merciful. (Al Bukhâri and Muslim.)

10. The tradition. “He who prayeth in the morning, is under the protection of God, therefore seek ye not to violate the promise of God, and he who slayeth him who doth so, God will summon him and prostrate him upon his face in hell fire.” *(Ibn Mâjah.)*

11. The tradition. “No prophet ever died, until one among his people had stood before him as Imâm in prayer.” *(Al Bazzár.)*

12. The tradition. “No man committeth a sin, and then performeth his ablution so that it be valid, and then prayeth with two bowings of the head and body, and asketh pardon of God, but He forgiveth him.” *(Ahmad and the authors of the Four Sunans, and Ibn Habân.)*

13. The tradition. “God hath never taken from life a prophet save in the place wherein he desireth to be buried.” *(At Tirmidî.)*

14. The tradition. “God curse the Jews and the Christians—take ye the sepulchres of their prophets as mosques.” *(Abu Ya’la.)*

15. The tradition. “Verily a dead body† is sprinkled with hot water by reason of the lamentations of the living.” *(Abu Ya’la.)*

16. The tradition. “Beware of hell fire, though it be but for half a date, for verily it maketh straight the crooked, and preventeth a wicked death, and effecteth for the hungry what it doth for him who is full.”


18. The tradition from Ibn Abi Mulaykah, who said—“Often times the bridle would fall from the hand of Abu Bakr, and he would strike the foreleg of his camel and make it kneel down,”—they said to him “why didst thou not command us to give it to thee.” He replied, “my friend the Apostle of God commanded me to ask nothing of men.” *(Ahmad.)*

19. The tradition. “The Apostle of God commanded Asma the daughter of U’mays when she brought forth Muḥammad the son of Abu Bakr, to bathe herself and invoke the name of God.”

* Abu A’bdullâh Muḥammad-b-Yazîd-b-Mâjah al Kazwînî a celebrated Hâfidh is the author of a work in tradition entitled Kitâb us Sunan. He is the author of a commentary on the Kurân and a history of Kazwîn. His book on tradition is counted one of the six Şahîhs (authentic collections); born A. H. 209 (824-5) died A. H. 273 (887). Ibn Khall.

† That is, punished for the profitless lamentations of the living: another tradition says, “verily the dead will be punished for his family’s weeping for him.”
20. *The tradition.* The Apostle of God was asked "which are the most excellent actions of the pilgrimage?" He replied, "the raising of the voice in the 'talbiyat,' and the shedding of the blood of the victims brought for sacrifice." (At Tirmidi and Ibn Majah.)

21. *The tradition.*—That he kissed the Black Stone and said, "were it not that I have, seen the Apostle of God kiss thee, I would not have kissed thee (Ad Dārākutni).

22. *The tradition* that the Apostle of God sent to the people of Mecca an ordinance that no idolater should make the pilgrimage after that year, and that no one should make the circuit of the Kaaba naked, &c. (Aḥmad.)

23. *The tradition.* "Between my dwelling and my pulpit is a garden of the gardens of paradise, and my pulpit is upon a fountain of the fountains of* paradise." (Abu Ya'la.)

24. *The tradition* of Muḥammad's going to the house of Abu Haytham-b-u'l Tayyihan, in full. (Abu Ya'la.)

25. *The tradition* "Gold with gold, like with like, silver with silver, like with like, but who giveth or asketh over and above shall be in hell fire." (A'bu Ya'la and al Bazzár.)

26. *The tradition.* "Cursed be he who doeth injury to a true believer or defraudeth him." (At Tirmidi.)

27. *The tradition*, "The avaricious man shall not enter paradise, nor the deceiver, nor the betrayer, nor he who ruleth evilly, and the first that shall enter paradise is the servant who is obedient to God and obedient to his master." (Aḥmad.)

28. *The tradition.* He who freeth a slave, inherits of him. (Al Dhia† al Mukaddasi in the Mukhtārah.)

29. *The tradition.* "We‡ are not inherited of; that which we leave is the portion of the poor." (Al Bulkārī.)

30. *The tradition*, "Verily when the Lord assigneth a means of subsistence to a prophet, and afterwards taketh his life, He continueth it unto him who cometh after him." (Abu Dauūd.)

31. *The tradition.* "Evading family descent, though in a trifling degree, is impiety towards God." (Al Bazzár.)

* The text here has زَرَعَة for زَرَعة erroneously. The MS. has the correct reading. For variations of this tradition, see Burton's Pilgrimage, Vol. II, p. 65.

† Hāfīdh Dhia u'ddīn Muḥammad-b-Abdīl Wāhid al Mukaddasi al Hanbali, died 643 A. H. (1246) The Mukhtārah (chosen) is a work on tradition. Kashf u'd Dhumūn.

‡ See page 74.
32. The tradition. “Thou and thy goods belong to thy father.” Abu Bakr said, “he meant by that only what regards necessary maintenance.” (Al Bayhaqi.)

33. The tradition. “He whose feet become dusty in the service of God, God will preserve them from hell fire.” (Al Bazzár.)

34. The tradition. “I was commanded to war with men.” (The two Shaykhs and others.)

35. The tradition. “An excellent servant of God and a brother to his kindred is Khalid-b-u’l Walid, and a Sword of the Swords of God which He hath drawn against the infidels and hypocrites.” (Ahmad.)

36. The tradition. “The sun hath never risen upon a better man than Omar.” (At Tirmiđi.)

37. The tradition. “He who hath swayed authority over the Muslims and hath appointed over them a governor out of favour, upon him shall be the curse of God—the Lord shall not accept from him either artifice or ransom until He maketh him to enter hell, and he who giveth to any one what is reserved for the Lord, verily violateth unlawfully what is reserved to God, upon him, therefore, shall be the curse of God.”

38. The tradition—the story of Mā’īz* and his stoning. (Ahmad.)

39. The tradition. “He doeth not amiss who asketh pardon thought he return to his fault seventy times a day.” (At Tirmiđi.)

40. The tradition that Muhammad held a council of war. (At Ṭabarānī.)

41. The tradition when there was revealed “whoso doeth evil shall be requited for it” etcetera. (Kur. IV)—(At Tirmiđi, Ibn Habán and others.)

42. The tradition. “Verily ye read this verse ‘O true believers, take care of your souls’ ” &c., (Kur. V.) (Ahmad and the authors of the Four Sunans,† and Ibn Habán.)

43. The tradition. “What is thy opinion of two people, of whom God maketh the third?” (The two Shaykhs.)

44. The tradition. “O God let us not die by spear-thrusts or pestilence.” (Abu Ya’la.)

45. The tradition. “The Sāra of Hūd hath made me grey,” &c. Ad Dārakuṭni in the Ilal (Defects impairing the validity of traditions.)

46. The tradition. “Infidelity moves more stealthily among my people than the creeping of an ant,” &c. (Abu Ya’la and others.)

* Mā’īz-b Malik al Aslami, one of the Companions was stoned on account of adultery.
† The first four of the six Great Masters of Tradition, i. e., al Bukhári, Muslim Abu Daud and at Tirmiđi.
47. *The tradition.* "I said, O Apostle of God, instruct me in something that I should say in the morning time and in the evening" &c. (Al Haytham b-Kulayb in his Musnad, and also at Tirmidhi and others from the ascription of Abu Hurayrah.)

48. *The tradition.* "Be careful to say, 'there is no God but God,' and to ask pardon of Him, for Satan hath said 'I destroy men by sin, and they destroy me by saying there is no God but God, and the asking of pardon, and when I see that, I destroy them through their passions for they think themselves to be rightly guided." (Abu Ya'la.)

49. *The tradition* when there was revealed; "lift not up your voices above the voice of the prophet"* I said "O Apostle of God, I will not address thee save in the voice of one who is decrepit." (As Sirar), al Bazzar.

50. *The tradition.* "Every one obtains that which is created for him." (Ahamd.)

51. *The tradition.* "He who lieth towards me of set purpose or refuseth a thing that I have commanded, shall surely dwell in a chamber of hell." (Abu Ya'la.)

52. *The tradition.* "There is no escape from this thing" &c., is in *that of 'there is no God but God'" (Ahamd and others.)

53. *The tradition.* "Go forth and call out to the people, 'He who confesseth that 'there is no God but God,' shall assuredly possess Paradise;' and I went forth and Omar met me &c." (Abu Ya'la, and this is preserved from the tradition of Abu Hurayrah—recorded by only one authority from the tradition of Abu Bakr.)

54. *The tradition.* "There are two classes of my people that shall not enter paradise—the Murgians† and the Kadarians." (Al Darakutni in the Itil Defects invalidating traditions.)

55. *The tradition.* "Ask safety of God." (Ahamd, Nasai and Ibn Majah who gives many ascriptions of it.)

* Kur. XLIX. This verse is said to have been occasioned by a dispute between Abu Bakr and Omar concerning the appointment of a governor of a certain place in which they raised their voices so high in Muhammad's presence, that it was thought necessary to forbid it for the future. Sala.

† These teach that the judgment of every Muslim guilty of grievous sin will be deferred till the resurrection, for which reason they pass no sentence on him in this world either of absolution or condemnation. They also hold that disobedience with faith hursteth not, and obedience with infidelity profiteth not. This sect is subdivided into four species. For the origin of the name and their further doctrines, consult Sale, p. 123. Preliminary discourse. The Kadarians deny absolute predestination, the Mustazalites are by some comprehended under this denomination. See Sale, p. 115.
56. The tradition. When the Apostle of God desired anything, he would say, “O God, take for me, choose for me.” (At Tirmidhi.)

57. The tradition. “The prayer of submission is, ‘O God who art the dispeller of grief’” &c. (Al Bazzár and al Ḥákim.)

58. The tradition. “Every body that is nourished with forbidden things, hell fire is its proper portion”—and in another reading “there shall not enter Paradise a body that hath been fed on what is forbidden to it.” (Abu Ya’la.)

59. The tradition. “There is no part of the body that complaineth not of the sharpness of the tongue.” (Abu Ya’la.)

60. The tradition. “The Lord descendeth on the night in the middle of the month of Shaa’bán, and in it pardoneth every mortal except an infidel, and the man in whose heart is hatred.” (Al Dáraquṭnî.)

61. The tradition. “Verily Dajjál shall come forth from the East from a land called Khurasán, and there shall follow him peoples whose faces are like two-fold shields.” (At Tirmidi and Ibn Májah.)

62. The tradition. “I have been given seventy thousand who shall enter Paradise without judgment being taken of them,” &c. (Aḥmad.)

63. The tradition of Intercession—in full—concerning the running to and fro of people from prophet to prophet.* (Aḥmad.)

64. The tradition. “Were the people to march in one valley and the Auxiliaries marched in another valley, I would march in the valley of the Auxiliaries.” (Aḥmad.)

65. The tradition. “The Kuraysh are the masters of this authority, the good among them will follow the good among them, and the wicked among them will follow the wicked among them.” (Aḥmad.)

66. The tradition that Muḥammad gave a charge regarding the Auxiliaries at the time of his death, and said, “receive those of them that do good, and pardon those of them that do evil. (Al Bazzár and at Ṭabarānî.)

67. The tradition. “I know a land called Umán whose shores the sea washes—in it there is a tribe of Arabs. Were my messenger to go among them, they would not assail him with arrows or with stones.” (Aḥmad and Abu Ya’la.)

68. The tradition that Abu Bakr passed by al Ḥasan who was playing with some boys and lifted him on to his neck, and said, “by my father, he hath a likeness to the prophet, and hath no likeness to A’lî.” (Al Bukhářî.) Ibn Kathîr says, “this comes under the class of uninter-

* The belief being that on the Day of Judgment, people will run from prophet to prophet praying for their intercession.
rupted ascriptions, as it is a confirmation of his remark that the Apostle of God resembled al-Hasan.”

69. The tradition that the prophet used to visit Umm Ayman. (Muslim.)

70. The tradition. “The thief must be put to death for the fifth theft.”* (Abu Ya’la and ad Daylami.)

71. The tradition, of the narrative of Ohud (at Tayálisi and at Ṭabarání.)

72. The tradition. “While I was with the apostle of God, behold I saw him driving away something from himself, and I did not see what thing it was. I said, ‘O apostle of God, what is it thou art driving away?’ He replied ‘the world wearied me and I said “away with thee,” and it said to me, “what! wilt thou not have me?”’ ” (Al Bazzár.)

Thus much has Ibn Kathir recorded in the ascriptions of as Siddîk, of those traditions traced uninterruptedly to the prophet, but he has omitted others which I follow up to complete the number mentioned by an Nawawi.†

73. The tradition. “Kill a tike wherever you may find it among men.” (At Ṭabarání in the Ausat.)

74. The tradition. “Reflect whose are the houses ye dwell in! whose the land ye inhabit! and in the path of whom do ye walk!” (Ad Daylami.)

75. The tradition. “Be frequent in your prayers over me, for the Lord hath stationed an angel above my grave, and when a man of my people prayeth, the angel sayeth to me, ‘verily such a one the son of such a one hath this moment prayed for thee.’” (Ad Daylami.)

76. The tradition. The Friday prayer is an atonement for all that occurreth until the next Friday prayer, and ablution on a Friday is an atonement, &c. (Al U’kayli in the Dhua’tá (weak authorities).

77. The tradition. “Verily the heat of hell to my people shall be as that of a hot bath.” (At Ṭabarání.)

78. The tradition. “Beware of lying, for lying is an estrangement from the faith.” (Ibn Lál in the Makárim u’l Akhláq (noble qualities).)

79. The tradition. “To every one who hath fought at Badr, is announced the tidings of Paradise.” (Ad Dárákutni in the “Afrád” Traditions recorded but by one authority.)

* According to the law, the thief loses his left hand for the first offence, his right foot for the second, his right hand for the third and his left foot for the fourth. The ingenuity that could contrive a fifth theft under these disadvantages would seem to deserve commendation rather than death.

† An Nawawi mentions one hundred and forty-two, and as Suyúti gives but one hundred and four. I am grateful for the omission.
80. *The tradition.* "Religion is the weighty banner of God; who is able to sustain it?" (Ad Daylami.)

81. *The tradition.* The Sura Y. S.* is called the "Commonalty" (the throat), &c., (ad Daylami and al Bayhâni in the Shaa‘b u’l Imâm—*people of the Faith.*)

82. *The tradition.* "A monarch just and humble, is the shadow of God and His spear upon earth, and every night and day shall be placed to his account the good works of sixty just men." (Abu’l Shaykh al U’kâyli in the Dhuu’fā and Ibn Ḥâbân in the "Kitâb u’t Thawâb"—*Record of recompense.*)

83. *The tradition.* "Moses said to his Lord 'What is the reward for one who consoleth the bereaved mother?' He replied 'God will cover him with His shadow.'" (Ibn Shayhîn in the "Targhib." (Incentive) and ad Daylami.)

84. *The tradition.* "O God! strengthen Islam in Omar b-u’l Khaṭ-tâb." (At Tâbarâni in the Ansât.)

85. *The tradition.* "No game is ever pursued, nor a thorny tree lopped, nor the root of a tree cut, but by reason of their infrequency in praising God." (Ibn Rahwayh† in his Musnad.)

86. *The tradition.* "Had I not been sent unto you, Omar would surely have been sent" &c. (Ad Daylami.)

87. *The tradition.* "Were the inhabitants of Paradise to trade, they would trade in stuffs."‡

88. *The tradition.* "He who rebelleth claiming either for himself or for another, while an Imâm ruleth the people, upon him is the curse of God, and the angels and the whole people,—therefore slay him." (Ad Daylami in the History of Hamadan?)

89. *The tradition.* "He who recordeth on my authority a doctrine or a tradition, the reward thereof shall not cease to be placed to his account

* The meaning of these letters is unknown; some pretend that they stand for Ya’insân (O man). This chapter is said to have several other titles given to it by Muhammad himself, and particularly that of the heart of the Qurán. It is read to persons in their dying agony. Sale.

† Abu Yâkub Ishâq, a native of Marw, as Shâhjân was equally distinguished for his knowledge of law and tradition as for his piety. Ibn Hanbal considered him an Imâm among the Muslim and an eminent jurisconsult. His Musnad is well-known. He was born A. H. 161 (A. D. 777-8) and died at Naysabûr A. H. 238 (853). ‘Rahwayh, says Ibn Khallakan was a name given to his father, because he was born on the road to Mecca (râh in Persian signifying road and wayh found.) This word is also pronounced Râhûya. Ibn Khallakan’s philology is not always safe to follow.

‡ Abu Bakr, Othmân, Ṭâlhâh A’bdûr Rhâmân-b-A’uf were all cloth-merchants. Ibn Kutayb.
while that doctrine or tradition continueth.” (Al Ḥākim in the History of the doctors of Naysabūr.)

90. The tradition. “He who walketh barefoot in the service of God, God will not ask of him on the Day of Judgment regarding what was obligatory upon him.” (At Ṭabarāni in the Ausat.)

91. The tradition. “Whoso would be glad that God should protect him from the heat of hell and bring him under His own shadow, let him not be harsh with the true believers, but merciful unto them.” (Ibn Lal in the Makārim u'l Akhlāk and Abu'l Shaykh and Ibn Ḥabān in the “Thawab” Recompense.)

92. The tradition. “He who riseth in the morning purposing to worship God, God will write down to him the recompense of his day, even though he sinneth against Him.” (Ad Daylami.)

93. The tradition. “No people hath abstained from warring in the cause of the Lord, but He hath included them in one common punishment.” (At Ṭabarāni in the Ausat.)

94. The tradition. “A slanderer shall not enter Paradise.” (Ad Daylami but without ascription.)

95. The tradition. “Despise not any of the Muslims, for the meanest of the Muslims is great before God.” (Ad Daylami.)

96. The tradition. God says “if ye desire my mercy, be merciful unto my people.” (Abu'l Shaykh, Ibn Ḥabān and ad Daylami.)

97. The tradition. “I asked of the apostle of God regarding the nether garment, and he touched the muscle of his leg, and I said ‘O apostle of God increase the length for me;’ then he touched the lower part of the muscle, and I said ‘increase the length for me,’ he replied, ‘it would not be good to have it lower.’ I said, ‘O apostle of God we are undone’; he answered, ‘O Abu Bakr, be guided aright, and take the middle course, thou wilt be safe.’” (Abu Nua'yım in the Huliyah.)

98. The tradition. “My palm and the palm of A'li are exactly equal.” (Ad Daylami and Ibn A'sākir.)

99. The tradition. “Neglect not to invoke God against Satan, for if ye do not regard him, he is not heedless of ye.” (Ad Daylami but without ascription.)

100. The tradition. “He who buildeth a temple unto God, God will build for him a mansion in Paradise.” (At Ṭabarāni in the Ausat.)

101. The tradition. “He who hath eaten of this unclean* herb, let him not approach our temple.” (At Ṭabarāni in the Ausat.)

102. The tradition of the lifting up of the hands in the beginning of

* Garlic. In two traditions given in the Kitāb u'l Iktifā, onions are included in this prohibition. These will be found in the life of Omar in that work.
prayer, in the bowing of the head, and in prostration.* (Al Bayhaki in the Sunan.)

103. The tradition. "Give a Camel to Abu Jahl."† (Al Isma'ili in the Mua'jam alphabetical Dictionary of the Traditionists.)

104. The tradition. "Looking upon A'li is worship." (Ibn A'sakir.)

On what hath been handed down of as Ṣiddīk in comment on the Kurān.

Abu'l Kāsim al Baghawi records on the authority of Ibn Mulaykah that Abu Bakr was asked regarding a verse of the Kurān and he said, "what earth would sustain me and what sky would overshadow me, were I to speak that concerning the book of God which God hath not intended." And Abu U'baydah from Ibrahim at Taymi, that Abu Bakr was asked regarding the saying of the Most High, "grapes and clover" (Kur. LXXX) and he said, "what sky would overshadow me and what earth would sustain me, did I speak regarding the book of God that which I know not." And al Bayhaki and others from Abu Bakr that he was asked regarding the meaning of "al Kalālah,"‡ and he answered "I will presently give an opinion regarding it and if it be just, it is from God, but if it be faulty it cometh from me and from the Evil One. I think it to mean lacking parent and offspring;" and when Omar became Caliph, he said, "verily, I forbear from setting aside a thing that Abu Bakr hath spoken."

Abu Nua'yim records in his Huliyah from al Aswad-b-Hilāl, that Abu Bakr said to the Companions, "What say ye concerning these two verses, 'As for those who say our Lord is God and who behave uprightly' (Kur. XLI)—'and they who believe and clothe not their faith with injustice' (Kur. VI). They replied, 'and who behave uprightly;'—that is, 'who do not sin and do not clothe their faith with sin.' He replied, 'ye have placed upon it a meaning which it will not bear;' then he said, "Who say our Lord is God and who behave uprightly"—that is, "who do not incline

* In the beginning of prayers, lifting up the hands is the universal practice, the Shāfi'i school alone adopting it in the bowings and prostrations.
† The uncle of Muhammad.
‡ Kur. IV. Ṣullala translated by Sale—"a distant relation." Zamakshari in his great Commentary gives it three meanings:—
1. One who has neither son nor father alive.
2. One who has neither father living nor any issue.
3. One who has no living relative in the direct paternal line, nor through his own children.
to a God other than Him, and who do not clothe their faith with infidelity by associating others with Him.” And Ibn Jarir from Abu Bakr as Siddik, regarding the saying of the Most High, “They who do right shall receive a most excellent reward and a superabundant addition” (Kur. X), that he said it signified the looking upon the face of the Lord; and regarding the words of the Most High, “Those who say our Lord is God and who behave uprightly,” that he said, “Verily the people say this, but he who dieth according to this precept, he it is who behaveth uprightly.”

On what has been handed of established traditions from as Siddik on the subject of his words, decisions, discourses and prayers.

Al Láalákái* records in his Sunnat on the authority of Ibn Omar that a man went to Abu Bakr and said, “dost thou think that fornication in a man is predestined?” He answered, “Yes.” Then he said, “if God hath predestined it concerning me, will He punish me for it?” He replied, “yes, thou son of an uncircumcised woman, and by Allah, were a man by me, I would command him to bring thee to reason.” And Abu Dánu’d in his Sunan from Abu Ábul-láh as Şünábihi,† that he once prayed behind Abu Bakr at evening prayers, and Abu Bakr read during the first two bowings of the head, the first chapter of the Kurán and a Sura of the shorter sections;‡ and he read in the third bowing, “O Lord, cause not our hearts to swerve from truth after thou hast directed us” (Kur III.) And Ibn Abi Khaythamah and Ibn Á’sákir from Ibn U’aynáh, that when Abu Bakr was engaged in condoling with a man he used to say, “there is no harm in patience and no profit in lamentation: death is easier to bear than that which precedeth it, and more severe than that which cometh after it: remember the death of the apostle of God, your sorrow will be lessened and may God increase your reward.” And Ibn Abi Shaybah and ad Darákuñni from Sálím-b-U’bayd§ who was a Companion, that he said, “Abu Bakr

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* Abu’l Kásim Hibatulláh-b-Hasan-b-Mańşür ar Rázi.
† Abu A’bdúlláh A’bdur Raḥman-b-Asalat as Şünábihi, the latter is a branch of Banu Murád.
‡ The Mufassal is that portion of the Kurán from the XLIXth Chapter to the end, according to the most correct opinion and so called because of the many divisions between its chapters.
§ Abu A’bdulláh Sálím-b-U’bayd-b-Rabí’th, the freedman of Abu Huşayfah the Companion. Abu Nua’yym denies this pedigree, and others assert him to be the son of Ma`kal. He was of Persian origin, one of the most eminent of the Companions and Auxiliaries. Omar thought so highly of him, that at his death he is reported to have
used to say to me, ‘Stand between me and the dawn that I may eat my morning meal.’* And from Abu Kilábah and Abú’s Safar that they said, ‘Abu Bakr as Şiddîk used to say, “shut the door that we may eat our morning meal.’’’ And al Bayhâki and Abu Bakr-b-Ziyád of Naysabûr, in the Kitáb u’ll Ziyadât from Hûdayyah+-Usayd, that he said, ‘verily I observed Abu Bakr and Omar and what they did in the early part of the forenoon, with the intention that the example of those two might be followed.’ And Abu Dauád from Ibn A’bbás that he said, ‘I testify that Abu Bakr as Şiddîk said, “eat of fishes those only that swim.”’ And as Shâfi’î‡ in the A’a’m (Universal) from Abu Bakr as Şiddîk, that he was averse to the sale of flesh in exchange for a live animal. And al Bukhârî, that he placed the grandfather in the same degree as the father, that is, in regard to inheriting. And Ibn Abi Shaybah in his Musannaf, from Abu Bakr, that he said, ‘a grandfather stands in the place of the father, if there be no father but he, and the grandson in place of the son, if there be no other than he.’ And from al Kasîm, that a man was brought before Abu Bakr, who had been disowned by his father, and Abu Bakr said ‘smite him on the head for Satan is in his head.’ And from Ibn Abi Mâlik, that once when Abu Bakr prayed over a dead man, he said, ‘O God! his people, and his goods and his kindred have forsaken this Thy servant, and his sin was grievous but Thou art merciful and compassionate.’”

Sa’id-b-Mansûr records in his Sunan on the authority of Omar, that Abu Bakr decided the case of A’ásim,§ the son of Omar-b-u’ll Khattâb in favour of the mother of A’ásim, saying, “her breath and fragrance and kindness are better for thee (A’ásim) than thine (Omar).” And al Bayhâki from Kays-b-Abi Hâzîm, that a man went to Abu Bakr said that had Sâlim been alive, he would not have named a Council of Consultation to elect for the Caliphate. Sâlim fought at Badr and Ohud and the battle of the Ditch and was killed at Yamámah where he carried the standard of the Muslims embracing it with the stumps of his arms after his hands had been hewn off. An Nawawi.

* After the rise of the true dawn the day begins, and everything by which fasting would be broken, becomes unlawful to him who fasts.

† Hûdayyah-b-Usayd one of the Companions—present at Hûdayyah and was one of those who swore to be faithful to Muhammad when he was seated under the date tree. According to Ibn Hâbân, he died A. H. 42. Ibn Hâjr.

‡ Born A. H. 150 (767—8), died A. H. 204 (820) and buried in the lesser Karâfah cemetery at old Cairo near Mount Muqattam. His life and teaching are well known to dispense with an account of them here. Consult Ibn Khallakân.

§ A’ásim was then a child, and Omar having a quarrel with the mother, wished to remove the boy from her control, but Abu Bakr decided against it. The boy became the grandfather of Omar-b-Abdi’l A’zîz the Caliph.
and said, "my father desireth to take my property, saying, that he is in need of the whole of it," and Abu Bakr said to his father, "Surely that only of his property is thine which is sufficient for thy sustenance;" he answered, "O Vicegerent of the Apostle of God, did not the Apostle of God say, 'thou and thy goods belong to thy father?' He replied, 'Yes, but he meant by that only necessary maintenance.' And Ahmad from the grandfather of A'mr-b-Shu'ayb, that Abu Bakr used not to kill a freedman in retaliation for a slave. And al Bukhari from the grandfather of Ibn Abi Mulaykah, that a man had bitten the hand of another who in return knocked out his teeth, and Abu Bakr suffered it to pass with impunity. And Ibn Abi Shaybah and al Bayhaqi from A'krimah† that Abu Bakr adjudged the loss of a ear to be repaid by fifteen camels and said, 'the hair and turban will conceal the disgrace of it.' And al Bayhaqi and others from Abu Imám al Júni, that Abu Bakr sent troops to Syria and appointed over them Yazid-b-Abi Sufyán and said, "I commend to thee ten precepts. Slay not a woman nor a child, nor an aged man, and cut not down a tree that beareth fruit, and lay not waste a cultivated country, and destroy not a sheep, nor a camel, save for food, and lop not a date tree nor burn it, and conceal not plunder and be not faint of heart."

Ahmad, and Abu Dauúd and an Nasáí record on the authority of Abu Barzah al Aslami, that he said, "Abu Bakr was enraged with a man and his anger became violent, and I said, to him, 'O Vicegerent of the Apostle of God shall I cut off his head?' He replied, 'woe unto thee—that is not lawful for any one after the Apostle of God.' And Sayf in the Kitáh u'l Futáh, (Record of Conquests) on the authority of his Shaykhs, that two female singers were brought before Mubájir Ibn Abi Umayyah who was ruler of Yamámah, one of whom had sung in contumely of the prophet, and he cut off her hand and pulled out her teeth; the other had sung deriding the Muslims, and he cut off her hand and pulled out her teeth; and Abu Bakr wrote to him, saying, 'I have heard what thou hast done to the woman who sang in contumely of the prophet, and if thou hast not been beforehand with me in it, I would have ordered thee to put her to death, for punishment in regard to the prophets is not as other punishments—he among the Muslims, therefore, who doeth such a thing is an

* Abu Ibrahim A'mr-b-Shu'ayb-b-Muḥammad-b-A'bdillah of the Kuraysh, in point of time next to the Tabi'ís. A great many distinguished Traditionists relate on his authority and his reputation is high amongst them for accuracy. An Nawawi.

† There are two of this name, one the son of Abu Jahl, and the other the freedman of Ibn A'bbás, one of the most distinguished of the Tabi'ís the accuracy of whose traditions is much praised by al Bukhari, he died A. H. 104. An Nawawi.
apostate, or being a tributary subject, is a treacherous enemy: but she who sang deriding the Muslims, were she among those who profess Islám then correction and deprivation of substance without mutilation would have been sufficient, but were she a tributary subject, then by my life, if I forgave her infidelity, it would be a great mercy, and had I been beforehand with thee in the like of this, I would assuredly have afflicted her sorely, but rather choose thou clemency, and beware thou of mutilating men, for it is a sin and a thing to be avoided save in retaliation.

Málik and ad Dáraḵtuṭṇ record on the authority of Ṣafīyah, the daughter of Abu U‘bayd, that a man seduced a slave girl, a virgin, and confessed to it, and Abu Bakr passed order on him, and he was scourged and banished to Faduk.* And Abu Ya‘la from Muḥammad-b-Ḥāṭib that a man was brought before Abu Bakr who had committed theft, and his feet and hands had been cut off and Abu Bakr said to him, “I do not find that anything can be done to thee save what hath been adjudged regarding thee by the Apostle of God, on the day that he commanded thy death,† for verily he had knowledge of thee,” and he ordered him to be put to death. And Málik from al Қásim-b-Muḥammad, that a man of the people of Yaman, whose hand and foot had been cut off for theft came and abode with Abu Bakr and complained to him that the governor of Yaman had treated him unjustly (and the man used to pray during the night), and Abu Bakr said, “by thy father, thy night is not like unto the night of a thief.” After a little time they lost an ornament belonging to Asma, daughter of Umays, the wife of Abu Bakr, and the man went round with them searching and saying, “O God! with thee be retribution upon him who hath plundered by night the people of this just house.” Afterwards, they found the ornament with a goldsmith who affirmed that the mutilated man had brought it to him. Then the mutilated man either confessed or it was proved against him, and Abu Bakr passed an order upon him and his left hand was amputated, and Abu Bakr said, “By Allah, his imprecation upon himself was, to me, more grievous for him than his theft.” And ad Dáraḵtuṭṇ from Anas that Abu Bakr ordered amputation for the theft of a shield, the value of which was five dirhams. And Abu Nua‘ỵm in his Huliyah, on the authority of Abu Șáliḥ that when the people of Yaman came‡ in the time of Abu Bakr and heard the Qurán, they began to weep, and Abu Bakr said “Thus we were, and afterwards our hearts became hardened.” Abu Nua‘ỵm adds—“that is, strengthened, and tranquil

* A village in Hijáz two days journey from Medina.
† See page 94, note.
‡ That is, when Abu Bakr meditated the conquest of Syria and sent letters to the chiefs of Arabia Felix summoning them with their followers.
with the knowledge of the Most High.” And al Bukhári from Ibn Omar that Abu Bakr said, “behold, Muḥammad in the people of his House.” And Abu U‘bayd* in the Gharib from Abu Bakr that he said, “happy was he who died remaining in his abode,” that is, in the beginning of Islám before the breaking out of sedition.

The Four Traditionists and Málik record on the authority of Kabisáb† that a grandmother went to Abu Bakr as Siddik inquiring of him regarding her inheritance and he said, “nothing is due to thee according to the book of God, and I know of nothing for thee in the traditions of the prophet of God, therefore come back another time, so that I may inquire of the people, and he inquired of the people and al Mughirah‡-b-Shu‘bah said, “I was present when he gave such as her one sixth;” and Abu Bakr said, “was any other with thee?” whereupon Muḥammad-b-Maslamah arose and said the same that al Mughirah had spoken, and Abu Bakr ordered the like for her. And Málik and Dáraḳútni, from al Kásim-b-Muḥammad, that two grandmothers went to Abu Bakr demanding their inheritance, the mother of a mother and the mother of a father and he accorded the inheritance to the mother of the mother. Thereupon A‘bdúr Raḥmán-b-Sahl the Auxiliary who had fought at Badr, and was an associate of the Banu Ḥaríth said to him, “O vicegerent of the apostle of God dost thou bestow it upon her who, if she died, would not be inherited of?”§ so he divided it between the two. And Abdur Razzák in his Musannaf records on the authority of Ayesha, the tradition of the wife of Ruffá‘h who was divorced from him and married afterwards A‘bdúr Raḥmán-b-u‘z Zubayr who was unable to consummate his marriage, and she desired to return to Ruffá‘h, but the Apostle of God said, “No, not till your marriage be consummated;”

* Abu U‘bayd al Kásim-b-Sallám, was born at Herát and was Kádhi of Tarsus for eighteen years. He was conspicuous for his piety and learning in various branches of literature, and his traditions are received as authentic. He died at Mecca in A. H. 224 according to al Bukhári. The book alluded to in the text is Gharib u‘l Hadith (obscure expressions occurring in the Traditions). He also wrote a work called “Gharib u‘l Musannaf, (original collection of rare expressions.) Ibn Khall.

† Kabisáb-b-Duayb one of the Tábī‘is, born in the year of the conquest of Mecca and died in the Caliphate of A‘bdu‘l Malik-b-Marwán under whom he acted in the capacity of Secretary. An Nawawi.

‡ Abu A‘bdu‘llah-b-Shu‘bah of the tribe of Thaqif a native of Kufah, one of the Companions. He was present at nearly all the expeditions and actions that took place in his time. Omar gave him the government of Basrah and afterwards of Kufah wherein he was confirmed by Othmán and subsequently deposed, but again re-instated by Mu‘áwiyah, and died at Kufah A. H. 50. It is said that he married three hundred women, and some say, a thousand. An Nawawi.

§ According to the Muḥammadan law a grandson does not inherit from his maternal grandmother.
this much is in the Sahih, and A'bdur Razzak adds, "then she tarried some time and then went to him and informed him that he had touched her, but he forbade her to return to her first husband and said, 'verily if it were thus with her that she returned to Rufaa'h, her marriage would not be consummated for the second time:'* then she went to Abu Bakr and Omar and they prohibited her. And al Bayhaqi from U'kba-b-A'amir† that A'mr-b-ul A'as and Shuaraabil-b-Hasanah‡ sent him as a messenger to Abu Bakr with the head of Bannan the Syrian general, and when he came to Abu Bakr, he expressed his disapproval, and U'kba said to him, 'O Vicegerent of the Apostle of God, they do the same with us,' and he replied, 'do those two follow the example of the Persians and Greeks? let no head be brought to me for verily letters and news are sufficient.' And al Bukhari from Kays-Ibn-Hazim.§ that Abu Bakr went to a woman of the tribe of Ahmas called Zaynab, and he observed that she did not speak, and he said, 'why doth she not speak?' They replied, 'she has made the pilgrimage and is under a vow of silence.' He said to her, 'speak! for this is not lawful, this is one of the practices of the time of Ignorance:' and she spoke and said 'who art thou?' and he said 'One of the Fugitives;' she said, 'which of the Fugitives?' he replied, 'of the Kuraysh.' She asked, 'of what family of the Kuraysh?' He said, 'verily thou art very inquisitive—I am Abu Bakr.' She said, 'How long shall our continuance in this holy rule which God hath brought since the time of Ignorance?' He replied, 'your continuance in it shall be as long as your Imams act uprightly.' She said, 'and what are the Imams?' He answered 'Are there not in thy tribe, chiefs and leaders who govern them and whom the tribe obey?' She said, 'yes'. He replied, 'then they are those men.' And from Ayesha, that Abu Bakr had a slave who used to pay him an impost on his earnings and Abu Bakr used to eat of the fruits of this impost, and he one day brought him a thing, of which Abu Bakr eat, and the slave said to him, 'dost thou

* The Muhammadan law insists on the consummation of the marriage with the second husband, before the first can receive the divorced wife back.
† One of the Companions, distinguished for his manner of reading the Kur'an—he governed Egypt for Muawiya-b-Abi Sufyan and died there in A. H. 58. He carried the news of the taking of Damascus to Omar and reached Medina in seven days and returned to Syria in two and a half through the help of his invocations at Muhammad's tomb. An Nawawi.'
‡ He was appointed by Abu Bakr and subsequently by Omar to the command of the army in Syria, and continued as Omar's lieutenant in that country till his death of the plague A. H. 18, at the age of sixty-seven. Ibid.
§ One of the Tabis. He was born before the propagation of Islam and set out to pay his homage to Muhammad who, however, died before Kays arrived. He was a resident of Kufah and died A. H. 84. Ibid.
know what this is?’ Abu Bakr said, ‘what is it?’ he replied, ‘I once told the fortune of a man in the time of Ignorance, and my divination was not just inasmuch as I deceived him, but he met me and gave me this, of which thou hast eaten;’ whereupon Abu Bakr put his hand in his throat and rejected everything that was in his stomach.”

Ahmad records in the “Zuhd” from Ibn Sirin that he said, “I do not know any one who sought to reject the food that he had eaten except Abu Bakr,” and he related the story. And an Nasáí from Aslam, that Omar beheld Abu Bakr who seized hold of his own tongue and said, “this it is that hath brought me to that to which I have come.” And A’bu U’bayd in the “Gharib,” from Abu Bakr, that he passed by A’bdu’r Rahmán-b-A’uf who was quarrelling with a neighbour and he said to him, “speak not in anger with thy neighbour for that remaineth but men pass away from thee.” And Ibn A’sákir from Músá-b-U’kbah, that Abu Bakr as Siddik was once preaching, and he said, “Praise be to God—the Lord of created things I glorify Him and implore His assistance, and ask His mercy in what cometh after death, for my hour and yours are approaching—and I bear witness that there is no God but God above who hath no copartner and that Muhammad is His servant, and His prophet, whom He hath sent in the Truth as a messenger of good tidings, and an admonisher and a shining light that he may warn the living and certify the Word to the unbelievers—and he who obeyeth God and his prophet, verily he hath followed the right way, and he who hath sinned against those two, verily hath erred with a manifest erring: I commend unto ye devotion to God, and adherence to the commands of God which He hath laid down for ye and, given for your guidance, for verily the whole of the precepts of Islam after the profession of faith, are the hearing and obeying those whom God hath appointed to rule over ye, and verily he who obeyeth God and those who enjoin goodness and prohibit what is unlawful hath prospered and hath performed what is incumbent upon him of his obligations; and beware ye of following vain desire, for verily he prospereth who is preserved from lust and greed and anger: and beware ye of pride, for what pride belongeth to him who is made of earth, and who afterwards returneth to earth and then the worm devoureth him? for to-day he is alive and to-morrow he is dead; therefore act ye uprightly from day to day and from hour to hour, and fear the prayer of the oppressed, and number yourselves among the dead; and be ye patient for every work is accomplished through patience, and be ye watchful, for watchfulness is profitable. Act uprightly for a good act is acceptable to God, and refrain from the things against which the Lord hath warned ye under pain of His wrath: and vie ye with one another in hastening to obtain the things which the Lord hath promised ye in His mercy; and teach ye, and yourselves comprehend, and be heedful
and in fear, for verily the Lord hath declared unto ye the things for which He hath destroyed those that were before ye, and the things through which He hath delivered those whom He delivered before ye. Verily He hath manifested unto ye in His Book His commands and His prohibitions and the works He approveth, and those He abhorreth: and verily by my soul, I will not be wanting to you—and God is He whose assistance is implored, and there is no power nor strength but in the Lord. And know ye, verily, that in your works in which ye have been sincere with God, ye then obeyed God, and preserved your portion of excellence, and attained unto your desire, and what ye have done over and above what is enjoined for your faith, keep before ye as religious merits, that ye may make satisfaction for those who have gone before ye,—and make your charitable donations even at the time of your poverty and self-need of them. Then bethink ye—O servants of God—of your brethren and your companions those that have departed, for they have attained to the works that they sent before them, and abide by them and are settled in misery or happiness in the state that cometh after death. Verily the Lord hath no copartner, and between Him and any of His creatures there is no mediatory influence that can bestow good upon him or avert from him evil save in His worship and obedience to His commands, for verily there is no good in the good after which cometh hell-fire, and no evil in the evil after which cometh heaven. I say unto ye these words, and may God have mercy upon me and ye, and bless ye the prophet and peace be upon Him and the mercy of God and His blessing."

Al Ḥākim and al Bayhaḵī record on the authority of Aḥḍu’llah-b-U’kaym that he said, "Abu Bakr as Ṣiddīk preached to us and he glorified God and praised Him as befitted Him, and then said, 'I commend unto ye piety to God and that ye praise Him as befitteth Him, and that ye mingle desire with fear, for the Lord God praised Zachariah and the people of his house, and said, "These strove to excel in good works and called upon us with love and with fear and humbled themselves before us"' (Kur. XXI.) Therefore, know, O servants of God, that the Lord hath your lives as a pledge for what is due to Him, and hath taken your compacts* regarding it, and hath purchased of ye a little that is perishable, in exchange for eternal abundance; and this Book of God is among ye, whose light cannot be extinguished, nor its wonders end; therefore seek ye illumination from

* "And when thy Lord drew forth thy posterity from the loins of the sons of Adam, and took them to witness against themselves, saying, am I not thy Lord? They answered. Yes, we do bear witness, Kur. VII. The commentators say that God stroked Adam's back and extracted from his loins his whole posterity and assembled them in the shape of ants, and after they had, in the presence of the angels, confessed their dependence on Him, they were returned to the loins of Adam. See Sale.
its light, and accept counsel from His Book and seek light from it in the
day of darkness, for verily He hath created ye for His worship and hath
appointed for ye guardian angels “honourable in the sight of God writing
down your actions who know that which ye do.” (Kur. LXXXII). And
know, O servants of God that ye proceed and draw nigh unto an appointed
time, the knowledge of which, verily, is hidden from ye, therefore if ye are
able so to do, that the appointed periods be fulfilled while ye are engaged
in the works of the Lord, then so act ye, but this ye cannot do save with
the permission of the Lord. Vie ye with one another in fulfilling the
obligation of your appointed times before your appointed periods are com-
pleted, lest they cast ye upon the evillest of your works; and, verily, there
are some who have made over the obligations of their appointed times on
others, and have taken no heed of themselves, therefore I forbid ye to be
like unto them. Then haste! haste! flee! flee! for behind ye is a nimble
pursuer—swift of deed.’ And Ibn Ab’id Dunya, and Ahmadi in the ‘Zuhd’
and Abu Nua’ym in the ‘Huliyah’ from Yahya-b-Abi Kathir, that Abu
Bakr used to say in his discourse, ‘where are the comely, beautiful of
countenance—exulting in their youth? Where are the monarchs who
built cities and entrenched them round about? Where are they who gave
victory on fields of battle? verily their pillars were overthrown when Fortune
betrayed them, and they went down into the darkness of the grave. Haste!
haste! flee! flee!’ And Ahmad in the Zuhd from Salmân,* that he said,
‘I went to Abu Bakr and said, “leave me an injunction,” and he replied,
“O Salmân, fear God, and know that there shall shortly be victories, but I
know not what may be thy portion among them, of what thou may mayest put
into thy belly or cast upon thy back, but, know, that he who prayeth the
five appointed times of prayer, verily he is under a covenant with God, and
walketh under the protection of the Most High: therefore slay not any
of the people of God’s covenant, lest thou betray God in His covenant and
the Lord throw thee prostrate on thy face in hell fire.” And from Abu
Bakr that he said, “the good shall be taken away, the best, followed by
the next in merit, until there remain the dregs of the people, like the husk of
dates and of barley—the Lord shall not take heed of them.” And Sa’id-b-
Manṣūr in the Sunan from Mu’āwiya-b-Kurrah that Abu Bakr as Siddîk
used to say in his prayers, “O Lord! render thou the best of my life its
close, and the best of my deeds the last, and the best of my days the day of
Thy meeting.” And Ahmadi in the Zuhd from al Ḥasan, “I heard that Abu
Bakr used to say in his prayers, “O God verily I ask of Thee that which may be
the best for me in the end—O God! vouchsafe that the last good that Thou

* There are two Companions of the name, one the freedman of Muhammad, a
native of Persia by birth, and the other Salmân-b-A’mir. Consult an Nawawi.
bestowest upon me, be Thy approbation, and the loftiest places in the gardens of delight.” And from A’rfajah* that Abu Bakr said, “he who is able to weep let him weep, or if not, let him endeavour to weep.” And from Abu Bakr on the authority of A’rzah, “the most deadly of things are the two that are red—gold and saffron.”† And on the authority of Muslim-b- Yasár,‡ “the true believer is rewarded in everything, even in affliction—for, in the breaking of a shoe-latchet, or some trifle in his sleeve, should he lose it, and be in fear for it, he will find it by his side.” And on the authority of Maymún-b-Mihrán that a raven with large wings was brought to Abu Bakr, and he turned it over and said, “no game is hunted and no tree is felled save it hath neglected the praises of God.” And al Bukhári in the “Adab,” and A’bdulláh-b-Ahmad in the Zawáid u’z Zuhd from as Sunábihi, that he heard Abu Bakr say that the prayer of a brother “for his brothers in God is accepted.” And A’bdulláh in the Zawáid u’z Zuhd from Labid the poet, that he went to Abu Bakr and repeated this verse—

“Is not every thing but God unprofitable?”
He replied. “Thou hast spoken truly.” And Labíd continued:
“And every joy is surely fleeting.”

Abu Bakr exclaimed, “thou hast spoken falsely—there is with God a joy that never passeth away,”—and when Labíd had gone, he said “Sometimes a poet speaketh words of wisdom.”

On his sayings which manifest the greatness of his fear of his God.

Abu Ahmad al Hákim records on the authority of Mu’ád-b-Jabal that Abu Bakr entered a garden, and, behold, there was a ringdove in the shade of a tree, and he heaved a deep sigh and said, “happy art thou, O bird, that eatest of the trees and seekest shelter beneath them, and art not called to account—would that Abu Bakr were like unto thee.” And Ibn A’sákír from al Asma’i that when Abu Bakr was once praised, he said, “O Lord, Thou knowest more of me than I myself, and I know more concerning myself than they—O God, make me better than they think me, and forgive me that which they know not, and call me not to account for what

* A’rfajah-b-Asád-b-Safwán, one of the Companions, of the Bánú Tamím.
† These are said to destroy women, that is the love of gold and perfumes, as flesh meat and wine called also الأحمران are said to destroy men.
‡ A’bu Abdu’lláh Muslim-b-Yasár of Baṣr ah. Some say he was the freedman of Othmán, others of Talháb. He was distinguished for his knowledge of jurisprudence, he died A. H. 100-1. An Nawawi.
they say.” And Aḥmad in the Zuhd from Abu I’mrān al Jūnī, that Abu Bakr as Šiddīk said, “I would I were a hair in the side of a servant, a true believer.” And from Mujāhid, that Ibn u’z Zubayr when he rose to prayers was as a stock of wood in abasement, and I have been told that Abu Bakr was the same. And from al Ḥasan that Abu Bakr said, “by Allah, verily I would I were this tree which is eaten of and felled.” And from Katādah that he said, “it has been related to me that Abu Bakr said ‘I would that I were pasture that cattle might eat me.’” And from Dhamrah-b-Habib that a son of Abu Bakr’s was near unto death, and the youth kept looking towards a cushion, and when he was dead, they said to Abu Bakr, “we saw thy son looking towards a cushion,” and they moved him from the cushion and they found underneath it five or six dinars. Then Abu Bakr struck one hand upon the other, and uttered the two professions of faith, and kept saying ‘verily we belong to God and unto Him shall we return.’ O such a one, how greatly doth thy body desire that it should be amplified for this.”* And from Thābit al Bunānī that Abu Bakr applied this verse by way of similitude.

Thou shalt not cease to announce the death of a friend until thou art as he is.

And verily the youth cherisheth a hope, and dieth without attaining it.

Ibn Saʿd records on the authority of Ibn Sfrīn, that, after the death of the prophet, there was no one more apprehensive on account of what he knew not, than Abu Bakr, and no one after Abu Bakr more apprehensive on account of what he knew not, than Omar, and when a case came before Abu Bakr, and he could not find its exemplar in the Book of God, nor a tradition regarding it in the Sunnat, he would say, “I will act to the best of my judgment, and if it be just, then it is from God, and if erroneous, then it is mine, and may God pardon me.”

On what has been handed down of him regarding the interpretation of dreams.

Saʿdī-b-Manṣūr records on the authority of Saʿdī-b-u’l Musayyab that he said, “Ayesha dreamed that there came down into her house, three

* “On the Day of Judgment, their treasures shall be intensely heated in the fire of hell, and their forehead and their sides and backs shall be stigmatized therewith.” Kur IX. As Suyūṭī in his Commentary (Tafsir u’l Jalālayn) says on this passage, that the bodies of these reprobates will be inflated and extended in order to become capable of receiving the brand of each coin that they have treasured. The identical word ٢٣٤ is employed by him to express this meaning.
moons, and she related it to Abu Bakr who was one of the most learned in interpretation among men. He said, "verily thy dream hath spoken truly—there shall be buried verily in thy house, three of the best of mankind." And when the prophet died, he said, "O Ayesha, this is the best of thy moons." And from Omar-b-Shurhabil, that the apostle of God said, "I dreamed that I drove before me some black sheep, then I drove after them white sheep, so that the black could not be seen among them." And Abu Bakr said, "O apostle of God, as for the black sheep, verily they signified the Arabs who shall embrace the faith, and increase in numbers, and the white sheep are the barbarians who shall be converted until the Arabs shall not be seen among them by reason of their numbers." The apostle of God replied, "so the angel interpreted it this morning." A tradition is also also ascribed to him from Ibn Abi Laylah that the apostle of God said, "I dreamed I was at a well drawing from it, and there approached me black sheep and behind them grey sheep;" and Abu Bakr said, "suffer me to interpret it" and he continued as above.

Ibn Sa'ad records on the authority of Muḥammad Ibn Sirīn that he said, "the most learned in interpretation of this people after their prophet is Abu Bakr." And from Ibn Shihāb, that the apostle of God had a dream and related it to Abu Bakr and said, "I dreamed as it were that I and thou were vying with each other in mounting a ladder, and I preceded thee by two steps and a half." He replied, "O apostle of God, the Lord will take thee unto His forgiveness and mercy and I shall live after thee two years and a half." Al 'Bayhaqī records in the Proofs on the authority of A'bdullāh-b-Buraydah that the apostle of God sent A'mr-b-u'l A'as at the head of a body of troops, among them being. Abu Bakr and Omar, and when they arrived at the field of war, A'mr commanded that they should not light fires, and Omar was wroth and purposed going to him, but Abu Bakr prevented him and explained to him, saying, "the apostle of God hath not placed him* over thee, but for his knowledge of wars this therefore cometh from him." And from an ascription of Abu Ma'shar that the apostle of God said "verily I shall appoint a man over the people who is the best among them, who may be vigilant of eye and clear-sighted in war."

Khalīfah-b-Khāyyāt and Aḥmad-b-Hanbal, and Ibn A’sākir record on the authority of Yazīd-b-u'l Asamm,† that the prophet said to Abu Bakr "Am I the greater or thou?" He replied "thou art the greater and nobler, but I am older than thou." This tradition is interrupted in trans-

* The printed text has بناء for دَبَّلَة.
† Abu A'uf Yazīd-b-u'l Asamm a native of Kūfah and a Tabi'i. He dwelt at Raḳkah and died there A. H. 103. He was the son of the sister of Maymuna wife of Muḥammad and the traditions related by him are considered authentic. An Nawawi.
mission and narrated but by one authority, but if it were substantiated, this answer should be accounted as a proof of his sagacity and reverence; but this reply is commonly ascribed to A’bbás. And the same is ascribed to Sa’íd-b-Yarbán (recorded by at Ţabarání) and its reading, that the Apostle of God said to him, “which of us is the greater?” he replied, “thou art greater and better than I, but I am the elder.”

Abu Nua’ym records that it was said to Abu Bakr, “O vicegerent of the apostle of God, wilt thou not employ in service those who fought at Badr?” He replied, “I know their dignity but I am loth to defile them with the world.” And Aḥmad in the Zuhd from Isma’il-b-Muḥammad, that Abu Bakr divided the spoil into portions and divided it, equally among the people, and Omar said to him, “dost thou apportion it equally among the men of Badr and the rest of the people?” Abu Bakr replied, “verily the world is a sufficiency, and the best sufficiency is that which is most comprehensive, but verily the superiority of these* lies in their spiritual rewards.”

Aḥmad records in the Zuhd on the authority of Abu Bakr-b-Hafs that he said, “I have heard that Abu Bakr used to fast in summer, and break his fast† in winter.” And Ibn Sa’ad from Ḥayyán the goldsmith that the impression on the signet ring of Abu Bakr was, “excellent is the omnipotent God!”—At Ţabarání records on the authority of Músa-b-U’kbah that he said, “I do not know four people who attained with their sons to the time of the prophet, save these four, Abu Ḫūfah and his son Abu Bakr as Śiddík,—and his son Abdu’r Raḥmán—and Abu A’ṭik son of A’bbás Raḥmán whose name was Muḥammad.” And Ibn Mandah and Ibn A’sákír from Ayesha, that the parents of none among the Fugitives embraced Islám, save the parents of Abu Bakr.—Ibn Sa’ad and al Bazzár

* That is, the men of Badr.
† This would seemed to imply that even when the Ramadžán fell in winter, so orthodox a believer did not comply with the indispensable duty of fasting during that month. The explanation however, though so immaterial a point scarcely deserves it is perhaps as follows. According to Lane, the present months of the Muhammadan year, were named by Kíláb-b-Murráh, an ancestor of Muḥammad, about two centuries before Islám. These months were lunar, and from this period, with a view of adopting their year to the solar, the Arabs added a month, which they called (النسيب) at the end of every three years, until they were forbidden to do so by Kurán (Ch. IX). The abolition of the intercalation was proclaimed by Muḥammad at the pilgrimage in the tenth year of the Flight. It is obvious from the derivations of the Arabic names of the months, that they were called after the seasons in which they fell. The (from رصد) signifying vehement heat) occurred between the middle of July and the middle of August; while the years were yet adapted to the solar, there would be a fixity of recurrence, or nearly so, of the months in the same seasons, and thus Abu Bakr might well have fasted in summer frequently enough to account for the tradition.
record on good authorities from Anas that the oldest in years of the companions of the apostle of God were Abu Bakr as Şiddîk and Suhaýl-b-A’mr-b-Baydî.  

Note—Al Bayhaqi records in the “Proofs” on the authority of Asma daughter of Abu Bakr that she said, “In the year of the conquest of Mecca, a daughter of Abu Ƙuḥáfa went forth and some horsemen met her, and upon her neck was a necklace of gold pieces, and a man wrenched it from her neck. And when the apostle of God entered the mosque, Abu Bakr stood up and said ‘I call upon God and Islam for the necklace of my sister’—and by Allah, no one answered him. He repeated it then a second time, but no one answered him. Then he exclaimed, ‘O sister reckon upon a reward of God for thy necklace, for by Allah, there is little honesty among men now-a-days.’”

Note—I have seen in the handwriting of the Hâfidh ad Ɗabâbi, the names of those who were unequalled in their time, in their special qualifications. Abu Bakr as Şiddîk in genealogy, Omar-b-u’l Khâṭṭâb in steadfastness in the commands of God, Othmân-b-A’llân in modesty, ɬ’lî in judicial decision, Ubayy-b-Ka’ab in reading the Kurân, Zayd-b-Thâbit, in the law of inheritance, Abu U’baydah-b-u’l Jarrâh in honesty, Ibn A’bbâs in comment on the Kurân, Abu ɬarr in truthfulness of speech, Khâlid-b-u’l Wâlîd in courage, al Hasan al Basri in admonition, Wahb-b-Munabbîh in narration, Ibn Sirîn in interpretation of dreams, Nâfî’ in reading the Kurân, Abu ɬanîfah in jurisprudence, Ibn Ishâk in accounts of military expeditions, Mukâtil in expounding obscurities, al Kalbi in narrations from the Kurân, al Khalîlî in prosody, Fudhayl-b-I’yâḍî in devotion, Sîbawayh in grammar, Mâlik in science, as Shâfî in knowledge of tradition, Abu U’baydah, in interpreting obscure words occurring in traditions, ɬ’lî-b-u’l Madînî in defects invalidating traditions, Yahya-b-Ma’în in traditional authorities, Abu Tammâm in poetry, Ahmed-b-ɬanîbal in the Sunnah, al Bukhârî in discrimination of traditions, al Junayd in mysticism, Muḥammad-b-ɬa’rîf al Marwazi in reconciling the contradictory meanings of traditions, al Jubbî in expounding the tenets of the Mu’aṭtazalîtes, al Ashârî in scholastic theology, Muḥammad-b-Zakariya ar Râzi, in medicine, Abu Ma’shâr in astrology, İbrahim al Kirmâni in interpretation of dreams, Ibn Nubâtah in preaching, Abu’l Faraj al Isbâhâni in debate, Abu’l ɬâsim at Tabarânî on traditions of the highest authority, Ibn ɬâzm in the literal interpretation of the Kurân, Abu’l Hasan al Bakri in lying, al Harîrî in his discourses, Ibn Mandah in extent of travel, al Mutanabî in poetry, al Musîlî in vocal music, as ɬûli in chess, al Khaṭîb al Baghdâdî in quickness in reading the Kurân, ɬ’lî-b-Hîlî in calligraphy, A’tâ as Salîmî* in fear,

* Ibn Khallakân gives the life of A’ta-b-Abû Rabî’ Aṣlâm Muftî of Mecca, and a devout ascetic. The ‘fear’ may therefore signify ‘the fear of God’ if this be the in-

OMAR-B-U’L KHATṬĀB.

OMAR-b-u’l Khattāb, b-Nufayl-b-A’bdul A’za, b-Riyāḥ-b-Kurt-b-Razāh-b-A’di-b-Kaa’b-b-Luayy, the Prince of the Faithful, Abu Hafs, al Kurayshi, al A’dwi, al Fārūk, (the Discriminator) embraced Islām in the sixth year of the prophetic mission being seven and twenty years of age (ad Ḍahabi). An Nawawi says that Omar was born thirteen years after the year of the elephant.* He was one of the chiefs of the Kuraysh and was charged with the duties of an envoy in the time of Ignorance; for the Kuraysh, whenever a war took place among themselves, or between themselves and others, used to send him as envoy, that is as a representative, and whenever a challenger would contend against their honor, or a boaster contest their glory, they would send him to vie and to contend in their name. He embraced the faith early—after the conversion of forty men and ten women—or as some say, after thirty-nine men, and twenty-three women, and others, forty-five men and eleven women. He had no sooner embraced Islām, than he openly declared his faith at Mecca and the Muslims rejoiced at it. An Nawawi adds, that he was one of the converts, and one of the ten to whom Paradise was promised, and one of the just Caliphs, and one of the fathers-in-law of the Apostle of God, and one of the most learned and most ascetic of the Companions. Five hundred and thirty-nine traditions direct from the Apostle of God are ascribed to him. Traditions are related on his authority by Īthmān-b-A’ffān by A’li and Ṭalḥah and Saa’d, and Ibn A’uf and Ibn Masa’ūd, and Abu Ṭarr, and Omar-b-A’basah, and his son A’bud’l-lah, and Ibn A’bbās, and Ibn ʿūz Zubayr, and Anas, and Abu Hurayrah, and A’mr-b-u’l A’ās, and Abu Māsā al Aš’a’rī, and al Baraa-b-A’zib, and Abu Sa’īd al Khudrī, and others of the Companions and some besides them. I remark, that I will here devote some chapters to the principal observations of note connected with his biography.

dividual meant. I can discover no other name bearing any resemblance with that in the text.

* The year of the defeat of Abrahā-b-u’l Sabāḥ surnamed al Ashram or the slit-nosed-king or viceroy of Yaman, who marched against Mecca at the head of an army, wherein were several elephants, to avenge the profanation of the Christian Church at Sanā’, by some of the tribe of Kenānāh. His fate and that of his army is well-known. See the story in Sale and his comments thereon. In this year Muḥammad was born.
On the accounts which have been handed down regarding his conversion.

At Tirmidhi records on the authority of Ibn Omar, that the prophet said, "O God, glorify Islam by the most endeared to Thee of these two men, Omar the son of al Khaṭṭāb or Jahl the son of Hishām." And al Ḥākim from Ibn A’bbās, that the prophet said, "O God, glorify Islam by Omar the son of al Khaṭṭāb in particular." And Ahmad from Omar that he said, "I went forth to hinder the Apostle of God, but I found that he had preceded me to the mosque, and I stood up behind him and he sought to expound the Surah ‘al Hā’kah.’* And I began to wonder at the composition of the Kurān and I said, ‘by Allah, this is a poet, as the Kuraysh say.’ Then he read, ‘This is the discourse of an honorable apostle and not the discourse of a poet—how little do ye believe,’ &c., (LXIX). And the true faith entered into my heart with a full possession.” And Ibn Abi Shaybah from Jábir that he said, "the beginning of the conversion of Omar was thus as Omar hath related, ‘the pain† of labour seized my sister in the night, and I went forth from the house and entered the precincts of the Ka’bah, and the prophet came and entered the enclosure and upon him were two garments, and he prayed to God for that which God willed and then departed. And I heard a thing the like of which I had not heard before, and he went forth and I followed him and he said, ‘who is that?’ and I replied, ‘Omar,’ then he said, ‘O Omar wilt thou not leave me night or day?’ and I feared lest he should curse me, and I said, ‘I testify that there is no God but God, and that thou art the Apostle of God.” He answered “keep this secret.” I replied, “No, by Him who sent thee in the truth, I will surely proclaim it, as I proclaimed my infidelity.” And Ibn Saa’d, and Abu Ya’la, and al Ḥākim and al Bayhaqi in the "Proofs" on the authority of Anas, that Omar went forth girt with his sword and a man of the Banu Zuhrah met him and said, “wither art thou going, O Omar?” and he replied, “I intend to slay Muhammed;” the other said, “how wilt thou be secure from the Banu Hāshim and the Banu Zuhrah, if thou shouldst slay Muhammed?”‡ He replied, “I cannot but think that thou hast changed thy faith.” He answered, “shall I not assure thee

* Ch. LXIX, entitled “the Infallible”; the original words is one of the epithets of the Day of Judgment.
† In the text the word مکافی is pointed as the objective instead of the nominative case.
‡ The father of Muhammed belonged to the former tribe, his mother to the latter.
of a strange thing, that thy brother-in-law,* and thy sister have changed their faith and abandoned thy religion?" Then Omar departed and went to those two with whom was Khabbāb,† and when he heard the sound of Omar approaching he hid himself in the house. And Omar entered and said, "what is this muttering"—(for they were reading the T. H.)‡— and they said, "it is nothing but a discourse we were holding among ourselves." He said, "then perhaps you two have changed your religion," and his brother-in-law replied to him, 'O, Omar suppose the truth were in another religion than thine!' whereon Omar sprang upon him and trampled him heavily under foot; his sister then came to push him aside from her husband, but he struck her a blow with his hand, and her face bled: then being angry she said, "and suppose the truth were in another religion than thine! verily I testify that there is no God but God, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His Apostle." Then Omar exclaimed, "give me the book which you have, that I may read it." His sister said, "verily thou art unclean and 'none shall touch it except those who are clean' (Kur. LVI)—therefore rise and bathe or perform ablution." And Omar rose and made his ablutions and took the book and read the T. H., until he came to "Verily I am God; there is no God besides me; wherefore worship Me and perform thy prayers in remembrance of Me" (Kur. XX). Then Omar said, "direct me to Muḥammad;" and when Khabbāb heard the words of Omar, he came forth and said, "Rejoice with good tidings, O Omar, for verily, I trust that the prayer of the Apostle of God on Wednesday night§ may be for thee when he said, 'O God, glorify Islām by Omar, the son al Khaṭṭāb, or A'mr|| the son of Hisbām.' " The Apostle of God was at the time in the original house¶ which stands at the foot of as Šafā, and Omar went

* Saʿid-b-Zayd.
† Abu Abdullāh Khabbāb-b-uʾl Aratt was one of the earliest converts. He had been taken prisoner in the time of Ignorance and sold as a slave at Mecca. He is said to have been a freedman of Amār daughter of Sabāʾ of the tribe of Khuzaʾiʾ confederate of the Banu Zuhrah. He died at Kufah A. H. 37 in the Caliphate of Aʾlī and was buried outside the city at his special request. It had been the custom in Kufa for people to be buried at the doors of their houses, but after Khabbāb's death and by his example, the custom was abolished, and the dead were buried outside the loty.
‡ The XXth Ch. of the Kurān is so entitled. The meaning of the letters is uncertain.
§ The day of the Arabs begins at sunset, the night of Thursday is therefore our Wednesday night.
|| This was Abu Jahl's name. An Nawawi describes him in his biography, as Abu Jahl, 'the enemy of God, "the Pharaoh of this people"—this latter epithet was given to him by Muḥammad as he gazed upon his dead body after the battle of Bādr where he fell fighting against the new faith.
¶ The house alluded to belonged to Arqam of the Banu Makhrūm, one of the
on until he reached the house, at the door of which were Ḥamzah and Ṭalḥah and others. And Ḥamzah said, "this is Omar; if God desireth* his good, he will be converted, and if He desireth otherwise, his death will sit lightly upon us." The narrator adds, "the prophet was then within, under the divine inspiration, and he came forth and went to Omar and clasped him round all his garments and his sword belt, and said 'wilt thou not cease, O Omar, until God sendeth upon thee calamity and chastisement such as He sent upon al Walîd-b.-u'l Mughirah.'† And Omar said 'I testify that there is no God, but God and that thou art the servant of God and His Apostle.'"

Al Bazzâr, and at Ţabaránî and Abu Nua'yûm in the "Hûliyah," and al Bayhaḵî in the "Dalâîl" record on the authority of Aslam‡ that he narrates: "Omar said to me—I was the most violent of men against the Apostle of God, and while I was one sultry day in the noontide heat in one of the streets of Mecca, a man met me and said, 'I wonder at thee, O son of al Khattâb, that thou thinkest that thou art this and that while verily an event has occurred at thy house.' I said, 'and what is that?' He replied, 'thy sister hath embraced Islám'—Then I turned back in wrath until I knocked at the door. They asked, 'who is there?' I replied, 'Omar.' Then they hastened away and hid from me, and verily, they had been reading a paper before them which they had left and forgotten. Then my sister arose and opened the door, and I said, 'O enemy of thyself, hast thou changed thy faith?' and I struck her upon the head with a thing that was in my hand and the blood flowed and she wept and said, 'O son of al Khattâb! what thou soughtest to do, do, for verily I have changed my faith.' Omar continued, and I went in and sat upon a bedstead, and I looked upon the paper and said, 'what is that? give it to me'—she said, 'thou art not worthy of it for thou art not purified from uncleanness, and this book "none shall touch it, except those who are clean;"' but I did not desist until she gave it to me, and I opened earliest converts to the faith, and was a favourite resort of Muṯṣammad's. From the converts made therein, it was styled, according to al Waḳīdî, the house of Islám. See, Muir, Vol. II, p. 118.

* The printed edition is here in error, there should be no 'tashdîd' over this verb, which is the 4th form of ṭeer apocopated by the particle ʿalî.

† One of the "scroffers" alluded to in Kur. ch. X.Ý. Passing by some arrows, one of them hitched in his garment, and he, out of pride, not stooping to take it off, the head of it cut a vein in his heel, and he bled to death. See the tragic end of the other four in Sale, p. 214. Sale spells the name Mughîrah, but I can find no authority for it. An Nawawi is clear upon its pronunciation.

‡ The freedman of Omar-b.-u'l Khattâb. According to some, he had been one of the prisoners of Yaman—others say that he was an Abyssinian. An Nawawi.
it, and behold! there was in it ‘whatever is in the heavens and the earth
singeth praise unto God.’ (LVII), and I was terrified, and I read unto
‘Believe in God and his Apostle.’ Then I exclaimed, ‘I testify that
there is no God but God,’ and those who had fled away, came forth to me
and magnified God and said, ‘rejoice with good tidings, for the Apostle of
God prayed on Monday and said, ‘O God, glorify Thy faith by the most
endared to Thee of two men, either Abu Jahl the son of Hishám or
Omar!’’ and they directed me to the prophet to the house at the foot of
as Ṣafá. And I went on until I knocked at the door, and they said, ‘who
is it.’ I replied ‘the son of al Khaṭṭāb,’ and, verily, they knew my vio-
ence against the Apostle of God, and no one was bold enough to open the
doors until Muhammad said, ‘open for him,’ and they opened for me and
two men seized my arm, until the prophet came to me and said, ‘stand off
from him.’ Then he caught me round my garment and drew me to him
and said, ‘be converted, O son of al Khaṭṭāb. O God! direct him aright.’
Then I made the profession of faith. Thereupon the Muslims magnified
God, with a ‘takhir’ that was heard in the defiles of Mecca. They had
hitherto sought concealment, and I never wished to see a man, beating or
being beaten, but I beheld him while nothing of this could befal me. Then
I went to my maternal uncle, Abu Jahl, the son of Hishám, and he was a
man of high consideration, and I knocked at his door and he said, ‘who is
that?’ I replied, ‘the son of al Khaṭṭāb, and verily I have changed my
religion,’ and he said, ‘do it not.’ Then he went within and shut the door
upon me, and I said, ‘this is nothing;’ and I went on to a man of the chiefs
of the ʿUrayš, and called out to him, and he came forth to me and I ad-
dressed him in the same words as to my uncle, and he replied to me, as my
uncle had replied, and he went in and shut the door upon me and I said,
‘this is nothing! shall the Muslims be beaten and I not be beaten?’ Then
a man said to me, ‘dost thou wish that thy being converted to Isláم, should
be known?’ and I said ‘yes.’ He replied, ‘when the people assemble
in the precincts of the Kaabah, go to a certain man who cannot keep a
secret and say to him that which is to be between thee and him, viz., verily
I have changed my faith, for it is rare that he can conceal a secret.’ And I
went when the people had assembled in the enclosure, and I mentioned what
was to be between me and him, saying, ‘verily I have changed my faith.’
He replied ‘Hast thou really done so?’ I said ‘yes.’ Then he cried out
at the top of his voice, ‘verily the son of al Khaṭṭāb hath changed his

* The Arabic idiom here, is so difficult to transfer with any closeness of translation,
into English, that I fear I have sacrificed intelligibility to a desire to be literal. Omar
means to say, that either before his conversion, or before it was made known, his posi-
tion as a chief of the ʿUrayš secured him from all insult.
faith;" then they fell upon me, and I did not cease to beat them, nor they to beat me, while the people gathered round me. Then my uncle said, 'what is this gathering?' they said to him, 'Omar hath changed his faith.' Then he stood up in the enclosure and waved his sleeve saying, 'verily I take under my protection the son of my sister,' and they gave way from me. But I did not like to see one of the Muslims beating or being beaten, but I would see him and say, 'this is nothing, perchance it may befall me,' and I went to my uncle and said 'thy protection is returned to thee' and I did not cease from beating and being beaten until God exalted Islam.'

Abu Nua'ym in the "Dalâil," and Ibn A'sâkir record on the authority of Ibn Abbâs that he said, "I asked of Omar, 'why art thou called al Fârûk? (the discriminator)?' and he said, 'Hamzah embraced Islam three days before me, and I went to the mosque, and Abu Jahl hastened to the prophet and reviled him, and Hamzah was informed of it; so he took his bow and went to the mosque towards a group of the Kuraysh in which was Abu Jahl, and he leaned upon his bow over against Abu Jahl and regarded him, and Abu Jahl saw that mischief was in his countenance,' and he said, 'what is the matter with thee O! Abu U'marah?" and Hamzah lifted up his bow and struck him with it upon the two cupping-veins of the neck and cut them, and the blood flowed, where-upon the Kuraysh adjusted the matter amicably, fearing mischief." Then Omar continued, "the Apostle of God was at that time concealed in the house of Arkam the son of A'bu'l Ar'âm al Makhzumi, and Hamzah went away and embraced Islam. Three days afterwards, I went forth when behold! there came a certain man of the tribe of the Banu Makhzum, and I said, 'hast thou turned away from the faith of thy fathers and followed the faith of Muhammad?' and he replied, 'if I have done so, then verily, one hath done so likewise who hath a greater claim upon thee than I.' I said—'and who is that?' He answered, 'thy sister as well as thy brother-in-law.' And I departed and reached the house, and I heard a low whispering, and I entered and said, 'what is this?' and words did not cease to pass between us, until I took my brother-in-law by the head and smote him and covered him with blood, but my sister rose against me

* That is, I hope it may befall me. The MS. has خنی for the د of the printed edition which makes the sense clearer. This passage is similar to the one I have already noted in a preceding page, with the difference, that he is now describing a state of feeling arrived at since his conversion had been made public. His zeal as a convert and his natural pugnacity would not permit him to behold a Muslim being beaten without wishing to share in the unpopularity of the new faith. His fervour would not be content with anything but hard knocks which, however, he returned as freely as he received them.

† His surname: it was also that of al Barâ-b-A'âzib—The Companion.
and seized my head and said, 'verily that hath been done in spite of thee.' And I was ashamed when I saw the blood and I sat down and said, 'show me this writing,' but she replied, 'none shall touch it except those who are clean.' And I arose and bathed, and they brought out to me a paper in which was 'In the name of God, the most merciful and Compassionate' (and I said 'names, good and holy'). T. H. we have not sent down the Kurán unto thee that thou should'st be unhappy and I read on to His words 'most excellent names' (Kur. XX). And there arose in my heart a great awe and I said, 'is it from this the Kuraysh have fled?' and I embraced Iṣlām and said, 'where is the Apostle of God?' She replied 'verily he is in the house of Arkam,' and I went and knocked at the door and the people gathered together and Ḥāmzah said to them, 'what is it with ye?' They said, 'it is Omar'; he replied, 'what! Omar! open the door to him, and if he cometh to us amicably, we will receive him, and if he turneth away from us we shall slay him;' and the Apostle of God heard that, and he came forth and Omar made the profession of faith. Then the people of the house magnified God with a 'takbír' that was heard by the dwellers in Mecca. I said, 'O Apostle of God, are we not in the Truth?' he replied, 'yes.' I said, 'then wherefore this concealment?' So we came forth in two ranks, I at the head of one of them and Ḥāmzah, of the other, until we entered the mosque, and the Kuraysh looked upon me and upon Ḥāmzah, and a great grief fell upon them. The Apostle of God therefore, named me the Discriminator, from that day, because Iṣlām was made manifest and truth distinguished from falsehood.” Ibn Saa'd records from Ḥakwán* that he narrates, “I said to Ayesha, who named Omar, the Discriminator?” she replied, “the prophet.” And Ibn Majah and al Ḥákim from Ibn A’bbás, that he said, “when Omar embraced Iṣlām, Gabriel descended and said, ‘O Muhammad, verily the dwellers in heaven announce with rejoicing the conversion of Omar.’” Al Bazzár records, and al Ḥákim, who verifies it on the authority of Ibn A’bbás, that when Omar was converted, the idolaters said, “verily, to-day, the sect have avenged themselves upon us,” and the Lord revealed,† “O prophet! God is thy support, and such of the true believers that have followed thee” (Kur. VIII). And al Bukhári from Ibn Masa’úd that he said, “we continued increasing in honour from the time when Omar was converted.” And Ibn Saa’d and at Ṭabárání from Ibn Masa’úd, that he said, “the conversion of Omar

* There are seven of this name mentioned by Ibn Hājr. The one referred to in the text is probably the freedman of Mūḥammad.

† Some say this passage was revealed in a plain called al Beidá, between Mecca and Medina during the expedition of Badr. Sale.
was a conquest, his flight* a victory, and his Imámate a divine mercy, and verily, we said that we were unable to pray in the House of God until Omar was converted, and when Omar was converted, he fought with them until they left us alone and we prayed therein.” Ibn Saa’d and al Ḥákim record from Ḥudayfah, that he said, “when Omar was converted, Islám was as a man advancing who doth not progress without approaching, and when Omar was slain, Islám was as a man retreating, who doth not progress without receding.” And at Ṭabarání from Ibn A’bbás, that he said, “the first who openly manifested Islám was Omar-b-u’l Khatṭáb.” His authorities are trustworthy and excellent. And Ibn Saa’d from Suhayb, “when Omar was converted, Islám was declared and the people openly invited to it, and we sat in a circle round the temple and went in procession round the temple, and avenged ourselves on those who had oppressed us, and returned back upon them somewhat of that which they had brought upon us.” And Ibn Saa’d from Aslam, the freedman of Omar, “Omar was converted in the month of Du’l Hijjah in the sixth year of the prophetic mission, and he was then six and twenty years old.”

On his Flight.

Ibn A’sakir records on the authority of A’li, that he said, “I never knew any one flee unless secretly, except Omar-bu’l Khatṭáb, for he, when he resolved on flight, girt on his sword and slung over him his bow and grasped in his hand its arrows, and went to the Kaa’bah where in its quadrangle were the chiefs of the Kuraysh, and he went round about it seven times, then prayed two rakaa’bs† at the station of Abraham, and went to each, one by one, in their circle and said, ‘may the faces be foul of such as desire that his mother be bereaved of him and his child be left an orphan and his wife a widow, and if there be such a one, let him meet me behind this valley’—but no one followed him.” And from al Bará,‡ that he said, “the first man who came to us, of the Fugitives was Muṣaa’b-b-U’mayr, then Ibn Umm Maktúm,§ then Omar-bu’l Khatṭáb with

* To Medina with the prophet.
† A rakaa’h is a single act of standing in prayer, followed by an inclination of the head, and two prostrations.
‡ Ibn Hajar gives six of the name—the reference in the text is probably to al Bará-b-A’ṣáib, one of the Auxiliaries of Medina.
§ Some say his name was A’bdullāh, others A’mr-b-Ḵays. His mother’s name was A’ṭíkah of the Banu Makhzúm. He resided at Medina after Badr, being then blind, and used to officiate as Imám at public prayers when Muhammad was absent in his expeditions. A’wárifu’l Ma’árif of Ibn. Kutaybah.
twenty horsemen, and we said, 'what is the Apostle of God doing?' He replied, 'he cometh after me;' then then Apostle of God arrived and with him Abu Bakr."*

An Nawawi says that Omar was present with the Apostle of God in all his expeditions, and was of those who remained steadfast to him on the day of Obud.

On the traditions handed down regarding his merit, other than what has preceded in the life of Abu Bakr.

The two Shaykhs record on the authority of Abu Hurayrah that the Apostle of God said, "while I was asleep, I saw myself in Paradise, and beheld there was a woman performing her ablutions by the side of a house; I said, 'whose is this house?' they replied 'Omar's.' Then I recollected thy jealousy and I turned back." And Omar wept and said, "should I be jealous of thee, O Apostle of God!" And from Ibn Omar that the Apostle of God said, "whilst I was asleep, I dreamt that I drank (meaning milk) so that I saw the stream issuing from my nails, and I gave it to Omar." They said, "how dost thou interpret it, O Apostle of God!" He answered, "it was knowledge." And from Abu Sa'îd, al Khudri, "I heard the Apostle of God say, 'whilst I was sleeping, I saw the people presented to me, and upon them were garments, some of them reaching to the breast and some of them reaching below it, and Omar was presented to me and upon him a garment which he was dragging along.' They said, 'how dost thou interpret it, O Apostle of God!' He answered—'it was religion.'" And from Saa'd-b-Abi Wakâş, that the Apostle of God said, "O son of al Khâṭâb—by Him in whose hand is my life, the devil hath never met thee walking in a road, but he hath taken a road other than thy road." And al Bukhârî from Ibn Hurayrah, that the Apostle of God said, "verily there have been among those who have gone before ye among the nations, men inspired, and if there be such a one among my people, it is Omar." And at Tirmîdî from Ibn Omar, that the Apostle of God said, "verily God hath placed truth upon the tongue of Omar the son of al Khâṭâb and upon his heart."

Ibn Omar says, "never did a thing come upon the people, and they said one thing regarding it, and Omar another, but the Kurâûn revealed it after the manner that Omar had said." And at Tirmîdî and al Hákim,

* Al Barâ as quoted by an Nawawi, places four others between Ibn Umm Maktûm and Omar, viz., A'mmâr-b-Yásîr Saa'd-b-Abi Wakâş, Ibn Masa'úd and Bilân.
who has verified it from U’thbah-b-A ‘āmir, record, that the Apostle of God said, “if there were to be a prophet after me, it would be Omar the son of al Khaṭṭāb.” And at Tirmidhi, from Ayesha, that the Apostle of God said, “verily I behold the evil spirits among Genii and men, fleeing from before Omar.” And Ibn Mājah and al Ḥākim from ‘Ubayy-b-Kaab’, that the Apostle of God said, “the first with whom Truth joineth hands, and the first it blesseth, and the first it taketh by the hand and entereth Paradise, is Omar.” And from Abu Darr that he narrates, “I heard the Apostle of God say, ‘verily the Lord hath placed truth upon the tongue of Omar, by which He speaketh.’ And Aḥmad and al Bazzār from Abu Ḥurayrah that the Apostle of God said, ‘verily the Lord hath placed truth upon the tongue of Omar and upon his heart.’ And Ibn Mani’ in his Musnad from A’li, that he said, ‘we the Companions of Muḥammad did not doubt that the divine presence spake by the tongue of Omar.’ And al Bazzār from Ibn Omar, that the Apostle of God said, ‘Omar is the lamp of the dwellers in Paradise.’ And from Kudamah-b-Madhu’ún on the authority of his brother,* Othmán-b-Madhhu’ún, that the Apostle of God said, ‘this is the bolt against discord’—and he pointed with his hand to Omar—‘ there shall not cease to be between you and discord, a gate strongly bolted, as long as he liveth among you.’”

At Ṭabarāni records in the A’usat from Ibn A’bbás, that Gabriel came to the prophet and said, “greet Omar with a salutation and tell him that his anger is glory and his approval, command.” And Ibn A’ṣakir from Ayesha, that the prophet said, “verily Satan avoideth Omar.” And Aḥmad on the ascription of Buraydah,† that the prophet said, “verily Satan avoideth thee, O Omar!” – and Ibn A’ṣakir from Ibn A’bbás that the Apostle of God said, “there is not an angel in heaven, but he revereth Omar, and not a demon on earth but he fleeth from Omar.” And at Ṭabarāni in the Ausa’t from Abu Ḥurayrah that the Apostle of God said, “verily God gloried regarding the pilgrims of A’rafah‡ in general and Omar in particular.” And at Ṭabarāni and al Daylamī from al Fadlī b-u’l A’bbás that the Apostle of God said, “the Truth after me is with Omar wherever he may be.”

* The text and MS. have ‘uncle’ which appears to be an error.
† Abu A’bdullāh Buraydah b-u’l Ḥuṣayb, one of the Companions. He resided at Medina, afterwards at Baṣrah and removed subsequently to Marw where he died A. H. 62. He related 164 traditions from Muḥammad. An Nawawi.
‡ This is given differently by different authorities. In the Kitab u’l Iktīfa (كتاب الاكتفاء فضل إلا رتبة إجلافا) by Ibrahim-b-Abdu’lLA, al Waṣābi, al Yamanī, as Shafi’i—God vied with his angels regarding men on the day of A’rafah. Lane gives another reading, “the angels vied with them.” The day of A’rafah is the 9th of Du’l Hijjah—for its ceremonies, consult Burton.
The two Shaykhs record on the authority of Ibn Omar and Abu Hurayrah that the Apostle of God said, "whilst I was sleeping, I saw myself by a well, upon which was a bucket, and I drew up from it what God willed; then Abu Bakr took it and he drew up a bucket-full or two, and there was feebleness in his drawing and may God have mercy upon him. Then came Omar and he sought to draw, and the bucket became changed into a large bucket, and I have not seen a chief of the people do his wonderful deeds, so that the people satisfied their thirst and abode at the water."

An Nawawi says in his Tahdib, that the learned assert that this is an indication of the Caliphate of Abu Bakr and Omar, and the numerous conquests and triumphs of Islam during the time of Omar. At Tabarani records on the authority of Sadisah,* that the Apostle of God said, "verily Satan hath never met Omar since his conversion but he hath fallen prostrate on his face." And from Ubayy-b-Kas'b that the Apostle of God said, "Gabriel said to me, 'verily Islam will weep at the death of Omar.'" And in the Ausat from Abu Sa'id al Khudri, that the Apostle of God said, "he who hateth Omar, hath hated me, and he who loveth Omar, hath loved me, and verily, the Lord gloried regarding the people on the evening of the day of A'rafah in general, and rejoiced over Omar in particular, and the Lord hath never sent a prophet, but there was among his people one inspired, and if there be such a one among my people, it is Omar." They said "O Apostle of God, how inspired?" He replied, "the angels speak by his tongue." (His authorities are good.)

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On the sayings of the Companions and the early Muslims regarding him.

Abu Bakr as Siddik said, "there is not upon the face of the earth a man dearer to me than Omar." (Ibn A'sakir.) It was said to Abu Bakr in his illness, "what wilt thou say to thy God, now that thou hast appointed Omar to rule?" He replied, "I will say to Him 'I have appointed over them the best of them.'" (Ibn Saa'd.) A'li said, "when the righteous are mentioned, then quick and mention Omar: we used to say not without reason that the divine presence speaketh by the tongue of Omar." (At Tabarani in the Ausat.) And Ibn Omar said, "I never saw any one after the Apostle of God, from the time that he died, more vehement and yet more beneficent than Omar." (Ibn Saa'd.) And Ibn Masa'ud "if the

* The freedwoman of Hafsa, the daughter of Omar. She belonged to the Auxiliaries. Ibn Hajar.
wisdom of Omar were placed in the scale of a balance, and the wisdom of living things upon the earth in the other scale, the wisdom of Omar would outweigh them, and verily people used to think that he bore away ninetenths of wisdom.” (At Ţabarānī in the Kabîr and al Ḥākim.) And Ḥudayfah—“it is as if the wisdom of mankind lay hidden in the bosom of Omar;” and, “by Allah I know not a man whom the reproof of the censurer in what relateth to the service of God, doth not touch, but Omar.” And Ayesha speaking of Omar said, “by Allah, he was active in affairs, singly undertaking their management.” And al Mu’āwiyah, “Abu Bakr sought not the world and it sought not him, but Omar, the world sought though he sought it not, while we are plunged in it up to the middle.” (Az Zubayr-b-Bakkār in the Maukiyyāt.)

Jābir relates that A’li went to Omar when he was at prayers and said, “may the mercy of God be upon thee! there is no one with the record of whose actions it would be more pleasing to me to meet God, (after the Companionship of the prophet) than this performer of prayers.” (Al Ḥākim). And Mass’ūd has said, “when the righteous are mentioned, then quick and mention Omar—verily Omar was the most learned of us in the book of God, and the most profoundly versed in the religious ordinances of the Most High.” (At Ţabarānī and al Ḥākim.) Ibn A’bbās was asked regarding Abu Bakr, and he said “he was like goodness itself;” and he was asked regarding Omar, and he said, “he was like a wary bird that seeth a snare in every path, to take it;” and he was questioned about A’li, and he said, “he was full of resolution and vigilance and wisdom and dignity” (recorded in the Tuyāriyāt).

At Ţabarānī records on the authority of U’mayr-b-Rabī’ī, that Omar said to Kaa’b al Aḥbār,* “what description of me dost thou find?” “I find thy description to be a horn of iron,”† he said, “and what is a horn of iron?” He replied, “a resolute prince whom the reproof of the censurer in what relateth to the service of God, doth not touch.” Omar said, “then what?” He replied “there shall come after thee a Caliph whom a cruel faction shall slay.” He asked, “then what?” He answered, “then shall follow calamity.” And Aḥmad and al Bazzār and at Ţabarānī from Ibn Masa’ūd that he said, “Omar, the son of al Khattāb, was distinguished above men, for four things:

* A Jew who embraced Islām in the time of Omar and a constant companion of that Caliph. D’Herbelot gives the name to a book in which are recorded many fabulous stories of Islām. The author he adds, is unknown and his work contains many Christian traditions, among them, that of the guardian angels. According to the the Muntaha l’ Arab, al Aḥbār is incorrect—it should be Hibr, (حرب) which signifies a Jewish or Christian doctor of science.
† Kings xxii. 11.
1. "In the affair of the prisoners on the day of Badr,* whom he ordered to be put to death, and God revealed, 'unless a revelation had been previously delivered from God,' &c., (Kur. VIII).

2. "In the affair of the veil.† He commanded the wives of the prophet that they should be veiled and Zaynab said to him, 'thou art against us, O son of al Khatṭáb, and yet the divine inspiration descends within our house;' then God revealed, 'and when ye ask of the prophet's wives, what ye may have occasion for, &c.,' (Kur. V).

3. "By the prayer of the prophet, 'O God strengthen Islám by Omar.'

4. "By his voice in favour of Abu Bakr, he being the first to swear allegiance to him."

Ibn A’sákir records from Mujáhid, that he narrates, "we used to say that the devils were chained during the reign of Omar, and were unloosed when he perished." And from Sálim-b-A’bdí’llah‡ that he said, "news of Omar was long in reaching Abu Músa, and he went to a woman possessed by a devil, and he asked her about him and she said, 'stay till my demon cometh,' and he came and she asked of him regarding Omar, and he said, 'I left him, girl round with a garment smearing with pitch the public camels,$ and that man, no devil seeth but he falleth upon his nostrils, the angel is before his eyes, and Gabriel speaketh by his tongue.'"

Sufyán|| al Thauri says "whosoever thinketh that Ali had more right to the Caliphate, than Abu Bakr or Omar, hath ascribed blame to Abu Bakr, Omar, the Fugitives and the Auxiliaries. And Sharík¶ has

* For an account of this, consult Sale, p. 146.
† Consult Sale, p. 349.
‡ The grandson of Omar distinguished for the piety and austerity of his life, died at Medina, A. H. 105-8.
§ "The abstinence and humility of Omar," says Gibbon "were not inferior to the virtues of Abu Bakr: his food consisted of barley-bread or dates: his drink was water: he preached in a gown that was torn or tattered in twelve places, and a Persian satrap who paid his homage to the conqueror, found him asleep among the beggars on the steps of the mosque of Medina." Decline and Fall.
|| Abu A’bdulláh Sufyán at Thauri-b-Sa’id-b-Masrúk was a native of Kufah and of the highest authority in traditions and other sciences. He was made Kádhi of Kufah by al Mahdi, but he fled and concealed himself to avoid the honour and its heavy responsibility—an amusing account of this is given by Ibn Khalikán, Sufyán was born A. H. 95 (A. D. 713-4), and died at Basrah A. H. 161 (777-8).
¶ The printed edition has Shurayk, but this is an error. There is no one of any note bearing that name, while Abu A’bdulláh Sharík al Nakha’i was the person who was appointed Kádhi of Kufah, after Sufyán at Thauri’s flight. He was a strong upholder of Ali’s merits, and his evidence is therefore adduced in proof of the superiority,
observed, 'no one who hath goodness in him, placeth A'li before Abu Bakr and Omar.' And Abu Usámah says 'do ye know who were Abu Bakr and Omar?—those two men were the father of Islám and its mother. And Ja'afar as Sádík,* 'I am quit of any one who mentioneth Abu Bakr or Omar otherwise than favorably.'"

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*The Imam Abu A'budllah Ja'a'far as Sádík (the Veracious) fourth in descent from Ali-b-Abi Tálib, born A. H. 80 (A. D. 699), died and buried at Medina A. H. 148 (765). The same tomb contains the bodies of his father Muhammad al Bákir, his grandfather A'li Zayn u'1 A'ábídín and his grandfather's uncle, al Hasan son of A'li. "How rich a tomb," says Ibn Khallikán "in generosity and nobility!"
a fifth instance is added, the tradition regarding which is in the Sunan and the Mustadrak of al Ḥákim, namely, that he said, ‘O God, manifest unto us regarding wine, a distinct declaration;’ God then revealed its prohibition.*

Ibn Abi Ḥátim records in his Commentary on the authority of Anas that Omar said, ‘I was in accordance with my Lord in four things—the following verse was revealed, ‘we formerly created man in a finer sort of clay’ &c. (Kur. XXIII) and when it was revealed, I said, ‘wherefore, blessed be God, the most excellent Creator,’ and then came down, ‘Wherefore blessed be God, the most excellent Creator.’† (Kur. XXIII). A sixth instance is thus added in this tradition, and for the tradition there is another line of ascription which I have adduced in the Tafsír u’ll Musnad. Again I have seen in the work ‘Fadháil u’ll Imámayn’ (Distinctiving merits of the two Imáms), by Abu A’bdulláh as Shábyání, that Omar was in accordance with his Lord in one and twenty instances. He mentions these six and adds

7th. ‘The story of A’bdulláh-b-Ubayy.’ I observe that its tradition is in the Sahih on the authority of Omar who said, ‘when A’bdulláh-b-Ubayy died, the Apostle of God was invited to read prayers over him, and he stood over him, but I arose and advanced until I was abreast of him and said, ‘O Apostle of God! what! over the enemy of God, the son of Ubayy who said one day such and such a thing,—and by Allah, but a little while after there came down “Neither do thou pray over any of them who shall die’ &c.’” (Kur. IX).‡

8th. ‘‘They will ask thee concerning wine &c.’ (Kur. II).

9th. ‘‘O true believers, come not to prayers when ye are drunk’ (IV). I remark that these two with the verse from the Sura of the ‘Table’ (IV) are but one single instance, and the three are in the preceding tradition.

10th. ‘When the Apostle of God was frequent in asking pardon for a faction, Omar said, ‘it shall be equal unto them;’ then God revealed ‘It shall be equal unto them, whether thou ask pardon for them’ (Kur. LXIII). I observe that at Ṭabarání has recorded this on the authority of Ibn A’bbás.

11th. ‘When Muḥammad consulted the Companions regarding the advance to Badr, Omar counselled the advance, and there came down ‘as the Lord brought thee forth from thy house, &c.’ (Kur. VIII).

* In Chs. III and V.
† These words are ascribed by Sale to A’bdulláh-b-Saa’d, Muḥammad’s amanuensis. See Sale’s Kur. p. 108.
‡ For the story, consult Sale, p. 159.
12th. "When he consulted the Companions regarding the affair of the Falsehood,* Omar said, 'who gave her to thee in marriage, O Apostle of God?' He replied 'Allah'—Omar said, 'dost thou then think that thy Lord would put a deceit upon thee regarding her? God forbid! this is a grievous calumny,' (Kur. XXIV), and the like was revealed.

13th. "The account concerning him in the matter of the fast when Omar went in unto his wife after waking from sleep, and that was forbidden in the beginning of Islam; and there was revealed, 'it is lawful for you on the night of the fast, &c.' (Kur. II). I note that Āḥmad has recorded this in his Musnad.

14th. "The words of the Most High 'whoever is an enemy to Gabriel, &c.,' (Kur. II). I note that Ibn u'z Zubayr and others have recorded this with numerous lines of ascription and the nearest of these to coincidence with the Qurān is that recorded by Ibn Abī Hākim on the authority of A'bdu'r Rāhmán-b-Abi Laylah, viz., that a Jew met Omar and said, 'verily Gabriel, he whom your master speaketh of, is an enemy to us;' and Omar said to him, 'whosoever is an enemy to God, or his angels, or his Apostles, or to Gabriel or Michael, verily God is an enemy to the unbelievers.' (Kur. II). Thus it was revealed by the tongue of Omar.

15th. "The words of the Most High. 'And by thy Lord, they will not perfectly believe, &c.,' (Kur. IV). I observe that Ibn Abī Hātim and Ibn Mardawayh have recorded the story of this, on the authority of Abū'l Aswad, who said, 'two men carried their dispute for decision before the prophet, and he judged between them, and the man against whom he had decided, said, 'let us appeal to Omar the son of al Khatṭāb,' and they went to him, and the other man said, 'the Apostle of God has judged in my favour against this man, but he exclaimed let us appeal to Omar;' and Omar said, 'was it so?' He replied 'yes.' Then Omar said, 'stay where ye are until I come out unto you,' and he went out to them grasping his sword, and he smote him who had said, 'let us appeal to Omar;' and slew him and the other went back and said, 'O Apostle of God! Omar hath slain my Companion.' He answered 'I should not have thought that Omar would dare to slay a true believer.' Then God revealed, 'and by thy Lord they will not perfectly believe,' &c. Thus the blood of the man was made lawful and Omar was absolved from the guilt of his death. To this tradition there is also concurrent testimony which I have adduced in the Tafsir u'l Musnad.

16th. "The asking permission to enter, and this was because his slave went in to him, while he was sleeping, and he said, 'O God! forbid their

* The imputations against the conduct of Ayesha when she was accidentally left behind on the return march to Medina after the expedition against the Banu Mustalīk, see Sale, p. 288.
entrance;’ and there,‘ was revealed the verse regarding the asking permission (Kur. XXIV.)

17th. ‘His words concerning the Jews. ‘Verily they are a people not seeing the right course.’ *

18th. ‘The words of the Most High, ‘ And there shall be many of the former and many of the latter.’ (Kur. XXXVI) I note that Ibn A’sákír has recorded the story of this in his history, on the authority of Jábir-b-A’bdulláh and it is in the Asbáb u’Nuzül (Reasons of Revelation).

19th. ‘ He adduced the citation† ‘The man and woman of advanced years when they commit adultery,’ &c.

20th. ‘ On the day of Ohud, when Abu Sufyán called out, ‘ is there a certain one among the people?’ his saying, ‘ do not answer him,’ and the Apostle of God acted conformably to his counsel. I note that Ahmád has recorded this in his Musnad.”

As Shaybání continues, ‘ and there should be added to this, that which Othmán-b-Sa’íd a’d Darámi in the work ‘The Refutation of the Jahmíyah,’ ‡ has recorded from Sálim-b-A’bdilláh, that Kaa’b al Abláár said, ‘ woe unto the king of earth from the king of heaven;’ and Omar exclaimed, ‘ save unto him who calleth himself to account, ’ and Kaa’b replied ‘ by Him in whose hand is my life, verily it is in the Pentateuch— thou hast indeed said according to it,’ and Omar fell worshipping.”

I have also seen in the Kámil of Ibn A’dí on the authority of Ibn Omar that Bilál used to call out, when he summoned to prayers, ‘ I testify that there is no God, but God—come ye to prayers,’ and Omar said to him, ‘ say at the end of it, ‘ I testify that Muhammád is the Apostle of God; ’ and the Apostle of God said, ‘ say as Omar hath spoken.’”

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**On his miracles.**

Al Bayhákí and Abu Nua’ým have both of them recorded in the proofs of prophecy, and al Lállákí in the commentary on the Tradition, and ad Dayr§ A’ákalí in his observations, and Ibn al A’rábí|| in the “Miracles

* This refers to Kur. II.
† A case of this kind was brought before Omar, and he directed them to be stoned, quoting at the same time this verse which was revealed but never written. It is not to be found in the Kurán, but retains all the authority of the written ordinances.
‡ A sect of the Kásarí who deny absolute predestination.
§ Dayr u’l A’ákíl is a town situated on the Tigris fifteen parasangs distant from Baghdad. The traditionist here alluded to is probably Yahya Abdu’l Karím-b-n’l Haytham who died in A. H. 278. Yakút M. B.
|| Abu Abdu’l-láh Muhammád-b-Ziyád, a genealogist and philologer of the highest
of the saints,” and al Khaṭīb in the Traditionists of Mālik, on the authority of Ibn Omar, that he said, “Omar had despatched an army at the head of which was a man called Sāriyāh, and while Omar was one day preaching he began to call out, ‘O Sāriyāh! the hill!' three times. After this arrived a messenger from the army, and Omar questioned him and he said, ‘O prince of the faithful, we were being routed, and while we were thus, lo! we heard a voice calling out, ‘O Sāriyāh! the hill,’ three times, so we stayed our backs against the hill, and the Lord put them to flight.’ He adds—‘they said to Omar, ‘verily thou didst call out so.’ This hill near to which Sāriyāh was, is by Nahāwand in Persian Irāk.’” Ibn Mardawayh records from Ibn Omar that he said, “Omar was preaching on a Friday, when he uttered vague words in his discourse saying, ‘O Sāriyāh! the hill! he who asketh of the wolf to keep guard, doth wrong;’ and the people looked one upon the other, and A’li said to them, ‘let him explain what he hath said.’ And when he ceased, they asked of him, and he replied, ‘we thought that the infidels had routed our brethren, who verily were passing by a hill, and if they inclined towards it, they would have to fight on one front only, and if they passed beyond it they would be destroyed; then there went forth from me what ye thought ye heard.’ He adds that a messenger arrived a month afterwards, and said that they had heard the voice of Omar on that day, and he continued, ‘we inclined towards the hill and God gave us the victory.’”

Abū Nua’yım records in the “Proofs” from A’mr-b-u’l Hārith* that he said, “while Omar was preaching on a Friday, lo! he abruptly checked his discourse and exclaimed—‘O Sāriyāh! the hill!’ twice or three times, and then proceeded with his preaching, and some who were present exclaimed ‘verily he raveth—surely he is mad.’ Whereon A’bdur Rahmān-b-A’uf who had confidence in him, went to him and said—‘thou givest them occasion to speak against thee, for whilst thou wast preaching, behold! thou didst cry out ‘O Sāriyāh, the hill!’—what meaneth this?’ He replied, ‘verily, by Allah, I could not restrain it! I saw them fighting near a hill, and they were being attacked in their front and rear, and I could not help exclaiming “O, Sāriyāh! the hill,” that they might gain the hill.’ And they tarried until the messenger of Sāriyāh arrived with his despatch, saying, “the enemy met us upon a Friday, and we fought them until, when the hour of congregating for prayer arrived, we heard

reputation; a list of his works is given by Ibn Khall. He was born A. H. 150 (767) and died at Sarraman-rās A. H. 231 (846).

* A’mr-b-u’l Hārith b-Abi Dhīrār, a native of Kūfah and a Companion. He was the brother of Juayrīyāh one of Muḥammad’s wives and of the Banu Muṣṭaliḥ. An Nawawi.
one calling out 'O Sáriyah! the hill!' twice, and we gained the hill and we continued to prevail over our enemy until the Lord defeated them and slew them.' Then those that had reproached Omar, said, 'leave this man alone, for verily he is in collusion with him.'

Abu'l Kásim-b-Bishrán in his Fawáid records on the authority of Ibn Omar, that Omar b-u'l Kháṭáb said, to a man, 'what is thy name?' He replied, "Jamráh" (a live coal). He said, "The son of whom?" He answered, "the son of Shiháb" (slave). He asked, "of what tribe?" He replied, "al Ḥurkáh" (flame). He said, "where is thy dwelling?" He answered, "at al Ḥárrah" (warmth). He asked, "at which of them?" He replied "of Dát Ladhá" (blazing). Then Omar said, "go to thy family for verily they have been burnt." And the man returned and found that his people had been burnt to death.

Abu'l Shaykh records in the Kitáb u'l A'dhamat (Book of greatness) on the authority of Kays-b-u'l Hajjáj, who had it from one who related it to him, that when Egypt was conquered, A'mr-b-u'l Aás arrived on a certain day of one of the Coptic months, and the people said to him, "verily our Nile hath an observance without which it will not rise." He asked "and what is that?" They said, "when eleven nights of this month* have elapsed, we seek a girl, a virgin, living with her parents, and we obtain the consent of her parents, and we robe her with garments and ornaments, the best that can be had, and throw her into this Nile." And A'mr said to them—"this can never be in Islám for verily Islám destroyeth what preceded it." They therefore departed, and the Nile rose neither little nor much, so that they meditated leaving their country. And when A'mr saw that, he wrote to Omar-b-u'l Kháṭáb concerning it, and Omar replied to him, saying, "verily thou hast acted rightly in what thou hast done, for verily, Islám destroyeth what preceded it," and he sent a slip of paper within his letter, and wrote to A'mr, saying, "verily, I have sent thee a slip of paper within my letter, which cast into the Nile." And when the letter of Omar reached A'mr-b-u'l Aás, he took the slip of paper and opened it, and behold, there was in it, "From the servant of God, the Prince of the Faithful, to the Nile of Egypt—Now, if thou didst rise of thy own power, then rise not, but if the Lord caused thee to rise, then I implore the Lord, the One, the Conqueror, to make thee rise!" And he cast the slip of paper into the Nile, a day before† the Festival of the Cross. And when they entered upon the next morning,

* Abúl Mahásín determines this to be the Coptic month of Búnah, that is, the Syrián month of Huzayrán or our June approximately. Nujmún us Záhiráh.

† Abúl Mahásín has قدیم يوم عید الصليب يوم. This date, according to the Calendars of the Eastern and Western Churches, is the 14th September.
verily the Lord had caused it to rise sixteen cubits in a single night; thus the Lord put an end to this custom among the people of Egypt up to this day.

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Tárik-b-Shiháb* that he said, "if a man spoke with Omar in conversation and told him a falsehood, he would say, 'withhold this,' then as he continued the conversation, he would say, 'withhold this also,' and the man would say to him, 'all that I said to thee was the truth, except what thou didst command me to withhold.' And from al Hasan that he said, 'if there was a man who knew a falsehood when it was spoken, it was Omar-b-u'l Khattáb.'"

Al Bayhaqi records in the Proofs on the authority of Abu Hudbah al Ḥimṣi that he said, "Omar was informed that the people of Irák had pelted with stones their governor, and he went forth in a violent anger and prayed, but was distracted in his prayers, and when he came to the salutation, he said, 'O God, verily they have put confusion upon me, therefore put thou confusion upon them, and place over them a youth of the Banu Thakíf who may rule over them after the manner of the rule of the time of Ignorance, not receiving with favour the beneficent among them, and not pardoning their evildoers.'" I observe that he referred by this, to al Hajjáj. Ibn Lahía'h† says that at that time al Hajjáj was not born.

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On some particulars of his character.

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of al Ḥnaf-b-u'l Kays‡ that he said, "we were seated at Omar's door, when there passed by a slave girl,

* Abu A'bdulláh, Tárik b-Shiháb the Companion. He was born before the rise of Islám, and fought in about thirty or forty expeditions under Abu Bakr and Omar. He was a native of Kufah and died there in A. H. 83. An Nawawi.
† Abu A'bdur Raḥmán A'bdulláh-b-Lahía'h al Ghásiki, a native of Egypt was a narrator of traditions and historical narratives and pieces in prose and verse but of weak memory and of little repute. He was appointed Káší of Old Cairo by Abu Jaa'far al Manṣúr A. H. 155 (A. D. 772) and removed from office A. H. 164. He was the first Káší who made it his duty to be present when watch was kept for the new moon in Ramadhán but this custom was discontinued under the Fatimite dynasty and re-established by Saláh ud Din. He died at Old Cairo A. H. 174 (790) or some say A. H. 170, aged eighty-one. Ibn Khalil.
‡ Abu Bakr ad Dahhák-b-Kays (a different person from the one who fell at Marj Ráhít) surnamed at Tamími, was generally known as al Ḥnaf or the Clubfoot. He was chief of his tribe and held high rank among the Tabi'ís and possessed a great
and they said, 'she is the concubine of the Prince of the Faithful.' And Omar exclaimed, 'she is not a concubine of the Prince of the Faithful and is not lawful to him, verily she is the property of the Lord.' Then we said, 'what then is lawful to him of the property of the Most High God?' He replied, 'verily, nothing is lawful to Omar of what belongeth to the Lord, but two garments, a garment for winter and a garment for summer, and what may enable him to perform the pilgrimage and the religious visitations, and my sustenance and that of my family is like unto that of a man of the Kuraysh, neither the richest nor the poorest of them. Beyond this I am but a man among the Muslims.' Khuzaymah-b-Thabitt says, that when Omar appointed a ruler, he would write to him and make it conditional upon him, that he should not ride a palfrey, nor eat delicacies, nor clothe himself in fine garments, nor close his doors against the needy, for if he should do this, verily punishment would come upon him." A’krimah-b-Khalid and others narrate, that Hafšah† and A’bdullah and some others expostulated with Omar and said, "if thou wert to eat good food, it would confirm thee in maintaining the truth:" he exclaimed, "are ye all of this opinion?" They said, "yes." He replied, "I understand your counsel, but I have left my two Companions upon a road, and if I depart from their road, I shall not find them at the journey's end." He adds, "and a deearth fell upon the people, and he eat that year, neither butter nor fat.” Ibn Abi Mulaykah narrates that U’kbah-b-Farkad spoke to Omar about his food, and he exclaimed, "fie on thee, shall I eat of good things during my life in this world, and seek enjoyment in them.” Al Hasan states that Omar went in to his son A’asim who was eating flesh meat, and he exclaimed, "what is this?" He replied, "I had a great craving for it." Omar retorted, "dost thou eat everything thou hast a craving for? It would be sufficiently immoderate in a man that he should eat all that he desired.” Aslam mentions that Omar said, "a craving for fresh fish hath come upon me.” He continues, "whereon Yarfa§ mounted his

reputation for acuteness, learning and prudence. His influence was such, that, as Mu’awiyah’s sister said of him, if he were angered, he had one hundred thousand of the tribe of Tamim to share his anger without asking him the reason of it. He died at Kufah about A. H. 67. The notice of his life in Ibn Khall will repay perusal.

* I. e. The State Treasury, used for the benefit of all the Muslims.
† Abu Umárah Khuzaymah-b-Thabit, was one of the Auxiliaries, and a native of Medina. Surnamed also Khatmah, from his once smiting a man on the nose (pâh). He fought at Badr and other battles, and was present with A’li at the fight of the Camel, and at Siffin where he himself was killed A. H. 37. An Nawawi.
‡ His daughter (wife of Muhammad): A’bdullah was his son.
§ The freedman of Omar.
camel and rode four miles on and four miles back and purchased a basketful of a miktal weight,* and brought it, and then betook himself to his camel and washed it down and repaired to Omar who said, 'come, that I may see the camel,' and he looked upon it and exclaimed, 'thou hast forgotten to cleanse this sweat that is under its ear. An animal hath been punished to serve the appetite of Omar—no, by Allah, Omar shall not taste of thy basket.'"

Katadah says, that Omar when he was Caliph, used to wear a garment of woolen stuff patched partly with leather, and would wander through the streets with a scourge over his shoulders with which he chastised the people, and passing by bits of rag and dates, he would gather them up and throw them into the houses of people, that they might make use of them. Anas says, "I saw between the shoulders of Omar, four patches in his shirt." And Abu Othman an Nahdi, "I saw upon Omar a nether garment patched with leather." And A'bdul-lah-b-A'amir-b-Rabii'h,† "I made the pilgrimage with Omar, and he erected neither a tent of goat's hair, nor one of wool—he would throw his cloak, and mat of dressed skin upon a bush and seek shelter beneath it." And A'bdul-lah-b-Isa, "upon the face of Omar were two dark furrows worn from weeping." And al Hasan, "Omar would come to a verse of the Kuran of his daily recitation, and would fall down in a faint so that it would be some days before he recovered." And Anas, "I entered an enclosure and I heard Omar say—and between me and between him there was a wall"—"Omar, son of al Khattab, Prince of the Faithful! good! by Allah, thou must fear God, son of al Khattab, or He will surely punish thee!" And A'bdul-lah-b-A'amir-b-Rabii'h, "I saw Omar take up a straw from the ground, and he said, 'would that I were this straw! O! would that I were nothing! would that my mother had not borne me!" And U'baydu'llah-b-Omar-b-Hafs, "Omar-b-u'l Khattab carried upon his neck a skin of water, and people expostulated with him regarding it, and he said—'my spirit made me vain, and I wished to abase it.' And Muhammad-b-Sirin, a kinsman of Omar's went to him and besought him to make him a grant from the public treasury, but Omar reproved him and said, 'dost thou wish that I should meet God a faithless prince?' and he bestowed upon him ten thousand dirhams from his own property." And an Nakha'i, "Omar used to carry on trade while he was Caliph." And Anas, "the stomach of Omar used to rumble from eating

* About 80 lbs.
† Descended from A'nz the son of Wail and a confederate of al Khattab the father of Omar. He was born four years before Muhammed's death, and his father was a Companion of note. He died A. H. 85. An Nawawi.
olive oil in the year of destruction,* and verily he had forbidden himself the use of butter, and he tapped his stomach with his finger and said 'verily there is nothing else for us but that, until the people have the means of living.' And Sufyán-b-U'aynah narrates that Omar said, 'the most beloved of men to me, is he who discovers to me my faults.' Aslam says, 'I saw Omar the son of al Khatṭāb take a horse by the ear, and with the other hand holding his own ear, leap upon the back of the horse.' And Ibn Omar, 'I never saw Omar, in a passion, but he restrained himself from what he sought to do when God was mentioned to him or the fear of God put into him, or a man read him a verse of the Kuràn.' Bilál said to Aslam, 'what do you think of Omar?' He replied, 'he is the best of men, but when he is angry, it is a fearful thing;' and Bilál said, 'if thou art by him when he is angry, thou hast but to read the Kuràn to him until his anger departs.' Al Aḥwās-b-Ḥakim narrates on the authority of his father, that some flesh-meat was brought to Omar dressed with butter, but he refused to eat them and said 'they are both delicacies.' Ibn Saa'd gives all these details and records on the authority of al Ḥasan that Omar said, 'The simple way by which I govern the people is that I frequently change their rulers.'”

On his appearance.

Ibn Saa'd and al Ḥákim record on the authority of Zirr,† that he said, “I went forth with the people of Medina on a festival day, and I saw Omar walking barefoot; he was advanced in years, bald, of a tawny colour—a left-handed man, tall and towering over the people.” Al Wákidī observes, “it was not known to us that Omar was tawny coloured, unless it was that Zirr saw him in the year of destruction, when verily, his colour might have altered while he eat olive oil.” Ibn Saa’d states on the authority of Ibn Omar that the latter was describing Omar and said, “he was a man fair of complexion, a ruddy tint prevailing, tall, bald and grey.” And from U’bayd-b-U’mayr “Omar used to overtop the people in height.” And from Salimah-b-u’l Akwas’, “Omar was ambidexter, that is, that he could use both his hands equally well.”

* The 17th year of the Flight in which men and cattle perished in great numbers. The word comes from جِزْرِاء ashes;—being thus called, because the earth became like ashes by reason of the drought. Lane.

† Probably Abu Miriam Zirr, Hubaysh-b-Hubáṣa, a member of the tribe of Asad and a native of Kufah. He was a great master in the art of reading the Kuràn and celebrated as a philologer. He died at a very advanced age A. H. 82 (A. D. 701). De Slane, L. K.
Ibn A’sákir records from Abu Raja al Uṭáridi that he said, “Omar was a man, tall, stout, very bald, very ruddy, with scanty hair on the cheeks, his moustache large, and the ends of it reddish.” In the history of Ibn A’sákir, it is recorded with various ascriptions, that the mother of Omar-b-u’l Khatṭāb, was Ḥantamah, the daughter of Hishám b-u’l Muṣghirah, and sister of Abu Jahl-b-Hishám; thus Abu Jahl was his maternal uncle.

On his Caliphate.

He assumed the Caliphate according to the bequest of Abu Bakr in A. H. 13. Jumadá’l Akhirah, the thirteenth year of the Flight. Az Zuhri says that A. D. 634. Omar was elected to the Vicegerency on the day of the death of Abu Bakr and that was on Tuesday, the 22nd of Jumáda’l Akhirah, (recorded by al Ḥákím). He directed the government with the most complete success and victories were numerous during his time.

In the year 14 A. H. Damascus was taken, partly by convention, partly by force: Emessa and Baa’ilhek* by convention, and Baṣrah and Ubullah, both by force. In the same year, Omar assembled the people for the prayers called at Taráwiḥ† (al A’skari in the Awa’il).

In the year 15 A. H. the whole of the country of the Jordan was subdued by force of arms, save Tiberias which was taken by convention; and in the same, occurred the battles of Yermúk‡ and Kádisíyyah. (Ibn Jarír.) During the same Saa’d§ founded Kufah, and Omar established stipends for the soldiers and instituted the registers, and assigned allowances according to priority of merit.||

In the year 16 A. H. al Ahwáz was taken and al Madáín, and in the latter, Saa’d held the Friday prayers in the hall of Khusrau, and this was the first congregation assembled in Irák, and that was in the month of Safar. In the same year was the battle of Jalálah¶ in which Yazdajird grandson of Khusrau was defeated and fled to Rai; Takrit was captured and

* According to Yakút, the pronunciation of this is بعلبك—Ba’lubakka.
† See Note, p. 21.
‡ Hieromax, a stream formed by the springs of Mount Hermon, which loses itself in the Jordan below the lake of Tiberias.
§ Ibn Abi Waḳḳās.
¶ A river that flows through Ba’kúba, and where the Persians were defeated with great slaughter, no less than a hundred thousand it is said, having fallen. The river took its name of Jalálah, says Yakút, from the excessive ظ(7) number of the slain.
Omar marched and took Jerusalem, and preached at al Jabiyah* his famous discourse. And in the same Kinnasrin was taken by force of arms, and Aleppo and Antioch, and Manbij by treaty and Saruj by force, and Kirkisiyah by treaty. In the month of Rabii' u'l Awwal, the Era of the Flight was adopted by the advice of A'li.

In the year 17 A. H. Omar enlarged the mosque of the prophet, and a famine occurred in Hijaz and it was called the year of destruction and Omar through the merits of A'bbas prayed for rain for the people. Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Niyar al Aslami, that when Omar went forth to pray for rain he appeared with the mantle of the Apostle of God upon him. And from Ibn A'un† that he said, "Omar took the hand of Abbás, and lifted it up and said, 'O God! I implore Thee by the uncle of Thy prophet, that Thou wilt cause this drought to pass away from us, and send down rain upon us;' and they did not quit the place till it rained, and the heavens poured down rain upon them for days." During the same year al Ahwáz was taken by treaty.

In the year 18 A. H., Jundaysábúr was occupied by convention, and Hulwán by force. A pestilence also occurred at Emans; Edessa and Sumaysát were taken by force, and Harrán and Naṣībín and a part of Mesopotamia by force (though some say by convention), and Mosal and its adjacent districts.

In the year 19 A. H., Cæsarea‡ was overpowered. In the year 20 A. H. Egypt was conquered by force of arms, though it is also said, that with the exception of Alexandria which was taken, the whole of Egypt surrendered under convention. Ali-b-Rabah says that the whole of Mauritania was won by force of arms.§ Tustar|| was also taken possession of. In the same died the Roman Emperor (Heraclius), and Omar expelled the Jews from Khaybar and Najrán and apportioned Khaybar and Wádi u'l Kura among those who had been present at the expedition.¶

In the year 21 A. H. Alexandria was taken by storm, and Nahawand, and after this the Persians were unable to muster an army: also Barkah and other places.

* In the province of Jaydúr in Palestine—Omar's discourse will be found in the Futáhu's Shám of al Azdí, p. 227.
† The freedman of Miswar-b-Makramah, the Companion.
‡ This word in the original should be spelt with a ج instead of a د.
§ Gibbon places the complete conquest seven years later under Othman, the conduct of the invasion being entrusted to the foster-brother of the Caliph, A'bdullah-b-Saa'd, the amanuensis of Muḥammad.
|| The present Shúster in Khúzistán. Yakút.
¶ Wadi u'l Kura is between Tayma and Khaybar. The expedition directed by Muḥammad took place A. H. 7. For the apportionment of the lands, my authority is Yakút.
In the year 22 A. H. A'darbiján was subdued by force, others say A. H. 22. surrendered under convention, and Dínaur, Másabdán, and Hamadán cap. A. D. 642-3. tured, and Tripoli in Morocco and Rai and A'skar and Kúmas.

In the year 23 A. H. took place the conquest of Kírmán, Sajistán, and Makrán of the mountainous districts, and Ispahan and its dependencies.

Towards the close of the year occurred the death of our prince Omar, after his return from the pilgrimage, be being martyred. Sa'id-b-u'l Musayyab says that when Omar returned from Mina,* he made his camel kneel in the watercourse and throwing himself backwards, lifted up his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, "O God! I am advanced in years and my strength has failed, and my zeal dissipated; take me therefore to thyself while as yet I have not fallen short of my duty nor exceeded due bounds;" and the month of Dú'il Hijjah did not elapse before he was slain, (al Ḥákím) (3rd November 64½).

Abu Sálīḥ as Sámmán† narrates that Kaa'b u'l Aḥbār said to Omar, "I find in the Pentateuch that thou wilt be martyred." He replied, "how can martyrdom be mine, I being in the land of Arabia?" And Aslam, that Omar said, "O God, give me for my portion, martyrdom in thy cause, and grant that my death may be in the city of Thy Apostle," (al Bukhári). Mas'dán-b-Abi Ṭalḥah narrates that Omar preached and said, "I beheld a vision as if a fowl had struck me with its beak one or two blows, and verily I see in it but my approaching death. And verily there are some who enjoin me to name a successor, and indeed the Lord will not neglect‡ His faith and His Vicegerency, but if anything overtake me, then the Vicegerency is to be determined by consultation among those six with whom the Apostle of God, when he died, approved". (al Ḥákím). Az Zuhrí states that Omar used not to suffer a captive who had reached the age of puberty, to enter Médína, but al Mughiráh-b-Shuubah, being in Kúfah, wrote to him and mentioned to him that he had with him, a youth, a cunning workman, and asked his permission that he might enter Médína, and added that he was a master of several trades profitable to the people, for he was a blacksmith, an engraver and a carpenter. Omar therefore gave him permission to send him to Médína, and al Mughiráh put a tax§ upon him of one hundred dirhams a month. He, however, went to Omar

* The return from Mina to Mecca during the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, is called an Nafr or the Flight.
† Abu Sálīḥ as Sámmán named also Dhakwán and surnamed az Zaiyát, was a Mawla of the tribe of Gháftán and an eminent Traditionist, died at Médína A. H. 101 (719-20). De Slane, I. K.
‡ Compare Kur. II, وما كان الله ليضع إيمانكم,
§ That is, that he was to pay that sum to his master from his earnings.
A. H. 23. and complained of the severity of the tax, but Omar replied that the tax A. D. 643. was not excessive; he, therefore, departed indignantly murmuring. Omar waited some days and then sent for him and said, "was not I informed that thou sayest, that if thou wouldst thou art able to make a mill that will grind by means of the wind?" He looked upon Omar sullenly and said, "verily I will make a mill for thee that men shall talk about," : when he retired, Omar said to those that were about him, "the slave but now threatened me." After a little, Abu Lulūah* took a double-bladed dagger, having its haft in the middle, and hid in a corner of one of the recesses of the mosque before day-break, and remained there until Omar came forth rousing the people to prayers, and when he drew near him, he stabbed him with three blows. (Ibn Saa’d.) A’mr-b-Maymūn the Auxiliary narrates, that Abu Lulūah, the slave of al Mughirah, struck Omar with his double-bladed dagger, and wounded together with him twelve men, of whom six died, and a man of Irāk threw a garment over him, and when he was suffocating in it, he slew himself. Abu Rāfi‘† states, that Abu Lulūah the slave of al Mughirah, used to make mills, and al Mughirah tasked him daily with an impost of four dirhams, and he met Omar and said, "O Prince of the Faithful, verily al Mughirah hath been hard upon me, therefore speak to him;" and he answered, "act well towards thy master," and it was the intention of Omar to speak to al Mughirah regarding it. But the other grew angry and said, "the justice of Omar is extended unto all the people, save unto me." He therefore purposed his death, and took a dagger and sharpened it and poisoned it, and while Omar was exclaiming, "get ye into your ranks, before the takbir is said," the slave went and stood over against Omar in the rank and smote him in the shoulder and in the side, and Omar fell, and he wounded thirteen men with him, of whom six died. Omar was carried to his family, and the sun being about to rise, A’bdur ῤahmān-b-A’uf read prayers before the people from the two shortest Sūras. They brought Omar date-wine, and he drank of it and it came out of his wound, but it could not be distinguished from the blood; they therefore gave him milk, and it came out of his wound, and they said, "there is no harm to thee" and he answered, "if there be harm† in being slain, why then I am slain." The people then began to

* The slave's name.
† There are several of this name. The one referred to is probably the freedman of Muḥammad. He had been given by A’bbās to Muḥammad who gave him his liberty on hearing of the conversion of A’bbās. Some say he died before Othmān’s murder, others, during the Caliphate of A’li. Ibn Hājr and an Nawawi.
‡ In other narrations given in the Kitāb ul Ikṭīfī the authority of A’mr-b-Maymūn the outflow of the milk from the wound, was decisive in regard to the wound being mortal. The physician who was called in, told him he could not live till the evening.
praise him, saying, "thou wert such and such," but he said "yet, by Allah, A. H. 23. I would that I might escape from judgment with these as a sufficiency,* A. D. 643, nothing due by me nor to me, and that the Companionship of the Apostle of God were a security unto me." Then Ibn A'bbás praised him, but he said—"if the fulness of the earth in gold were mine, assuredly I would ransom myself therewith from the terror of the day of resurrection;† and verily, I have made the election to the Caliphate to be determined in consultation by Othmán, A'li, Taḥlah, az Zubayr, A'b'd'ur Raḥman-b-A'uf, and Saa'd." And he commanded Suhayb to pray before the people, and appointed for the six a term of three days‡ wherein to deliberate (al Hákim). Ibn A'bbás says that Abu Lúláh was a Magian. A'mr-b Maymún narrates that Omar said, "praise be to God, that he hath not caused my death by the hand of a man who professeth Islám." Then he said to his son, "O A'bd'ullāh, see what debts I owe;" and they computed and found them to be eighty-six thousand dirhams, or about that. And he said, "if the property of the family of Omar be sufficient, then pay it from their goods, otherwise ask of the Banu A'di, and if their goods be not sufficient, then ask of the Kuraysh. Go to Ayesha, the Mother of the Faithful, and say, 'Omar asketh leave that he may be buried with his two Companions.' And A'bdúllāh went to her and she said, 'I wished it (meaning the place) for myself, but now I shall assuredly give him the preference over myself.' And A'bdúllāh went back and said, 'verily she hath given permission;' then Omar praised the Most High God. They said also to him "make a testament, O prince of the Faithful, and appoint a successor." He answered, "I do not see any one more entitled to this authority than those men with whom the Apostle of God, when he died, was content," and he named the six. He added, "let A'bd'ullāh the son of Omar be present with them, but he must have no part in the affair, and if the

* و ددت إن ذلك كان كنافا This is the reading of the same tradition on the same authority, in the Kitáb u'l Iktīfā. The ذلك referring to the praises which were being made of him.

† المطلع lit. "the place whence one will look down on the day of resurrection, but it may be taken as a noun of time and applied to the day of judgment, see Lane art. طلعت.

‡ This is made clear from the Kitáb u'l Iktīfā, in two traditions from Simák-b-Harb and Anas respectively. Omar ordered the father of Taḥlah to take fifty men and post themselves at the door of the house where the six were to deliberate, and to suffer no one to enter, nor the third day to elapse without the election being concluded. According to the former tradition, the Ansārs were directed to confine the six for three days in a house, and if by that time their deliberations were not satisfactorily concluded, they were to enter and slay them. An effectual method of quickening the most hesitating judgment.
A. H. 23, government fall to Saa’d, then let him be the man, but if not, then let A. D. 643, whichever of ye be named to rule, seek his assistance, for verily I did not remove him either for incapacity or treachery. He went on to say, “I commend to the Caliph after me, the fear of God, and I commend to him the Fugitives and the Auxiliaries, and I commend to him the welfare of the people of the provinces,” with other similar charges. And when he died, we went forth with him at a foot-pace and A’bud’lallah the son of Omar, saluted and said, “Omar desireth permission,” and Ayesha replied “bring him in;” and he was taken in and placed there with his Companions. When his burial was over, and they had returned, those of the Council assembled, and A’bud’r Raḩmān-b-A’uf said, “delegate your authority unto three among you.” Then az Zubayr said, “I give my authority to A’li,” and Saa’d said, “I give my authority to A’bud’r Raḩmān,” and Taḥāb said, “I give my authority to Othmān.” The narrator continues, “then those three went apart and A’bud’r Raḩmān said, ‘I do not desire it’—now which of you two will be quit of this affair? and we will put it to him (and God be his witness and Islām) to consider the best among the Muslims in his own judgment, and to strive for the welfare of the people.” Then the two Shaykhs A’li and Othmān were silent, whereon A’bud’r Raḩmān said, “give the choice unto me, and the Lord be my witness, I shall not fail ye in choosing the best of ye.” The two agreed and he retired apart with A’li and said, “thou hast the priority in Islām and kinship with the Apostle of God as thou well knowest, the Lord be thy witness, that if I give thee the authority, thou wilt do justice, and if I put another over thee, thou wilt hear and obey!” He said, “yes.” Then he retired apart with the other and said the same to him, and when he received their promises, he swore allegiance to Othmān, and A’li likewise swore him allegiance.

It is recorded in the Musnad of Ahmad on the authority of Omar that he said, “if my death overtake me, and Abu U’baydah be yet alive, I appoint him my successor, and if my Lord enquireth of me, I shall answer that I heard the Apostle of God say, ‘every prophet hath one in whom he confides, and my trusted one is Abu U’baydah the son of al Jarrāḥ; but if my death overtake me and Abu U’baydah be dead, I appoint as successor Mu’ād the son of Jabal, and if my Lord enquire of me why I appointed him, I shall answer that I heard the Apostle of God say that he

* The people of Kūfah complained to the Caliph against Saa’d, on account of his injustice and oppression, and his unorthodox manner of reading prayers, and Omar removed him from his government and appointed in his place A’mmār-b-Yāsir. Ibn Athir. Ockley ascribes the removal of Saa’d to Othmān, in the 35th year of the Flight.
would be raised up on the day of resurrection in front of the doctors of A. H. 23. science, a little apart."* However they both died during his Caliphate. A. D. 643. In the same Musnad it is stated on the authority of Abu Râfî', that Omar when dying was spoken to regarding the appointment of a successor, and he said, "verily, I have seen among my Companions an evil covetousness, and if one of two men were attainable to me, and I could make over this authority to him, I would trust him, viz., Salîm† the freedman of Abu Ḥuḍayfah, and Abu Uḥbaydah-b-u'l Jarrâh."

Omar was stabbed on Wednesday the 26th of Du‘l Hijjah and was buried on Sunday the first of the Sacred month of Muḥarram being sixty-three years old—some say he was sixty-six, and some sixty-one, and others sixty, which al Wâkidi prefers. Again, according to some, he was fifty-nine, and to others, fifty-five or fifty-four. Ṣuhayb prayed over him in the mosque.

According to the Tahdîb of al Muzani,‡ the impression on the signet ring of Omar was "Death is a sufficient admonisher."

At Taḥārâni records on the authority of Ṭârik-b-Shihâb, that Umm Ayman said on the day that Omar was slain, "Islâm is to-day rent." And from A’bdû’r Raḥmân-b-Yâsår,§ "I witnessed the death of Omar and the sun was eclipsed on that day." (His authorities are trustworthy.)

**On the things in which he was foremost.**

Al A’ṣkari says that he was the first who was called Prince of the Faithful, and the first who adopted the Era of the Flight, and the first who established a public treasury, and the first who instituted the prayers (at Tarâwîḥ) of the month of Ramadhân, and the first who went the rounds at night, and the first who punished lampooning, and the first who gave eighty stripes for indulgence in wine, and the first who prohibited marriage limited to a term, and the first who forbade the sale of female

* According to an Nawawi the tradition makes the distance a bow shot.

† Salim was slain at Yamâmah. See, note §, p. 98.
‡ Abu Ibrâhîm Isma‘îl-b-Yahya al Muzani, was a disciple of the Imam as Shâfi‘i and a native of Egypt. He was of most austere life, a Mujahid, and a profound thinker. He was the author of many works, the most celebrated being the Mukhtâsara’l Mukhtasâr (Abridgement abridged) a treatise on the legal doctrines of the Shâförites. He died at Miṣr A. H. 264 (878). Muzani signifies belonging to Muzayna a well-known tribe named after Muzayna, daughter of Kalb. Im Khall.
§ The MS. has Busbâr, the printed edition. "Yasâr" with (Busbâr) in brackets. I can find no notice of the individual alluded to, in any works to which I have access.
A. H. 23. slaves who had borne children to their masters, and the first who assembled
A. D. 643. the people to prayers over the dead with four Takbîrs, and the first
who instituted the public register, and the first who made conquests,
and made a survey of the Sawad,* and the first who brought corn
from Egypt by the bay of Aylah (Akaba) to Meâma, and the first
who constituted the poor-rate in Islam to be used unalienably for the service
of God, and the first who adopted the deviation by excess in the division
of inheritances,† and the first who instituted the dedication of horses for
religious service, and the first who said, “may God lengthen thy life,”
(he said it to Ali); and the first who said, “may God strengthen thee,”
(he said it to Ali). This is the end of al A’skari’s narration.

An Nawawi mentions in his Taḥdîf, that he was the first who adopted
the use of the scourge. Ibn Sa’âd states this in his Ṭabaḵât, and adds
that it used to be said afterwards “verily the scourge of Omar is more
terrible than your swords.” He continues, “he was the first who established
Kâdhîs in the provinces, and the first who founded the cities of Baṣrâ
and Kûfah, and placed in a flourishing condition Mesopotamia, Syria,
Egypt and Mosa’il.”

Ibn A’sâkir records on the authority of Ismâ’il-b-Ziyâd, that he said,
that Ali, passing by the mosques in the month of Ramâdân in which
lamps were burning, exclaimed, “may the Lord illumine Omar in his grave
as he hath illumined for us our mosques.”

Ibn Sa’âd says that Omar established meal-houses, and placed within
them flour and parched barley-meal, and dates and currants, and what might
be necessary to aid the disabled traveller, and he stored along the road be-
tween Mecca and Meâma, what would relieve those unable to continue
their journey. He likewise demolished the mosque of the prophet and
increased and enlarged it and floored it with pebbles. It was he who ex-
pelled the Jews from Hijâz to Syria, and transferred the people of Najrân
to Kûfah. He also put back the praying station of Abraham, to the place
where it now stands, it having before adjoined the Temple.

* The particulars of this survey will be found in Yakût art.

† For the explanation of the term Inheritance, I must refer the reader to the Muḥam-
dan Law of Inheritance, as it is too lengthy to transcribe here. Consult also Lane
art.
On some accounts of him and his decisions.

Al A’skari records in the Awáli, and al Ṭabarání in the Kabír, and al A. H. 23. Hákim on the ascription of Ibn Shiháb that Omar-b-A’bdil A’ziz inquired A. D. 643. of Abu Bakr-b-Sulaymán b-Abi Ḥathmah, saying, “how was it in the time of Abu Bakr that it used to be written, ‘From the Vicegerent of the Apostle of God,’ and afterwards Omar used at first to write ‘From the Vicegerent of Abu Bakr?’ Who then first wrote, from the prince of the Faithful?” He answered, “as Shifá who was one of the Fugitive women, told me that Abu Bakr used to write, ‘From the Vicegerent of the Apostle of God,’ and Omar used to write, ‘From the Vicegerent of the Vicegerent of the Apostle of God,’ until Omar wrote to the prefect of Irák to send him two sturdy men, whom he might question regarding Irák and the people thereof; and he sent him Labíd-b-Rabii’h and A’di-b-Ḥátim. They arrived at Medina and entered the mosque, and found A’mr-b-u’l A’ās, and they said, ‘ask permission for us to see the prince of the Faithful.’ A’mr replied, ‘by Allah, ye have hit his name.’ And A’mr went in to him and exclaimed, ‘peace be to thee O prince of the Faithful.’ He said ‘how hast thou come by this name? verily thou must explain what thou hast said.’ Then the other informed him of what had happened and said ‘thou art the prince and we, the Faithful.’ Thus the letters have continued to be so inscribed up to this day.”

An Nawawi in his Tahdíb says that A’di-b-Ḥátim, and Labíd-b-Rabii’h, called him by that name when they went to him from Irák, and some say, that al Mughfrah-b-Shu’bah called him by it. Again it is asserted that Omar said to the people, “you are the Faithful, and I am your prince;” he was therefore called prince of the Faithful, and before that he was addressed as Vicegerent of the Vicegerent of the Apostle of God, but they gave up that phrase on account of its length. Ibn A’sakir records on the authority of Mu’a’wiyah-b-Kurrah that he said, “it used to be written, ‘From Abu Bakr, Vicegerent of the Apostle of God,’ and when Omar-b-u’l Ḥattāb ruled, they wished to address him Vicegerent of the Vicegerent of the Apostle of God, but Omar said, ‘this is too long.’ They answered, ‘not so, but we have made thee to rule over us and thou art our prince.’ He said, ‘yes—ye are the Faithful and I am your prince.’ Thus it came to be written, Prince of the Faithful.”

Al Bukhári records in his history on the authority of Ibn u’l M Lease y as the monarch who adopted the usage of dating was Omar-b-u’l Ḥattāb two years and a half after his accession to the Caliphate, and he dated from the 16th year of the Flight, by the advice of A’li. As Silafi in the Tuyūríyát records from Ibn Omar, that Omar wished to write
A. H. 23. a record of memorable actions, and he prayed for the blessing of God for A. D. 643. a month, and he arose one morning determined upon it, but after a little he said, "verily I remember a people* who were before ye, who used to write books, and they gave themselves up to it, and neglected the Book of God." And Ibn Saa'd from Shaddád,† that the first sentence that Omar uttered when he ascended the pulpit, was, "O God, verily I am rough in temper, therefore soften me, and verily I am weak, therefore strengthen me, and verily I am avaricious, therefore make me generous." And Ibn Saa'd and Sa'id-b-Manşúr and others from Omar, that he said, "I place myself with regard to the property of the Lord, in the position of a guardian of an orphan's property. If I am in good circumstances, I refrain from touching it, and if I am in distress, I take of it with moderation, and when I am again in good circumstances, I repay it."

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Ibn Omar that Omar-b-u'l Khatta'b, when he was in need, would go to the Superintendent of the public treasury, and ask a loan of him, and he was often in distress, and the Superintendent of the treasury would go to him to exact the debt and press him, and Omar would be evasive with him, but sometimes his stipend would be due, and he would pay the debt. And from Ibn u'l Bara-b-Ma'rúr,‡ that Omar went forth one day, and complained of a sickness, and honey was recommended to him, and he was told that a bottle of it was in the public treasury, and he said, "if ye permit me, I will take it, otherwise it is unlawful for me," and they gave him permission. And from Sálim-b-A'bd'Ilah, that Omar would put his hand into the saddle gall of his camel and say, "verily I fear lest I may be brought to account for what hath befallen thee."

And from Ibn Omar, that when Omar desired to hinder the people from anything, he would go to his family and say, "verily I know not any one who hath done a thing which I have forbidden, but I doubled his punishment."

It has been related to me from another source, that Omar went forth one night wandering about Medína, as he was frequently in the habit of

* He refers to the Jews and Christians.
† Shaddád-b-Aus the Companion. He belonged to the tribe of the Najjár, and was a native of Medina, but he lived much at Jerusalem and died there A. H. 58, aged 75. His tomb, says an Nawawi, "is still to be seen outside the Gate of Mercy," one of the twenty gates of the great Masjíd.
‡ Bishr-b-u'l Bara-b-Ma'rúr the Companion, an Ansár of the tribe of Khazraj. He was present at Aqabah, Badr and Ohud and died at Khaybar from eating of the sheep of which Muḥammad partook and which the Jews are said to have poisoned. Some say he died at once, others after great suffering. An Nawawi.
doing, when he passed by the house of one of the women of the Arabs whose door was bolted upon her, and she was saying,

This night whose stars wander in their nightly journey, is wearisome And keeps me sleepless, for I have none with whom I may be merry. And, by Allah, were there no God whose issues were to be feared! But I fear a Watcher, who keepeth ward:

Over our souls, and whose recorder never is negligent.
The fear of the Lord and shame hindereth me:

And my husband, too worthy of honor that his place should be taken.

He therefore wrote to his prefects in the field that no one should be detained on military service against the enemy for more than four months.

Ibn Saa'd records on the authority of Salmán that Omar said to him, “am I a monarch or a Caliph?” and Salmán answered him, “if thou tax the land of the Muslims in dirhams, less or more, and putteth them to unlawful use, thou art a monarch and not a Caliph,” and Omar took warning by it. And from Sufyán-b-Abi’l A’rjá, that Omar said, “by Allah, I know not whether I am a Caliph or a monarch, if I be a monarch, it is a terrible thing.” A speaker said to him, “O prince of the Faithful, there is a difference between the two.” He said, “what is it?” He replied, “a Caliph doth not take save lawfully, nor give save where it is due, and thou, thanks be to God, art such, but a monarch oppresseth the people, and taketh from this and giveth to that:”, and Omar was silent. And from Ibn Mašá’id that Omar was riding a horse, and his garment fell back from his thigh, and the people of Najrán saw upon his thigh a dark mole and they said, “this is he whom we find in our books that he is to turn us forth from our land.” And from Saa’d al Jári that Kaa’b al Alábár said to Omar, “I find thee verily in the Book of God, posted at one of the gates of hell, hindering the people from falling into it, and when thou diest, they will continue to rush headlong into it, till the day of judgment.” And from Abu Maa’shar, that he narrates, “my Shaykhb told me that Omar said, ‘this authority cannot be rightly conducted except by severity without haughtiness and leniency without weakness.’ ”

Ibn Abi Shaybah records in the Musannaf on the authority of Ḥakam-b-U’mayr,* that Omar wrote, “now, let not the Commanders of armies and divisions inflict upon any one the scourging ordained by law until he arriveth at Darbţ, lest rage inspired by Satan induce him to desert to the

* Ḥakam-b-U’mayr al Thamáli. Thamáli is a branch of the tribe of Azd Ibn Hajr has little to say of him but that he was present at Badr and that his traditions are not to be relied upon.

† The ancient Derbe near the Cilician gates, the chief mountainous pass from the direction of the countries occupied by the Arabs into the Greek Empire. 

Lane.
infidels.” Ibn Abi Ḥātim records in his Commentary on the authority of as Shaa‘bi, that the Roman Emperor wrote to Omar saying, “verily my messengers who come to me from thee, pretend that thou hast with thee a tree, which in its nature has none of the qualities of a tree. It sprouteth like asses’ ears, then it openeth out like a pearl, then it becometh green like the green emerald, then it turneth ruddy and becometh like a red ruby, next it ripeneth and cometh to maturity, and turneth into the most delicious honey-cake that is eaten. Next it drieth up and becometh the preservation of the dweller in his house, and a store for the traveller; now if my messengers have spoken truly then I cannot think this tree to be other than one of the trees of paradise.” Whereupon Omar wrote to him, saying, “From the servant of God, the prince of the Faithful, to Caesar the Roman Emperor—verily thy messengers have spoken truly. This tree which we possess, is the same which the Lord caused to sprout* for Mary when she bore Jesus her Son. Therefore fear God and assume not Jesus to be God, besides God, for, ‘verily the likeness of Jesus in the sight of God is as the likeness of Adam: He created him out of the dust,’” &c., (Kur. III). Ibn Saa‘d records on the authority of Ibn Omar that Omar issued an order to his prefects, among them being Saa‘d-b-Abi Wakkás, and in accordance therewith they wrote the amount of the property in their possession and Omar shared their property with them, and took half and gave them half. And from as Shaa‘bi, that Omar when he employed a prefect wrote down the amount of his property. And from Abu Imámah-b-Sahl-b-Hunayf† that he said, “Omar remained some time without supporting himself from the public treasury until poverty thus came upon him, and he sent to the Companions of the Apostle of God and took counsel of them and said, ‘verily I have diligently employed myself in this authority, what therefore do I deserve from it?’ And A‘li said, ‘morning and evening food,’ and Omar accordingly took that.” And from Ibn Omar, that Omar made the pilgrimage and spent during his pilgrimage sixteen dinars, and he said to his son “O A’bdulláh, I have been wasteful of this money.” A’bd’u’r Razzák‡ records in his Musannaf on the authority of Katadáh and as Shaa‘bi, that a woman went to Omar and said, “my husband rises

* This was a certain palm tree which the Muḥammadan tradition supposes Mary to have leaned upon for support, and though a withered trunk, it put forth leaves and fruit—that she might gather and eat, Kur. XIX. The stupidity of the Roman and the effrontery of the Arab are only to be matched by the mendacity of the narrator.
† One of the Companions belonging to the Anṣáras.
‡ Probably A’bd’u’r Razzák as Sanáni one of the most celebrated traditionists of his age. People travelled to Yaman from all parts to hear him. Died A. H. 211 (826-7). De Slane, I. K.
in the night to pray and fasts all day," and Omar said "verily thou hast praised thy husband highly." Whereon Kaa'ib-b-Siwár exclaimed, "but she complains of him!" And Omar said, "how?" He replied, "she means that she has not her share of her husband's society." He answered, "then if thou thinkest that, judge between them." He said, "O prince of the Faithful, the Lord hath permitted to him four wives, and to her of every four days, one day, and of every four nights one night." And from Ibn Jurayh* that he said, "one whom I can believe, told me that while Omar was wandering about Medina, he heard a woman say—

"The night is wearisome and its bounds gloomy
And it hath kept me sleepless while
I have no friend with whom to be merry.
And were there no fear of God whose like there is not!"

And Omar exclaimed, 'what is the matter with thee?' She replied, 'thou hast sent my husband on service for some months, and I pine for him.' He said, 'dost thou desire to do evil?' She replied, 'God forbid!' Then he said, 'restrain thyself, for verily, a messenger shall go to him,' and he sent for him, and wrote that the troops should not be kept on service for more than four months." And from Jábir-b-A'bdillah that he went to Omar complaining to him of the treatment he had met with from his women, and Omar said "verily, I find the same, so much so that when I ask for anything I want, my wife says to me, 'thou goest only after the girls of a certain tribe, watching for them.' Thereupon A'bdun'llah-b-Musa'úd said to him, 'hast thou not heard that Abraham, upon whom be peace, complained to the Lord of the temper of Sarah, and it was said to him verily she was made from a rib,† therefore put up with what she does as long as thou seest no unsoundness in her faith.' And from A'krımah b-Khálid, that a son of Omar's went to him, and he had anointed and combed his hair, and put on fine garments, and Omar smote him with his scourge until he made him cry, and Ḥafṣah said to him, 'why dost thou strike him?' He answered, 'I saw that his spirit had made him vain, and I wished to abase it within him.' And from Layth-b-Abi Salim that Omar said, 'give not as names al Ḥakam or A'bdul Ḥakam, for the Lord is the only ruler (Hakam), and call not a road Sikkah."”

* The MS. has Jurayj and not Jurayh as in the printed text—of Jurayh, I can find no mention. A’bdul Malik-b-Jurayj, according to Ibn Khallakán was celebrated for his learning; and it is said that he was the first after the promulgation of Islam who composed books. He was a native of Mecca and a member by adoption of the Kuraysh. Born A. H. 80 (699-70), and A. H. 149 (766).

† Meaning that she was crooked by nature and hard. A crooked rib is a metaphor for a woman amongst the unpolished sons of the desert.

‡ The only reason I can suggest for this prohibition is the tradition خلت.
Al Bayhaqi records in the Shaa’b u’l ʻImám on the authority of ad D. H. 643, Dhahhak that Abu Bakr said, “by Allah, I would I were a tree by the wayside, that camels might pass by me and seize me and take me in their mouths and chew me and swallow me, then cast me forth as ordure, and that I were not a mortal man.” And Omar said, “would that I were a ram, that my people might fatten me as it appeared good to them, so that when I became as fat as could be, those whom they loved might visit them, and they might kill me for them, and make part of me roast and part of me dried flesh, and eat me, and that I were not a mortal man.” And Ibn Asakir from Abu’l Bakhtari,* that Omar ibn u’l Khatṭāb was preaching from the pulpit, when al Ḥusayn the son of A’li stood up against him and said, “come down from the pulpit of my father!” and Omar replied, “it is the pulpit of thy father, not the pulpit of my father, who hath counselled thee to this?” Then A’li rose and said, “by Allah, no one counselled him to this—but (turning to his son) I will assuredly make thee smart, 0 traitor;” and Omar said, “hurt not the son of my brother, for he hath said truly that it is the pulpit of his father.” (The authorities are trustworthy.) Al Khaṭīb in his Ruwat (narrators) records on the authority of Abu Salamah-b-A’bd’r Rahmān and S’aīd-b-u’l Mus-sayyab, that Omar and Othmān were disputing on a certain point among themselves, when a looker on exclaimed, “verily they will never agree,” but they did not separate except upon the best and most admirable agreement, regarding it. And Ibn Sa’ad from al Ḥasan, that at the first discourse that Omar preached, he praised God and glorified Him, and then said, “verily I am tried with ye and ye are tried with me, and I have followed as Vicegerent among ye after my two Companions. As to those who are with us, we have undertaken their affairs in person, and as to those who are away from us, we have appointed over them as rulers, men of power and trust, and he who doeth well, we will give him increase of benefits, and whoso doeth evil, we will punish, and may the Lord have mercy upon me and ye.” And from Jubayr-b-u’l Ḥuwayrith that Omar took counsel of the Muslims regarding the establishment of registers and A’li said to him, “divide every year the revenue that is

* Abu’l Bakhtari Wahh-b-Wahb of the Kuraysh and a native of Medina: he removed from Medina to Baghdad under the Caliphate of Harūn ar Rashid. He was appointed Ḫadi of Medina and afterwards removed. He died at Baghdad A. H. 200 (815-16) under the Caliphate of al Māmūn. He was liberal with his purse, but notorious as a fabricator of traditions and Ibn Ḥanbal calls him a liar. Ibn Khall.
collected for thee and keep not back anything." And Othman said, "I see that there is a large revenue sufficient for the people, and if they do not keep a register so that he who hath received may be distinguished from him who hath not received, I fear that affairs will fall into confusion." Then al Walid-b-Hisham-b-i'l Mughira said to him, "O prince of the Faithful, verily I have been to Syria, and I have seen that its princes have established registers and organized armies, therefore establish registers and organize troops," and he took his counsel. Then he summoned A'kil-b-Abi Talib and Makhrahah-b-Naful and Jubayr-b-Muslim who were among the most skilled genealogists of the Kuraysh, and he said, "write down the people according to their degrees," and they wrote beginning with the Banu Hashim, then followed them up with Abu Bakr and his people, then Omar and his people, in the Caliphate, and when Omar looked into it, he said, "begin with the kindred of the prophet, the nearest after the nearest, until ye place Omar where God hath placed him." And from Sa'id-b-u'l Musayyab, that Omar established the registers in the month of Muharram the 20th year of the Flight. And from al Hasan, that Omar wrote to Hudayfah, saying, "give the men their stipends and rations," and he replied, "verily I have done so and a large sum is over." Thereupon Omar wrote to him, "verily the booty which God hath given unto them, belongeth not to Omar nor to the family of Omar,—divide it among them."

Ibn Sa'id records on the authority of Jubayr-b-Muti'm, that he said "while Omar was standing upon the mount of A'rafah,* he heard a man call out and say, "O Caliph, O Caliph." And another man heard him, (and they were taking provisions for the way) and said "what is the matter with thee—may Allah cleave thy uvula." Then I advanced towards the man and called out to him." Jubayr continues: "verily the next day I was standing with Omar at al Aka'bah;† casting stones at it when there came a stone with force, striking violently the head of Omar. Then I turned that way and heard a man from the mount say,—"dost thou know, by the Lord of the Kaa'bah that Omar shall never again stand in this station after this year?" Jubayr adds. "And lo! it was he who had called out among us the day before, and the thing weighed heavily upon me." And from Ayesha that she said, "at the time of the last pilgrimage which Omar performed with the mothers of the true believers,‡ when we returned

* This was on the second day of the pilgrimage called the Yaum A'rafah the 9th of Du'l Hijjah.
† Jamrat u'l A'kabah, or as it vulgarly termed, Shaytan al Kabir, the great devil—one of the three pillars stoned during the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. See Burton Vol. III, pp. 238-232.
‡ The wives of Muhammed.
A. H. 23. from A'rafah, passing by al Muhaṣṣab,* I heard a man upon his camel saying, 'where was Omar the prince of the Faithful!' and I heard another man reply, 'here was the prince of the Faithful;' then he made his camel kneel down and raised his voice, wailing, and said—

'Upon such an Imám as thou be peace and bless
May the hand of God, that lacerated exterior.
Whosoever goeth with speed or rideth upon the wings of the ostrich:
To overtake that which thou hast sent before thee yesterday, will be out-stripped.
Thou hast adjudged affairs but left behind them
Calamities in their sleeves not yet unloosed.'

And that rider moved not, nor was it known who he was, and we used to say that he was a Jinn. And Omar returned from that pilgrimage and was stabbed (with a dagger) and died." And on the authority of Omar that he said, "this authority shall rest with the men of Badr as long as one of them is left; then with the men of Oliud as long as one of them is left, and then with such and such, but there shall be no part in it for a liberated slave, nor for the son of a liberated slave, nor for a Muslim become so at the conquest of Mecca." And from an Nakba'i, that a man said to Omar, "wilt thou not name as successor, A'bdu'llah-b-Omar?" He said, "may Allah smite thee! by Allah, never have I desired this of God that I should appoint as successor a man who knoweth not properly how to divorce his wife."† And from Kaa'b that he said, "there was amongst the children of Israel a king;§ when I recall him, I think of Omar, and when I recall Omar, I think of him. And he had with him a prophet who was inspired, and the Lord inspired the prophet to say to him, 'make thou thy covenant, and write unto me thy testament, for verily thou art a dead man in three days.'" The prophet therefore told him this, and when it was the third day he fell down between the wall and the bed. Then he turned to his Lord and said, "O Lord! if Thou knowest that I was just in government, and, when affairs became troubled that I followed Thy

* The name of the way between the mountains, opening upon the part called لَبَابَ between Mecca and Mina, so called from the pebbles in it. Lane.
† ٍ sinister also signifies running to and from between as Safa and al Marwah. The meaning is probably that the merits acquired by Omar in his pilgrimage are not to be surpassed. I prefer to read *سبق forسبق as otherwise the مُسبق is left 'on l' air,' without its complement.
‡ A'bdu'llah once attempted to put her away at a time when divorce was not permitted by the Muḥammadan law.
§ Ezechias, Kings iv. xx.
guidance, and was such and such, then lengthen my life, that my son may grow up and my people be set in order.” And the word of the Lord came to the prophet, saying, “verily he hath said so and so, and indeed hath spoken truly, and verily I have added to his life fifteen years, and during that there is time that his son may grow up and his people be set in order.” And when Omar was stabbed, Kas‘b said—“if but Omar were to ask of his Lord, He would surely preserve him.” Omar was informed of this, and he said, “O God, take me to Thyself while as yet I am not enfeebled nor under reproach.” And from Sulayman-b-Yasár, that the Jinn mourned over Omar.

Al Ḥákim records on the authority of Málîk-b-Dínár* that a voice was heard on the mount of Tabálah† when Omar was slain, saying,

“Let him who wept, weep for Islám:
For verily they are about to be laid prostrate, and their appointed time hath not been exceeded.
And the world hath gone back and its good withdrawn:
And verily he is wearied of it who was confident in the promise.”

Ibn Abi ’d Dunya records on the authority of Yahya-b-Abi Ráshid of Basrah, that Omar said to his son, “be moderate in the expenses of my shroud, for verily if there be aught of good with God in my favour, he will give me in exchange what is better than it, and if I have been otherwise, He will strip me and be swift in my stripping. And be moderate in my grave that ye dig for me, for verily if there be aught of good with God in my favour, he will widen it unto me as far as my eye can reach, and if I have been otherwise, he will straighten it upon me until my ribs interlace. And let no woman go forth with me, and praise me not for that which is not in me, for the Lord knoweth best what I am. Therefore when you go forth, hasten in your going, for if there be aught of good with God in my favour, you will speed me on to that which is my good, and if I have been otherwise, ye cast from your necks an evil that ye bear.”

Ibn A’sákir records on the authority of Ibn A’bbás that al A’bbás said, “I asked of the Lord a year after Omar died, that he would show him unto me in sleep,” and I saw him after a year and he was wiping the sweat from his forehead and I said to him, “with my father—mayest thou be ransomed, and with my mother—how is it with thee?” He replied, “it

*A Abu Yahya, Málîk-b-Dínár of Basrah, an ascetic and one of the Tabúís. He was freedman of one of the women of the Banu Nájíjah. He is regarded as a trust-worthy authority, died A. H. 123 or 129. An Nawawi.
† Eight days’ march from Mecca and six from Taif.
is but now that I am free from the Judgment and Omar would have perished,* had I not indeed met One who is Merciful and Compassionate.” And from Zayd-b-Aslam,† that Abdu’lllah-b-Omar-b-i! A’ás saw Omar in sleep and he said, “how hast thou done?” he replied, “how long is it that I left you?” He answered, “twelve years ago.” He said “verily it is even now that I am free from Judgment.” Ibn Saa’d records on the authority of Sâlim-b-Abdi’lllah-b-Omar that he said, “I heard a man of the Auxiliaries say, ‘I prayed to God that he would show me Omar in sleep, and I saw him after ten years and he was wiping the sweat from his forehead and I said, O prince of the Faithful, what hast thou been doing?” He replied, “I have but now been freed from Judgment, and had it not been for the mercy of my God, I had perished.”

Al Ḥâkim records on the authority of as Shaa’bî that A’átikah the daughter of Zayd-b-A’mr b-Nufayl said, mourning Omar—

“Eye! let thy tears and weeping be abundant:
And weary not—over the noble chief.
Death hath afflicted me in the fall of a horseman
Distinguished in the day of battle and of contumely.
The stay of Faith, the defence against inclement fortune:
And a champion unto the afflicted and oppressed.
Say unto the hopeless and the desolate, die!
Since death hath given us to drink the cup of dissolution.”

Among the distinguished people who died during Omar’s time were,

* Lit. his means of support would have been destroyed—or his dwelling would have been demolished.
† Abu Usâmah Zayd-b-Aslam the freedman of Omar, a native of Medîna, and one of the Tâbî’îs, distinguished for his piety and theological learning, and much sought after for his instructions and discourses. He died at Medîna about A. H. 136. An Nawawi.
OTHMAN-B-A'FFAN.

Othman-b-A'ffan-b-Abi'l A'as-b-Umayya-b-Abdi's Shams-b-Abd Manaf-b-Kuwayy-b-Kilab-b-Murrah-b-Kaas-b-Luayy-b-Ghalib, al Kurayshi al Umawi, Abu A'mr, called also Abu A'bdullah and Abu Laylah, was born in the 6th year of the Elephant. He was converted early and was one of those called to Islam by as Siddik. He took part in the two Flights, the first to Abyssinia and the second to Medina, and married Ru'kayyah, the daughter of the Apostle of God before the prophetic mission, and she died at his house on one of the nights of the flight of Badr, and he was detained from Badr through his attendance on her, with the permission of the Apostle of God, who assigned to him a portion of the spoils and compensated him. He is therefore numbered among those present at Badr, and the messenger arrived with the news of the victory of the Muslims at Badr, on the day that they buried her at Medina. The Apostle of God then gave him in marriage after her, her sister Umm Kulthun and she died in his house in the 9th year of the Hijrah. The learned say that no one besides him is known to have married the two daughters of a prophet, and for that, he has been named possessor of the two Luminaries. He was one of the first early converts, and the foremost of the Fugitives and one of the Ten to whom the attainment of Paradise was testified, and one of the Six, with whom, when the Apostle of God died he was well content, and one of the Companions who collected the Qur'an. Indeed Ibn A'bbad* says that none but he and al Mamun, among the Caliphs, collected the Qur'an. Ibn Saa'd says that the Apostle of God appointed him Vicegerent at Medina during his military expeditions to Dát u'r Rikas' and Ghatfan. One hundred and forty-six traditions are related by him on the authority of the Apostle of God.†

Ibn Saa'd records on the testimony of A'bdullah Rahman-b-Hatib that he said, "I never saw any one of the Companions of the Apostle of God, who, when he narrated a tradition, gave it more completely and excellently

* Abu'l Kásim Isma'il-b-Abi'l Hassan A'bbad the Sahib the wonder of his age for his talents, virtues and generosity. He was Vizir to Muwayyid u'd Doulah-b-Rukan u'd Dawlat-b-Buwayh and subsequently to his brother Fakhr u'd Dawlah. He was the author of numerous works, the most known being the Muhât, a work on philology, another on epistolary writing, one on Festivals, and another on the rank of Imám, stating the merits of Ali and the legitimacy of those who preceded him. Born A. H. 326 (938) at Istakhar and died at Rai A. H. 385 (995). Ibn Khalil. De Slane writes the name A'bbad but according to Meursinghe (De Interpret, Kur. p. 39) Suyuti makes it A'bbad and I'bbad. The Munt. Arab, gives A'bbad.

† Here follows a list of those who have narrated traditions on his authority which I have omitted.
A. H. 23. than Othmán-b-A'ffán, save verily he were a man who held traditions in A. D. 643. great fear. And on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Sirin that the most learned of them in the ceremonials of the pilgrimage, was Othmán, and after him Ibn Omar." Al Bayhaḵi records in his Sunan on the authority of A'bdullāh-b-Omar-b-Abáň al Jua'fi that he narrates, "my maternal uncle Ḥusayn al Jua'fi said to me, 'dost thou know why Othmán hath been called Possessor of the two Luminaries?' I said, 'no.' He replied, 'none hath ever been united to the two daughters of a prophet from the time that God created Adam, nor shall be so till the resurrection cometh to pass, save Othmán—for that reason he hath been called Possessor of the two Luminaries.'

Abu Nua'ým records on the authority of al Ḥasan that he said, "verily Othmán was called Possessor of the two Luminaries, because we know none save him, who hath closed his door upon the two daughters of a prophet." And Khaythamah in the Fadháil u's Šihábah, (Merits of the Companions) and Ibn A'sákir from A'li-b-Abi Ṭálib, that he was asked regarding Othmán and he said, "that man is called in the court of heaven, Possessor of two Luminaries—he was the son-in-law of the Apostle of God through his two daughters." Al Mášini records on a weak ascription from Sahl-b-Sa'ad that he said, "Othmán is called Possessor of the two Luminaries because he passeth over from one station to another in Paradise and there gleameth for him two streams of light, and he is called so on that account." He adds, that he received the surname of Abu A'mr in the time of Ignorance, but when Islam arose, Rūḵayyah bore him A'bdullāh, and he received the surname (Abu A'bdullāh) from him.

His mother was Arwa, daughter of Kurayz-b-Rabī'íh-b-Ḥabīb-b-Abdi's Shams, and her mother was Umm Ḥakím al Baidhá, daughter of Abdu'l Mutṭalib-b-Ḥashim, twin sister of the father of the Apostle of God. Thus the mother of Othmán was the daughter of the paternal aunt of the prophet.*

* Hashim
   A'bdullāh Mutṭalib
       A'bdullāh
        Umm Ḥakím
       Umm Hakím
   Muḥammad. Arwa.
Ibn Ishâk says that he was the first to embrace Islám after Abu Bakr, A. H. 23, and A‘li, and Zayd-b-Hârithah. Ibn A‘sákîr records on various ascriptions, A. D. 643, that Othmán was of middling stature, neither short nor tall, of a comely aspect, fair, inclined to yellow, upon his face the scars of small-pox, full bearded, large of limb, broad between the shoulders, fleshy in the thigh, long in the forearms, which were clothed with hair. He was curly-headed, bald, having the most beautiful teeth of all men, his locks falling below his ears dyed a yellowish colour, and verily he used to bind his teeth with gold wire. And on the authority of A’bdu’llah-b-Ḥazm al Mázini,* that he said, “I have seen Othmán the son of Affán, but I have never seen man or woman more beautiful of face than he.” And from Músa-b-Ṭalḥah, that Othmán was the most comely of men. And from Usámah-b-Zayd that he said, “the Apostle of God sent me to the house of Othmán with a dish of meat and I entered, and lo! there was Ruḵayy̩ah seated. And I began to look now upon the face of Ruḵayy̩ah, and now upon the face of Othmán, and when I returned, the Apostle of God enquired of me and said, “didst thou go in to them?” I said “yes;” he continued, “hast thou ever seen a more comely pair than those two?” I said “no—O Apostle of God.”

Ibn Saa’d records on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Ibrahim-b-i’l’ Ḥárith at Taymi, that when Othmán became a Muslim, his paternal uncle al Ḥakam-b-Abi’l A‘ṣ̩̩b-Umayyah, took him and bound him with a cord and said, “dost thou turn from the faith of thy fathers to the religion of an innovator? by Allah, I will never let thee go until thou abandonest what thou art about.” And Othmán said, “by Allah, I will never forsake it nor abandon it.” And when al Ḥakam saw his steadfastness in his faith, he released him.

Abu Ya’la records on the authority of Anas, that the first of the Muslims who emigrated with his family to Abyssinia was Othmán-b-A’ffán, and the Apostle of God said, “may God protect those two, for Othmán was assuredly the first who emigrated with his family after Lot.” And Ibn A’di from Ayesha, that when the prophet married his daughter Umm Kalmúm to Othmán, he said to her, “verily thy husband resembles most, among men, thy forefather Abraham and thy father Muḥammad.” And Ibn A’di and Ibn A’sákîr, from Ibn Omar, that the Apostle of God said, “I find a resemblance in Othmán to my forefather Abraham.”

* There are three families of the Máizens—those of the tribes of Tamím, Kays and Rabî‘h.
On the traditions handed down regarding his merits, over and above what has preceded.

The two Shaykhs record on the testimony of Ayesha, that the prophet gathered together his garments when Othmán entered, and said "shall I not be bashful before the man before whom the angels stand abashed?" And al Bukhári from Abu A’bdur Raḥmán as Sulami,* that Othmán when he was besieged in his house, stood up overlooking the besiegers and said, "I conjure ye, by Allah, and I call on none but the Companions of the prophet,—do ye not know that the Apostle of God said, 'he who aideth in providing for the army of distress,† for him is Paradise'—and I fitted them out? Do ye not know that the Apostle of God said, 'he who diggeth the well at Rúmah,‡ for him is Paradise,' and I dug it?" And they testified to the truth of what he said.

At Tirmídi records on the authority of A’bdur Raḥmán-b-Khabbáh, that he said, "I saw the Apostle of God encouraging the army of distress, and Othmán exclaimed, 'O Apostle of God! I answer for one hundred camels with their housings and saddles for the sake of God.' and the prophet continued encouraging the troops, and Othmán cried out, 'O Apostle of God, I answer for two hundred camels with their housings and saddles for the sake of God.' And he went on encouraging the troops, and Othmán called out, 'O Apostle of God—I answer for three hundred camels with their housings and saddles for the sake of God.' Then the Apostle of God descended from the pulpit, saying, "Othmán will not be judged whatever he may do after this." And from Anas and al Ḥákim, verified on the authority of A’bdur Raḥmán-b-Samurah§ that Othmán went to the prophet with a thousand dinárs, when he was fitting out the army of distress and poured it into his lap, and the Apostle of God began turning it over, saying twice, "it shall not harm Othmán, whatever he may do

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* A’bu A’bdur Raḥmán A’bdulláh-b-Ḥábib as Sulami al Kufí was born in the lifetime of Muḥammad. He learned to read the Kūrān under the tuition of the Caliphs Othmán and A’li and taught the same science in the mosque of Kufah, died A. H. 74 (693-4). De Slane I. K.

† The army of Tabák. This expedition against the Greeks was undertaken at a time of great heat and drought, and the sufferings of the troops procured for it this name. He furnished them with 900 camels and 60 horses.

‡ Between Jurf and Zighábáh, near Medina; Omar purchased it from the Jews for twenty thousand dirhams, and gave it to the Muslims. An Nawawi.

§ Abu Sa’id, A’bdur Raḥmán, son of Samurah the Companion. (See note † p. 42). He was a resident of Başrah. He fought in Khorasan in the time of Othmán and overran Sijistán and Kabul. He related fourteen traditions from his master. Died at Başrah (and some say at Marv) A. H. 50 or 51. An Nawawi.
after this day.” And from Anas that he said, “when the Apostle of God commanded the allegiance pleasing* to God to be sworn to him, Othmán was the messenger of the Apostle of God to the people of Mecca, and the men swore allegiance, and the prophet said, ‘verily Othmán, is employed in the requirements of God and the needs of His Apostle,’ and he struck one hand upon the other, and the hand of the Apostle of God as a pledge for Othmán was better than their hands for themselves.” And from Ibn Omar that the Apostle of God spoke of dissensions and said, alluding to Othmán, “this one shall be wrongfully slain in them.”

At Tirmidi and al Ḥákim and Ibn Májah record on the authority of Murrah-b-Ka‘b that he said, “I heard the apostle of God speaking of troubles that he thought to be near at hand, when a man passed by muffled up in his garment, and he said, ‘this man to-day is in the path of salvation,’ and I went to him and lo! it was Othmán, and I turned my face towards the prophet, and said, ‘this man?’ He replied ‘yes.’” And at Tirmidi and al Ḥákim from Ayesha, that the prophet said, “O Othmán, perchance the Lord may clothe thee with a garment, and if the hypocrites desire to take it from thee, put it not off till thou meetest me in Paradise.” And at Tirmidi from Othmán that he said on the day of the siege of his house, “verily, the apostle of God, hath made a covenant with me, and I am awaiting its fulfilment.”

Al Ḥákim records on the authority of Abu Ḥurayrah that he said, “Othmán purchased Paradise from the prophet on two occasions; viz., when he dug the well of Rúmah, and when he fitted out the army of distress.” And Ibn A’sákir from Abu Ḥurayrah, that the prophet said, “Othmán among the Companions, most resembles me in disposition.” And at Ṭabarānī from A’smah-b-Málīk that he said, “when the daughter of the apostle of God died under the roof of Othmán, the apostle of God said, “Give your daughters in marriage to Othmán—if I had a third daughter, I would assuredly give her in marriage to him, and I have never wedded any to him save under inspiration.” And Ibn A’sákir from A’lī, that he narrates, “I heard the apostle of God say to Othmán, “if I had forty daughters, I would wed them with thee one after the other, until not one of them was left.” And from Zayd-b-Thabit that he narrates, “I heard the Apostle of God say, Othmán passed me, and there was with me one of the angels who said, ‘he shall be a martyr—his people shall slay him—I am abashed before him.’” Abu Ya’la records on the authority of Ibn Omar that the prophet said, “verily the angels stand abashed before

* At Ḥudaybihyah. The word زِوُعَانَ is used, because it is employed with reference to this occasion in Kur. XLVII.

لقد رضي الله عن المرمين ان يدا يباعون تحت الأشهية
A. H. 23. Othmán as they stand abashed before God and his apostle.” And Ibn A’sákir from al-Hasan that the modesty of Othmán was mentioned in his hearing, and he said, “if it were that he was in the middle of his house, and the door closed upon him, and he were to put aside his clothes to pour water upon himself, modesty would forbid him to straighten his back.”

On his Caliphate.

He was sworn allegiance to as Caliph three nights after Omar was buried, and it is related that the people at that time were gathered about A’bdu’r Raḥmán-b-A’uf taking counsel with him, and speaking privily with him, and there was not a man of judgment who was in private with him who held any one equal to Othmán. And when A’bdu’r Raḥmán took his seat for the covenant of allegiance, he praised God and glorified him and said in his discourse, “verily I see that the people reject all but Othmán.” (Ibn A’sákir from Miswar*-b-Makhramah). But according to another account, he said, “and now O A’lî I have regarded the people and I have not seen any of them equaling Othmán, therefore make not a way unto the Caliphate for thyself.” Then he took the hand of Othmán and said, “I swear allegiance to thee according to the law of God, and the law of his apostle, and the law of the two Caliphs after him.” And A’bdu’r Raḥmán swore fealty to him, and Fugitives and the Auxiliaries swore him allegiance.

Ibn Sas’d records on the authority of Anas, that Omar an hour before he died sent to the father of Talhah the Auxiliary and said, “go at the head of fifty of the Auxiliaries with those men of the Council, for as I count upon it, they will assemble together in a house. Stand thou at that door with thy Companions and suffer none to go in to them and let not the third day pass with them before they give authority to one among them.” It is recorded in the Musnad of Ahmad on the authority of Abu Wáil†

* Abu A’bdu’r Raḥmán Miswar-b-Makhramah-b-Naifal descended from Murrah. He was born at Mecca two years after the Flight and was one of the most skilled of the Companions in jurisprudence. He remained at Medina till the death of Othmán and then returned to Mecca, and after the death of Mu’awiyah, remained with Ibn az Zubayr, till the siege by al-Hajjáj, when he was killed by a stone from a catapult. An Naw.

† Abu Wáil Shāfīk-b-Salimah a Tabi’i of the tribe of Asad, native of Kufah. He was a cotemporary of Muḥammad but never saw him, died A. H. 79. His authority as a traditionist is acknowledged. An Nawawi.
that he narrates, "I said to A'bdur Rahman-b-A'uf, 'how did ye swear allegiance to Othman and pass over A'li?' he replied, 'it was not my fault. Verily I began with A'li and I said, "I will make with thee a covenant of allegiance according to the Book of God, and the law of His apostle, and the institutions of Abu Bakr, and Omar.'" And he replied "in as far as I am able;' then I offered the same to Othman and he accepted."

And it is related that A'bdur Rahman said to Othman in private, "if I make not a covenant of allegiance with thee whom dost thou counsel to me?' He replied, "A'li;" and he said to A'li, "if I make not a covenant of allegiance with thee, whom dost thou counsel to me?" he said, "Othman." Then he summoned az Zubayr and said, "if I make not a covenant of allegiance with thee, whom dost thou counsel to me?" He replied, "A'li or Othman." Then he summoned Saa'd and said, "whom dost thou counsel to me? for I and thou desire it not:' and he said, "Othman." Then A'bdur Rahman took counsel with the chief men, and he said that most of them were for Othman.

Ibn Saa'd and al Hakim record on the authority of Ibn Masa'ud that he said, "when Othman was sworn allegiance to, we placed in authority the best that remained among us, and we were not remiss in our duty."

In this year of his Caliphate, Rai was taken, for it had been taken before and lost again. In the same, the people were attacked with a great issuing of blood from the nose, and it was called the Year of the Hæmorrhage. This hæmorrhage seized Othman, so that he was detained from the pilgrimage and deputed another in his stead. During the same many Grecian fortresses were taken, and Othman placed Saa'd-b-Abi Wakkas in the government of Kufah, and removed al Mughirah.

In the year 25, Othman removed Saa'd from Kufah and appointed al Walid-b-U'k'bah-b-Abi Muayt, who was a Companion, a brother of Othman's on the mother's side, and that was the first thing with which he was reproached in that he preferred his relations to posts of authority: moreover it is related that al Walid read morning prayers to the people four raka'ats, while he was intoxicated, and he looked upon them and said, "shall I go on for ye?"

In the year 26, Othman enlarged the sacred mosque and extended it and purchased the adjoining buildings for its augmentation. During the same Sabur was taken.

In the year 27, Mu'awiyah led an expedition against Cyprus, and crossed the sea with his troops, and with him was Ubadah-b-u'l Sāmit.  

* Shahpur probably. Near Shiraz. The MS. has Naysabur.

† He was one of the Companions sent by Omar to Syria at the time of its con-
A. H. 27. and his wife Umm Harám, daughter of Milhan, a woman of the Auxiliaries. She fell from her mule, and died there for the faith. The prophet had foretold to her this expedition and prayed that she might be one of them. She was buried at Cyprus.

During this year Arraján (Erğán) and Dárábjird were taken;* and in the same Othmán removed A'mr-b-u'l A'ás from Egypt and appointed over it A'bdullah-b-Saa'd-b-Abi Sarh, who led an expedition against Nor-thern Africa and overran it both plains and hills, and each man of the troops received a thousand and some say, three thousand dinárs. Spain was also subsequently conquered in this year.

An anecdote deserves mention. Mu'áwiyah had urged upon Omar-b-u'l Khatłáb the expedition to Cyprus and the necessity of reaching it by a sea voyage, and Omar wrote to A'mr-b-u'l A'ás, saying, "describe to me the sea and its rider." And he wrote, saying, "Verily I saw a huge construction, upon which mounted diminutive creatures, if it is still, it renders the heart, if it moves, it terrifies the senses. Within it the faculties grow diminishing and calamities augmenting. Those inside it, are like worms in a log. If it inclines to one side, they are drowned, if it escapes, they are confounded." When Omar read the letter, he wrote to Mu'áwiyah, saying, "By Allah, I will not set a true believer upon it."

Ibn Jarir says that Mu'áwiyah proceeded against Cyprus in the time of Othmán, and concluded a peace with its inhabitants on condition of tribute.

In the year 29, Persepolis was taken by force of arms and Kasá and other places. During the same, Othmán enlarged the mosque of Medina and built it of carved stone, and fashioned its pillars of stones, and its roof of teakwood, and made its length one hundred and sixty cubits and its breadth one hundred and fifty cubits.

In the year 30, Júr was taken, and many towns in the land of Khurasán. Naysábúr was occupied by treaty, though some say, by force; and Tús and Sarkhas both by treaty and likewise Marw and Bayhák.† When these extensive provinces were conquered, abundant was the tribute unto Othmán, and wealth came unto him from every side, so that he established

quest to teach the people the Kurán. He died at Jerusalem and some say at Ramlah in A. H. 94, aged 72. An Nawawi.

* An aliph is omitted in the printed edition. Dárábjird is near Persepolis: another town of the name is near Naysábúr.

† According to Yákát, Bayhák comprises the country between Naysábúr, or as it is commonly written Nishapur, Kúmis and Juwayn, and contains three hundred and twenty-one villages.
for himself treasuries and gave bountiful stipends,* and he would order a man a hundred thousand badras, in each “badrah,”† being four thousand ounces.

_In the year 31, (Here a hiatus in the MSS. The intervening years have little to mark them). In 31, according to Abu’l Fida, (Annals) Yazdijeird died, and a rebellion broke out in Khurasan, but was quelled by Othman. In 33 died Ibn Masa’ud, the Companion. In 34 and 35 occurred the seditions in Kufah against the nepotism of Othman. In the year 35 took place the assassination of Othman._

Az Zubri says that Othman ruled the Caliphate twelve years. For six years he governed without the people having anything to reproach against him; and he was more beloved by the Kuraysh than Omar, for Omar was stern with them, and when Othman ruled them, he treated them with leniency and was attached to them. But afterwards he became heedless of their affairs, and appointed his kinsmen and the people of his house to authority during the last six years, and bestowed upon Marwan a fifth of the revenues of Africa, and lavished on his kindred and family the property of the State, and explained it as the assistance to kindred which the Lord had enjoined, and said, “verily Abu Bakr and Omar have neglected in that matter what was incumbent upon them, and I have taken it and divided it among my kindred;” but the people disapproved of it. (Ibn Saa’d).

Ibn A’sakir records, after another account, on the authority of az Zubri that he narrates, “I said to Sa’id-b-u’l Musayyab, ‘canst thou tell me the manner of the death of Othman, and how it was with the people and with him, and why the Companions of Muhammad forsook him?’ and Ibn u’l Musayyab replied, ‘Othman was slain unjustly, and he who slew him was a wrongdoer, but those who forsook him are to be excused.’ I said, ‘how was that?’ He replied, ‘when Othman assumed, the government, some of the Companions disapproved of his rule, because Othman

* ادر might also mean that he caused provisions and the like to pour in plentifully—as in Omar’s orders to the tax-gatherers; but here the context seems to refer to stipends from the treasury.

† A badrah is a purse containing a sum of, from one thousand to ten thousand dirhams. It appears incredible that in the early days of the Caliphate such extravagance could have existed, but the lavish bounty of Othman is noticed by Gibbon and it gained for him in return but ingratitude and discontent.
A. H. 35. had a great affection for his tribe. He ruled the Caliphate twelve A. D. 655-6. years, and frequently appointed to office among the Banu Umayyah, those who had not enjoyed the Companionship of the Apostle of God. Thus there were committed by his prefects those actions which the Companions of Muḥammad did not approve. Othmán, however, favoured them and did not remove them, and during the last six years, he preferred the children of his uncle and appointed them to rule, and let none others share with them, nor enjoined on them the fear of God. Thus he appointed A'bdullāh-b.-Saa'd-b.-Abi Sarḥ to govern Egypt, and he remained over it some years. The people of Egypt complained and sought redress against him. And verily before this, there had occurred on the part of Othmán a slight towards A'bdullāh-b.-Masa'ūd, and Abu Ḍarr and A'mmār-b.-Yāsir, and the Banu Hudayl and the Banu Zuhrah had in their hearts what was in them on account of Ibn Masa'ūd, and the Banu Ghafār, and their confederates and those that were wroth concerning Abu Ḍarr, had in their hearts what was in them, and the Banu Makhzūm were wroth with Othmán on account of A'mmār-b.-Yāsir. And the people of Egypt came complaining against the son of Abu Sarḥ, and Othmán wrote to him a letter threatening him in it, but the son of Abu Sarḥ refused to submit to what Othmán had forbidden him, and he scourged him who had come from Othmán, of the people of Egypt that had gone to Othmán complaining, and slew him. Then seven hundred of the people of Egypt went forth, and they alighted at the mosque at Medina, and made their complaint to the Companions at the appointed places of prayer, of what the son of Abu Sarḥ had done to them. Thereupon Tahlāh-b.-Ubayd-illāh arose and spoke harsh words to Othmán, and Ayesha sent to him and said, 'the Companions of Muḥammad have come to thee and asked of thee the removal of this man and thou hast refused, yet this man hath put to death a man among them. Therefore do them justice against thy governor.' And A'li-b.-Abi Ṭālib went in to him and said, 'verily they demand of you one man in the place of another and have claimed for him the revenge for blood, therefore remove him from over them and judge between them, for a claim stands against him, therefore do them justice upon him.' He replied to them, 'choose ye a man that I may appoint him over ye in his place.' And the people pointed out to him Muḥammad the son of Abu Bakr, and said, 'place over us Muḥammad the son of Abu Bakr.' And he wrote him his charge and appointed him. And there went forth with them a number of the Fugitives and Auxiliaries that they might see what was happening between the people of Egypt and the son of Abu Sarḥ, and Muḥammad and those with him set forth. But when they were at the third day's stage from Medina, behold! there came up with them a black slave upon a camel striking the camel violently like to
a man who pursues or is pursued, and the companions of Muḥammad* A. H. 35. said to him, 'what is thy adventure and thy condition? for verily thou A. D. 655-6. art either fleeing or pursuing.' And he said to them, 'I am the slave of the prince of the Faithful who hath sent me to the prefect of Egypt.' And a man said to him, 'this is the prefect of Egypt.' He replied, 'it is not this one I want.'"

Then Muḥammad the son of Abu Bakr was informed regarding him, and he sent a man in pursuit of him, who caught him and brought him before him, and he said, "slave, who art thou?" And he began saying at one time, "I am the slave of the prince of the Faithful," and at another, "I am the slave of Marwán," until a man recognized him as the slave of Othmán. Then Muḥammad said to him, "Unto whom art thou sent?" He replied, "to the prefect of Egypt." He asked, "with what?" He answered, "with a letter." He said, "Is the letter with thee?" He replied, "no" whereupon they searched him, but found no letter upon him, but with him was a ewer in which was something dried up that rustled, and they shook it that it might be cast out, but it did not come out, so they broke the ewer when lo! there was in it a letter from Othmán to the son of Abu Sarḥ. Then Muhammad assembled those that were with him of the Fugitives and Auxiliaries and others, and he opened the letter in their presence, when behold! there was in it: "When Muḥammad and such a one and such a one reach thee, contrive a scheme for their death, and set aside his charge, and remain in thy government until my advice reach thee, and imprison such as come to me seeking redress against thee; verily my advice will reach thee in regard to that matter, if it please God." And when they read the letter, they were terrified and confounded, and they turned back to Medina, and Muḥammad sealed the letter with the seals of the people who were with him, and gave it to a man among them, and they proceeded to Medina and assembled Taḥlah and az Zubayr and Aʿlī and Saʿād and those who were among the Companions of Muḥammad. Then they reopened the letter in their presence and informed them of the story of the slave, and read to them the letter. And there was not one of the people of Medina but was wroth against Othmán, and it increased the wrath and anger of those who were enraged on account of Ibn Masaʿīd, Abu Ḍarr, and Aʾmmár b. Yásir. And the Companions of Muḥammad went to their homes there not being one among them, but he was grieved at what they had read in the letter. And the people besieged Othmán, and Muḥammad the son of Abu Bakr led against him the Banu Taym and

* The usual benediction follows this name, but I am inclined to think it has been inadvertently inserted, Muḥammad here referring to the son of Abu Bakr and not to the founder of Islām.
A. H. 35. ... others; and when A’lī saw that, he sent to Ṭalḥāh and az Zubayr and A. D. 655-6. Saa’d and A’mmār and others of the Companions, all of them being men who had fought at Badr. Then he went to Othmān taking with him the letter, the slave and the camel, and Ali said to him, “is this slave, thy slave?” He replied, “yes.” He continued, “and this camel, thy camel?” He answered, “yes.” He said, “then didst thou write this letter?” He said, “no,” and he swore by Allah, saying, “I did not write this letter, nor command it to be written, nor have I any knowledge of it.” A’lī said to him, “then is the seal thy seal?” He answered, “yes.” He said, “then how could thy slave go forth with thy camel, and with a letter upon which is thy seal, thou knowing not of it?” But Othmān swore by the Lord, saying, “I did not write this letter nor command it to be written, nor did I ever send this slave to Egypt.”

Now as to the writing, they recognised it to be the writing of Marwān, and they doubted regarding Othmān, but demanded of him that he should give up to them Marwān, but he refused, Marwān being with him in the house. Then the Companions of Muḥammad went forth from him much enraged, and they were in doubt regarding him for they knew that Othmān would not swear falsely, save that some said, “Othmān will not be absolved in our hearts, unless he giveth up to us Marwān, that we may interrogate him and learn the affairs of the letter, and how he commanded the death of a man among the Companions of Muḥammad without due cause, and if it be Othmān that wrote it, we will depose him, and if it be Marwān that wrote it upon the suggestion of Othmān, we shall consider what we shall do concerning Marwān.” And they kept to their houses, but Othmān refused to give Marwān up to them, for he feared death for him. And the people besieged Othmān and prevented him from obtaining water; he therefore looked down upon the people from above and exclaimed, “Is A’lī among ye?” And they said, “no.” He said, “is Saa’d among ye?” They replied, “no”; then he was silent. Again he exclaimed, “Will not any one inform A’lī that he may give us water to drink?” Ali was then informed of this and he sent three large leathern water bottles filled with water, but it was nigh unto not reaching him, for a number of the freedmen of the Banu Ḥāshim and the Banu Umayya were wounded on account of it until the water reached him. A’lī was then informed that the death of Othmān was sought, and he said, “verily we desire of him Marwān, but the death of Othmān—no,” and he said to al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn, “go ye with your swords until ye stand over the door of Othmān and suffer not any one to go in to him.” And az Zubayr sent his son and Ṭalḥāh sent his son, and a number of the Companions of Muḥammad sent their sons to prevent the people from going into Othmān, and to demand the surrender of Marwān. And when Muḥammad the son of Abu Bakr
saw that, and that the people had shot arrows against Othmán, until al A. H. 35.

Hasan was stained with blood at his door, and an arrow had reached Mar- A. D. 655-6.

wán who was inside the house, and Muḥammad the son of Ṭalḥah was dyed with blood and Kanbar the freedman of A’li had his head broken, then Muḥammad-b-Abi Bakr feared that the Banu Hāshim might be angered at the condition of al Hasan and al Ḥusayn and provoke a tumult, so he took the hands of two men and said to them, “if the Banu Hāshim arrive and see the blood upon the face of al Hasan, they will disperse the people from Othmán, and what we desire will miscarry, but come with me until we climb above him upon the house, and slay him without any one’s knowing it. And Muḥammad and his two Companions climbed from a house of a man of the Auxiliaries until they penetrated unto Othmán, and not one of those who were with him knew of it, for all those that were with him were upon the tops of the houses, and he was alone with his wife. Then Muḥammad said to the two, “stay where ye are, for verily his wife is with him, so that I may enter before ye, and when I seize him, then come in and set upon him until ye slay him.” And Muḥammad entered and seized him by the beard, and Othmán said to him, “by Allah, could thy father see thee, thy behaviour towards me would surely be hateful to him!” thereupon his hand relaxed its hold, but the two men went in to him and set upon him until thy slew him, and then came forth fleeing towards whence they had entered. Then his wife screamed, but her screaming was not heard by reason of the clamour in the house, and she mounted up to the people, and said, “verily the prince of the Faithful hath been slain.” And the people entered and found him slain, and the news reached A’li, and Ṭalḥah and az Zubáyr and Saa’d and those that were in Medīna, and they set forth, for verily their senses left them at the news they had heard, until they went in to Othmán and found him slain, and they repeated the ejaculation: “Verily we belong to God and unto Him shall we return” (Kur. II). Then A’li said to his two sons, “how was the prince of the Faithful slain and ye two at his door?” and he raised his hand and struck al Ḥasan, and smote the breast of al Ḥusayn, and reviled Muḥammad the son of Ṭalḥah and A’bdūlllah the son of az Zubayr, and went forth in great anger until he reached his house. Then the people hastened to him and said, “we swear thee allegiance, wherefore stretch out thy hand, for a chief is of necessity to us.” And Ali said, “that belongeth not to me,—verily that is with the men of Badr, for with whomsoever the men of Badr are content, he is Vicegerent.”

But there was not one of the men of Badr, but went to A’li and said, “we know none more deserving of it than thee—stretch forth thy hand that we may make a covenant with thee.” And they swore allegiance to him, and Marwán and his son fled, and A’li went unto the wife of Othmán
and said to her, “who slew Othmán? “She replied, “I know not; two men went in to him, whom I do not recognize and with them was Muhammad the son of Abu Bakr,” and she informed A’li and the people of what Muḥammad had done. And A’li sent for Muḥammad and asked him concerning what the wife of Othmán had mentioned, and Muḥammad said “she hath not spoken falsely—verily, by Allah, I went in to him, and I purposed to slay him, but he bid me remember my father, and I stood off from him turning in repentance to God,—by Allah, I did not slay him nor hold him;” and the wife of Othmán said, “he hath spoken truly, but he brought the two within.”

Ibn A’sākir records on the authority of Kanānah the freedman of Ṣafīnah, and others, that it was one of the Egyptians, a man with blue eyes and ruddy complexion that slew Othmán—he was called Ḥimār. Aḥmad records on the authority of al Maghirah-b-Shu’bāh, that he went into Othmán, when he was besieged and said, “thou art verily the Imām of the people, and yet there hath befallen thee what thou seest; and verily now I place before thee three courses; choose one of them. Either go forth and fight them, for surely with thee are numbers and force, and thou art in the right and they are in the wrong—or cut open for thyself a door, other than the door over which they stand, and mount thy camel and get thee to Mecca, for they will not hold it lawful to slay thee while thou art there,—or betake thee to Syria, for verily the people of Syria, among them is Mu’āwiyah.” But Othmán said, “if I go forth and fight, I cannot be the first of those who have succeeded the Apostle of God, to shed blood—and if I set out for Mecca, then have I heard the Apostle of God say, “a man of the Kuraysh shall be buried in Mecca upon whom shall be half the chastisement of the world”—and I shall not be he—and if I betake me to Syria, then I cannot forsake my city of My Flight, and the neighbourhood of the Apostle of God.”

Ibn A’sākir records on the authority of Abū Thaur al Fahmī that he narrates, “I went in to Othmán while he was besieged and he said, “I have laid up with my Lord ten things—verily I was one of four in Islām—and the Apostle of God gave me his daughter in marriage—afterwards she died and he gave me in marriage his other daughter—and I never courted nor sought her, nor have I applied my right hand to an unworthy use, since I made a covenant of allegiance with it, with the Apostle of God,—and never has a Friday passed over me since I became a Muslim, but I freed a slave, except when I had nothing in my possession, when I would free one afterwards,—and I have never committed fornication either in the time of Ignorance or Islām—and never have I stolen either in the time of Ignorance or Islām—and verily I collected the Kurān in the time of the Apostle of God.”

* It may also mean—“I never enriched myself—nor desired ought.
The assassination of Othmán took place in the midst of the three days A. H. 35. next after the day of sacrifice,* in the year 35. It is also said that he A. D. 655-6. was slain on Friday the 18th of Du’l Hijjah (17th June, 656) and was buried on Friday night between sunset and night-fall in Hash Kaukab† in the cemetery, and he was the first buried therein.

Others say that he was slain on Wednesday, and some, on Monday the 24th of Du’l Hijjah, and on the day he was slain, he was eighty-two years old. It is also said that he was eighty-one,—and eighty-four—and eighty-six—and eighty-eight or nine—and ninety. Katádah says that az Zubayr read prayers over him and buried him, Othmán having charged him to do that.

Ibn A’di and Ibn Asákir record from a tradition of Anas transmitted uninterruptedly from the prophet, “verily the Lord hath a sword sheathed in a seabbard as long as Othmán liveth, and when Othmán shall be slain, that sword shall be drawn, and it shall not be sheathed until the day of resurrection.” A’mr-b-Káid is the sole authority for this, and he is the author of traditions of unacknowledged authority. Ibn A’sakir records on the authority of Yazid-b-Abi Ḥabīb that he said, “I have heard that the whole party that attacked Othmán were all seized with insanity.” And from Hudayfah, that he said, “the beginning of seditions is the murder of Othmán, and in the last times of sedition will be the coming of Dajjál, and by Him in whose hand is my life, not a man shall die having in his heart a grain’s weight of the desire of Othmán’s murder, but he would follow Dajjál, did he attain unto his time, and if he hath not attained unto his time, he will believe in him in his grave.” And from Ibn A’bbás, that he said, “if the people had not sought the blood-wit of Othmán, they would have been stoned from Heaven.” And from al Hasan, that he said, “Othmán was slain and A’li was absent on an estate belonging to him, and when he heard it, he exclaimed, “O God! verily I have not approved, nor abetted it.”

Al Ḥákim has recorded and verified on the authority of Kays-b-A’bbád that he narrates, “I heard A’li on the day of the Camel say, ‘O God, I am guiltless before thee of the blood of Othmán,’ and verily my mind wandered on the day of the murder of Othmán, and my spirit revolted, and they came to me to swear allegiance and I exclaimed, ‘verily I am ashamed to make a covenant with a people that have slain Othmán, and verily

* I. e. the 11th, 12th and 13th of Du’l Hijjah—these days were so called (يايم التشريق) because the flesh of the victims was therein cut into thin stripes and dried in the sun. Lane.
† A piece of ground bought by Othmán and attached to the cemetery at Medina, Yakút.
A. H. 35. I am ashamed before God that allegiance should be sworn to me, while A. D. 655-6. Othmán is yet unburied.' Then they departed and when, the people returned, they questioned me concerning the covenant of allegiance; I replied, 'O God, I am in fear for that which hath been done against Othmán.' Then they came to a determination and swore allegiance and exclaimed, 'O prince of the Faithful;' and it was as if my heart was rent and I said, 'O God, smite me on account of Othmán until thou art content.' *

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Abu Khaldah al Ḥanafi that he narrates, "I heard A′li say, 'verily the Bann Umayyah think that I put Othmán to death, but no!—by that God besides whom there is no other God, I did not slay nor abet, nay, verily I forbade it but they disobeyed me.' And from Samurah, that he said, 'verily Islám was in a strong fortress, and verily they have made in Islám a breach by their slaying of Othmán, which will not be closed till the day of resurrection, and verily the Caliphate was with the people of Medina, but they have cast it forth and it shall not return to them.' And from Muḥammad-b-Sirin, that he said, 'the piebald horses† were never missing in battles, and among the troops until Othmán was slain, and never were there variations in the appearance of the new moons until Othmán was slain, and the redness in the horizon of the sky was never seen until al Ḥusayn was murdered.'

A′bdur Razzák records in his Musannaf on the authority of Ḥamíd-b-Hilál, that A′bdullah-b-Salám went to the besiegers of Othmán, saying, "slay him not, for by Allah, not a man among ye shall slay him but he will meet the Lord mutilated, without a hand. And verily, the sword of God hath continued sheathed, but surely by Allah, if ye slay him, the Lord will indeed draw it, and will never sheathe it from ye—never was a prophet slain, but there were slain on account of him, seventy thousand, and never a Caliph, but there were slain by reason of him five and thirty thousand before the people were again united." And Ibn A′sákir from A′bdur Raḥmán-b-Mahdí, that Othmán had two merits which belonged not to Abu Bakr nor to Omar, viz., his self-collectedness until he was slain, and his uniting the people upon one text of the Kurán. And al Ḥākīm from as Sha′bi that he says, "I have not heard among the elegies on Othmán, any more beautiful than the words of Kaa′b-b-Málik—

'He restrained his hands, and made fast his gate:
And he knew that the Lord was not heedless.

* These reiterated asseverations of his innocence have the air of conscious guilt. Gibbon gives it as doubtful whether he was sincere in his opposition to the rebels, and adds, that it is certain that he enjoyed the benefit of their crime.
† Upon which, it is feigned that the angels were mounted who fought in the Muslim ranks against the infidel.
And he spake unto the people of the house, "slay ye them not. The Lord forgiveth every man that doth not contend."

Thou hast seen how the Lord hath poured out upon them Enmity and hatred, following harmony with one another.

And thou hast seen how goodness turned fleeing afterwards
From the people, with the flight of hastening winds."

Ibn Saa’d records on the authority of Musa-b-Ṭalḥah, that he said, "I saw Othmán go forth on a Friday wearing two yellow coloured garments, and take his station at the pulpit, and the Muaḍḍin was calling to prayers, while he was conversing, asking the people concerning their current prices and their news, and the sick among them." And from A’bu’llah ar Rúmi, that Othmán performed his ablutions at night himself, and it was said to him, "if thou didst order some of thy servants, they would suffice for thee." He replied, "no, the night is for them that they may repose therein."

Ibn A’sákir records on the authority of A’mr the son of Othmán-b-Affán, that the impression on the signet ring of Othmán was, "I believe in Him who hath created and completely formed his creatures," (Kur. LXXXVII). And Abu Nua’yım in the "Dalál," from Ibn Omar, that Jahjáh al Ghifári stood up before Othmán while he was preaching, and seized his staff out of his hand, broke it across his knee, but the year did not pass by, before the Lord sent upon his foot a gangrene, of which he died.

On the things in which he was foremost.

Al A’skari says in the Awáíl that he was the first who bestowed gifts of revenue lands, and the first who enclosed pasturage, and the first who lowered his voice in pronouncing the Takbír, and the first who embellished the mosque at Medina, and the first who commanded the first call to prayers on the Fridays, and the first who gave stipends to the callers to prayer. He was the first who became impeded in his speech in preaching, whereupon he exclaimed, "O ye people, the first mounting is a hard task, but after to-day, there are yet days and if I live the discourse will come to ye after its wont—for we were never preachers, but the Lord will teach us." (Ibn Saa’d.) He was the first who made the discourse precede prayers on the Eed, and the first who committed to the discretion of the people the payment of their poor-rates, and the first who governed the Caliphate during the lifetime of his mother, and the first who established a constabulary, and the first who set apart an enclosure in the mosque, in
A. H. 35. and surnames. For Ashja'i the fear but which fell among the people, and some accused others of error, was in his time, concerning the things for which they censured him—before that they differed in matters of jurisprudence but did not accuse each other of error. I note that there remain of the things in which he was foremost, the following, viz., that he was the first of this people who emigrated with his family for the sake of God, as hath gone before, and the first who united the people upon one text in the reading of the Kurán. Ibn A'sákír records from Ḥákím-b-A'bbád-b-Ḥaníf that the first laxity that shewed itself in Medína when the world waxed prosperous and the fatness of men reached its height, was the flying of pigeons* and the shooting with† cross-bows. Ohmán appointed over this a man of the Bánu Layth in the eighth year of his Caliphate, and he cut the wings of the pigeons and broke the bows.

Among the distinguished people who died during Othmán's time, were, Surákah-b-Málik-b-Ju'shím—Jabbár-b-Ṣakhhr—Ḥáṭib-b-Abí Baltaa'h—I'yád-h-b-Zuhayr.—Abu Usayd as Sá'ídī—As-b-u's Ṣámiṭ—Ḥaríth-b-Nuufal—A'bud'llah-b-Hudáfah—Zayd-b-Khárijah, he who spake after death—Labíd the poet—Al Musayyab, the father of Sa'id—Mu'ád-b-A'mr b.-'il Jamúḥ—Ma'bid-b-u'l A'bbás—Mu'aykab-b-Abí Fátimah ad Dausi—Abu Labábah-b-Abdi'l Mundír, Nua'ym-b-u'l Masa'úd al Ashja'i and others of the Companions; and besides the Companions, Huṭayah the poet, and Abu Ḫuayb the poet, of the tribe of Huḍayl.

A'Lí-B-Abí Ṭalib.

A'lı was the son of Abu Ṭalib. The name of Abu Ṭalib was A'bd Manáf, the son of Abdu'l Muṭṭalib, whose name was Shaybah, the son of Hāshim. Hāshim's name was A'mr, son of A'bd Manáf, and the latter's name, al Mughirah, the son of Kusayy, whose name was Zayd-b-Kiláb-b-Murráh-b-Kaa'b-b-Luayy-b-Ghálib-b-Fikr-b-Málik-b-Naḍr-b-Kánánah. He was called Abú'l Hasan, and Abu Turáb, which names the prophet gave him as surnames. His mother was Fátimah, the daughter of Asad, the son of Hāshim, and she was the first Hashimite woman giving birth to a Hāshimi, that had been converted to Islám and taken part in the Flight. A'lı was one of the ten to whom the attainment of Paradise

* For wagers.
† For یع in the printed edition the MS. has یع both forms are allowable.
was testified, and the brother of the Apostle of God in the Fraternal Union* A. H. 35.
and his son-in-law through Fāṭimah, the queen of womankind. He was A. D. 655-6.
also one of the earliest converts to Islám and one of the most learned
doctors of divinity and renowned heroes and famous ascetics and most cele-
brated preachers. He was one of those who collected the Kurán and read
it under the tuition of the Apostle of God, and Abu'l Aswad ad Duali;†
Abu Abdu'r Rahmán as Sulami;‡, and Abdu'r Rahmán-b-Abi Laylab§ read
under his tuition.

He was the first Caliph of the Banu Hāshim and the father of the
two grandsons of Muḥammad. He embraced Islám early; indeed Ibn
A'bbás and Anas and Zayd-b-Arkam and Salmán al Fārisi, and others have
said that he was the first who embraced Islám, and some say that there is
a consensus for this.

Abu Ya'la records on the authority of A'li that he said, "the Apostle of
God was sent on his prophetic mission on Monday and I became a Muslim
on the Tuesday." His age when he was converted was ten years and some
say nine, and some eight, and others, under that." Al Hasan-b-Zayd-b-i'l
Hasan says, that he never worshipped idols from his infancy. (Ibn Saa'd.)
When the prophet fled to Mecca, he commanded him to remain behind
at Mecca for some days, in order to discharge for him certain trusts and
charges and bequests which were incumbent on the prophet, and then join
him with his family, and he did so and was present with the Apostle of
God at Badr and Ohud and all the expeditions except Tabák, for verily
the prophet had appointed him his Vicegerent at Medina. Throughout
all these operations, his services were conspicuous, and the prophet gave
him the standard to carry on many battle-fields. Sa'id-b-u'l Musayyah
says that A'li received on the day of Ohud sixteen wounds. It is estab-
lished in the Sahihayn that the prophet gave him the standard on the day
of Khaybar and told him that victory would be at his hands. The accounts
of his bravery, and his services in the wars are well-known.

"A'li was advanced in years, stout, bold, very hairy, of middle stature,
inclining to shortness, full-bellied, with a very large beard white as cotton
which filled the space between the shoulders, and very tawny-complexioned.

* Muḥammad united the Fugitives and Auxiliaries in the brotherhood of Islám,
each man taking a brother. Muḥammad's choice was A'li. Hamzah took Zayd-b-
Hārith—and Jaa'far Ali's brother, took Mu'ād-b-Jabal. For the rest consult Ibn
Hishám.
† A'bu'l Aswad Dhálim-b-A'mr-b-Sufyán Kādžī of Baqrāh of which town he
was a native. He was one of the Tabī'is and the first who gave lectures on grammar.
An Nawawi.
‡ See note * p. 156.
§ See note ‡ p. 45.
A. H. 35. Jābir-b-A’bdullāh says that A’lī on the day of Khaybar, carried the gate upon his back, so that the Muslims got upon it and took the fort, and indeed they dragged the gate afterwards, but it took forty men to lift it. (Ibn A’sākir.) Ibn Ishaq has recorded in the Magbāzi and Ibn A’sākir, on the authority of Abu Rāfī,* that he said, “A’lī seized a gate near the fort, the fort of Khaybar, and used it as a buckler to guard himself, and it continued in his hand while he was fighting, until the Lord gave us the victory. Then he cast it from him, and verily I know that we eight men tried to turn over the same gate, and we were not able to turn it over.” Al Bukhārī narrates in the Adab on the authority of Sahl-b-Sa’ād, that the dearest of his own names to A’lī was Abu Turāb, and that he was well pleased to be called by it. It was the prophet alone who named him Abu Turāb, and that because, one day being angry with Fāṭimah, he went forth and lay down by the wall in the mosque, and the prophet came up, and verily A’lī’s back was covered with dust. The prophet therefore began to brush the dust from his back and to say, “sit up, O father of dust.” (Abu Turāb.) Five hundred and eighty-six traditions are ascribed to him, on the direct authority of the Apostle of God, and traditions have been related on his authority by his three sons, al Ḥasan, al Ḥusayn, and Muḥammad-b-u’l Ḥanafiyah;—by Ibn Masa’d and Ibn Omar,—Ibn A’bās—Ibn uz Zubayr—Abu Mūsa—Abu Sa’īd—Zayd-b-Abṣam—Jabir-b-Abdullāh,—Abu Imāmah—Abu Hurayrah and others of the Companions and Tābi’īs, upon all of whom be the approbation of God.

On the traditions transmitted regarding his merit.

The Imām Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal says, “there hath not come down to us regarding the merits of any one of the Companions of the Apostle of God, what hath been transmitted concerning A’lī.” (Al Ḥākim.) The two Shaykhs record on the authority of Saa’d-b-Abi Wakkkās, that the Apostle of God left A’lī-b-Abi Ṭālib behind as his Vicegerent during the expedition of Tabūk, and A’lī said, “O Apostle of God, dost thou leave me behind among the women and children?” He replied, “art thou not content to be to me in the relation of Aaron to Moses, save that there shall be no prophet after me?” And from Sahl-b-Sa’d that the Apostle of God said on the day of Khaybar, “I will surely give the standard to-morrow to a man, at whose hands the Lord will give victory, one who loveth God and

* "Abu Rafe" says Gibbon with characteristic humour in relating this story, "was an eye-witness, but who shall be witness for Abu Rafe?"
His prophet and whom God and His prophet love," and the people passed A. H. 35.
the night in perplexity as to the one among them to whom it would be A. D. 655-6.
given. And when they entered upon the dawn, they went early to the
Apostle of God, each of all of them hoping that it would be given to him,
but he said, "where is A'li the son of Abu Tālib?" They said to him,
"he complaineth of pain in his eyes." He replied "then send for him;" and
they brought him and the Apostle of God spat upon his eyes and
prayed for him, and he was healed so that it was as if he had no pain,
and he gave him the standard. Muslim records on the authority of Saa'd-
b-Abi Waḳḳās, that when this verse, "Let us all together, our sons and
your sons," (Kur. III), was revealed, the Apostle of God summoned A'li
and Fāṭimah, and al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn, said, "O God, these are my
family." And al Tirmidī, from the prophet, that he said, "he whose friend
I have been, A'li is also his friend;" and in some of the readings there is
this addition, "O God, befriend him who is a friend to A'li and, be an
enemy to him who is an enemy to A'li;" and in a tradition of Aḥmād from
Abu Ṭūfayl* the latter says, "A'li assembled the people in the enclosure
before the mosque, and said, 'I ask in the name of God, of every Muslim
that heard the Apostle of God speak on the day of Ghadir Khumm,†
what he said, when he arose.' Then there stood up before him thirty of
the people, and they bare witness that the Apostle of God said, 'he whose
friend I have been, A'li is also his friend,—O God, befriend whomsoever is
a friend to him, and be an enemy to him who is his enemy.' " And at Tir-
miḏī and al Ḥākiṯ, verified, on the authority of Buraydah, that the Apos-
tle of God said, "verily the Lord enjoined upon me the love of four men,
and declared unto me that He loved them." They said to him, "O Apostle
of God, name them to us." He replied, "A'li is among them;" (this he
said three times), "and Abu Ṭarr and Mikdād and Salmān." And at Tir-
miḏī, an NaṣāĪ, and Ibn Mājah from Ḥubshi-b-Junādah,‡ that the Apostle
of God said, "A'li is a part of me and I of A'li." And at Tirmiḏī from
Ibn Omar, that the Apostle of God united his Companions in a fraternal
union, and A'li approached with his eyes filled with tears, and said, "O

* Abu Ṭūfayl A'amir-b-Wāthilah-b-A'hdīllah one of the Companions. Ac-
ting to Muslim he died A. H. 100, the last of the Companions. Ibn Hajr.
† A pool near Ḫujfah between Mecca and Medina; it received the name of Khumm
from a dyer so called, according to Zamaksharī. The Shi'as assert that it was here
that Muhammad preached and constituted A'li his successor by his words that follow.
Mawla may signify master as well as friend, and is their interpretation of the
tradition.
‡ Ḥubshi-b-Junādah-b-Nāsār-b-Imāmāh as Salūlī, one of the Companions. He
accompanied the Pilgrimage of Farewell and then settled at Kūfah. According to al
A'skari he took part in some of A'li's battles. Ibn Hajr.
A. H. 35. Apostle of God, thou hast united in brotherhood thy Companions, but hast A. D. 655-6, not made a brotherhood between me and between any one," and the Apostle of God replied, "thou art my brother in this world and the next."

Muslim records on the authority of A’li that he said, “by Him who hath cleft the seed and created the soul, verily the Illiterate prophet promised me, that none but a true believer should love me, and none but a hypocrite hate me.” And at Tirmidhi from Abü Sa’īd al Khudri that he said, “we used to distinguish the hypocrites by their hatred to A’li.” And at Tirmidhi and al Ḥākim from A’li, that the Apostle of God said, “I am the city of wisdom and A’li is its gate.” This tradition is reasonably good, but not perfect, as al Ḥākim asserts, nor fabricated as a number of others, among them, Ibn Jauzí and an Nawawi maintain: indeed, I have explained its position in the appendices to the Fabricated Traditions.

Al Ḥākim records and verifies on the authority of A’li, that he said, “the Apostle of God sent me to Yaman,* and I said, ‘O Apostle of God, dost thou send me—and I a youth—to judge between them, while I know not the office of a judge?’ and he struck my breast with his hand and said, ‘O God, direct him aright and confirm his tongue,’ and by Him who hath cleft the seed, I never hesitated in my judgment between two parties.” And Ibn Saa’d from A’li, that they said to him, “How is it that thou hast the most traditions of any of the Companions of the Apostle of God?” He replied, “verily whenever I asked of him he informed me, and when I was silent, he began a discourse with me.” And from Abu Hurayrah, that Omar-b-u’l Khatṭāb said, “A’li is the best of us in judicial decision.” And from Ibn Masa’ūd, that he said, “we used to declare that the best judicial authority among the people of Medîna, was A’li.” And from Ibn A’bbás, “whenever a trustworthy person tells me a judgment† of A’li’s, I do not deviate from it.” And from Sa’īd-b-u’l Musayyab, that Omar-b-u’l Khatṭāb used to beg God to preserve him from a perplexing case which the father of al Ḥasan was not present to decide; and, that Omar said, “none of the Companions used to say ‘ask ye of me,’ except A’li.”

Ibn A’sákîr records on the authority of Ibn Masa’ūd that the most learned of the people of Medîna in the law of inheritance and in judicial decisions was A’li. And from Ayesha, that when A’li was mentioned to her, she said, “verily he is the most learned in the Sunnah that is left.”

* In A. H. 10, Muhammad sent A’li to Yaman to summon the people to Islám. He had already despatched Khâlid-b-u’l Wali’d, whose efforts had been unsuccessful. On A’li’s arrival, he read Muhammad’s letter to the people of Yaman, and the whole tribe of Hamdân were converted in a single day. The remainder shortly afterwards followed their example. Ibn u’l Athir. Kâmil, Vol. II.

† The MS. has لغتنا instead of لغتنا of the printed edition.
Masruq* says that the wisdom of the Companions culminated in Omar, A. H. 35. A'li, Ibn Masa'ud and A'bdullah.

A'bdullah-b-Ayyash-b-'Abi Rabii'h says that A'li had an exceedingly biting tooth for knowledge, and he had pre-eminence by reason of his family connections, and priority in Islam, and his being the son-in-law of the Apostle of God, and his knowledge of the Sunnah, and intrepidity in war and liberality with his wealth. At Tabarani records in the Ausat on a weak ascription from Jabir-b-A'bdillah, that the Apostle of God said, "the people are of various stocks but I and A'li are of one stock." And at Tabarani and Ibn Abi Hâtim from Ibn A'bbas that he said, "the Lord never revealed the words† 'O true believers' but that A'li was understood to be, the lord and chief of them, and verily the Lord hath reproved the Companions of the prophet in various places, but hath never mentioned A'li save with approval." And Ibn A'sâkir from Ibn A'bbas that there hath not been revealed in the Book of God regarding any one what hath been revealed concerning A'li, and that three hundred verses have been revealed concerning A'li.

Al Bazzar records on the authority of Saa'd, that the Apostle of God said to A'li, "it is not lawful for any one to be in the mosque, while under the obligation of performing a total ablution except for me and for thee." And at Tabarani and al Hakim likewise, verifying on the authority of Umm Salmah that she said, "when the Apostle of God was angered, none dared speak to him but A'li." And from Ibn Mas'aud that the prophet said, "to look upon A'li is devotion." And at Tabarani in the Ausat from Ibn A'bbas that he said, "A'li possessed eighteen eminent qualities which belonged to no other of this people." And Abu Ya'la from Abu Hurayrah that Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭâb said, "verily A'li hath been endowed, with three qualities, of which had I but one, it would be more precious to me than were I given high bred camels." It was asked of him what they were; he replied, "his marriage with Fatimah, daughter of the prophet, his remaining in the mosque while that is permitted to him which is not lawful for me, and his carrying the standard on the day of Khaybar." And Ahmad and Abu Ya'la according to a sound ascription from A'li that he said, "I have never had a disorder of the eyes, nor an ache of the head, since the Apostle of God, drew his hand over my face, and spat upon my eyes on the day of Khaybar when he gave me the standard." And Abu Ya'la and al Bazzar from Saa'd-b-Abi Wak-

* Abu Ayesha Masruq b-u'l Ajda'a of Kufah one of the Tabi'is. He is regarded as an authentic relator of traditions and was devoted to the acquisition of knowledge, died A. H. 62-3. An Nawawi.
† Kur. XXXIII passim.
And Othman, Basrah similitude he A'li verily in battle who God In with complain See God

God Jesus that See heard

reaching departed who God.' And from Abu Sa'id al Khudri, that the Apostle of God said to A'li, "verily thou wilt do battle for the Kurán, as thou hast done battle for its revelation." Al Bazzar, Abu Ya'la and al Ḥákim record from A'li, that he said, "the Apostle of God summoned me and said, 'verily there is in thee a similitude to Jesus—the Jews hated Him to that degree that they slandered His mother, and the Nazaranes so loved Him, that they gave Him a dignity that He hath not,—now verily, by reason of me two classes of men shall perish—the enthusiastic partizan that speaketh in extravagant praise of what is not in me, and the enemy whose hatred of me bringeth him to slander me.'"

At Tabarání records in the Ausat and Ṣaghīr* from Umm Salmah that she narrates, "I heard the Apostle of God say, 'A'li is with the Kurán and the Kurán with A'li—they shall not be divided until they arrive at the fountain of Kauthar in Paradise.'" And Āhmād and al Ḥākim from A'mmār-b-Yāsir, according to a sound ascription that the prophet said to A'li—"the most miserable of mankind are two men—the fair man of the tribe of Thamúd† who hamstrung the camel, and he who shall smite thee, O A'li, upon this (meaning the top of his head) until this, (meaning his beard) shall be moistened with its blood." And al Ḥākim records, verifying it on the authority of Abu Sa'id al Khudri, that he said, "the people complained of A'li, and the Apostle of God arose among us preaching and exclaimed, 'complain not of A'li, for by Allah, verily he is somewhat rough in respect of that which is due to God, and for the sake of God.'"

Ibn Saa'd says that allegiance was sworn to A'li as Caliph, the day after the murder of Othmán, at Medīna, and all those of the Companions who were there acknowledged him, and he adds that Ṭalḥah and az Zubayr swore allegiance unwillingly, and not of free accord. They subsequently departed for Mecca where Ayesha was, and they took her and went forth with her to Başrah seeking vengeance for the blood of Othmán. This reaching A'li, he set out for Irāk, and met at Başrah, Ṭalḥah, az Zubayr, and Ayesha and those that were with them. This was the battle of the Camel which took place in Jumáda'1 Akhirah in the year 36 A. H. In it

* See Safe, notes f. g. h. page 124. The man's name Was Kedar.
† See Note †, p. 13.
were slain Tālḥah and az Zūbayr and others, and the slain amounted to A. H. 36. thirteen thousand, and A‘li remained at Baṣrah fifteen nights and then set forth for Kūfah. After this Mu‘āwiya-b-A‘bi Sufyān and those that were with him in Syria, rose against him, and the news reached A‘li and he marched forth and they met at Siffin in Safar of the year 37. The en-
gagement lasted for days, and the men of Syria lifted up the Kurāns on the points of their lances demanding their rights therein contained, a stratagem of A‘mr-b-u‘l Aás. The people were thus both to fight and clamoured together for a reconciliation, and they appointed two arbitrators. A‘li appointed Abu Mūsa al Asha‘rī, and Mu‘āwiya, A‘mr-b-u‘l Aás, and they wrote between them a document to the effect that they should meet at the beginning of the year al Adruh* and consider concerning the gov-
ernment of the nation. The people then separated and Mu‘āwiya returned to Syria and A‘li to Kūfah. Then there arose against him schis-
matics from among his companions and those that were with him, and they said, “judgment belongeth only to God,” and they encamped at Ḥarūrā. A‘li sent to them Ḥa‘īr ibn A‘bbās, and he contended with them and convinced them by argument, and a large body of them returned, but some remained firm and marched to an Nahrawān and obstructed the road. A‘li then went out against them and overthrew them at an Nahrawān, and among them was slain Du at Thudayyih,† and that was in the year 35. And the people assembled at Adruh in Shaa‘bān of that year, and Saa‘d-b-Abi Wakkās and Ibn Omar, and others of the Companions were present. A‘mr cunningly gave precedence of himself‡ to Abu Mūsa who spoke and deposed A‘li; then A‘mr spoke and confirmed Mu‘āwiya and swore allegiance to him. The people separated upon this, and Ali thus became opposed to his companions, so that he bit his finger with rage and said, “I have been rebelled against and Mu‘āwiya is submitted to.” Then there gathered together three men of the schismatics, A‘bdūr Rāhmān-b-Muljam al Mu-

* In the district El-Belkā in Syria.
† This person, whose real name is not given by Ibn Hajr, lived in the time of Muḥammad, and was noted for his exceeding devotion and piety though not a Muslim, Muḥammad said that he was diabolically possessed, and Abu Bakr and Omar went into his house to kill him, but finding him in prayer, withdrew. He was found among the slain at Nahrawān, and he is said to have resembled a Nubian in appear-
ance with one breast like that of a woman (hence his name) upon which were small hairs like that upon the tail of the Jerboa. Ibn Hajr.
‡ When the two Arbitrators met, they agreed that each should depose his master, and then proceed to adjudicate their respective claims. A‘mr pleading the seniority and age of Abu Mūsa, courteously insisted on his initiating the deposition, which hav-
ing been done, A‘mr declared that since one of the claimants had renounced his pretensions, the best course to pursue was to confirm the other which was accordingly done.
And Suddi. Apostle others exchange do said, people Such can Eamadhan later Suddi, t Weil O the me, Muwayj'ad prayers Without The Burk exchange i-adi, and and and entered, upon into a covenant and bound themselves by a league that they would certainly slay those three, A‘li-b-Abi Tālib, Mu‘āwiya-b-Abi Sufyān, and Amr-u‘l A‘ās, and free the people from them; and Ibn Muljam said, “I will take Ali for ye,” and al Burk said, “I will take Mu‘āwiya for ye,” and A‘mr-b-Bukayr said, “I will suffice for ye for A‘mr-b-u‘l A‘ās.” And they pledged themselves that it should be on the same night, the night of the 11th or the 17th of Ramadḥán. Then they went each of them to the city where his man was, and Ibn Muljam arrived at Kūfah, and met his companions of the schismatics, but he concealed from them what they intended to do on the night of Friday the 17th of Ramadḥán of the year 40. And A‘li awoke in the morning and said to his son al Hasan, “I saw in the night the Apostle of God, and I said, ‘O Apostle of God, what have I not met at the hands of thy people, of oppression and contention?’ and he said to me, ‘call the curse of God upon them.’ And I said, ‘O God, give in exchange between me and them their good to me, and take in exchange between them and me my evil, for them.’ Upon this Ibn u’l Nabbāl the Muqaddin entered, and exclaimed, ‘to prayers,’ and A‘li went forth from the door crying out, ‘O people—to prayers—to prayers’ and Ibn Muljam came before him, and smote him with a sword, and it struck the top of his forehead and reached his brain. Then the people rushed upon him from every side, and seized and bound him. And A‘li lingered Friday and Saturday, and died on Saturday night* (21st January 631) and al Ḥasan, al Ḥusayn and A‘budullāh-b-Jaa‘far bathed him, and al Ḥasan read prayers over him, and he was buried in the night in the palace at Kūfah. The limbs of Ibn Muljam were cut off, and he was put into an osier basket and burnt in the fire.” This is the whole narrative of Ibn Sa‘d, and verily he has done well in his account of this event, and has not amplified his narrative as others have done, for it is more suitable for this occasion. Muhammad has said, “when my Companions are mentioned, refrain from speaking”—and he adds, “sufficient for my Companions, is the mention of their death.”

In the Mustadrak, it is recorded on the authority of as Suddi,† that

* Weil notices that though Friday the 17th of Ramadān A. H. 40 is generally stated to be the day on which A‘li was wounded, the 17th of the month actually fell on a Sunday. He thinks it probable that the day of his death was in later times confounded with that on which he was stabbed.

† Without details regarding the manner of it. Such is the only sense I can extract from the passage. The MS. has مصباح إليم which is to me unintelligible.

‡ The Professor Abu Muhammad Hibat-u’lāh-b-Sahl-b-Omar, al Bastāmi, generally known as Suddi. He explained the Muwatṭa of Mālik to al Muwayya and at Tūsī. Ibn Khall.
A’bdur Rahmán-b-Muljam al Murádí loved a woman of the Schismatics called Kaťám, and he married her and assigned for her dowry three thousand dirhams and the slaying of A’li. With reference to this al karazdak* has said,

"I have not seen a dowry sent by a generous man
Like unto the dowry of Kaťám, manifest—not obscure.
Three thousand dirhams, and a slave and a maid
And the smiting of A’li with a cleaving sword.
For there is no dowry be it ever so costly, costlier than A’li:
And no criminal violence but is less than the violence of Ibn Muljam.†"

Abu Bakr-b-A’yyash says, that the grave of A’li was kept concealed in order that the Schismatics might not dig it up, and Sharík states that his son al Hasan carried him to Medina. Al Mubarrad‡ states on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Hālibb, that the first who was transferred from one grave to another was A’li.

Ibn A’sákír records on the authority of Sa’íd-b-Abdi’l A’zíz, that when A’li was slain, they took him to bury him by the apostle of God, and while they were on their road one night, lo! the camel upon which he was borne, fled away and it was not known whither it went, nor could they overtake it, and for this reason the people of I’rák say that he is in the clouds. Others assert that the camel came into the land of Tayy, and they took the body and buried it. A’li when he was slain was sixty-three years of age, and some say sixty-four, and sixty-five and fifty-seven, and fifty-eight. He had nineteen concubines.

* Abu Firás Hammám-b-Ghálib-b-Ša’sa’a, a celebrated poet of the tribe of Tamím. The anecdotes told of him are very numerous; the reader should consult Ibn Khall who has a long article on his wit and adventures, the latter not very reputable. He died at Başrah A. H. 110 (728-9) at the age of nearly a hundred. His surname Farazdak (lump of dough) was given him on account of his ugly face.

† I do not follow M. Barbier de Réynard in his rendering of this passage: "Une ame, si energique quelle soit vaut-elle l’ame d’ Ibn Moldjem." Les Prairies d’Or. Tom. IV. p. 428.

‡ Abu’l A’bbas Muḥammad-b-Yazíd known as al Mubarrad, a distinguished grammárjan. He resided at Baghdád and composed numerous works on literary subjects such as al Kámil, ar Roudjah and al Muḵtadhíb. He was a contemporary of Thaa’lah—the author of the Fasfah, and with them terminated the series of the great philologists. He was born A. H. 210 (826) and died at Baghdád A. H. 286 (899). His surname al Mubarrad was given to him from his having been concealed in the wicker case of a large water jar; his friend who had concealed him there to avoid an importunate visitor in search of him, called out as soon as the latter had gone, al Mubarrad, al Mubarrad! (Who wants cool water). Ibn Khalil.
On some of the accounts of A'li, his judicial decisions and sayings.

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of al Ḥasan that he said, that when A'li entered Basrah there stood up before him Ibn u'l Kawwa, and Ḵays-b.-A'bbád, and said, "wilt thou not inform us concerning this course of thine on which thou goest, assuming authority over the people, involving them in confusion? was it a charge of the apostle of God, that he laid upon thee? tell us—for thou art firm and undeviating with regard to what thou hast heard." And he said, "as to there being on me a charge from the Apostle of God, concerning that,—no—by Allah—surely if I was the first to maintain that he spoke truth, I will not be the first to put a lie upon him, and if I had received from the prophet a charge regarding that, I would not have suffered a brother* of the children of Taym the son of Murrah, nor Omar the son of al Khattáb, to stand upon his pulpit, and I would surely have fought them with my own hand, even though I had not got but this my garment; but the apostle of God was not slain murderously, nor did he die suddenly, but he lingered some days and nights in his illness, the Múadqín coming to him and summoning him to prayers. And he commanded Abú Bakr to pray before the people, though he knew my high consideration, and verily a woman among his wives desired to turn him from Abu Bakr, but he refused and was angered and said, "ye are the mistresses of Joseph—direct Abú Bakr to pray before the people."

And when the Lord took his prophet, we looked into our affairs, and chose for our temporal interests, him whom he had approved for our religious affairs, for prayers were the fundamental principle of Islám and Abú Bakr was the chief of the faith and the pillar of the faith. We therefore swore allegiance unto Abú Bakr, and he was worthy of it, not two of us being at variance over him, and none of us gave testimony against another, nor denied his privilege. I therefore discharged unto Abú Bakr his due, and acknowledged obedience to him and fought on his side in his armies and I ever accepted what he bestowed upon me and fought when he sent me to war and inflicted in his presence the prescribed castigation for offences with my scourge. And when he was taken away, Omar assumed the Caliphate and governed it according to the institutes of his Companion and what he knew of his polity. And we swore allegiance unto Omar, not two of us being at variance over him, * Abú Bakr.

* Abú Bakr.
and none of us gave testimony against another, nor denied his privilege. I therefore discharged unto Omar his due and acknowledged obedience to him and fought on his side in his armies, and I ever accepted what he bestowed upon me, and fought when he sent me to war, and inflicted in his presence the prescribed castigation for offences with my scourge. And when he was taken away, I bethought me of my connections, and my priority in Islám, and my precedence and my merit, and I considered that Omar would not hold any one equal to me, but he feared that the Caliph after him would not commit a fault but it would attach to him in his grave, therefore he withdrew from it, himself and his son, and if there had been any partiality on his part he would surely have chosen his son for it, but he threw the responsibility of it from himself on to a party of the Kuraysh, six in number, I being one of them. And when the party assembled, I thought that they would not hold any one equal to me, and A'budur Râhmân-b-A'uf took our engagements that we should hear and obey whomsoever the Lord should place over our affairs. Then he took Othman the son of A'ffân by the hand, and struck his own hand upon his hand, and I regarded my own conduct, and lo! my submission had already preceded my allegiance, and behold my engagement had been taken for another. We therefore swore allegiance unto Othman, and I discharged unto him his due, and acknowledged obedience to him, and fought on his side in his armies and I ever accepted what he bestowed upon me and fought when he sent me to war, and inflicted in his presence, the prescribed castigation for offences with my scourge. And when he was slain, I considered my own affairs, and lo! the two Vicegerents who had assumed the government by virtue of the command of the Apostle of God unto them to read prayers, had passed away, and this one for whom the engagement had been taken, verily, was slain, therefore the people of Mecca and Medina and the men of these two cities,* swore allegiance unto me—but there hath usurped the government, one who is not like unto me, and whose kinship is not as my kinship, nor his knowledge like unto my knowledge, nor his priority in the faith like unto my priority, and I had more claim to it than he.”

Abu Nua'ym records in the Dalâil, on the authority of the father of Jaa'far-b-Muhammad, that two men having an altercation, were brought before A'li who sat himself at the foot of a wall, and a man said to him, “the wall will fall down,” and A'li said, “Go to—God is a sufficient protector,” and he decided between them, and arose, and then the wall fell.

* Basrah and Kûfah.
It is recorded in the "Tuyuriyát" with its ascription to the same authority, that a man said to A'li, "we hear thee say in thy preaching 'O God, make me righteous with that through which thou hast made righteous the orthodox Vicegerents, the rightly guided.' Who then are they?" And his eyes filled with tears and he said, "they are my two friends Abu Bakr and Omar, the Imáms of salvation, the two elders of Islam, and the two men of the Quraysh who are followed after the Apostle of God. He who followeth those two, is preserved, and whoso goeth after their footsteps is directed aright over the Straight Bridge above Hell, and he who cleaveth unto those two he is of the company of the Lord."

And A'budu'r Razzák records on the authority of Hujr al'Madafi, that he narrates, "A'li said to me, 'how will it go with thee when thou art ordered to curse me?' I said, 'will that come to pass?' He said, 'yes;' I answered 'then what shall I do?' He said, 'curse me, but do not renounce me.' He adds,—'and Muḥammad-b-Yusuf, the brother of al Hajjáj, who was governor of Yaman ordered me to curse A'li' and I said, 'the prince hath commanded me to curse A'li, therefore curse ye him with the curse of God,' and no one comprehended it but one man."

At Ṭabarání records in the Ausát and Abú Nua'yım in the Dalál on the authority of Zádán, that A'li was relating a tradition when a man accused him of speaking falsely, and A'li said to him, "shall I curse thee if I have lied?" and he said, "curse," and A'li cursed him, and he did not quit the place till his sight left him. And from Zír-r-b-Ḫubaysh* that two men were sitting down, eating their morning meal, and one of the two had five loaves, and the other three loaves, and when they had placed the meal before them, a man passed and saluted them and they said, "sit down and eat," and he sat down and eat with them, and they shared equally in their meal the eight loaves, and the man arose and threw to them eight dirhams and said, "take these in exchange for what I have eaten belonging to ye two and have received of your food." They then quarrelled over it and the owner of the five loaves said, "for me are five dirhams and for thee three," and the owner of the three loaves exclaimed, "I shall not agree unless the dirhams are divided equally between us;" and they took their case before A'li the prince of the Faithful and related to him their adventure, and he said to the owner of the three, "verily thy companion hath offered to thee what he hath offered, and his loaves were more than thine, therefore be content with three." But he replied, "by Allah, I will not be satisfied with him except in my exact due." And A'li said, "in bare right thou shouldst have only one dirham and he seven dirhams." And the

* Abu Maryam Zír-r-b-Ḫubaysh, a native of Kufah one of the Tabi'ís. He was born in the time of Ignorance and died A. H. 82. An Nawawi.
man said, "Good God!" and A'li answered, "that is so." The other said, "inform me of the grounds of this being my bare right, that I may acquiesce in it." A'li answered, "are there not in eight loaves, four and twenty thirds which ye have eaten and ye are three men? and it is not known who is the greatest eater amongst ye and who the least, you will therefore be considered in your eating as equal." He went on, "now thou hast eaten eight-thirds, and verily thou hadst but nine-thirds, and thy companion eat eight-thirds, and he owned fifteen-thirds of which he eat eight—there remain of his, therefore, seven which the owner of the dirhams eat, and he eat of what belonged to thee one out of nine. Therefore for thee is one for thy one, and for him seven." And the man exclaimed "now I am content."

Ibn A'bi Shaybah records in the Musannaf on the authority of A'tá that a man was brought before A'li and two men testified against him that he had committed theft, whereupon A'li took up a certain case in which the people were concerned and threatened false witnesses, and said, "a false witness was never brought before me but I did to him such and such a thing." Then he summoned the two witnesses but could not find them, wherefore he let the accused go.

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of an ascription to the father of Jaa'far-b-Muḥammad that the signet ring of A'li was of stamped coin, the impression on it being "excellent is the Omnipotent God." And from A'mr the son of Othmán-b-A'ffán that the impression on the signet ring of A'li was, "the kingdom is the Lord's." And from al Madáíni,* that when A'li entered Káfah, one of the wise men of the Arabs went in to him and said, "by Allah, O prince of the Faithful, verily thou hast adorned the Caliphate, but it hath not adorned thee, and thou hast exalted it, but it hath not exalted thee, and it was more in need of thee than thou of it." And from Mujammi', that A'li used to sweep out the public treasury and then pray within it, in the hope that it would be testified in his favour that he did not keep the state property within it withheld from the Muslims.

Abu'l Ḫásim al Zajjáj narrates in his Dictations, that he had been told that the father of Abu'l Aswad said, "I went in unto the prince of the Faithful A'li and found him looking down in deep thought and I said to him "what art thou thinking over O prince of the Faithful?" He replied,
A. H. 40. "verily I have heard in this your city a faulty pronunciation of the vowels; I was therefore thinking of composing a work on the principles of the Arabic language." I exclaimed, "if thou dost this thou wilt give us life, and this language will be preserved amongst us." Three days afterwards I went to him, and he threw me a writing in which was, "In the name of God, the most Merciful the most Compassionate. Speech consists entirely of nouns, verbs and particles. A noun is that which denotes the thing named, and a verb is that which denotes the action named, and a particle is that which expresses a signification, being neither a noun nor a verb." Then he said, "examine it and add to it what may occur to thee: know, O Abu'l Aswad, that objects are of three kinds, expressed, understood, and what is neither expressed nor understood, and verily the learned have vied with each other in the definition of what is neither expressed nor understood." Abu'l Aswad continues, "then I collected accordingly some parts of speech and showed them to him. Among them were particles governing the accusative. Of these I mentioned "verily" and "that,"* and "would that," and "perhaps" and "as if," but I did not include "but." He said to me "why hast thou omitted it?" I replied, "I did not count it among them." He said, "yes it is among them, therefore add it to them."

Ibn A'sákir records on the authority of Rabí‘h-b-Nájíd that A‘li said, "be among men like the bee among birds, for there is none among the birds but thinks them insignificant, but if the birds knew what of good there is in their bellies, they would not think thus of them. Mix with the people with your tongues and persons and separate yourselves from them in deeds and in your hearts, for verily to a man shall be given that which he hath earned, and he shall appear at the day of resurrection with him whom he loveth." And from A‘li that he said, "give ye a more urgent heed to the acceptance before God of your works rather than to the works themselves, for verily an action accompanied by the fear of God is not of little account, for how can an action accepted by God, be of light estimation?"†

And from Yahya-b-Jua‘dah‡ that A‘li said, "O ye bearers of the Kurān, act ye according to it, for he is a wise man who hath understood and acted according as he hath understood, and whose knowledge hath accorded with his works, and it shall come to pass that there shall be sects

* The MS. has also لب "certainly not."
† The text of the printed edition is here incorrect for يقبل read and for يقبل.
‡ Of the Kūraysh descended from Makhzūm, one of the Tabi‘i’s. He was son of A‘li’s sister. An Nawawi.
carrying a knowledge that goeth not beyond their collar-bones, whose disposition is at variance with their exterior show, and whose works are opposed to their understanding, sitting in a circle contending for superiority one with another, until a man will be wroth with his neighbour that he should sit by another than himself and leave him—such as these, their works in these their assemblies shall not ascend to God." And from A'li, "the grace of God is the best guide, a good disposition the best companion, wisdom the best friend, and good breeding the best inheritance, and there is nothing more hateful than pride." And on the authority of al Ḥārith that a man went to A'li and said, "tell me what is Fate." He replied, "it is a gloomy road—tread it not." He asked again, "tell me what is Fate." He said, "it is a deep sea—enter not upon it." Again he asked, "tell me what is Fate." He replied, "it is a mystery of God's which is hidden from thee, therefore seek not to penetrate it." He asked again, "tell me what is Fate." He exclaimed, "O questioner, hath the Lord created thee for what He hath willed, or what thou hast willed?" He replied "indeed for what He hath willed." Ali answered, "Then He will use thee as He thinketh fit."

He also records of the sayings of A'li.*

"Misfortunes have their terminations. When any one is in misfortune, it must be that it will have an end: therefore it behoveth the wise man when distress cometh upon him, to submit to it until its time is accomplished, for verily in repelling it before the fulfilment of its term, there is an increase to its calamities."

It was said to A'li, "what is generosity?" He replied, "that from which the initiative proceedeth, for what cometh after a request is liberality and munificence."

A man went to A'li and praised him and spoke extravagantly, and it happened that A'li had heard somewhat of him before that, so he said to him, "verily I am not as thou sayest, yet I am above that which is in thy heart."

"The punishment of sin is lukewarmness in devotion, and straitness of means, and the lessening of enjoyment. A lawful appetite is not sought to be gratified, but there cometh that which diminisheth it."

A man said to A'li, and he secretly hated him, "may the Lord make thee firmly established." A'li replied, "upon thy heart," (on the authority of Ibn Rabī'ī).
A. H. 40. Abu Bakr, Omar and Othman used to versify,* but A’li was the best poet of the three. (As Shaa’bi.)

He records likewise on the authority of Nabit al Ashja’i that A’li spoke this verse.

“When hearts contain despair,
And the spacious breast is stifled by what is within it,
And cares make their abode and repose,
And sorrows anchor in their habitations,
And no way is seen for the dispelling of distress,
There shall come to thee in thy despair a helper
Whom the Answerer of prayer who is nigh, shall bring,
For all sorrows when they have reached their term,
There is linked to them an approaching joy.”

And on the authority of as Shaa’bi, that A’li said to a man to whom the society of another man was displeasing—

“Consort not with a foolish brother, beware of him:
For how many a fool hath corrupted the gentle when he hath fraternised with him!
A man is judged by the man with whom he consorteth;
For there are comparisons and similitudes for one thing with another. The measure of a sandal is made when it is matched with it,
And the evidence of the feeling of one heart towards another is when they meet.”

And from al Mubarrad that upon the sword of A’li was inscribed—

“Men lust after the world and plot for it,
Yet its clearness is mingled for thee with impurities.
They do not give thee of it thy portion, according to thy wisdom, when it is distributed:
But men have their allotted shares according to their destinies,
How many there are of the wise and sagacious unprospered:
While a fool hath gained his wealth by his errors,
If it could be acquired by force and rapine,
Falcons would swoop off with the subsistence of sparrows.”

And on the authority of Hamzah-b-Hasib az Zayyat that A’li used to speak this verse:

* The expression يقال الشعر he spoke poetry is used, for poetry was always spoken by the Arabs in classical times, and seldom written if written at all, until after the lifetime of the author. Lane, Art شعر.
"Disclose not thy secret but to thyself,
For every confidant, hath a confidant;
For verily I have seen erring men,
Who do not aspire to a high sense of honour."

He records likewise on the authority of U’kbah-b-Abi’l Sahba, that when Ibn Muljam stabbed A’li, al Ḥasan who was weeping went in unto him and A’li said, “O my dear son, treasure in thy memory from me four things and yet four.” He said, “what are they, father?” He replied, “wisdom is the richest treasure, and folly the greatest poverty, and the most hateful of what is odious is pride, and the noblest excellence a good disposition.” Al Ḥasan said, “and the other four?” He replied, “beware thee of the companionship of a fool, for he will desire to profit thee and will do thee harm, and beware of the friendship of a liar, for he will bring nigh unto thee what is afar off and make distant from thee what is near at hand—and beware thee of the friendship of a miser, for he will withhold from thee what thou art most in need of—and beware thee of the friendship of a libertine who will sell thee for a trifle.”

And from A’li that a Jew went to him and said, “when did our God exist?” and the face of A’li flushed with anger and he said, “creation was not and He was; He was while yet there was no being: He existed without a cause—He was, having no beginning and no end—all limits fall short of him, for he is the end of all ends,” and the Jew embraced Islam.

Ad Darrāj, in his well known work, records on an obscure ascription to Shurayḥ the Kādhī,* that when A’li set forth to Sīffin, he lost a coat of mail belonging to him, and when the war was over, and A’li returned to Kūfah the armour came into the hands of a Jew, and he said to the Jew, “the armour is my armour—I neither sold it nor gave it away.” The Jew replied, “it is my armour and in my possession.” A’li said, “let us go to the Kādhī,” and A’li preceded him and sat by the side of Shurayḥ and said, “were not my opponent a Jew, I would assuredly sit on a level with him in the court, but I heard the apostle of God say, ‘treat them with ignominy, for the Lord hath treated them with ignominy.’” Shurayḥ said, ‘proceed, O prince of the Faithful.’ And he said, ‘yes—this armour which is in the hand of this Jew, is my armour—I neither sold it nor gave it away.’ Shurayḥ exclaimed, ‘what dost thou say, O Jew?’ He replied,

* Abu Umayyah Shurayḥ al Ḥarīth-b-Ḳays of the tribe of Kinda. He was an eminent Tabi’i born before the promulgation of Islam and appointed Kādhī of Kūfah by Omar—a post he held with scarcely any interruption for seventy-five years. He was one of the four persons called the smooth-faced chiefs (as Sādāt at Tula) the others being A’bdullāh-b-u’z Zubayr, Kays-b-Sa’d, and al Aḥnaf-b-Ḳays. He died A. H. 87, at the age of one hundred years. Ibn Khalil.
it is my armour and in my possession.’ Then Shurayh said, ‘hast thou any proof, O prince of the Faithful?’ He said, ‘yes, Kanbar and al Ḥasān are witnesses that the armour is my armour.’ Shurayh replied, ‘the evidence of a son is not admissible in favour of a father.’ A’li exclaimed, ‘what! the evidence of one among the people of Paradise not admissible!’ I heard the apostle of God say—‘al Ḥasān and al Ḥusayn are the two chiefs of the youth among the dwellers in Paradise.’ The Jews said, ‘the prince of the Faithful caused me to appear before the Kādī and the Kādī gave judgment against him,—I testify that this is the Truth—I testify that there is no God but God, and I testify that Muḥammad is the apostle of God and that this armour is thy armour.’ ”

The discourses of A’li in exposition of the Qurān are numerous and are fully treated in my commentary supported by their ascriptions. And verily Ibn Sa‘d records on the authority of A’li that he said, “by Allah, a verse of the Qurān was never revealed, but I knew regarding what it was revealed and where it was revealed and concerning whom it was revealed, for my Lord hath given unto me a wise heart and an eloquent tongue.” And he and others on the authority of Abū’t Tūfayl that A’li said, “ask ye me regarding the book of God, for verily there is not a verse but I know whether it was revealed by night or day, in the plains or on the mountains.”

Ibn Abī Dāuíd records from Muḥammad-b-Sirīn that he said, “when the Apostle of God died, A’li delayed to swear allegiance to Abū Bakr, and Abū Bakr met him and said, ‘art thou averse to my holding authority?’ He said, ‘no, but I have sworn not to put on my mantle except for prayers until I have collected the Qurān.’ And they think that he wrote it according to the order of its revelation.” Muḥammad-b-Sirīn adds, “if that book were to be met with, there would be found in it much instruction.”

On some of his short sententious maxims worthy of remark.

1. Precaution consists in evil opinion (recorded by Abū’l Shaykh-b-Ḥiyān).

2. He is near of kin whose kinship is affection though his relationship be distant, and he is remote whom enmity hath rendered distant though his kinship be close, for there is nothing nearer to the body than the hand, but when the hand is corrupted it is cut off, and when cut off it is cauterised. (Abu Nua’yym.)

3. Take ye five maxims from me. 1. ‘Let none of ye fear anything but his sin. 2. And hope for nothing but his Lord. 3. He who
knoweth not, let him not be ashamed to learn. 4. He who knoweth, let him not be ashamed when he is asked concerning what he knoweth not, to say “God knows best.” 5. Patience is to faith what the head is to the body; when patience departeth, faith departeth, and when the head goeth the body goeth. (Ibn Mans’ûr in his Sunan.)

4. The perfect doctor of the law is he who doth not make men desirous of the mercy of God and is not indulgent to them in respect of their sins against God—and doth not proffer them immunity from the chastisement of God and doth not willingly forsake the Kurân for other than it—for there is no profit in devotion in which there is no knowledge, and no knowledge unless accompanied by comprehension, and no proper reading of the Kurân without meditation upon it. (Dhurays in the Fadhâîl u’l Kurân. (Excellencies of the Kurân.)

5. I make it incumbent upon myself when I am asked what I know not, to say God knoweth best. (Ibn A’sâkir.)

6. He who seeketh to do justice unto men, let him desire for them what he desireth for himself. (Ibid.)


8. Eat ye the pomegranate for it is stomachic. (A’bdullâh-b-Ahmad in the Zawâïd u’l Musnad.)

9. Thy reading the Kurân under the tuition of a learned man, and his reading it to thee are equal in meritoriousness. (Al Hakim in his History.)

10. A time shall come upon the people when a true believer will be more abject than a female slave. (Sa’îd-b-Mansûr.)

And by Abu’l Aswad ad Duali is the following, eulogizing A’li.

“And now, O eye, alas for thee! come to my aid! Now weep for the prince of the Faithful; And let Umm Kulthûm† weep for him.

* It is also said in a tradition اني يحب العطاس ويكره النهاك “He (Muhammad) used to like sneezing and dislike yawning,” because the former is accompanied by lightness of body and openness of the pores, whereas in yawning the contrary is the case, but the Arabs used to augur ill from sneezing, so that if a man were journeying and heard a sneeze, it prevented him from going on. With regard to yawning, it is said, إذا تلَّهَب احذكم فليفط “when any one of you yawns, let him cover his mouth,” for it is believed, that the devil leaps into the uncovered yawning mouth. Lane.

† The daughter of A’li by Fatimah and wife of Omar.
A. H. 40.
A. D. 661.

With her flowing tears, for verily she hath beheld death.

Now say to the schismatics wheresoever they may be:

May the eyes of the envious never be refreshed.

In the month of the Fast have ye made us to grieve

For the best of all men universally.

Ye have slain the best of those that have mounted steeds

And tamed them or put foot upon a vessel,

Of those who wear and adjust sandals:

And of those who read the Kurán and its perspicuous verses.

And in him were the noblest virtues

And the love of the Apostle of the Lord of created things.

Verily the Kuraysh knew wheresoever they were,

That thou wert the best of them in ancestry and faith.

When I stood before the face of the father of Ḥusayn,

I saw the radiance that shone above his eyes.

And before his death we were happy,

Beholding the son-in-law of the Apostle of God among us,

Establishing the truth in which there was no thought of evil,

And acting equitably between enemies and kinsmen;

Knowledge with him was not hidden,

Nor was he created among the proud of heart.

The people became when they lost A'li

Like unto the ostrich bewildered in a country bare of herbage.

Rejoice not, Mu'āwiyyah, son of Ṣakhr:

For verily the continuance of the Caliphs is with us.”

Of the distinguished persons who died during the time of A'li

whether by a natural death or by violence were, Ḥudayfah-b-u’l Imám—

Az Zubayr-b-u’l A’wám—Ṭalḥah—Zayd-b-Ṣūhān—Salmán al Fārisī—

Ḥind-b-Abi Ḥalāh and Uwayṣ al Kūrānī—Khabbāb-b-u’l Arāt—A’mmār-

b-Yāsir—Ṣahl-b-Ḥanīf—Subayb-ar ʿUrfī—Muḥammad the son of Abu

Bakr as Ṣiddīq—Tamīm ad Dāri—Khwawwát-b-Jubayr—Shuraḥbīl-b-as

Samṭ—Abu Maysarah al Badrī—Ṣafwán-b-A’sāl—A’mr-b-A’nbasah—

Ḥishám-b-Ḥakím—Abu Rádī freedman of the prophet and others.

* I prefer the reading of the first to the second person sing. and in this follow,

M. Reynard in the Prairies d ‘Or.  Tom. IV, p. 436.
Al Ḥasan was the son of A'li, the son of Abu Ẓalib, Abu Muḥammad, grandson of the Apostle of God, and his descendant, the last of the Caliphs, according to his prediction.*

Ibn Saʿd's records on the authority of Iʿmrán-b-Sulaymán that al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn were two of the names of the dwellers in Paradise, the Arabs never having been named by those two in the time of Ignorance.

Al Ḥasan was born in the middle of the month of Ramadān in the 3rd year of the Flight. It is stated that he heard traditions from the prophet, and Ayesha and others of the Tabiʿis—among them his son al Ḥasan, and Abu'l Haurá Rabíyah-b-Shaybán. As Ṣhaaʿbi and Abu Wáil, have related traditions on his authority. He resembled the prophet in appearance, and the prophet named him al Ḥasan and slaughtered a sheep as a sacrifice for him on the seventh day, and shaved his head and ordered that the weight of his hair in silver should be given in alms, and he was the fifth of the people of the mantle.† Al Aʾskari says that this name (al Ḥasan) was not known in the time of Ignorance.

Al Mufaddhal‡ says that the Lord concealed the names of al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn until the prophet named his two sons§ by them, and al Bukhári records on the authority of Anas that no one resembled the prophet more than al Ḥasan the son of Aʿli. The two Shaykhs record on the authority of al Bará that he said, "I saw the Apostle of God, with al Ḥasan upon his shoulder, and he was saying "O God verily I love him, therefore love Thou him." And al Bukhári from Abu Bakr that he said, "I heard the prophet, while on the pulpit with al Ḥasan by his side, looking upon the people, and now upon him, exclaim, 'Verily this son of

* Muḥammad is reported to have said, "the Caliphate shall continue after me thirty years and then shall be a kingdom." Muḥammad died in the 11th year of the Flight and Ḥasan’s abdication was in the year 40 from whence it is plain, says al Bukhári that not only was Muḥammad a prophet but Ḥasan was his rightful successor. Ock. Hist. Sar. p. 352.

† When Muḥammad went forth to dispute with the ambassadors from the people of Najrán on the subject of religion he took with him Aʿli Faṭima, al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn, and some say gathered them under his mantle. See Sale, Kur. p. 44.

‡ Ibn Khall gives two of the name, both philologers of eminence and authors of numerous works. One, Abu Ẓalib al Mufaddhal-b-Salama of the school of Kūfah. The other Abul Aʾbbás al Mufaddhal-b-Muḥammad-b-Yaʿla, a native of Kūfah, author of the Mufaddhal, died A. H. 168.

§ They were always looked upon by him in the light of his children, his own having died at an early age.
mine is a prince and perchance the Lord will unite through his means, the two contending parties of the Muslims." And from Ibn Omar that the prophet said, 'they two are my descendants in the world meaning al Hasan and al Husayn.'"

At Tirmidī and al Ḥákīm record on the authority of Abu Sa'īd al Khudri that the Apostle of God called al Hasan and al Husayn the two princes of the youth of Paradise. And at Tirmidī from Usámah-b-Zayd that he narrates, "I saw the prophet with al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn on either hip, and he exclaimed 'these are my two sons and the sons of my daughter. O God, verily I love them, wherefore love Thou them and love him who loveth them.' And from Anas that the Apostle of God was asked 'which of the people of thy house are dearest to thee?' He replied, 'al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn.' Al Ḥákīm records on the authority of Ibn A'bbás, that the prophet advanced, carrying upon his neck al Ḥasan, and a man met him and said, 'an excellent steed thou ridest, lad!' the Apostle of God replied, 'and he is an excellent rider.'"

Ibn Sa'īd records on the authority of A'bdullāh-b-u'z Zubayr that he said, "the one most resembling the prophet of his family, and the most endeared to him of them was al Ḥasan the son of A'li—I saw him come while Muḥammad was worshipping and mount upon his neck (or, he says, his back) and Muḥammad did not make him get down until he himself got down—and indeed I saw him in the act of bowing in prayer, separate his legs for al Ḥasan so that he might pass through from the other side." And from Abu Salimah-b-A'bdūr Raḥmān† that the Apostle of God used to put out his tongue towards al Ḥasan the son of A'li, and when the boy saw the redness of the tongue, he would be merry with him. Al Ḥákīm records on the authority of Zubayr-b-u'l Arḵam, that al Ḥasan rose and preached and a man of the tribe of Azd Shanuwwah stood up and said, "I testify verily that I saw the Apostle of God take him in his lap, saying, 'he who loveth me, let him surely love him, and he that is present, let him inform him who is absent,' and were it not for reverence of the Apostle of God I would have told it to no one."

Al Ḥasan had many virtues—he was a prince gentle of disposition, grave, reserved and dignified; generous, greatly extolled, averse from strife and the sword, and given much to marrying—he would bestow upon one man as much as a hundred thousand dirhams.

Al Ḥákīm records on the authority of A'bdullāh-b-U'bayd-b-U'mayr that al Ḥasan performed the pilgrimage on foot twenty-five times, his

* The Syrians who set up Muʿawiyah, and the people of I'rák who took the side of al Ḥasan.
† A Tābil, son of A'bdūr Raḥmān-b-A'uf, died at Medina A. H. aged 72.
horses being led beside him. And Ibn Saa’d from U’mayr-b-Ishák that A. H. 40.
  he said, “no one ever discoursed before me whom I more wished when
be spoke that he should not be silent, than al Hasan the son of A’li, and
I never heard from him an improper word except once, when there was
verily a dispute between al Hasan and A’mr-b-Othmán regarding some
land. Al Hasan proposed a thing which A’mr did not approve, and al
Hasan said, there is nothing for it then in my opinion but to act in spite
of him.”* He adds, “this was the harshest word of impropriety that I
ever heard from him.”

He also said, “Marwán was ruler over us and he used to revile A’li
every Friday from the pulpit and al Hasan used to listen without retorting
a thing. Then he sent a man to say to him, ‘I swear by A’li, and by
A’li, and by A’li, and by thee, and by thee, and by thee, and I find not a
comparison for thee but that of a mule, which when it is asked, ‘who is
thy father?’” replies, “my mother is a mare.”” Al Hasan replied to him
‘go back to him and say to him from me—verily I will not blot out from
thee a thing that thou hast said by reviling thee in turn, but my place of
meeting and thine is before God, and if thou hast spoken the truth, the Lord
will reward thee according to thy truth, and if thou hast lied, then the Lord
is terrible in vengeance.’”

Ibn Saa’d records on the authority of Ruzayk-b-Sawwár that there
passed words between al Hasan and Marwán and al Hasan was silent.
Then Marwán blew his nose with his right hand, and al Hasan said to
him, “Out upon thee! dost thou not know that the right hand is for
honour and the left for what is base? Shame upon thee!” Marwán held
his peace. And from Asha’th-b-Sawwár on the authority of another, that
a man sat down by al Hasan, and he said, “verily thou hast sat down by
me as I was about to rise—wilt thou give me permission?” And from
A’li-b-Zayd-b-Juda’án, that al Hasan gave away his property twice for the
sake of God, and three times shared his property with God by religious
donations, so that he would give a sandal, and keep a sandal, and give a
boot and keep a boot. And from A’li the son of al Husayn, that al Hasan
was given to divorcing his wives, and he never separated himself from a
woman but she still continued to love him, and he married ninety women.
And from the father of Jaa’far-b-Muhammad that he said, “al Hasan
used to marry and divorce till I feared that he would cause enmity
amongst the tribes.” A’li once said, “O men of Kufah, give not your
daughters in marriage to al Hasan, for he is a man that divorceth fre-
quently;” and a man from Hamadán exclaimed, “by Allah, we will surely
give in marriage to him and such as he approves, he may retain, and such

* Lit. that his nose should cleave to the dust, i. e., render him submissive.

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A. H. 40. as he dislikes, he may divorce." And from A’bdū’llah-b-Ḥusayn, that al Ḥasan was a man much given to taking women in marriage, and they rarely committed a fault towards him, and it was seldom with a woman he married but she loved him and was passionately attached to him.

Ibn A’sákir records on the authority of Júwayrah-b-Āsmá that when al Ḥasan died, Marwán wept over his bier, and al Ḥusayn said to him, "dost thou weep for him and verily thou hast given him to suffer* what thou hast given to suffer." He replied, "verily, I would have done the same to one even more forbearing than he," and he pointed with his hand to the hill.† And from al Mubarrad that it was said to al Ḥasan—"Abú Darr sayeth—poverty is dearer to me than wealth, and sickness than health." He replied—"may God have mercy upon Abú Darr, but I say, that he who confideth in the good choice of the Lord for him, desireth not to be in any other condition than that which the Lord hath chosen for him, and this is the highest attainment of resignation unto what Fate hath ordained."

Al Ḥasan assumed the Caliphate after the assassination of his father, according to the allegiance sworn to him by the people of Kūfah, and governed it during six months and some days. Then Mu’áwiyah marched against him and the affair was left in the hands of God. Then al Ḥasan sent to him, offering to resign the government to him on the condition that the Caliphate should revert to himself after him,‡ and that he should not call upon any one of the people of Medina, Hijáz and I’rāk for anything that had happened during his father’s lifetime, and that he should pay his debts. Mu’áwiyah accepted his demands, and they made peace upon this. Thus was made manifest the prophetical prediction in his words "the Lord will unite through his means, the contending parties of the Muslims." And he abdicated the Caliphate in his favour. Al Balkinī§ indeed has sought to prove from his renunciation of the Caliphate which is the highest of dignities, the lawfulness of the renunciation of offices.

His abdication of the Caliphate took place in the year 41 in the month of Rabī’ u’l Awwal, and some say in Rabī’ u’l A’khir (August 661) and Jumáda ʿul Awwal. His Companions used to say to him, "O shame of the Muslims," and he would reply, "shame is better than hell fire." And a man said to him, "peace to thee, O dishonourer of the Muslims." He

* Lit. to swallow.
† As forbearing—or as self-contained—as a hill—is a proverbial comparison in Arabic.
‡ This condition I find in no other author I have consulted.
§ The surname of Jalálu’ddin, author of a work on the difficulties of science. His best known composition is the Muhimmát ul Muhimmát, a commentary on Asnavi the great Jurisconsult who died A. H. 882. D’Herb. art. Balkini.
replied, “I am no dishonourer of the Muslims, but I was loth to have ye A. H. 41. slaughtered for the sake of a kingdom.” Al Ḥasan then removed from A. D. 661. Kūfah to Mecca and settled there.

Al Ḥākim records on the authority of Jūbayr-b-Nufayr* that he narrates, “I said to al Ḥasan, verily the people say that thou desirest the Caliphate.” He replied, “the chiefs of the Arabs were under my authority, warring with those with whom I warred, and at peace with those with whom I was at peace—yet I abandoned it, seeking the favour of God, and to spare the blood of the people of Muḥammad: shall I then again seize it amid the despondency of the people of Hijāz?”

Al Ḥasan died at Mecca of poison. His wife Ja’dah, daughter of al Aṣḥāth-b-Kays poisoned him. Yazīd-b-Mu’āwiya suborned her to poison him, promising that he would then marry her, and she did so. And when al Ḥasan was dead, she sent to Yazīd claiming the fulfilment of what he had promised, but he replied, “I did not approve thee for al Ḥasan, shall I then be content with thee for myself?” His death took place in the year 49. Some say, however, it occurred on the 5th of Rabī’ ʿul Awwal in the year 50, and others in the year 51. His brother endeavoured to make him confess to him who poisoned him, but he would not inform him and said, “the Lord is terrible in His vengeance if it be the one I suppose, and if not, by Allah, let not an innocent man be put to death on my account.”

Ibn Saa’īd records on the authority of P’mrān-b-Abd’Il-lah-b-Talḥah that al Ḥasan saw in a dream that there was as if inscribed between his eyes “Say God is One” (Kur. CXII) and he announced the good news to the people of his house, and they related it to Sa’īd-b-u’l Musayyab, and he exclaimed “if his dream speak truly, little time remaineth unto his death.” And he lived but a few days when he died.

Al Bayhaḵi and Ibn A’sākir record on a line of ascription through the father of Abu Mundir Hisbām-b-Muḥammad, that al Ḥasan was in straitened circumstances, and they used to give him an allowance of one hundred thousand dirhams a year. One year Mu’āwiya withheld it from him, and he was in great distress. He himself narrates “I sent for an inkhorn that I might write to Mu’āwiya to remind him of me, but I refrained, and I saw the Apostle of God in a dream. And he said, ‘how art thou, O Ḥasan?’ I replied, ‘well; father,’ and I complained to him of my allowance being kept back from me and he said, ‘didst thou send for an inkhorn to write to a creature like unto thyself, reminding him of it?’ I answered ‘yes, O Apostle of God—what then should I do?’ He said ‘say—O God, instil into my heart Thy desire, and cut off my hope from all beside Thee, so that I may not hope in any one save Thee, O Lord! and vouchsafe unto me O Lord of created things that which my strength is too

* One of the Tabi‘īs.
weak to reach, and my striving falleth short of, to which my desire attaineth not nor doth my supplication aspire, and which hath not passed upon my tongue, of what Thou hast bestowed of certitude upon any one of those that have gone before, and those that have come after."

He continues, "by Allah, I did not persist with this prayer for a week, but Mu'áwiah sent me 1,500,000, dirhams, and I exclaimed, 'praise be to the Lord who doth not forget him who remembereth Him and disappointeth not him that calleth upon Him.' Then, I saw the prophet in a dream, and he said, 'O Ḥasan, how art thou,' and I said, 'well, O Apostle of God,' and I related to him my story and he said, 'thus it is, O my son, with him who hopeth in the Creator and hopeth not in the creature.'"

It is stated in the Ṣuūyuriyát on the authority of Salîm-b-I'zā, the Kurán-reader of the people of Khúsayn, that when al Ḥasan was nigh unto death, he became affected with violent grief, and al Ḥusayn said to him, "what meaneth, O brother, this lamentation? Verily thou goest unto the Apostle of God and unto A'li, and they two are thy fathers, and unto Khadijah and Fātimah, and they two are thy mothers, and unto al Qāsim and at Tāhir, and they two are thy maternal uncles,* and unto Hamzah and Ja'far, and they two are thy paternal uncles." Al Ḥasan said to him, "O brother, verily I am entering upon one of the decrees of the Most High, upon the like of which I have not entered, and I behold a people among the creatures of God, the like of whom I have never seen." Ibn A'bdil Barr says, "it has been related to me in different ways, that when al Ḥasan was near unto death, he said to his brother—"O my brother, verily thy father cast his eyes upon this authority, but the Lord averted it from him, and Abu Bakr held it; afterwards again he raised his eyes to it, but it was turned from him unto Omar; then at the time of the Council, he had no doubt that it would not pass from him, but it was turned from him unto Othmán, and when Othmán was slain A'li was sworn allegiance to: then it was contested until the sword was drawn, and it never rested undisturbed in his possession. And verily, by Allah, I do not think that the Lord will unite in us the prophetic mission and the Caliphate, and indeed I know not with what indignity the rabble of Khúsayn have not treated thee, and cast thee forth. And verily I asked of Ayesha that I might be buried with the Apostle of God, and she agreed, therefore when I am dead, ask that of her, and I do not think otherwise of the people but that they will hinder thee, and if they do so, do not dispute with them." And when he was dead, al Ḥusayn went to Ayesha, the mother of the Faithful, and she said, "yes; willingly," but Marwán hindered

* Sons of Muḥammad.
them, and al Ḥusayn and those that were with him took up their arms A. H. 41. until Abu Hurayrah turned him back. Afterwards he was buried in al A. D. 661. Baḳī' by the side of his mother.

MU’AWIYAH-b-ABI SUFYAN.

Mu’awiyah, the son of Abú Sufyán Ṣakhir-b-Harb-b-Umayyah-b-A’bdī’s Shams-b-A’bd. Manáf-b-Kusayy al Umayyī—Abu A’bdūr Rahmán, embraced Islám with his brother on the day of the conquest of Mecca. He was present at Hunayn,* and was of those whose hearts were conciliated† by Muḥammad. He became sincerely converted to Islám, and was one of the Secretaries to the Apostle of God. It is said that he had one hundred and sixty traditions from Muḥammad. Of the Companions who related traditions on his authority, were Ibn A’bbás, Ibn O’mar, Ibn u’z Zubayr, Abu’d Dardá—Jarir al Bijli, Nu’mán-b-Bashīr and others. And among the Tabī’is, Ibn u’l Musayyab, Ḥamíd-b-A’bdī’r Rahmán &c.

He was of those celebrated for acuteness and forbearance, and verily traditions of his merit have been transmitted, which are seldom well established. At Tirmiẓī records on the authority of the prophet, substantiating it from A’bdūr Rahmán-b-Abi A’mirah the Companion, that he said to Mu’awiyah, “O God, make him a guide unto others and himself rightly directed.” And Ahmad in his Musnad from Irbádh-b-Sāriyah that he narrates, “I heard the Apostle of God say, ‘O God, instruct Mu’awiyah in writing and accounts, and preserve him from eternal punishment.’”

Ibn Abi Shaybah records in the Musannaf, and at Tabarānī in the Kabīr on the authority of A’bdul Malik-b-Umayr, that Mu’awiyah said, “I never ceased to desire the Caliphate since the Apostle of God said to me, ‘O Mu’awiyah, when thou rulest, act with kindness.’”

Mu’awiyah was a man, tall, fair, handsome and of awe-inspiring aspect, and Omar used to look upon him and say, “this is the Cæsar of the Arabs.” It is recorded of A’li that he said, “be not averse to the rule of Mu’awiyah, for verily when ye lose him, ye will see heads fall from their shoulders.” Al Maḵburi† says, “ye admire the sagacity of Hera-

* This battle was fought in 8 A. H. in the valley of Ḥunayn, about 3 miles from Mecca, between Muḥammad and the tribes of Hawāzen and Thaḳīf. See Sale, Kur. p. 151.
† These were certain Arabs of name and position whom Muḥammad won over to his side by showing them every consideration, in order that their example might be followed by their tribes. The Muntaha’l Arab gives a list of thirty of them.
‡ Abu Sa’id Ḥaysán Maḵburi—a Tabī’ī—he was called Maḵburi because he lived near a graveyard. Muntaha’l Arab.
A. H. 41. elius and Khusrav, and ye pass over Mu’awiya?" He was proverbial
A. D. 661. for his forbearance. Ibn Abi’d Dunya and Abu Bakr-b-Abi A’asim have
severally composed a work solely on his forbearance. Ibn A’un narrates
that a man said to Mu’awiya, "by Allah, thou must surely act uprightly
with us, O Mu’awiya, or we will assuredly set thee right." He said,
"how;" he replied, "with a stick." Mu’awiya answered "Very well—I
will act uprightly."

Kaﬁsh-b-Jabir* says, "I was much in company with Mu’awiya and
I never saw a man of more settled forbearance, and slower to folly and
further from indolence than he;—and when Abu Bakr sent me to Syria,
Mu’awiya set forth with his brother Yazid-b-Abi Sufyan, and Yazid dying,
appointed him his successor in Damascus. Omar confirmed him in this,
and subsequently Othmán, who added to his government the whole of
Syria, and he was prefect for twenty years and Caliph twenty years." Kaa’b al Aḥbar said, "no one shall rule this people as long as Mu’awiya."
Ad Ḍahabi says that Kaa’b died before Mu’awiya was made Caliph, and
that Kaa’b was right in what he said, for Mu’awiya continued Caliph
for twenty years, and none of the princes of the earth contended with him,
unlike others who came after him, for they had opponents and portions of
their dominions passed out of their sway. Mu’awiya went forth against
A’li as has preceded, and assumed the title of Caliph. Then he marched
against al Ḥasan, who abdicated in his favour. He therefore became firmly
established in the caliphate from Rabii’ u’l Akhir or Jumáda i Awwal 41.
The year was therefore called the year of Union, on account of the gathering
of the people under one Caliph. During this year Mu’awiya appointed
Marwán-b-u’l Ḥakam over Medínah.

In the year 43 Rukkkhaj† and other places in Sijistán were captured
and Waddán in Barkah and Kūzáa‡ of the country of the Moors. And in
the same Mu’awiya appointed as his lieutenant Ziyád "the son of his
father," and this is the first instance in Islám in which the command of
the prophet was violated§—(at Tha’álabiji and others).

* Abu’l A’la Kaﬁsh-b-Jabir al Asadi a native of Kufah and one of the Tabi’ís,
of respectable authority as a Traditionist. Died a little before 83 A. H. An Nawawi
† The printed edition has كفر which is an error. The MS. gives كفر and Ibn
u’l Athfīr confirms it.
‡ The MS. has ٧١ but I am unable to trace the names in Yakút.
§ Ziyád was the reputed son of Abu Sufyan by Sumayyah who was married to a
Greek slave. According to the prophethical law the child belonged to his legal father
the Greek, but Mu’awiya, anxious to secure in his interest so eminent a man, publicly
acknowledged him as his brother by the father’s side, notwithstanding the remonstrances
of his family. The doubtful parentage of Ziyád gained for him the vague distinction of "the
son of his father." See Ockley, Abul Fida, D’Herb.

‖ Ibn Khall gives two of this surname—both from Naysábūr, Abú Ishák, a well
In the year 45 al Kīkān was reduced and in the year 50, Kuhistān A. H. 45. conquered. In the same year Mu'āwiya invited the people of Syria to A. D. 665-6. engage for the succession after him of his son Yazīd, and they made a covenant with him. He was the first who made a compact for the Caliphate to descend to his son, and the first who did so while in sound health.

Afterwards he wrote to Marwān at Medīna, to take the covenant from the people, and Marwān preached and said, "verily the prince of the Faithful hath seen fit to appoint his son Yazīd as successor over ye according to the institution of Abū Bakr and Omar," whereupon A'bdu'r Rahmān the son of Abu Bakr as Shiddīk arose and said, "rather according to the institution of Khusrau and Cēsar, for Abū Bakr and Omar did not do so for their children, nor for any one of the people of their house."

In the year 51, Mu'āwiya performed the pilgrimage, and took the covenant for his son. Then he sent to the son of Omar and recited the profession of faith and said, "now, O son of Omar, verily thou didst say unto me, that thou in truth wouldst not wish to pass a single dark night without there being over thee during it a ruler—therefore, verily, I warn thee that thou break not the staff of the Muslims nor strive for the disturbance of their harmony." Then the son of Omar praised God and glorified Him and said, "now, verily there were before thee Caliphs who had sons, thy son being no better than their sons, yet they did not regard in their sons what thou regardest in thy son, but they chose for the Muslims the best wheresoever they knew him to be, and thou dost caution me lest I break the staff of the Muslims, but I have not been doing so, and indeed I am but a man among the Muslims and when they are agreed upon a thing, then surely I am one of them." And he said, "may the Lord have mercy upon thee," and the son of Omar departed. Then he sent to the son of Abū Bakr and recited the profession of faith, and began his discourse, but the other cut short his speech and said, "verily, thou assuredly hast desired that I should commend thee to God in the affair of thy son, but, by Allah, I shall not do so—by Allah, I will refer this matter to a council of the Muslims, or I will assuredly by circumvention unsettle it upon thee." Then he sprung up and departed. But Mu'āwiya said, "O God, suffice to me against him in what Thou willest." Then he said, "Softly, O youth—go not within sight of the people of Syria, for verily I fear lest they anticipate me with regard to thee, until I tell them in the evening that thou hast sworn allegiance." Next he sent to the son of a'z Zubayr and said, 'O son of a'z Zubayr—verily thou art a crafty fox which

known Commentator on the Kurān—who died A. H. 629 (1035-6), the other Abu Mansūr Abdu'll Malik a voluminous author; died A. H. 350 (961).

* Yakūt places this district between Sind and Khurāsān.
A. H. 51. whenever it cometh out of one hole goeth into another, and verily thou hast supported these two men and hast blown into their nostrils, and hast carried them against their judgment." The son of az Zubayr replied, "if indeed thou art weary of the government, resign it, and bring us thy son and we will swear allegiance to him. Hast thou considered if we make a covenant for thy son together with thee, which of ye two we must hear and obey? The covenant can never be made with ye two conjointly." Then he departed, whereupon Mu'awiyah ascended the pulpit and praised God and glorified Him and said, "verily, we have heard the sayings of certain misguided men who think that the son of Omar and the son of Abú Bakr and the son of az Zubayr have not sworn allegiance to Yazíd, whereas they have heard and obeyed him and made a covenant of allegiance with him." And the people of Syria said, "by Allah, we shall not be content until they swear allegiance to him before witnesses, otherwise we shall smite their necks" but he said, "great God, how prompt are the people to evil against the Kuraysh—let me not hear this speech from any of ye after to-day." Then he descended and the people said, "the son of Omar and the son of Abú Bakr and the son of az Zubayr have sworn allegiance," and the Syrians said, "no I by Allah," but the people said "yes". And Mu'awiyah set forth and arrived in Syria. It is stated on the authority of Ibn Mun-kadír* that Ibn Omar said when the covenant was made for Yazíd, "if he proveth good we will be content, and if wicked we must be patient."

Al Kharáítì† records in the Hawátíf (Monitors) on the authority of Hamíd-b-Wább that Hind the daughter of U'tbah-b-Rabí'i'h was the wife of al Fákah-b-ú'l Mughírah, and he was one of the youths of the Kuraysh, and he possessed a banqueting house which the people could enter without permission. One day the house was empty, and al Fákah arose, Hind being within, and went forth on some business of his and a man of those who used to guard the house, came and entered it, but when he saw the woman he turned fleeing; but al Fákah observed him, and he went up to her and kicked her with his foot and said, "who was he that was with thee?" She replied, "I did not see any one and I did not wake until thou didst wake me." But he said to her "go to thy family." And the people spoke concerning her, wherefore her father took her apart and said to her, "O daughter—verily people talk much about thee, therefore tell me concerning it, and if the man speak truly, I will suborn one who will slay him and the talk about us will cease, and if he lieth, I will summon him before certain soothsayers of Yaman." The narrator

* Abu Bakr Muhammed-b-Munkadîr of the Kuraysh was a traditionist of good authority. He died A. H. 130, (747-8). De Slane, L. K.

† Abu Bakr Muhammed-b-Jaa'far, al Kharáítì authority of the Makárim ú'l Akhlák and other works died at Jaffa or Askalon, A. H. 328 (939-40). De Slane, L. K.
continues, "then she swore to him upon that by which they used to swear A. H. 51. in the time of Ignorance that he spoke falsely concerning her, wherefore A. D. 671. U'tbah said to al Fákah, 'verily thou hast charged my daughter with a grave thing, therefore summon me before certain of the soothsayers of Yaman.' And al Fákah went forth with a party of the Banu Makhzum, and U'tbah at the head of a party of the Banu A'bd Manáf, and with them Hind and other women along with her in familiar intercourse. But when they drew near the confines, the appearance of Hind was transformed and her countenance changed and her father said to her, 'O daughter, verily I see the change of appearance that hath come over thee, and what is that, but on account of the guilt thou feelest.' She replied, 'no, by Allah, father! it is not from guilt, but I know that you go unto a mortal who may fail or prove right, therefore I cannot trust him that he brand me not with a stain which will be a reproach to me among the Arabs.' But he said to her, 'verily I will prove him for thee before he look into thy business.' And he whistled to his horse until he staled and he inserted a grain of wheat and bound it with a thong. And they reached the soothsayer in the morning who slew a camel for them, and received them with honour, and when they had finished their morning meal, U'tbah said to him, "verily we have come to thee concerning an affair, and indeed I have concealed from thee a hidden thing that I may prove thee—wherefore see what it is." He replied, "wheat." He said, "I desire what is clearer than this." He answered "a grain of wheat in a colt." And U'tbah said, "thou hast spoken truly, see into the business of these women." Then he began to approach each one of them, striking her shoulder and saying "rise," until he came to Hind and he struck her shoulder and said "rise thou undefiled and no adulteress, and verily thou shalt give birth to a king called Mu'áwiyyah." Then al Fákah looked upon her and took her by the hand, but she withdrew her hand from his hand said,—"go to, for by Allah, I will surely endeavour that it is by another than thee." And Abu Sufyán married her and she brought forth Mu'áwiyyah.

Mu'áwiyyah died in the month of Rajab of the year 60 (April 680) and was buried between the gate of al Jabiyyah, and the Little Gate. It is said that he lived seventy-seven years, and he possessed a little of the hair of the Apostle of God and a paring of his nail, and enjoined as his last request that it should be put into his mouth and eyes, and he added, "do this and leave me alone with the Most Merciful of the Merciful."
Ibn Abi Shaybah records in the Musannaf on the authority of Abu Sa'id-b-Jumhán that he narrates, "I said to Safínah,—verily the Banu Umayyah conceive that the Caliphate is among them." He replied, "verily the fierce-eyed sons* lie—they are the most rigorous of kings and the first of the kings is Mu'áwiyyah." And al Bayhákí and Ibn A'sákír from Ibrahim-b-Suáyid al Armani that he narrates, "I said to Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal,—who are the Caliphs?" He answered, "Abu Bakr, Omar, Othmán and A'li." I said, "and Mu'áwiyyah?" He replied, "no one had more claim to the Caliphate in the time of A'li than A'li." And as Silafí in the Ṭuyyuriyát from A'bdulláh-b-Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal that he states, "I asked my father concerning A'li and Mu'áwiyyah," and he answered, "know, that A'li had many enemies, and his enemies searched for a fault in him but they found it not, wherefore they went to a man† who had fought with him and battled with him, and they praised him extravagantly setting a snare themselves for him." And Ibn A'sákír from A'bdulláh Malik-b-U'mayr,** that Jāriyah-b-Kudámah as Sa'dí went to Mu'áwiyyah who said to him, "who art thou?" He replied, "Jāriyah the son of Kudámah." He said, "and what art thou near to being—art thou anything but a bee?" He answered, "dost thou not understand, that verily, thou hast likened me to it, and it protects itself with a sting and is sweet of juice! by Allah, Mu'áwiyyah is nothing but a bitch, howling to the dogs, and U'mayyah is but the diminutive of a female slave."§ And from al Fadhll-b-Suáyid, that Jāriyah-b-Kudámah went to Mu'áwiyyah who said to him, "thou art the procurator of A'li the son of Abu Talib and the kindler of fire in thy burnings, going round about the villages of the Arabs,

* Lit. blue-eyed, which is employed as signifying hostility because the ǧ; blueness or lightness of the eye is predominant in the Greeks and the Daylam between whom and the Arabs is a confirmed enmity. Imr u'l-ṣawāya, used this adjective in this sense. D.-Wán, p. 34, Ar Text. Consult Lane, and Chenery, notes to 10th assembly of al Harírī.
† I. e., Mu'áwiyyah.
‡ Abu A'mr or Abu Omar A'bdulláh Malik-b-U'mayr was one of the Tābí'ís and a native of Kuffah of which town he was Káthí. He is considered a good authority by some and doubtful by others, as his memory towards the close of his life failed him. He died about A. H. 136. An Nawawí.
§ Meaning that the names themselves have that signification in Arabic. I know not why he should have likened Jāriyah to a bee, the name not bearing that meaning, unless it be for the same reason that a ship is termed Jāriyah because it runs or flows on the sea, and thus the bee in the air. Jāriyah likewise signifies a female slave.
shedding their blood."* Járiyah replied, "O Mu'áwiyah—put A'li aside A. H. 60. from thee, for we have never hated A'li since we loved him, and never A. D. 680. acted with dissimulation towards him since we dealt sincerely with him."

He answered, "alas for thee, O Járiyah, how contemptible wert thou to thy family when they named thee Járiyah." He replied, "O Mu'áwiyah, thou wert contemptible to thy family when they called thee Mu'áwiyah." He said, "thou hast no free mother." The other replied, "a free mother bore me not! verily the hilts of the swords with which we met thee at Siffin are in our hands." He answered, "verily thou threatenest me!"

He replied, "verily thou didst not seize us by violence, nor conquer us by force, but thou gavest us engagements and compacts, and if thou fulfill thy part to us, we will fulfil ours, but if thou inclinest to the contrary, then verily, we will abandon them. Behind us are tall men, and strong coats of mail, and sharp lances, and if thou stretcheast out towards us the distance between thy thumb and forefinger in treachery, we will meet thee with both arms reach of deceit." Mu'áwiyah exclaimed, "may the Lord not multiply the like of thee among the people." And on the authority of Abú 't Tufayl A'ámir-b-Wáthilah the Companion, that he went in unto Mu'áwiyah who said to him, "wert thou not among the slayers of Othmán?" He replied, "no, but I was among those that were with him but did not assist him." He said, "and what hindered thee from assisting him?" He answered, "the Fugitives and Auxiliaries did not aid him."

He said, "but surely his claim upon them that they should aid him was imperative!" He retorted, "then what hindered thee, O prince of the Faithful from helping him, for with thee were the people of Syria?" Mu'áwiyah replied, "but my seeking vengeance for his blood is helping him." Abút Tufayl laughed and then exclaimed, "thou and Othmán are as the poet† says:

* Mu'áwiyah had sent A'bdullah-b-u'l Hadhrami to Basrah to secure that town for him and A'li despatched Aa'yán-b-Dhabiah for the same purpose. The latter was killed whereupon Járiyah was sent and he besieged A'bdulláh in his house and set it on fire and burnt him to death. Ibn Hajr.

† M. Barbier de Reymu's text of Masa'údi gives this poet's name as Hámáfi. In a note it is stated that according to a MS, in the Asiatic Society of Paris, the name should be Ja’di. The readings of the first hemistich of the verse are various. Masa'údi has ينغليك the above-mentioned MS., but the scansion of both these is faulty. The same MS. has for ينغليك ينغليك. The printed edition of as Suyútí has ينغليك ينغليك. I would amend it as the negative here destroys the sense unless employed as a query. In the second hemistich a جدالي which is necessary in the scansion, is erroneously omitted but is found in Masa'údi's version.
A. H. 60.  
A. D. 650.  
'I will surely find thee weeping for me after my death:
And during my life, thou didst not furnish me with my food.'"

As Shaa'bi says, that the first who preached seated to the people, was Mu'awiyyah and that was when his flesh had increased and his stomach had grown large. (Recorded by Ibn Abi Shaybah.) Az Zuhri states that Mu'awiyyah was the first who introduced the discourse before prayers on the Eed. (Abdu'r Razzak in his Musannaf.) And Sa'id-b-u'l Musayyab says that he was the first who introduced the call to prayers on the Eed, (Ibn Abi Shaybah) and who diminished the number of the Takbirs. Al A'skari says in his Awā'il, "Mu'awiyyah was the first to establish post-messengers in Islām, and the first who appointed eunuchs for his personal service, and the first with whom his subjects jested familiarly, and the first to whom it was said by the Mu'addin, "peace be to thee, O prince of the Faithful and the mercy of God and His blessing—to prayers! May the Lord have mercy upon thee,"—and the first, who established the office of the Seal, and he appointed to it A'bdullāh-b-Aus al Ghassānī, and confided to him the Seal, and upon the stone of it was inscribed, "every work has its reward," and that continued with the A'bbasides Caliphs to the end. The reason of his instituting it was, that he commanded to be given to a man one hundred thousand dirhams, and he opened the document and made it two hundred thousand, and when the account was taken to Mu'awiyyah, he disavowed it, and established the register of the Seal from that day. "And he was the first who established an enclosure in the great mosque, and the first who permitted the stripping of the Ka'bah, for before that its vesture was thrown one over another."

Az Zubayr-b-Bakkār records, in the Muwaffikiyāt on the authority of the son of az Zuhri's brother, that he narrates, "I said to az Zuhri—who was the first who demanded an oath in the covenant of allegiance?" He replied, "Mu'awiyyah made them swear by God, but when A'bdullāh-b-Marwān came, he made them swear upon divorce and manumission.* Al A'skari records in his book of the Awā'il on the authority of Sulayman-b-A'bdullāh-b-Maa'mar, that Mu'awiyyah went to Mecca or Medina and arriving at the mosque, sat himself down among a circle in which were, Ibn Omar, Ibn A'bbās and A'bdur Rahman-b-Abi Bakr. And they welcomed him, but Ibn A'bbās turned from him and Mu'awiyyah said, "I have more claim to his authority than this recusant and the son of his paternal uncle."† And Ibn A'bbās said, "why! for priority in Islām, or early companionship with the Apostle, or kinship with him?" He answered,

* That is, that the penalty of the violation of their oath would be divorce of their wives and manumission of their slaves.
† I. e., A'lli—A'bbās and Abu Ṭālib being brothers.
"no, but for being the son of the paternal uncle of the murdered Othman."* A. H. 60. He retorted, "then this one more deserveth it," meaning the son of Abu A. D. 680. Bakr. Mu'áwiyah answered, "his father died a natural death." Ibn A'bbás replied, "then this one has more claim to it," meaning the son of Omar. He answered, "verily an infidel slew his father." The other re-
joined, "then that is the worse for thy argument, for it was the Muslims who were wroth with the son of thy paternal uncle and slew him."

A'bud'llah-b-Muḥammad-b-U'kayl says that Mu'áwiyah arrived at Medina, and there met him Abu Katádah the Auxiliary, and Mu'áwiyah said, "all the people have come unto me except ye, O men of the Aux-
iliaries." He replied, "we had no riding animals." He said, "where were your camels for drawing water?" "We lamed them in the chase after thee and thy father at Badr." After a little Abu Katádah said, "verily the Apostle of God said to us, 'you will see after me a state of calamity.'" Mu'áwiyah asked, "what then did he command you to do?" He replied, "he commanded us to be resigned." He answered, "then be resigned." This reached A'bud'ur Raḥman-b-Ḥassán-b-Thábit, and he said—

"Now, give Mu'áwiyah the son of Harb

The prince of the Faithful, this message from us,
We will then be resigned and will await you
At the day of mutual† endamaging and contention.'"

Ibn Abi'd Dunya and Ibn A'sákir record on the testimony of Jabalab-

b-Suhaym that he narrates, "I went in unto Mu'áwiyah during his Cali-
phate, and round his neck was a rope and a child was leading him, and I
said to him, 'O prince of the Faithful, dost thou do thus?' 'O fool,' he
said, 'be silent,' for I heard the Apostle of God say, 'he who hath a
child, let him act towards him as a child,'" (recited but by one authority
according to Ibn A'sákir.) Ibn Abi Shaybah records in the Musannaf on
the authority of as Shaa'bi, that a youth of the Kuraysh went in to Mu'á-

wiyah and spoke harshly to him, and Mu'áwiyah said to him, "O son of

* Umayyah.

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† That is the day of resurrection called يوم التغايرون or the day of mutual overreaching, because the people of Paradise will then overreach the people of hell by their state of enjoyment while the latter will suffer the punishment they deserve or because the former will impute defect to the latter for preferring infidelity to faith. Lane. The LXIVth Chap. of the Kurán is so named.
my brother! I warn thee against a king, for a king waxes angry with the sudden anger of a child, and seizes with the grip of a lion.” And from as Shaa’bi that Ziyád said, “I appointed a man as collector and he embezzled the proceeds of the taxes and fearing that I would punish him, he fled to Mu’áwiya, and I wrote to him, saying, “verily this is disrespect towards me,”* but he wrote to me, saying, “verily it is not fitting for me nor for thee to govern men by one kind of polity: if we were to be lenient to them all, we would confound men in iniquity, and we should not be hard with them all for we would drive men to ruin, wherefore act thou with severity and harshness and I will act with mildness, and clemency.” And from the same, I heard Mu’áwiya say, “a people were never yet divided but the wicked prevailed over the just, save this people.” It is recorded in the Ṭuyyuriyát on the authority of Sulaymán al Makhzúmi, that Mu’áwiya gave a general audience to the people, and when the assembly had gathered together, he said, “recite ye to me three verses by an Arab, each verse complete in its meaning;” and they were silent. Then A’bdulláh-b-u’z Zubayr rose and said, “This Abu Khubayb here, is the most eloquent and learned of the Arabs,” and Abu Khubayb said, “what is it?” Mu’áwiya said, “recite to me three verses by an Arab, each verse complete in its meaning.” He replied, “for three hundred thousand dirhams!” Mu’áwiya said, “and will they be worth it?” He answered, “thou hast the choice; therefore thou art the best judge.”† Mu’áwiya said, “out with them:” and he recited to him from Afwah al Azdí.‡

“I have proved men age after age,
And have seen none but dissemblers and praters.”

Mu’áwiya exclaimed “he hath spoken truly, go on.” He continued—
“And I have not seen among evils, any more calamitous in their fall,
Or more distressing than the enmity of men,”
Mu’áwiya said “he hath spoken truly, go on.” He continued—
“And I have tasted the bitterness of all things:
And there is no favour more bitter than supplication.”

Mu’áwiya exclaimed, “he hath said truly,” and he ordered him three hundred thousand dirhams.

* The MS. has rightly سوادب which words are improperly inverted in the printed edition.
† Lit. “complete and sufficient.”
‡ The printed edition has أودي which is incorrect. See the Muntaha’l Arab art.
Al Bukhārī and an Nasāʾī and Ibn Abī Ḥātim in his commentary, A. II. 60. record with various readings, that Marwān was preaching in Medīnā, he A. D. 650. being then ruler over Hijāz on the part of Muʿāwiya, and he said, “verily God hath shown the prince of the Faithful in regard to his son, an excellent counsel, and if he appointeth him successor, verily then Abu Bakr and Omar named successors,” (and in one reading “according to the institution of Abu Bakr and Omar”). Whereupon Aʾbduʾr Raḥmān-b-Abi Bakr said, “rather according to the institution of Heraclius and Khusrau, for, by Allah, Abu Bakr did not give it to any of his sons nor to any of the people of his house, and Muʿāwiya hath not done this save from partiality and favour to his son.” And Marwān said, “art thou not he who said to his parents ‘Fie upon you?’” (Kur. XVII.) And Aʾbduʾr Raḥmān said, “art thou not the son of the accursed, of him thy father whom the Apostle of God cursed?” but Ayesha exclaimed, “Marwān hath lied, that* was not revealed regarding Aʾbduʾr Raḥmān, but it was revealed regarding such a one the son of such one, but the Apostle of God cursed the father of Marwān and Marwān was then in his loins—therefore Marwān is full of the curse of God.”

Ibn Abī Shaybah records in the Musannaf on the authority of Uʾrwah, that Muʿāwiya said, “there is no forbearance without tryings of temper.” And Ibn Aʾṣākir from as Shaaʾibī that he said, “the most sagacious of the Arabs are four, Muʿāwiya, Aʾmr-b-uʾl Aʾās, Mughīrah-b-Shuuʾbah and Ziyād: but Muʿāwiya shows it in his forbearance and gravity, Aʾmr in difficulties, al Mughīrah in swift action, and Ziyād in great and small things. The most eminent judges were four, and the most sagacious men four, and the judges were Omar, Aʾlī, Ibn Masaʾūd, and Zayd-b-Thābit and the most sagacious, Muʿāwiya, Aʾmr-b-uʾl Aʾās, al Mughīrah and Ziyād.” And from Kabiṣah-b-Jābir that he said, “I have associated with Omar the son of al Khaṭṭāb and I never saw a man more learned in the book of God, or more profoundly versed in the religion of God than he, and I have associated with Ṭalḥah the son of Uʾbaydullāh, and I have never seen a man more munificent in large gifts of wealth, unsolicited, than he, and I have associated with Muʿāwiya and I have never seen a man of greater forbearance or slower to folly or more extreme in gravity than he, and I have associated with Aʾmr the son of al Aʾās and I have never seen a man purer in ancestry and a gentler companion than he, and I have associated with al Mughīrah the son of Shuuʾbah, and if there were a city with eight gates, out of any gate of which one could not go forth save by cunning, he would assuredly get out by them all.”

Ibn Aʾṣākir records on the authority of Ḥamīd-b-Hilāl, that Aʾkīl the son of Abū Ṭalīb begged of Aʾlī and said, “I am poor and needy, there-

* I. e., the verse above-mentioned. “Fie upon you.”
A. H. 60. fore give unto me.’ He replied, ‘wait until my stipend cometh with that of the other Muslims, and I will give unto thee with them,’ but he was importunate and A’li said to a man, ‘take him by the hand and go with him to the shops of the people of the market and say, ‘break these locks and take what is in the shops.’ A’kil said, ‘dost thou wish to make me a thief?’ A’li retorted, ‘and dost thou wish to make me a thief that I should take the property of the Muslims and give it to thee, and not to them?’ He answered, ‘I shall assuredly go to Mu’awiyah.’ He replied, ‘that as thou willest,’ and he went to Mu’awiyah and begged of him, and he gave him a hundred thousand dirhams and said, ‘get up on the pulpit and mention what A’li hath given thee and what I have given thee.’ Then he mounted, and praised God and glorified him, and said, ‘O people I tell ye, verily I tempted Ali in regard to his religion and he preferred his religion, and verily I tempted Mu’awiyah in regard to his religion and he preferred me to his religion.’

Ibn A’sakir records on the authority of the father of Jaa’far-b-Muhammad, that A’kil went in unto Mu’awiyah who said, ‘that is A’kil and his paternal uncle was Abū Lahab,’ and A’kil said, ‘this is Mu’awiyah and his maternal aunt was the bearer of wood*’ (Kur. CXI). And from al Auzza’i,† that Khuraym-b-Fātik went unto Mu’awiyah, and his nether garment was tucked up, and he had shapely legs. And Mu’awiyah said, ‘if but those legs belonged to a woman;’ and Khuraym said ‘like thy hips, O prince of the Faithful.’

There died during the reign of Mu’awiyah among distinguished persons, Sa’fwan-b-Umayyah and Hafṣah, U’mm Habībah, Ṣaffyiah, Maymunah, Saudah and Juayriyyah mothers of the Faithful,—Labīd the poet, Othmān-b-Ṭalḥah al Ḥajabi, A’mr-b-u’l A’as, A’bud’llah-b-Salām the learned doctor, Muhammad-b-Maslamah, Abū Mūsā al Asha’rī, Zayd-b-Thābit, Abu Bakrah, Kaa’b-b-Mālik, al Mughirah-b-Shu’bāh, Jarir al Bajli, Abu Āyūb al Anṣārī, I’mrān-b-Ḥaṣīn, Sa’īd-b-Zayd, Abū Ketādah al Anṣārī, Fudhālah-b-U’bayd, A’bud’r Raḥmān-b-Abi Bakr, Jubayr-b-Mu’tim, Usāmah-b-Zayd, Thaibân, A’mr-b-Hassān-b-Thābit, Ḥakīm-b-Hizām, Saa’d-

* “The hands of Abu Lahab shall perish and he shall perish. His riches shall not profit him nor that which he hath gained. He shall go down to be burned in flaming fire and his wife also bearing wood, on her neck a cord of twisted fibres of a palm tree.” Kur. CXI. Her name was Umm Jamīl, she was the daughter of Ḥarib and sister of Abū Sufyān. See Sale.

† Abu A’mr A’bud’r Raḥmān-b-Yuhmid al Auzza’i the chief doctor of law among the Syrian Muslims and the most learned in jurisprudence. He dwelt at Bayrūt; Sufyān at Thauri was his pupil in traditions, with many others. Born at Baalbek A. H. 88 (707) died at Bayrūt. His tomb is in a village called Hantūs outside the gate of the city. Ibn Khall.
b-Abi Waḳḳas, Abu'l Yusr, Kutham-b-u'l A'bbás, and his brother U'bayd. A. H. 60. u'llah, U'kbah-b-A'ámir, and Abu Hurayrah (in the year 59, for he used A. D. 680, to pray "O God, verily I fly to thee for protection against the year 60 and the reign of children," and his prayer was heard)—and others.

YAZID.-B.-MU'AWIYAH.

Yazid the son of Mu'áwiyah, Abu Khálid, the Umayyad, was born in the year 25 or 26. He was stout, very corpulent and hairy—His mother Maysún* was the daughter of Bahdal al Kalabi. He narrated traditions on the authority of his father, and they are related on his authority by his son Khálid and A'bud-Maliḳ-b-Marwán. His father made him his heir, and the people were averse to it as hath gone before. Al Hasan of Basrah says, "two men threw into confusion the affairs of the people, A'mr the son of al A'ás on the day he suggested to Mu'áwiyah the lifting of the Kuráns on the lances, and they were upraised (and Ibn u'l Kara adds, 'and the schismatics asserted that judgment belongeth to God, and this judgment will continue to be maintained till the day of resurrection,') and al Mughírah-b-Shu'bah, for verily he was Mu'áwiyah's prefect over Kúfah, and Mu'áwiyah wrote to him, saying, 'when thou readest this letter, come to me—deposed from thy office,' but he delayed about it, and when he arrived, Mu'áwiyah said to him 'what delayed thee?' He replied, 'an affair which I was settling and arranging;' and Mu'áwiyah said, 'what was that?' He replied, 'the covenant of allegiance for Yazid, after thee.' He said, 'and hast thou done it?' He answered 'yes': Mu'áwiyah replied, 'go back to thy prefecture.' And when he went out his Companions said to him, 'how goes it with thee?' He answered, 'I have placed the foot of Mu'áwiyah in the stirrup of error in which it will continue till the day of resurrection.' Al Hasan says, 'for this reason, these have taken covenants of allegiance for their sons, and were it not for that, there would have been a Council of election till the day of resurrection.'"

Ibn Sirín states that A'mr-b-Ḫazm went to Mu'áwiyah and said to him, "I call the Lord to thy remembrance in regard to the people of Muḥammad, concerning him whom thou placest as thy successor over them." He replied, "thou hast given me counsel and spoken according

* This Bedouin bride of Mu'áwiyah was a graceful poetess—some of her verses are translated in Carlyle's specimens of Arabian poetry. One song especially is well known and is given in Ockley and in Burton's Pilgrimage. The latter says that the Bedouins never hear it without screams of joy.
A. H. 60. to thy judgment, but verily there remain none but my son and their sons, and my son is the most deserving.”

A’tiah-b-Kays says that Mu’āwiyah preached and said, “O Lord, if I have surely made a covenant for Yazid on account of the merit I saw in him, then cause him to arrive at that which I have hoped, and assist him, but if it was indeed the love of the father for his son that hath influenced me, and if he be not deserving of that which I have done for him, then take him away before he arriveth at it.” And when Mu’āwiyah died, the people of Syria swore allegiance to Yazid. Then he sent to the people of Medina, one who was to take the covenant of allegiance for him, but al Ḥusayn and Ibn u’z Zubayr refused to acknowledge him and they too went forth in the night to Mecca. With regard to Ibn u’z Zubayr he neither swore allegiance nor made any pretension on his own account, but as to al Ḥusayn, the people of Kūfah had written to him in the time of Mu’āwiyah soliciting him to come to them and he had refused, but when Yazid was acknowledged he reverted to what had been formerly meditated, determining at one time to remain and at another purposing to go to them. Ibn u’z Zubayr counselled him to set out, but Ibn A’bbās used to say “do not do it,” and Ibn Omar said to him, “go not forth, for the Lord gave the apostle of God a choice between this world and the next, and he chose the next, and thou art a part of him, and thou shalt not obtain it” meaning the world, and he fell upon his neck and wept and bade him adieu. Ibn Omar used to say, “al Ḥusayn prevailed over us concerning his departure, and by my life, verily he had beheld a warning example in his father and his brother;” and Jābir-b-Ā’bdullāh and Abū Sa’īd, and Abū Wākid al Laythi used to address him similarly, but he did not yield to any of them and resolved upon the journey to Irāk, whereupon Ibn A’bbās said to him, “by Allah, verily, I think thou wilt be slain among thy wives and children as Othmān was slain.” But he did not acquiesce, and Ibn A’bbās wept and said “the eye of the son of az Zubayr hath become refreshed.”* And when Ibn A’bbās saw Abdu’llāh-b-u’z Zubayr, he said to him, “what thou hast desired hath come to pass—this al Ḥusayn is about to set forth and will quit thee and al Ḥijāz.” Then he quoted appositely—

“O lark! in this pasture land,
The valley is open to thee, lay thy eggs and sing.
Peck at what thou willest to peck.”†

* Meaning, that he saw his own way to the Caliphate only through the death of al Ḥusayn whose march to Kūfah he had counselled.

† The verses are Kulayb Wālī’s of the tribe of Taghlib—the most powerful chief of Najd. The proverbial “guarded domain of Kulayb,” was any land he chose to take for pasture, prohibiting others therefrom. It is said, he would put a dog in a field and wherever its bark could be heard, the prohibition of pasturage extended.
And the people of Irāk, sent messengers and letters to al Ḥusayn, A. H. 60. inviting him among them, whereupon he set forth from Mecca to Irāk A. D. 680. on the 10th of Du‘l Hijjah, and with him a party of his household, men, women and children. Then Yazīd wrote to U‘baydullāh-b-Ziyād, his prefect in Irāk to oppose him, and he sent against him an army of four thousand men, commanded by Omar-b-Sā‘d b-Abī Wakkās. And the people of Kūfah deserted al Ḥusayn, as had been their way with his father before him, and when the troops came up with him he proffered submission to them and to return and go to Yazīd to place his hand in the hand of Yazīd, but they refused everything but his death, and he was slain and his head was carried in a platter until it was placed before Ibn Ziyād—may God curse his slayer, and Ibn Ziyād with him and Yazīd likewise.

He was slain at Karbala and the narrative of his death is long the mention of which the heart cannot endure, “verily we belong to God, and verily unto Him shall we return.” There were slain together with him sixteen men of his family. And when al Ḥusayn was murdered, the world stood still for seven days, and the sun upon the walls appeared as saffron-coloured sheets, and the stars struck one upon the other. His murder took place on the 10th of Muḥarram, and the sun was eclipsed on that day and the horizon of the sky became red for six months after his death. The redness did not cease to be seen after that, but it had never been beheld before.

It is said that not a stone was turned in Jerusalem on that day but fresh blood was found beneath it, and the saffron that was in their army became ashes, and they slew a camel in their army and they saw in its flesh, as if flames, and they cooked it and it became like the colocynth, and a man spake some words against al Ḥusayn and the Lord launched at him two stars from heaven and his sight was destroyed.

At Thaa‘lābi says that historians have recounted in several ways on the authority of Abdūl Malik-b-U‘mayr al Laythi, that he said, “I saw upon this palace,” and he pointed to the royal palace of Kūfah, “the head of al Ḥusayn the son of A‘lī upon a buckler, before U‘baydu’l-lah-b-Ziyād; afterwards I beheld the head of U‘baydu’l-lah-b-Ziyād before al Mukhtār-b-Abī U‘bayd; again, I saw the head of al Mukhtar before Musa‘a’b-b-u’z Zubayr; next I saw the head of Musa‘a’b before A‘bdūl Malik-b-Mu‘awwān.

From this dog, he is supposed to have received the name of Kulayb. Once when he was walking in his domain, a lark flew away from her eggs at his approach, upon which he said, “Fear not, thy eggs are under my protection,” and then added the verse quoted which concludes thus: “The fowler is far from thee, so be glad—yet, sure, he will take thee some day, so beware.” See Chenery’s notes to 19th and 26th Assemblies of al Hariri.
and I related this circumstance to A’bdull Malik who was startled at it
and left the place.”**

At Tirmidhi records on the authority of Salma† that she narrates, “I went in unto Umm, Salimah‡ and she was weeping and I said, ‘what makes thee weep?’ She replied, ‘I saw the apostle of God in a dream, with dust on his head and beard,’ and I said, ‘what hath come to thee, O apostle of God?’ He replied, ‘I witnessed but now the murder of al Ḥusayn.’” And al Bayhaḵi in the Da’lal from Ibn A’bbás that he said, “I saw the Apostle of God at midday, with dishevelled hair, soiled with dust and in his hand a phial of blood, and I said, ‘with my father and my mother, mayst thou be ransomed, what is this?’ He replied, ‘this is the blood of al Ḥusayn and his Companions, I have not ceased to gather it up from to-day;’ and they computed the day and found that he was slain on that day.”

Abu Nua’yim records in the Da’lal from Umm Salimah, that she said, “I heard the jinns weeping for al Ḥusayn and lamenting over him.” And Thaa’lab in his Dictations from Abu Janāb al Kalābi that he narrates, “I went to Karbala and I said to one of the Arab Chiefs, ‘tell me regarding what hath reached me, viz., that ye hear the lamentations of the jinns;’ and he said, ‘thou wilt not meet with any one, but he will tell thee that he hath heard it.’ I replied, ‘then tell me what thou hast heard.’ He replied, ‘I have heard them saying—

The Apostle stroked his forehead
And he had a radiance in his cheeks;
His parents were the noblest of the Kuraysh,
And the grandest the best of grandsires.’”

And when al Ḥusayn and the children of his father were slain, Ibn Ziyād sent their heads to Yazid who at first rejoiced at their death, but repented afterwards when the Muslims hated him for it, and the people bore him enmity and bore him enmity with justice.

Abu Ya’la records in his Musnad on a weak ascription to Abu U’baydah, that the Apostle of God said, “the government of my people shall not cease to be based on justice until the first that shall subvert it shall be a man of the Banu Umayyah called Yazid.” Ar Ruyáni records in his Musnad on the authority of Abu’d Dardá, that he narrates, “I heard

* According to Ockley, he commanded the castle to be demolished to avert the ill omen—Máṣṣ’údí says
† Freedwoman of Muḥammad or according to others of Šafíyyah-d of A’bdull Muṭṭalib—she married Abu Ṛaḑ,’ freedman of Muḥammad.
‡ See note § page 15.
the Apostle of God say, 'the first who will alter my law, will be one of the Banu Umayyah called Yazid.'" Naufal-b-u'l Furât says, "I was with Omar-b-A'bdî'l Aziz, when a man mentioned Yazid and said, 'the prince of the Faithful Yazid the son of Mu'âwiya said,' and he exclaimed, 'dost thou call him prince of the Faithful?' and he gave orders regarding him, and he was scourged twenty lashes."

In the year 63 it reached Yazid, that the people of Medîna had rebelled against him and deposed him, wherefore he sent against them a large force and ordered it to attack them and then march to Mecca to engage Ibn u'z Zubayr. And they set out and there took place the battle of Harrah over against the gate of Taybah, and what shall make thee understand what the battle of Harrah was! Al Hasan mentions it once and says, "by Allah, scarcely one of them escaped." A large number of the Companions and others were slain in it, and Medîna was sacked and a thousand virgins violated. Verily we belong to God and verily unto Him shall we return. The apostle hath said, "he who intimidateth the people of Medîna, the Lord shall put him in fear and upon him be the curse of God and his angels and of all mankind" (Muslim relates this). The reason of his deposition by the people of Medîna was that Yazid became boundless in iniquities. Al Wâ'kidî records with various lines of ascription, that A'bdu'llah-b-Handhalah-b-i'l Ghasîl said, "by Allah, we did not rebel against Yazid until we feared that we should be stoned from Heaven on account of a man who would marry slave mothers who had borne children to their masters and daughters and sisters, and drink wine and abandon public prayers." Ad Dahabi says, "when Yazid had done unto the people of Medîna what he had done, together with his drinking wine and indulgence in forbidden things, the people became violent against him and more than one rebelled against him, and the Lord did not bless his life and while the army of Harrah marched to Mecca, the commander of the troops* died on the way. But he appointed over them a chief to succeed him and they reached Mecca and besieged Ibn u'z Zubayr and attacked him and launched engines of war against him, and that in Safar of the year 64. And from the sparks of their fires, the coverings of the Kaa'bah took fire and its roof and the two horns of the ram, the one by which Ishmael was ransomed† and which were in the roof."

The Lord destroyed Yazid in the middle of the month of Rabî' u'l Awwal of this year (11th November, 688) and the news of his death arrived

* Muslim-b-U'kbah, he died at a place called Harsha having appointed Husayn (b-Numayr as Sakûnî to succeed him. Ibn Khall, art. Abû Jaa'far.

† The printed edition should have, with the MS. 'نُيُبْنَىٰ نُيُبْنَىٰ for نُيُبْنَىٰ. It is well-known that the Muhammadans maintain that Ishmael and not Isaac was taken for sacrifice by Abraham.
while the fighting was going on. And Ibn u'z Zubayr called out; "O men of Syria, verily your oppressor is dead;" and they were routed and broken and the people captured them, and Ibn u'z Zubayr invited the covenant of allegiance for himself, and assumed the title of Caliph. But the people of Syria swore allegiance to Mu'awiyyah the son of Yazid, but his reign was not long, as will appear afterwards. Among the verses of Yazid are,

This sorrow hath returned and drawn near,
And embittered sleep and withheld it.
Gazing upon the stars I watched them
And when a planet rose
It circled over until, verily, I saw it
Declining to its fall.
And my love in Matirín,* what time
The ant eateth† of what she hath garnered,
Hath a pleasant abode and when she arriveth,
She alighteth at a temple near Damascus
Under the domes in the midst of cloisters
Round which the olives are ripening.

Ibn A'sákîr records on the authority of A'bdullah-b-Omar that he said—"Abu Bakr the witness to the truth, ye have well hit his name—and Omar, the discriminator, a horn of iron, ye have well hit his name, Ibn A'ffân the possessor of two luminaries, unjustly slain, is given a double portion of divine mercy. Mu'awiyyah and his son are kings of the Holy Land. As Saffâh, and Salâm,‡ and al-Mansûr, and Jâbir, and al Mahdî, and al Amîn and the prince of wrath, are all of them of the Banu Kaâ'b-b-Lawayy, all of them virtuous, their like cannot be found." Ad Ḡahabi says that this is given in various ways, but no one has traced its ascription.

Al Wâ'kidû states on the authority Abu Jaa'far al Bâ'kîr,§ that the first who covered the Kaâ'bah with silk brocade was Yazid-b-Mu'awiyyah.

There died of distinguished people in the reign of Yazid, besides those who were killed with al Husayn and in the battle of Harrah, Umm Salimah the mother of the Faithful, Khâlid-b-U’rfutah, Jar had al Asli mî,

* A village near Damascus.
† The printed edition has [اسم] for [اسم]. The MS. here agrees with Yaḥût who gives these verses with slight variants under [اسم].
‡ I am unable to explain the introduction of the names, Salâm, Jâbir and the prince of wrath. The MS. is in accordance with the text but both are probably in error. Its unintelligibility may account for its lack of ascription.
§ Muḥammad-b-A'li-b-al Husayn-b-A'li-b-Abî Ṭâlib called al Bâ'kîr, from the profundity of his knowledge. Muntaha'î Arab.
Jábir-b-A’tik, Burayda bu'l Ḥuṣayb, Maslamah-b-Mukhallad, Al’ḵamah-b- A. H. 64. Kays an Nakha’i the doctor of law, Masrūk, Miswar-b-Makhramah and A. D. 683. others. The number of the slain at Ḥarrah of the Kuraysh and the Auxiliaries, were three hundred and six.

MU’AWIYAH-b-YAZID.

Mu’awiyah-b-Yazid-b-Mu’awiyah, Abu A’bdur Rahmán, called also Abu Yazid, and Abu Layla, was acknowledged Caliph according to the covenant of his father in the month of Rabī’ u’l Awwal 64. He was a virtuous youth, and was suffering in health when appointed Caliph, and continued ill till he died. He never came forth to the people and did not take any part in affairs, nor prayed before the people. The duration of his Caliphate was forty days; some say two months and others three months. He died being one and twenty years of age. When he was at the point of death, it was said to him, “wilt thou not name a successor?” He replied, “I have not enjoyed the sweets of it, therefore I shall not take upon myself its bitterness.”

A’BDU’LLAH-b-U’Z ZUBAYR.

A’bdullāh was the son of az Zubayr-b-i’l A’wwám-b-Khuwaylad, b-Asad-b-Abdi’l U’zza-b-Kusayy. His surname was Abu Bakr and he was also called Abú Khubayb, a Companion, son of a Companion. His father was one of the ten unto whom the attainment of Paradise was testified, and his mother was Asma, daughter of Abú Bakr as Siddīk, and his father’s mother was Ṣaffiyyah, paternal aunt of the Apostle of God. He was born at Medina twenty months after the Flight, and it is also said, within the first year, and he was the first child born to the Fugitives after the Flight. The Muslims rejoiced at his birth with an exceeding joy, for the Jews used to say, “we have bewitched them therefore no son shall be born to them. The Apostle of God rubbed his palate with a date,* which he had first chewed and named him A’bdullāh and gave him the surname of Abu Bakr after the name and surname of his grandfather. He was a great observer of fasting and devotions and given to long

* A custom with a newly born child to induce it to suck.
prayer, attached to his kindred and of great intrepidity. He apportioned
his time into three recurring nights; on one night he prayed standing till
morning, on the next with body inclined, and the next worshipping on his
face till the morning. It is said that he had thirty-three traditions from
the prophet, and his brother U'rwah, and Ibn Abi Mulaykah, A'bbás-b-
Sahl, Thábit al Búnání, A'ta, U'baydah as Salmání and others relate them
on his authority.

He was one of those who refused to acknowledge Yazíd-b-Mu'áwiyyah
and he fled to Mecca making no pretension to the Caliphate for himself
but refusing to swear allegiance. And Yazíd was wroth against him
with exceeding anger, but when Yazíd died, he was acknowledged Caliph
and the people of Hijáz, Yaman, Irák and Khurasán obeyed him. He
renewed the building of the Kaa'bah and made for it two gates after the
plans of Abrahum, and included within it six cubits of the enclosure
when Ayesha his aunt related to him the tradition from the prophet.*
External to his authority were only Syria and Egypt, and Mu'áwiyyah-b-
Yazíd was acknowledged in those two places, but his reign was not long,
and when he died the people of those two countries obeyed Ibn u'z Zubayr
and swore him allegiance. Then Marwán-b-u'l Hákam rebelled and took
possession of Syria and then of Egypt and remained in possession till he
died in the year 65, after having covenanted for his son A'bdú'l Malik.

It is most just what ad Dahabi observes that Marwán is not to be
counted amongst the princes of the Faithful,† but as a rebel in revolt
against az Zubayr, nor was his covenant for his son legal, but the Cali-
phate of A'bdú'l Malik became rightful from the time that az Zubayr was
slain. Ibn u'z Zubayr, however, remained at Mecca as Caliph until A'bdú'l
Malik obtained the ascendency who despatched al Hajjáj to oppose him at
the head of forty thousand men, and he besieged him, for some months
and attacked him with engines of war. The friends of az Zubayr then
deserted him and stole secretly to al Hajjáj, who defeated him and slew

* This tradition is thus given in al Bukhári, "Muḥammad said to Ayesha, ' were
it not that thy tribe have been but lately converted from infidelity, I would order
the temple to be demolished, and what had been excluded from it I would again adjoin to
it, and would make two gates, to the east and west, and thus fashion it after the plan
of Abrahum.' " The narrator adds, that this tradition induced Ibn u'z Zubayr to de-
molish the temple—see Şaḥīf, p. 206. Delhi edition, 1848.
† Well omits Ibn u'z Zubayr and places the name of Marwán between Mu'á-
wiyyah II and A'bdú'l Malik. Massúdí however, clearly, states that the authority of Ibn u'z Zubayr became established even in Syria, and he was publicly proclaimed
from all the pulpits of Islam except that of Tiberias, where Ḥasán-b-Malik held for
Khálid-b-Yazíd—see Prairies d'Or. Tom. 5, p. 194. Ockley likewise recognises Ibn
u'z Zubayr as 9th Caliph, but places Marwán after him as the 10th.
him and crucified him, and that on Tuesday the 17th* of Jumáda'í Awwal, and say Jumáda'í Akhirah of the year 73 (3rd October 692).

Ibn A'sákír records on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Zayd-b-A'b-di'llah-b-Omar that he said, “I was standing upon the summit of the hill of Abu Ḵubays, at the time the engines were laid against Ibn u'z Zubayr when a thunderbolt fell from heaven, so that I saw it wheeling round as if it were a red wild ass, and it burnt up of the people at the engine about fifty men. Ibn u'z Zubayr was the best horseman of his time among the Kuraysh—and his exploits are well attested.

Abu Ya'la records in his Musnad on the authority of Ibn u'z Zubayr that the prophet was bled and when it was over, he said to him, “O A'b-du'llah, go with this blood and pour it out where no one may see thee;” and when he departed he drank it.

On his return the prophet said to him, “what hast thou done?” He replied, “I designed it for a most secret place and I have put it therein,” He said “perhaps thou hast swallowed it.” He replied, “yes.” He exclaimed, “woe unto the people from thee, and woe unto thee from the people;” and they used to think that the strength that was in him was from that blood. And from Nauf ul Bikālī that he said, “verily I find in the revealed book of God that the best horseman among the Caliphs is Ibn u'z Zubayr.”

A'mr-b-Dínar says “I never saw one at prayers more devout than Ibn u'z Zubayr, and he was once praying in the enclosure of the temple when a bolt from a catapult struck the side of his garment, but he did not heed it.” Mujáhid says, “there was no method of devotion which men from its hard-ship failed to perform, but Ibn u'z Zubayr undertook it, and verily a torrent came and flooded the temple, whereupon he went round it swimming.” Othmán-b-Ṭalḥá says that Ibn u'z Zubayr could not be matched in three things—in bravery, piety or eloquence, and he had a voice that when he preached resounded in the hills. Ibn A'sákír records from U'rťawah that an Nábighah al Jaa'dí recited this verse regarding Ibn u'z Zubayr.

Thou didst remind us of Siddík when thou didst rule us;
And of Othmán and the Discriminator, and the poor rejoiced.
And thou didst administer justice equally amongst the people, and it was undeviating.
But in the morning returned the dark sable clouds,
And from Hishám-b-Urwah and Khubayb, that the first who covered the Kaa'bah with silk brocade was A'budu'llah-b-u'z Zubayr, its covering

* Well, following Masa'ādī makes it the 14th—as the 14th and not the 17th was a Tuesday.
† Abú Yazíd Nauf-b-Fudhálah, a Tabé'i of the Banu Bikál—Munt. Arab.
A. H. 73. having been of haircloths and dressed leather. And from Omar-b-Kays
A.D. 692. that he said, "Ibn u'z Zubayr had one hundred servants, each servant
among them speaking a different tongue, and Ibn u'z Zubayr used to speak
with each of them in his own tongue and when I regarded him in his
worldly conduct, I used to say, 'this man never turns to God for the twink-
ling of an eye,' and when I regarded him in his religious conduct, I used to
say, 'this man never turns to God for the twinkling of an eye.'"

And from Hisbám-b-U'rwah, "the first word my paternal uncle Ibn u'z
Zubayr distinctly uttered as a child was 'sword,' and he never let it out of
his mouth, and his father when he heard that, would say, 'well, by Allah, thou
shalt have it for a day and a day and days.'" And from Abu U'baydah,
that A'bdullah-b-u'z Zubayr al Asadi, went to A'bdullah-b-u'z Zubayr-b-
i'l Awwám and said, "O prince of the Faithful, between me and thee there
is relationship through a certain female." Ibn u'z Zubayr replied, "yes,
it is as thou sayest, but if thou wilt consider this, thou wilt mark that all
men go back to one father and mother." He said, "O prince of the
Faithful, my means of subsistence are at end." He replied, "I never was
surety to thy family that it would suffice for thee until thou dost return
to them!" He answered, "O prince of the Faithful, my camel is foot-
sore." He replied, "help her by cooling her hoof and pasture her on the
plant called Subt,* and cover her with hair and ride her in the morning and
the evening." He exclaimed "O prince of the Faithful, verily I came to
thee asking for relief, but I did not come to thee asking for a prescription—
the Lord curse the camel that bore me to thee;" and Ibn u'z Zubayr re-
plied "and its rider." And al Asadi departed, reciting this verse—

"I see that with Abu Khubayb, needs
Are unsupplied, and there is no Umayyad in the land
Among the Banu A'áś or the descendants of Ḥarb
Resplendent like the white star of a generous steed.
And I said to my companions, 'draw nigh to my stirrup
For I shall leave the interior of Mecca in the darkness
And when I pass Dát I'rğ,† there shall be for me
No return to this son of remissness.'"

A'bdur Razzák records in his Musannaf on the authority of az Zuhri,
that never was a head brought to the Apostle of God at Medina, not even
after the battle of Badr, but a head was once taken to Abu Bakr, and he
disapproved of it. The first to whom heads were taken was A'bdullah-
b-u'z Zubayr.

* Lane makes this to be a plant resembling the Althea officinalis or marsh mallow.
† A place near Mecca where the pilgrims from Irák put on the pilgrim's dress
before approaching the Ka'bah.
During the reign of u'z Zubayr occurred the rebellion of al Mukhtár, A. H. 73. the liar, he who pretended to prophecy,*, and Ibn u'z Zubayr despatched A. D. 692. an army to oppose him until he overpowered him in the year 67 and put him to death—may God curse him.

Of the distinguished men who died during the reign of a'z Zubayr, were, Usayd-b-Dhuhaiy. A'bdu'llah-b-A'mr-b-i'l A'as, an Nu'mán-b-Bashir, Sulayman-b-Surad, Jábir-b-Samurah, Zayd-b-Ar'ám, A'di-b-Hátim, Ibn A'bbás, Abú Wá'kid al Laythi, Zayd-b-Khálid al Juhni, Abú'l Aswad ad Duali and others.

**A'BDU'L MALIK-b-MARWAN.**

A'bdu'l Malik-b-Marwán-b-i'l Hakam-b-Abi'l A'ás-b-U'mayyah-b-A'bd Shams-b-A'bd Manáf-b-Kusayy-b-Kiláb,—A'bu'l Walíd, was born in the year, 26, and was acknowledged Caliph according to the covenant of his father, during the Caliphate of Ibn u'z Zubayr, but his Caliphate was not valid, and he continued as a usurper over Egypt and Syria. Subsequently he took possession of Irák and the adjacent provinces, till Ibn u'z Zubayr was slain in the year 73, from which day his Caliphate became valid and his authority established.

During this year, al Hajjáj pulled down the Ka'bah and restored it to the condition in which it now is; he likewise suborned a man to strike Ibn Omar with a poisoned javelin, of which he sickened and died.

In the year 74 al Hajjáj went to Medína and began to oppress its people and humiliate the remnant of the Companions of the Apostle of God therein, and sealed† them in their necks and hands, thereby bringing

* On what ground this is asserted I cannot find. Neither d'Herbelot, nor Ockley nor Weil, nor Masádí mention it. The latter says that when his wives were commanded by Muša'b to curse their dead husband, two of them refused testifying to his piety and his exertions in the cause of God and his prophet and his avenging the blood of Husayn. One of these two women subsequently relented under threat of death and called al Mukhtár an infidel, adding that she would have abjured Islam likewise under a similar threat. The other died rather than consent to the intimidations of Muša'b. The aim of al Mukhtár's ambition was to extirpate the murderers of al Husayn, and avenge his death which he amply accomplished by killing, according to Ockley, nearly fifty thousand men. He was slain in the 67th year of his age after having beaten all the generals of Yazíd, Marwán and Abdu'l Malik and made himself master of Baylonian Irák.

† Lane says that the "sealing of the neck" (خنُم الإحَماق) is mentioned in the Risálah Yúsufiyah thus—Omar sent Ibn Hunayf to seal the علوج or unbelivers of
A. H. 73. them into contempt, such as Anas, Jābir-b-A'bdillāh, and Sahl-b-Sād as
A. D. 692. Sādī—verily we belong to God and unto God do we return.

In the year 75 the Caliph A'bdullāh Malik made the pilgrimage with
the people, and he sent al Hajjāj as governor to I'rāk.

In the year 77 Heraclia was taken, and A'bdullāh A'zīz-b-Marwān
demolished the principal mosque at Cairo and enlarged it on all four sides.

In the year 82 the fortress of Sinān in the district of Maṣūfah,* was
captured, and the expedition to Armenia and Sināhāj in northern Africa
took place.

In the year 83 the city of Wāṣith was founded by al Hajjāj.

† In the year 84 Maṣīfah was occupied and the valleys of Mauritania.

In the year 85 the city of Ardabīl was founded and the city of
Baradāh,† both by A'bdullāh A'zīz-b-Abī Ḥātim-b-i'nu'mān al Bāhili.

In the year 86 the forts of Taulak and Akhrīm were taken. During
the same occurred the Pestilence of the Girls, so called because it began
with the women: in the same died the Caliph A'bdullāh Malik in the month
of Shawwāl leaving seventeen sons. Aḥmad-b-A'bdillāh al T'jil says that
A'bdullāh Malik was foul of breath, and that he was a six months' child.
Ibn Sādī says that he was pious and virtuous when at Medīna before the
Caliph, and Yahya al Ghassānī mentions that A'bdullāh Malik was often in
the company of Umm u'd Dardā,‡ and she said to him on one occasion,
"it has reached me, O prince of the Faithful, that thou drinkest wine after
all thy piety and devotion." He replied "yes, by Allah, and it is the
pleasanter liquor I have tasted." Nāfi' says, "verily I have seen Medīna
and there is not in it a youth more zealous nor more learned in the law,
nor more virtuous nor more versed in the book of God than A'bdullāh Malik
the son of Marwān," and Abu'z Zanād observes that the jurists ofMedīna are four, Sa'id-b-u'll Musayyab, A'bdullāh Malik-b-Marwān, Uwrwah-b-
'uz Zubayr and Kāīfīsh-b-b-Duayb. Ibn Omar remarks that men beget a
son, but Marwān begot a father,§ and A'bbādāh-b-Lubnī, that it was said
to Ibn Omar, "verily ye are a body of elders, and it will soon be that ye will
the Sawād, and he sealed 5,00,00 of them in classes: that is, he marked them twelve
dirhams and twenty-four and forty-eight, tying a thong upon the neck of each and
putting upon the knot a seal of lead.

* On the north frontier of Syria.
† In Adarbījān.
‡ Abu'd Dardā the Companion had two wives of this name—the first Khayrah
died during his lifetime, the second Hujaymah is here alluded to. On her husband's
death she vowed to remain a widow, and refused Mu'āwiyyah's offer of marriage, saying
that she hoped to marry her husband again in Paradise. She ended her days in great
piety between Jerusalem and Damascus. An Nawawi.
§ Meaning one more illustrious than himself.
pass away, whom then shall we consult after ye?" He replied, "verily Marwán hath a son learned in the law, consult him." Suhaym the freedman of Abu Hurayrah narrates that A’bdull Malik, when he was a lad went in to Abu Hurayrah who said, "this man shall govern Arabia." And U’baydah-b-Riyád al Ghassání, that Ummu’d Dardá said to A’bdull Malik, "I never ceased thinking that this authority would come to thee since I saw thee." He replied, "how so?" She answered, "I never saw any one better than thou art as a narrator of traditions nor one more intelligent as a listener to them." And as Shas’bi, "I never associated with any one, but I found in myself a superiority over him, save A’bdull Malik-b-Marwán, and verily I never related a tradition to him but he added to it, and never a verse of poetry but he capped me in it."

Ad Dahabi says that A’bdull Malik heard traditions from Othmán and Abu Hurayrah and Abu Sa’íd and Umm Salimah, Barirah,* Ibn Omar and Mu’áwiyah; and U’rwa, Khálíd and others have related them on his authority.

Bakr-b-A’bdulláh al Muzani narrates "a Jew whose name was Yusuf embraced Islám, and he had read the scriptures, and he passed by the house of Marwán and said, 'woe to the people of Muhammad from the people of this house,' and I said to him 'for how long?' He replied, 'until the black standards come from Khorasán.' A’bdull Malik had a friend who slapped him on the shoulder and said 'fear God in thy charge of the people of Muhammad when thou rulest them.' He replied, 'leave me! lie on thee, what hath such as I am to do with that dignity!' The other answered 'fear God in what concerneth them.'" The narrator continues, "Yazid despatched an army against the people of Mecca and A’bdull Malik said, 'God preserve me, is it sent against the sanctuary of God?' and Yusuf slapped his shoulder and said, 'thy army against them shall be greater.'"

Yahya al Ghassání relates, "when Muslim-b-U’kbah† arrived at Medina, I entered the mosque of the Apostle of God and sat down by the side of A’bdull Malik, and he said to me, 'art thou of this army?' I said 'yes.' He replied 'may thy mother be childless of thee! dost thou not know against whom thou goest?—against the first-born in Islám and against the son of the disciple of the Apostle of God and against a son of the Possessor of the two Girdles,‡ against him whose palate the Apostle of God rubbed with a date! By Allah, if thou goest to him in the

* Barirah was the daughter of Safwán and the freedwoman of Ayesha. An Nawawi.

† He commanded the army despatched by Yazíd against Medina, and afterwards to engage Ibn u’z Zubayr at Mecca. (See p. 213.)

‡ See note *, page 85.
daytime, thou wilt find him fasting, and if thou goest to him at night, thou wilt find him praying—and if the people of the earth combine to slay him, the Lord will assuredly fling them headlong into hell-fire.' And when the Caliphate fell to A'bud-l Malik, he sent us with al Hajjáj until we slew him.”

Ibn Abi Ayesha says that the announcement of the government having devolved upon him reached A'bud-l Malik when the Kurán was in his lap, and he closed it and said, "this is my last time with thee;" and Malik narrates, “I heard Yahya-b-Sa'id say ‘those who prayed in the mosque between midday and the afternoon were A'bud-l Malik and certain youths with him—when the Imám had read the midday prayers they used to stand praying till the afternoon; and it was said to Sa'id-b-u'l Musayyab, if we could but stand and pray as thosepray!’ He replied, ‘devotion lieth not in much prayer and fasting, but verily devotion consisteth in meditation on the commands of God and abstaining from the things that God hath prohibited.’” Musa'b-b-A'budllah says, that the first who was named Abdu'l Malik in Islám, was Abdu'l Malik-b-Marwán. And Yahya-b-Bukayr narrates, “I heard Malik say that the first who coined dinár was Abdu'l Malik and he inscribed on them a verse of the Kurán.” Musa'b states that Abdu'l Malik inscribed on the dinár, “Say God is One” (Kur. CXII) and on the reverse, “there is no God but God;” and its circumference was a rim of silver, and he inscribed outside the rim, “Muhammad is the Apostle of God, whom He hath sent as a guide unto salvation and the true faith.”

It is stated in the Awál of al A'skari with its ascription, that A'bud'l Malik was the first who wrote at the headings of letters “Say there is one God,” together with the mention of the prophet and the date, and the Grecian emperor wrote, saying, "verily you have introduced in your epistles somewhat of the mention of your prophet, therefore abandon it, otherwise there will reach you on our dinárs the mention of what you will not like.” And this pressed sorely upon A'bud'l Malik and he sent to Khalid-b-Yazid-b-Mu'áwiyyah and consulted him, who said “forbid their money and strike for the people coins upon which shall be the praise of God and His prophet and do not forego for them that which they dislike in your epistles.” He therefore coined dinárs for the people in the year 75. And the first Caliph who was parsimonious was A'bud'l Malik, and he was named "Sweat of a stone," and obtained the surname of the "Father of flies" from his foul breath. He was the first in Islam who acted treacherously and the first who forbade speaking in presence of the Caliphs, and the first who prohibited exhortation to uprightness of conduct.*

* I. e. venturing to suggest to the Caliph a particular course of conduct or condemning any that he might have adopted, a not unfrequent practice with holy fanatics in early times—compare יא מברך באלמור (Kur. VII.)
He then records with its ascription on the authority of Ibn u’l Kāhab, that Marwān-b-u’l Ḥakam had named A’mr-b-Sa’id-b-i’l Aās to the A. D. 705. succession after his own son, but A’bdul Malik slew him, and his assassination was the first act of treachery in Islam. One has said—

O people! be not prevailed over in your judgments, for verily
Ye have experienced perfidy from the sons of Marwān.
And verily they slew A’mr and did not act uprightly,
Asserting treachery and fraud to be the command of God;
And they slay men ripe of judgment, in sound mind
That they may give children to rule over the affairs of men.
They jest with the Book of God and take
Their desires in iniquities against the Lord, to be a means of approaching him.

He has also recorded with an ascription, (in which comes al Karīmi who is suspected of falsehood) on the authority of the father of Jurayj, that he said, “A’bdul Malik preached to us in Medīna after the death of Ibn u’z Zubayr, in the year of his pilgrimage, the year 75, and after praising and glorifying God, he said “now, I am not a weak Caliph, to wit Othmān, nor a Caliph a hypocrite, to wit Muawiyyah, nor a Caliph weak in understanding, to wit Yazīd—now, verily the Caliphs before me used to consume and enjoy this property of the State—now forsooth, I will not heal the diseases of this people save with the sword until your spears rise erect for me. Ye thrust upon me the deeds of the Fugitives, but ye do not yourselves according to their works—therefore you will add only to your punishment until the sword shall decide between me and between ye. This A’mr, his kinship was such as it was and his position such as it was—he said with his head—thus, and I said with my sword—thus. Now, I will endure anything from you but attacking a governor or raising a standard—verily the collar which I put upon the neck of A’mr-b-Yazīd is with me—by Allah, no one shall do his deed, but I will put it upon his neck—by Allah, no one shall enjoin upon me the fear of God after this my rising to-day but I will smite his neck”—then he descended.
Al A’skari then continues that Abdūl Malik was the first that altered the public registers from Persian to Arabic and the first that raised up his hands on the pulpit. I remark that ten innovations are thus summed up in him of which five are reprehensible.

Ibn Abī Shaybah records with its ascription in the Musannaf on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Sirin, that the first who introduced the call to prayers on the festivals of Fitr and Adhha were the children of Marwan, either A’bdul Malik or one of his sons. Ābdul Razzākh records from Ibn
A. H. 86. Jurayj that he said, “more than one person has told me that the first who covered the Ka'bah with silk brocade was A'bdul Malik, but verily those among the jurists who have been best acquainted with that subject, say, ‘there hath reached us what we know regarding the covering of the Ka'bah more exact, than that.’ Yusuf-b-u'l Májishún* says that when A'bdul Malik sat down to administer justice, men stood at his head with swords. And al Aṣma'i, that it was said to A'bdul Malik, ‘greyness is hastening upon thee,’ he replied, ‘and how could it be otherwise when I give forth my whole intellect to the people every Friday.’” Muḥammad-b-Ḥarb az Ziyádí narrates that it was said to A'bdul Malik “who is the best of men?” he replied, “he who is humble in a lofty station, devout though in authority and just though in power.” And Ibn Ayesha, that A'bdul Malik when a man from any of the remote countries came in to him, used to say, “spare me four things—and say after that what thou pleasest—do not lie to me for liars have no judgment, and do not answer me regarding what I do not ask thee for it is a distraction from what I do ask thee, and do not be extravagant in my praise for I know myself better than thou, and do not incite me against my subjects for verily clemency unto them is more needful for me.”

Al Madáini says that when A'bdul Malik was made aware of his approaching death, he said, “by Allah, I would that from the time I was born until to-day, I had been a porter;” then he commended unto his sons, the fear of God, and warned them against dissension and discord, and said, “be ye as sons of a virtuous mother, and be brave in war, and as a beacon in doing good, for verily war doth not bring death before its time, and as to goodness, its reward and its fame endure, and be ye sweet in bitterness and lenient in severity, and be ye as Ibn A'bd al Aa'la as Shaybání says—

‘Verily arrows when they are gathered together, and hath sought
To break them, a strong man full of rage and might.
They resist and cannot be broken, but if they be separated
Then rupture and weakness belong to what is dispersed.’

* Abú Yusuf Yaḥúb, the father of Yusuf, was the son of Abú Salama Dínár, a client of the Banu Taym. He was a Mawla of the Munkadirs, a family of Módina. He pretended to have been ravished to heaven in spirit, and to have seen Muhammad with Abu Bakr and Omar at his right and left hand and Omar-b-Adi'l A'zís at his feet. He died at Baghdad under the Caliphate of al Mahdi, A. H. 164 (780-1). Ibn Khall says that Májishún signifies rose colour or tinged with red and white, and the name was given him by Sukaynah-d-of Ḥusayn-b-Abi Tálib. Another explanation is that as they were originally from Ispahan, they saluted each other when they met with “Shúni-Shúni” and were therefore called Májishún. The etymology is not satisfactory.
O Walid, fear God in that in which I leave thee to succeed me; and A. H. 86, he went on to say—"look to al Hajjaj, and honour him, for verily, he it A. D. 705, is who hath coerced for you the pulpits, and he is thy sword, O Walid, and thy right hand against those who oppose thee—therefore hear not the word of any one against him, for thou art more in need of him than he of thee—and summon the people when I die to the covenant of allegiance, and he who saith with his head—thus—say with thy sword—thus."

Another relates that when A'bdul Malik was on the point of death, his son al Walid went in unto him, and A'bdul Malik recited appositely—

How many a visitor hath a sick man, who doth not visit him
But to learn whether he shall see him die.

Al Walid wept; and A'bdul Malik said, "what is this? dost thou whine with the whining of a slave girl? When I am dead, gird up thy loins and go forth and put on the skin of a leopard and lay thy sword upon thy shoulder, and whosoever showeth himself against thee smite him on the neck, and he who submits shall die a natural death." I remark that if the crimes of A'bdul Malik had been only the appointing of al Hajjaj over the Muslims and the Companions, bringing them into contempt and degrading them by death, stripes, reproach and imprisonment—and verily he slew of the Companions and the greatest of the Tabi'is what is beyond count, to say nothing of others besides them, and sealed the neck of Anas and others of the Companions with a seal, intending thereby their humiliation,—then, for these alone, may God not have mercy upon him nor pardon him.

The following are lines of A'bdul Malik's—
By my life, verily, I have lived a long space in the world,
And the world hath come nigh to me with the striking of sharp
That which delighted me hath gone
Like a flash that hath passed among enduring remains.
And O would that I had never busied myself with the kingdom for a moment,
Nor diverted myself amidst the joyous pleasures of life.
And that I had been as one clad in rags, living on a little
For a time until he visited the narrowness of the tombs.

In the history of Ibn A'sakir it is stated on the authority of Ibrahim-b-A'di that he said, "I saw A'bdul Malik at a time when four events were announced to him during the night and he was not moved nor did his face alter—to wit the death of U'baydullah-b-Ziyad, the death of Hubaysh-b-Daljah* in Hijaz, the rupture between himself and the Greek Emperor,

* The only mention I can find of this name is in the Muntaha' Arab where he is mentioned as a traditionist.
and the rebellious march of A'mr-b-Sa' id to Damascus.” And in the same
it is stated on the authority of Asma‘i that four men never spoke in-
correctly either in earnest or jest—as Shaa‘bi, A'bdul Malik, al Hajjaj-
b-Yusuf and Ibn u'l Kirriyyah.*

As Sila‘i mentions in the Tuyyuriyat with its ascription, that A'bdul Malik went forth one day and a woman met him and exclaimed, “O prince of the Faithful!” He said, “what is thy business?” She replied, “my brother died and left six hundred dinars, and there was given to me of his inheritance but one dinar, and it was said to me, ‘this is thy due;’ and the thing was incomprehensible to A'bdul Malik and he sent to as Shaa‘bi and asked of him, who said, ‘yes, this man died and left two daughters and they had two-thirds, four hundred, and a mother who had a sixth, one hundred, and a wife who had an eighth, seventy-five, and twelve brothers, who had twenty-four, and for this woman remaineth one dinar.’”

Ibn Abi Shaybah relates in the Musannaf from Khalid-b-Muhammud of the Kuraysh, that A'bdul Malik said, “he who desireth to take a female slave for his amusement, let him take a native of Barbary, and who needs one for the sake of children, let him have a Persian, and who desireth to have one for service, let him take a Greek.”

Abu U'baydah narrates that when al Akhtal recited to A'bdul Malik his verse in which he says of the Umayyads—

The most inveterate enemy ends by submitting† to them

And they are greatest of men in meekness when they are in power.
He said, “O slave, take him by the hand, and lead him forth and put upon him robes of honour as many as will cover him up—then he said,—“verily every tribe hath a poet, and the poet of the Banu Umayyah is al Akhtal.”‡

Al Asma‘i says that al Akhtal went A'bdul Malik who said, “come now, describe intoxication to me.” He replied, “its beginning is pleasure and

* Abu Sulayman Aiyth al Hilall. Al Kirriyyah which signifies—the crop of a bird, was given to Jamā‘a, mother of Jusham, one of his ancestors. He was an untutored Arab of the desert, but the elegance and precision of his language gave him the reputation of one of the best orators of that people. He was summoned by al Hajjaj to his court and honored so far as to be entrusted by him with a mission to A'bdul Malik. He was put to death afterwards in A.H. 84 by that tyrant for having allowed himself to be compelled to join in the rebellion of Ibn u'l Ashāth. Ibn Khall.
† For read : the verse will be found in the Kitāb u'l Aghani, Vol. 7.
‡ The life of al Akhtal is given by M. Causin de Perceval in the Journal Asiatique for April 34. His real name was Ghayth-b-Ghauth and belonged to the Banu Malik, a branch of the Taghlabites. He was a Christian like the greater number of the tribes of Bihār, Taghib, and Tanūkh and remained attached to his faith, notwithstanding the many seductive offers made to him to abandon it for Islām. He died at an advanced age recommending Farazdak with his last breath, to cover his rival Jarir with ridicule.
its end a headache, and between that there is a moment, the crisis of which A. H. 86.
I will not describe to thee.” He said “and what is its crisis?” he re-
piled, “verily thy kingdom, O prince of the Faithful, then is of less
account to me than the latchet of my shoe,” and he versified, saying,

When my boon Companion giveth me to drink and giveth yet again
Three goblets of bubbling wine
I go forth trailing my garment behind me as if
I were lord over thee, O prince of the Faithful.

At Tha` alabi narrates that A` bdu`l Malik used to say, “I was born in
the month of Ramaql, and weaned in Ramaq, and completed learning
the Qur`an by heart in Ramaq, and I reached the age of puberty in
Ramaq, and the Caliphate fell to me in Ramaq, and I fear lest I
die in Ramaq,” and when he entered upon the month of Shawwal and
felt safe, he died. (8th October 705.)

Of those of note who died in the reign of A` bdu`l Malik were, Ibn
Omar, Asma`, daughter of as Siddik, Abu Sa` d-b-u`l Mualla, Abu Sa` id
al Khudri, Rafi`-b-Khadij, Salimah-b-u`l Akwa`, I`rba`d-b-Sar`iyah, Jabir-
b-A` bdil, A` bdu`llah-b-Jaa`far-b-Abi T`alib, as S` a`ib-b-Yazid, Aslam the
freedman of Omar, Abu Idris al Khaulami, the Khadi Shurayh, Ab` an-b-
Othman-b-A`ffan, al Aa`sh`a the poet, Ayub-b-u`l K` irriy`ah, proverbial for
eloquence, Kh` a`lid-b-Yazid-b-Mu`awa`iyah, Zarr-b-`Hubaysh, Sinan-b-
Salimah-b-i`l Mu`habbik, Suwayd-b-Ghaflah, Abu W` ail T` a`rik-b-Shihab, Mu-
` a`mmad-b-u`l `Ha`na`fiy`ah, A` bdu`llah-b-Shaddad-b-i`l H` a`d, Abu U`baydah-
b-A` bdil-b-Masa`ud, A`mr-b-`Ha`rith, A`mr-b-Salimah al Jirma`i and
others.

AL WALID-b-ABDUL MALIK.

Al Walid-b-Abdi’l Malik, Abu’l Abbás, was brought up effeminately,
says as Shaa’ai, by his parents and he grew up without culture. Ruh-b-
Zineba’ narrates, “I went in one day to Abdu’l Malik, and he was medita-
ting, and he said, ‘I was thinking to whom I should commit the govern-
ment of Arabia, and I cannot find any one.’ I said, ‘what dost thou think of
al Walid?’ He replied, ‘verily he is not well versed in grammar.’ Walid
heard this and he rose at once and assembled the grammarians, and sat with
them in his house for six months and then came forth more ignorant than
before, and A’bdu’l Malik said, “verily he is excusable.” Abu’z Zinad* states

* A native of Medina, a doctor of law and one of the Tâbi’is. His varied
information and his erudition gained him preeminence among the learned of his day.
He died A. H. 180, (A. D. 748), aged 66. De Slane, I. K. At page 220 the name
is misspelt Zinad.
A. H. 86. that al Walid mispronounced to a great degree; he exclaimed from the
A. D. 705. pulpit of the prophet's mosque, "O people of al Medina."*

Abu A'krinaih ad Dhabah says that al Walid read from the pulpit, "O
that death had made an end of me."† (Kur. LXXIX), and below the pulpit
stood Omar-b-A'bdil Aziz and Sulayman-b-Abdi'l Malik, and Sulayman
exclaimed, "by Allah, I would it had." Walid was despotic and tyrannous.

Abu Nu'aym records in the Ḥuliyah from Ibn Shaudab that Omar-b-
A'bdil Aziz said, "al Walid in Syria, al Ḥajjaj in Ḥrak, Othman-b-
Ḥabbarah‡ in Ḥijaz and Kurrah-b-Sharik in Egypt, have filled the earth,
by Allah, with tyranny." And Ibn Abi Ḥātim in his Commentary, from
Ibrahim-b-Abi Zuraah, that al Walid said to him, "will the Caliph be
judged at the resurrection?" He replied, "O prince of the Faithful, art
thou more honoured of the Lord, or David? Verily the Lord united
in him the prophetic mission and the vicegerency, yet hath he threatened
him in His Book and said, "O David," &c. (Kur. XXXVIII.)§

Al Walid, however, stirred up religious wars in his time and great
conquests were made under his Caliphate—and withal he used to circum-
cise orphans and appointed teachers for them and assigned for those cripp-
ped by disease, persons to attend them and for the blind those who should
lead them, and he embellished the mosque of the prophet and enlarged it
and settled a daily allowance on the doctors of law and the infirm and
the poor and forbade their begging of the people, and assigned for them
what would suffice for their maintenance and regulated affairs by a thorough
administration; and Ibn Abi A'ylvah says, "the Lord have mercy on al
Walid, and where is the like of Walid who conquered India and Spain and
built the mosque of Damascus, and who used to give platters of silver
which I divided among the readers‖ of the Qurān of the mosque at
Jerusalem?"

Al Walid assumed the Caliphate according to the covenant of his
father in the month of Shawwal in the year 86, and in the year 87, he set

* It is impossible to render the error in a translation as it consists in a misplace-
ment of the diacritical points. He said "Ya ahl u'l Medīnah" instead of "Ya ahl u'
Medīnah," the vocative requiring the objective case when the noun is in construc-
tion.
† Misplacing the vowel-points again. "Yā laytu hā for Yā laytā hā.
‡ The MS. has Janādah.
§ "O David! verily we have appointed thee a sovereign prince in the earth—
judge therefore between men with truth and follow not thy own lust, lest it cause
thee to err from the way of God." Kur. XXXVIII.
‖ Both the MS. and the printed edition have لَا (readers of the Kurān,) but it
is possible that فَظْرًا (the poor) might have been the original word and the elision of
the أ taken place through the error of a copyist.
about the building of the mosque at Damascus and ordered the enlarge- A. H. 87. ment of the mosque of the prophet and its thorough construction. During A. D. 706. the same Bikand* was taken by force of arms and Bukhára, and Sardinia and Matmúrah,† Kumaykim and the Persian Gulf. And Omar-b-A’bdi’il A’zíz, governor of Medina made the pilgrimage with the people, and performed by mistake the ceremony of standing‡ on Mount A’rāfah on the Day of Victims and was sore grieved thereat.

In the year 88 Jurthúmah§ and Túánah|| were taken—and in the year 90, the islands of Majorca and Minorca. In the year 91 were captured Nasaf¶ and Kash, Shúmán, and other towns and forts by the Caspian Sea. In the year 92 the whole of Spain was subdued and the cities of Armáí** and Katarbún—and in 93 Daybal and other places were conquered, and Kirakh, Barham, Bájah, al Baidhá, Khuwárazm, Samarkand, and Sughd. In 94, Kábul, Farghanah, Shásh and Sandarah were taken and in 95, Múkán†† and Darband. In 96, Tús and other places.

In this year died the Caliph al Walíd in the middle of Jumáda’l Akkírah at the age of fifty-one. (23rd February 715). Ad Dahabi says that religious wars were continuous throughout his reign, and great conquests were made as in the time of Omar-b-u’l Khattáb. Omar-b-A’bdi’il A’zíz says, “when I put al Walíd in his grave, behold he kicked in his shroud,—that is, he struck the earth with his foot.” Among the sayings of al Walíd is the following, “if God had not mentioned the family of Lot in the

* A town between Bukhára and the Oxus.
† On the frontiers near Tarsus. Kumaykim, according to the Muntaha’l Arab is the name of a stream, but it does not say where.
‡ The Waḵf or standing on Mount Arafah should take place on the second day of the pilgrimage, 9th of Du’l Hijjah, and the ceremony of the Day of Victims on the third day, 10th of Du’l Hijjah.
§ In Najd.
|| On the frontiers of Maṣṣah, north of Syria.
¶ Nasaf is a large town between Samarkand and the Oxus, and Kash is three parasangs from Jurján.
** Both these places are in Sind; Ibn u’l Athír writes the second name Kannazbúr and in some readings Firbúr, Kirnúr and Fabbyúr. Daybal is in Sind. Of Barham I can find no mention, but Ibn Athír speaks of a place, Brahmanabad in Sind, taken and destroyed at this time. Bájah, Yakúṭ places in Africa, and al Baidhá so called from its white citadel, in the district of Persepolis. Kirakh is written Kiraj by Ibn Athír and he states that Muḥammad-b-ul Kasím who commanded the army in Sind, hearing at Miltán of the death of his uncle al Hajjáj, returned at once to Rori Bakkar and thence proceeded to Kiraj. I am inclined to think that this must be Karáchí, as Daybal or Dewal is stated by Elphinstone to have been probably close to that seaport. See Elph. India, p. 263, where will be found a sketch of Kasím’s conquests.
†† Múkán is in Adarbíján. Tús had already been conquered in the time of Othmán. Another reading is Tuways which I cannot find, but Yakúṭ mentions a district Tawa-wís, near Bukhára. The MS. is here wanting.
SULAYMAN-b-A'BDI'L MALIK.

Sulayman-b-A'bdil Malik, Abu Ayub, was among the best of the kings of the Banu Umayyah, and he assumed the Caliphate according to the covenant of his father in succession to his brother, in Jumada'1 Akhirah of the year 96. He has related a few traditions on the authority of his father and A'bdul Rahman-b-Hubayrah, and his son A'bdul Wadid and uz Zuhri have transmitted them from him.

He was eloquent, fluent of speech, preferring justice, a lover of war. He was born in the year 60. It is to be accounted among his merits that Omar-b-Abdi'l A'ziz was as his prime minister, and he used to follow his beneficial counsels; and he deposed the revenue collectors of al Hajjaj and released those who were in the prisons of Trak, and restored public prayers to their original appointed times, the Banu Umayyah having suffered them to lapse into dilatoriness. Ibn Sirin says, "the Lord have mercy on Sulayman who inaugurated his Caliphate by the restoration of prayers to their stated times, and closed it by appointing as his successor Omar-b-A'idi'l A'ziz." Sulayman forbade singing, and he was among those famed as large eaters, for he eat at a sitting seventy pomegranates, a lamb, six fowls, and a Makkuk of Taif currants. Yahya al Ghassani says that Sulayman looked into a mirror and his youthfulness and beauty surprised him, and he said, "Muhammad was the prophet, and Abu Bakr Witness to the Truth, and Omar the Discriminator, and Othman the Bashful, and Mussiyah the Forbearing, and Yazid the Patient, and A'bdul Malik the Administrator, and Walid the Tyrant, and I am the Young King;" but the month in which he thus spoke did not pass over him but he died, and the day of his death was Friday the 10th of Safar in the year 99 (22nd Sept.

* About 11 pounds and a quarter. It is not astonishing that after this feat, he had an attack of indigestion which proved fatal.
During his reign were conquered Jurján, and the Iron Fortress, *A. H. 99. and Sarda, and Shaḵka, and Tabristán and the city of as Šakálíbah.†

Of persons of note that died during his time were, Kays-b-Abi Ḥáẓim, Maḥmúd-b-Labíd, al Ḥasan-b-i'l Ḥusayn-b-A'li, Kurayb freedman of Ibn A'bbás, A'bdúr Rahmán-b-i'l Aswad an Nakha'í and others.

A'bdūr Rahmán-b-Ḥassán al Kanáni says, that Sulaymán died at Dábkī, ‡ engaged in leading an expedition. When he sickened, he said to Rajá-b-Hayát, “who is to succeed me in this authority? shall I appoint my son?” He replied, “he is absent.” He said, “then my other son?” He answered, “he is a child.” He said, “then whom dost thou advise?” He replied, “I think that thou shouldst appoint Omar-b-A'bdí'l A'zíz.” He said, “I fear that my brothers will not consent.” He rejoined, “appoint Omar, and after him Yazíd-b-A'bdí'l Malik and write a document and seal it and summon them to take a covenant regarding it sealed.” He replied, “verily thou hast conceived wisely.” Thereupon he called for paper and wrote the covenant therein and gave it Rajá, and said, “go forth unto the people and let them make a covenant regarding that which is within it, sealed as it is.” And he went forth and said, “verily the prince of the Faithful hath commanded ye to make a covenant of allegiance for him whose name is in this document.” They said, “who is in it?” He answered, “It is sealed—ye cannot be informed concerning the one who is in it until the Caliph dieth.” They said, “we will not swear allegiance.” And he returned to Sulaymán and informed him of it, and he said, “go to the commander of the guards and the watch, and assemble the people and order them to take the oath, and he who refuses smite his neck.” And they swore allegiance. Rajá relates, “while I was returning, behold I met His-hán and he said to me, O Rajá, verily thou knowest thy credit with me, and verily the prince of the Faithful hath done a thing and I know not what it is, and verily I fear that it may be that he hath put the Caliphate

* I do not find any such name in Yakát, it is probably some local name given to a strong fort, unless Darband is meant, which was defended by Anushirwan by an iron gate. Neither Sarda or Shaḵka are given, nor are they noticed by Ibn u'l Athír.

† So likewise Ibn u'l Athír, Tabari calls it Sakalie. Weil says that it should be Sakálíbah which he considers a district to the N. and N. W. of Constantinople. He can find no town of that name. Yakát makes as Sakálíbah a (slav) district “between Bulgaria, and Constantinople.” The word city I imagine, must be an error, or must refer to the then capital city of the Thracian towns of the Propontis, round which Mas-lamah wheeled his army after the passage of Abydus, to invest Constantinople defended by Leo the Isaurian. An army of Bulgarians from the Danube at the call of Leo fell upon the Saracen army and slaughtered twenty-two thousand. See Gibbon, Ch. LII.

‡ Near Chalcos. He was preparing, according to Gibbon, to lead against Constantinople the remaining forces of the East.
from me, and if it be indeed that he hath put it aside from me, tell me while there is yet time in the affair, that I may see what to do;" and I said, "good God! the prince of the Faithful hath asked me to conceal a thing, and shall I tell it to thee? that can never be." Then I met Omar-b-A'bdil' A'ziz and he said to me, "O Rajá, a grave thought has occurred to my mind concerning this man, I fear lest it be that he hath put the Caliphate upon me and I am not equal to this position, therefore tell me while there is yet time in the affair, perchance I may escape from it as long as I live." I said, "good God! the prince of the Faithful asked me to conceal a thing and shall I tell it to thee?" Shortly after Sulaymán died and the document was opened, when lo! within was the covenant for Omar-b-A'bdil' A'ziz, and the faces of the sons of A'bdul Malik changed, but when they heard that after him was to be Yazíd the son of A'bdul Malik, they returned and came to Omar and did homage to him as Caliph; but he was stupified at it, and was not able to rise until they took him by the arms and brought him to the pulpit and helped him to mount it. He sat a long time without speaking, at last Rajá said to them, "do ye not stand up to the prince of the Faithful to swear allegiance to him?" Then they made the covenant with him, and he stretched out his hand to them. Then he arose and praised God and glorified Him and said, "O people, I am not one who decideth but one who executeth, nor one who beginneth but one who followeth—and verily the countries and cities round about ye, if they submit as ye have submitted then I am your ruler, but if they refuse then I am not a ruler for ye." Then he descended, and there came to him the master of the horse, and he said, "what is this?" The man replied, "the Caliph's charger." He said, "I have no need of it—bring me my mule," and they brought him his mule and he proceeded to his house. Then he called for an ink horn and wrote with his own hand to the prefects of the provinces. Rajá says, "I thought that he would soon lack strength, but when I saw his actions in his correspondence, I knew that he would become powerful." It is related that there fell some words between Marwán-b-A'bdul Malik* and Sulaymán during the Caliphate of Sulaymán, who said to him "O son of an uncircumcised woman!" and Marwán opened his mouth to answer him, when Omar-b-A'bdil' A'ziz stopped his mouth and said, "I conjure thee for God's sake—he is thy Imám and thy brother and he is thy elder in years." And Marwán held his peace, and said, "thou hast slain me, by Allah, verily thou hast put within me that which is hotter than fire," and he died before the evening.

Ibn A'lí'd Dunya records on the authority of Ziyád-b-Othmán that he went in unto Sulaymán-b-A'bdil Malik when his son Ayúb died, and

* It must be remembered that A'bdul Malik had seventeen sons.
said, "O prince of the Faithful, verily A'budur Rahmán-b-Abi Bakrah A. H. 99. used to say 'he who desireth the things that are eternal, let him habitu- ate himself to misfortunes.'"

OMAR-b-A’BDI’L A’ZIZ.

Omar-b-A’bdil’ A’ziz-b-Marwán—the good Caliph—Abu Ḥafs, was the fifth of the orthodox Caliphs. Sufyán at Thauri says that the five Caliphs are Abu Bakr, Omar, Othmán, A’li, and Omar-b-A’bdil’ A’ziz (Abu Dauúd). Omar was born at Ḥulwán, a village in Egypt, of which his father was governor in the year of the Flight 61, or as some say 63. His mother was Umm A’āṣim, daughter of A’āṣim-b-Omar-b-i’l Khattáb. On Omar’s face was a scar, a horse having kicked him in the forehead when he was a boy. His father wiping the blood off him said, "if thou art he of the Scar of the Banu Umayyah, verily thou art fortunate." (Ibn A’sákir.) Omar-b-u’l Khattáb used to say, "of my posterity there shall be a man with a scar in his face who shall fill the earth with justice" (at Tirmådí). The opinion of his father regarding him proved true. Ibn Saa’d records that Omar-b-u’l Khattáb said, "would that I knew which of my posterity shall be the possessor of the letter Shín* in his name—he who is to fill the earth with justice as it hath been filled with tyranny." And from Ibn Omar that he said, "we used to say that the world would not pass away until a man of the posterity of Omar should rule, doing according to the works of Omar, and Bilál-b-A’bdil’l Ilah-b-Omar had a mole upon his face, and they used to think that it was he until the Lord sent Omar-b-A’bdil’ A’ziz."

Omar-b-A’bdil’ A’ziz related traditions on the authority of his father and Anas and others; and az Zuhri, Muḥammad-b-u’l Munkadîr, Yahya-b-Sa’id the Auxiliary, Maslamah-b-A’bdil’ Malik, Bajá-b-Hayá, and many more related them on his.

He learnt the Kûran when he was yet a child, and his father sent him to Medîna to be instructed there, and he used to attend U’baydu’llah-b-A’bdil’āb zusammen,† studying science under his tuition. When his father died, A’bdu’l Malik sent for him to Damascus and married him to his daughter,

* The word 'scar' or fracture begins with that letter.
† Abú Abdulláh U’baydu’llah-b-A’bdil’āb zusammen-U’tbah, was one of the seven great jurisconsults of Médina. Az Zuhri called him an ocean of knowledge, and Omar-b-Abdi’l A’ziz used to say that an evening with U’baydu’llah was worth a thousand pieces of gold out of the public treasury. He died at Medîna A. H. 102 (720-1). One of his poems is given in the Hamásah. Ibn Khall.

Fátima. Even before his Caliphate he walked in virtue save that he was over given to luxury, and the envious that found fault with him did not reproach him save for excess in luxury and haughtiness in his gait. When al Walid assumed the Caliphate, he made Omar governor of Medina and he ruled it from the year 86 to the year 93 when he was removed, and he went to Syria. After this, verily, al Walid determined to set aside his brother Sulayman from the succession, and to appoint his own son; and many of the principal men, willingly or unwillingly obeyed him, but Omar-b-A'bdil A'ziz objected, and said, "the covenant unto Sulayman is upon our necks," and he was firm, and al Walid immured him, but he was interceded for after three days and they found him with his neck drooping from exhaustion. Sulayman learnt this regarding him and nominated him to the succession in the Caliphate.

Zayd-b-Aslam narrates that Anas said, "I never prayed behind an Imam after the Apostle of God, resembling the Apostle of God more in the manner of his praying, than this youth, i.e., Omar-b-A'bdil A'ziz—while he was governor of Medina." Zayd-b-Aslam adds, "he used to dwell long in his bendings and prostrations, and shortened the time of standing and sitting," (this tradition has several lines of ascription to Anas—recorded by al Bayhaqi and others).

Muhammad-b-A'li-b-il Husayn was asked regarding Omar-b-A'bdil A'ziz, and he said, "he is the noblest of the Banu Umayyah and verily he will be raised up at the day of resurrection, unequalled and alone."

Maymun-b-Mihran said that the learned in comparison with Omar A'bdil A'ziz were mere students. Abu Nuaym records on the authority of Riyah-b-Ubaydah by a sound ascription, that he said, "Omar-b-A'bdil A'ziz went forth to prayers, and an old man was leaning on his arm, and I said to myself, 'verily this old man is rude;' and when he had prayed and entered his house, I joined him and said, 'may God prosper the Amir, who was the old man that was leaning on thy arm?'" He replied, O Riyah didst thou see him?" I said 'yes.' He answered, 'I do not hold thee to be other than a virtuous man—that was my brother al Khidhr* who came to me and told me that I shall rule this people, and shall act with justice unto them.'" And from Abu Hashim that a man went to Omar-b-A'bdil A'ziz and said, "I saw the prophet in a dream, with Abu Bakr on his right hand and Omar on his left, and lo! two men were disputing and thou wert seated before him, and he said to thee. 'O Omar when thou rulest, do according to the works of these two, of Abu Bakr and Omar.'

* This person as is well known, is regarded as a prophet, and was supposed to have been the minister of an ancient king of Persia. By some he is said to be Elias, and by others St. George of England. His aid is frequently invoked by Muhammadan story-tellers whether the knot be worthy of his untying or otherwise.
And Omar-b-A'bdīl A'zīz made him swear before God, saying, 'didst thou see this?' And he swore, and Omar wept."

He was acknowledged Caliph according to the covenant of Sulaymān in the month of Safar 99 as hath gone before, and he continued in the Caliphate for two years and five months about the duration of that of Abū Bakr, filling the earth with justice, removing grievances and establishing good laws. When the writing of the covenant was read containing his name, he was stupified and said, "by Allah, verily I never asked for this authority of God." The master of the horse brought him the Caliph's charger, but he refused it, and said, "bring me my mule." Ḥakam-b-Omar relates, "I was present with Omar-b-Abdīl A'zīz when the equerries came demanding of him provender for the horses and the stipends of their attendants. He exclaimed, 'send them to the Syrian towns, and let any one buy them who listeth, and put the prices of them with the property of the Lord—this grey she mule sufficeth for me.'" Omar-b-Ḍarr says, that when Omar returned from the funeral of Sulaymān, his freedman said to him, "why do I see thee sad?" He replied, "one should grieve to be in the station that I am in,—there is not one of this people, but I wish to give him his due without his writing to me about it or demanding it from me." And from A'mr-b-Muhājir and others, that when Omar was appointed Caliph, he stood up before the people and praised God and glorified him and said, "O people! there will be no revealed Book after the Kūrān and no prophet after Muḥammad,—now verily I am not one who decideth but one who executeth, nor one who beginneth but one who followeth, and I am not better than any one of ye but I am more forbearing in meekness, and verily a man that fleeth from a tyrannous Imām, doeth not wrongfully—surely there is no obedience due from the creature to what is sinful before the Creator." And from az Zuhri, that Omar-b-A'bdīl A'zīz wrote to Sālim-b-A'bdīl llah* to describe to him the practice of Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭāb concerning the poor-rate, and he wrote to him regarding what he asked telling him, "verily if thou dost unto thy age and thy people according to the works of Omar unto his age and people, thou wilt be greater before the Lord than Omar." And from Ḥammād†, that when Omar was appointed Caliph he wept and said to a certain person. "O! such a one, dost

* Grandson of Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭāb.
† Abūl Kāsim Ḥammād-b-Abī Layla Saḥār (or Maysara) a Daylamite born at Kǔfah called ar Rawiyah (the narrator) because he was able, according to his own account to the Caliph al Walīd-b-'Abdīl Malik, to recite the poems of more poets than the Caliph had ever read or heard of. In one sitting he recited two thousand poems by poets who flourished before Muḥammad, and it was he who united in one collection the seven "Muallaḳāt." He was treated by the Umayyads with preference and honour. He was born A. H. 95 (713—4) and died in 155 (A. D. 772). Ibn Khall.
A. H. 99. thou fear on my account?” He replied, “how is thy desire with regard 
A. D. 717. to money?” He said, “I have no love for it.” He answered, “then fear 
not for the Lord will assist thee.” And from Mughirah, that at the time 
Omar succeeded to the Caliphate, he assembled the sons of Marwán and 
said, “verily the Apostle of God possessed the estate of Fadak, from which 
he derived funds and supported by it the children of the Banu Hásim 
and gave in marriage their orphans by its means, and verily Fátimah asked 
him to bestow it upon her and he refused, and it continued thus during the 
lifetime of Abu Bakr and Omar. Afterwards Marwán assigned it away, 
and it hath come into the hands of Omar-b-A’bdi’l A’ziz. Now I think 
that a thing forbidden to Fátimah by the Apostle of God is no right of 
mine, and verily I call ye to witness that I have restored it to what it 
was in the time of the Apostle of God.” And from al Layth, that 
when Omar became Caliph, he began with his kindred and the people of 
his house, and confiscated what was in their hand, and called their sub-
stance, exactions.

Asmá-b-U’bayd narrates that A’nbasah-b-Sa’íd-b-i’l A’áṣ went in to 
Omar-b-A’bdi’l A’ziz and said, “O prince of the Faithful! the Caliphs 
before thee used to bestow gifts but thou hast forbidden them to us, and I 
have a family and an estate—wilt thou permit me to go to my estate to 
 improve the circumstances of my family?” He replied, “the most beloved 
of ye to me is he who spares me his keep.” Then he added, “be frequent 
in the remembrance of death, for if thou be in straitened circumstances 
it will enlarge them for thee, and if in affluence it will straiten it upon 
thee.”

Furát-b-u’l Sáib narrates that Omar-b-A’bdi’l A’ziz said to his wife 
Fátimah, daughter of A’bdul Malik who possessed a jewel which her 
father had given her, the like of which had never been seen, “choose whether 
 thou wilt give up thy jewel to the public treasury, or suffer me to separate 
from thee, for verily I am loth that I and thou and it should be in one 
house.” She replied, “I prefer thee to it, and to double its value.” He 
therefore gave orders and it was taken away and placed in the public 
treasury of the Muslims; and when Omar died, and Yazíd succeeded to 
the Caliphate, he said to Fátimah, “dost thou wish that I should return 
it to thee?” she answered, “no, by Allah, I did not care for it during his 
life and shall I take it again after his death?” A’bdul A’ziz says that 
one of the prefects of Omar-b-A’bdi’l A’zi’z wrote to him, saying—“verily 
our city is in ill condition—if the prince of the Faithful thinketh fit to 
assign us money that we may repair it, let him do so;” and Omar wrote 
to him, saying, “when thou readest this letter, fortify it with justice and 
purify its streets from oppression—for verily that is its restoration, and peace 
be to thee.” Ibrahim as Sakúni states that Omar-b-A’bdi’l A’ziz said, “I never 
lied from the time that I knew that a lie was a disgrace to its utteror.”
And ﹸKayṣ-b-Jubayr says that Omar among the Banu Umayyah is like the true believer of the family of Pharaoh.* And Maymūn-b-Mīhrān, that the Lord used to be regardful of His people by means of a succession of prophets, but that verily the Lord now watcheth over His people through Omar-b-ʾAbdil Aʿzīz. And Wahb-b-Munabbah, "if there be a guide among this people it is Omar-b-ʾAbdil Aʿzīz."

Muḥammad-b-Fudhālāh narrates that ʾAbduʾllah-b-Omar-b-ʾAbdil Aʿzīz passed by the dwelling of a monk in Mesopotamia, and the monk went down to him, and he had never visited any one before, and said, "knowest thou why I have come down to thee?" He replied, "no." He answered, "on account of the merits of thy father, I find him among the just Imāms in the position of the month of Rajab among the sacred months;' Ayūb-b-Suwayd has interpreted this to mean that the three consecutive months ʾDuʿl Kaaʾdah, ʾDuʿl Hijjah, and al Muḥarram, are Abū Bakr, Omar and Othmān, and Rajab, separate from them is Omar-b-ʾAbdil Aʿzīz. Ḥasan al Ḥaṣṣāb says, "I saw wolves grazing with sheep in the desert during the Caliphate of Omar-b-ʾAbdil Aʿzīz and I said, 'good God! a wolf among sheep and not injuring them!' The shepherd answered, "when the head is sound, there is no harm to the body.'" Málik-b-Dīnār narrates that when Omar-b-ʾAbdil Aʿzīz ruled, the shepherds said, "on account of this good man who rules the people as a just Caliph, the wolves restrain themselves from our flocks." And Mūsā-b-Aaʿyan, "we were tending sheep in Kirmān during the Caliphate of Omar-b-ʾAbdil Aʿzīz, and the sheep and the wolf used to pasture in one place, but meanwhile one night, behold, a wolf attacked a sheep, and I said, 'I cannot but think that the just man is dead,' and they enquired and found that he had died that night." Walīd-b-Muslim states that he had heard that a man in Khurasān related, saying, "a stranger came to me in my sleep and said, 'when he of the Scar among the sons of Marwān rules, go and swear allegiance to him for he is a just Imām,' and I began whenever a Caliph arose, to ask regarding him until Omar b-ʾAbdil Aʿzīz succeeded, and the stranger came to me three times in my sleep, so I set out and swore allegiance to him." He also states on the authority of Ḥalīb-b-Hind al Aslāmi that he said, "Ṣaʿīd-b-uʾl Musayyab said to me, 'verily the Caliphs are three, Abu Bakr, Omar, and Omar-b-ʾAbdil Aʿzīz;' I replied, Abu Bakr and Omar, verily we know them, but who is Omar? He answered, 'if thou livest thou wilt attain to his time, and if thou diest before that he will come after thee.' I remark that Ibn uʾl Musayyab died before the Caliphate of Omar."

Ibn Aʿun says that when Ibn Sīrīn was asked regarding wine, he said, "the Imām of salvation that is, Omar-b-ʾAbdil Aʿzīz has forbidden its

* See page 36, Note •.
A. H. 99. use." And al Hasan declared, that if there is a Mahdi,* it is Omar-b-
A’bdīl A’zīz and if not he, then there is no other than Jesus the son of
Mary." Malik-b-Dinār said—"people assert that Malik is an ascetic,
whereas the ascetic is Omar-b-A’bdīl A’zīz, for the world came to him
and he abandoned it." And Yunas-b-Abi, Shābīb, "I saw Omar-b-A’bdīl
A’zīz and verily the waist-band of his drawers was hidden in the folds
of fat of his stomach: I saw him again after he had become Caliph, and if
I had wished to count his ribs without touching them I could have done
so."

His son A’bdūl A’zīz said, "Abu Jaa’far al Manṣūr enquired of me,
saying, "what was the income of thy father when he succeeded to the
Caliphate?" I replied "forty thousand dinārs?" He asked, "and how
much when he died?" I replied, "Four hundred dinārs, and if he had
lived longer it would have been less." Maslamah-b-A’bdīl Malik narrates,
"I went in to Omar-b-A’bdīl A’zīz to visit him in his illness, and lo, he
was wearing a dirty shirt and I said to Fāṭimah the daughter of A’bdūl
Malik, "dost thou not wash his shirt?" she replied, "by Allah, he has
no other."

Abu Umayyah, the eunuch, the slave of Omar said, "I went in one
day to my mistress, and she gave me a meal of lentils, and I said, “every
day lentils!” she replied, “O my son, such is the meal of thy master the
prince of the Faithful.” When death was approaching, he sent me with
a dinār, to the people of the monastery of Sima’ān† to say—“if ye sell me
a place for my grave, it is well otherwise I will turn from ye elsewhere:
and I went to them and they answered “were it not that we are averse to
his leaving us we would not consent.” Al A’un-b-n’l Mua’mmar narrates
that Omar went to his wife and said, “O Fāṭimah, hast thou a dirham
that I may buy some grapes with it?” She said, “no” and added, “and
thou, the prince of the Faithful, dost thou not possess a dirham where-
with to buy grapes?” He replied, “this is easier for me than to labour
under manacles in hell.”

Sahl-b-Ṣadaḵāh says that when Omar was appointed Caliph, lamenta-
tion was heard in his house and they enquired about it and people said,

* "The directed" the surname of the twelfth and last Imām of the race of
A’ll. His name was Abūl Kāsim Muḥammad son of Ḥasan al A’iskarī the eleventh
Imām. He was born at Sarra’manrā 256 A. H., and he descended into a cistern
in presence of his mother at 9 years of age, whence he is expected to return towards
the end of the world to join the Messiah in combating Antichrist and establishing
one faith. See D. Herb. and Ibn Khall.
† In the district about Damascus—a pleasant spot says Yakūt surrounded by
gardens and buildings—Omar-b-A’bdīl A’zīz was buried here but the site of his
grave is unknown.
that Omar had given his female slaves a choice, saying, "verily business A. H. 99. hath come upon me that will keep me engaged from ye; therefore she that A. D. 717. wishes that I should free her, I hereby free her, and she that desires that I should retain her, I will retain her though I have no need of her"—and they wept in despair at it. According to his wife Fāṭimah, when he entered the house, he used to throw himself down at his place of prayer and would not cease to weep and pray until the drowsiness of his eyes overpowered him and when he awoke, he would do the same thing throughout the night.

Al Walīd-b-Abīl Musayyab said, "I never knew any one more in fear of the Lord than Omar." And Saʿīd-b-Suʿayd, that Omar prayed before the people on a Friday, wearing a shirt patched at the collar in front and behind, and a man said to him, "O prince of the Faithful, verily God hath given unto thee, and wert thou but to clothe thyself properly!" Omar looked down awhile, then raised his head and said, "moderation is most meritorious in affluence, and pardon most praiseworthy in power."

Maymūn-b-Mīhrān narrates, "I heard Omar say, 'if I remained among you fifty years, I should not perfect justice amongst you—verily I desire a thing, but fear lest your hearts endure it not, I therefore leave the world with that in my desire unfulfilled—wherefore if your hearts are averse to this thing, they must rest content with the other.'"

And Ibrahim-b-Maysarah, "I said to Tāʿūs* 'is Omar Aʿbdul Aʿzīz the Mahdi?' He replied, 'he is a Mahdi but not the Mahdi, for he hath not entirely perfected justice.'" Omar-b-Usayd says, "it was before Omar's death that a man used to come to us with a considerable sum of money and say, 'use this as ye think fit,' and he continued until he had brought all his property: thus Omar verily provided for the wants of the people." And Juwayrīyah,† "we went in to Fāṭimah, the daughter of Aʿlī-b-Abī Īlī, and she praised Omar-b-Aʿbdīl Aʿzīz and said, 'if he had remained with us, we should have needed none after him.'"

Aʿtā-b-Abī Rabāh‡ narrates, "Fāṭimah the wife of Omar, told me that she went in to him, and he was at his place of prayer, his tears streaming

* Abu Aʿbdūr Raḥmān Tāʿūs-b-Kaysān al Khālānī one of the most eminent of the Tābīʿīs, was of Persian extraction. He died at Mecca A. H. 106 (725) and the crowd at his funeral was so great that the governor had to send a guard to clear the way. Abu Jafar al Jouzi says that he was called Tāʿūs because he was the peacock of the Kurān readers, but it is the general opinion that it was his real name. Ibn Khall.

† The traditionist, a member of the Dubaṣā'īh tribe—died A. H. 173, (A. D. 789-90.) De Slane, L. K.

‡ He was a Mulatto born at al Jassad and Mawla to the Fikr family at Mecca. He held a high rank as a Tābīʿī, a jurisconsult and ascetic and he and al Mujāhid wore the mufīṣ of Mecca. He died A. H. 115 (733-4) at the age of 88. Ibn Khall.
A. H. 99. over his beard, and she said, 'O prince of the Faithful, has anything happened?' He replied, 'O Fátimah, verily I am invested with authority over the people of Muhammad, the Arabs among them and the foreigners, and I was meditating upon the poor that are starving and the sick that are destitute, and the naked that are in distress, and the oppressed that are stricken, and the stranger that is in prison and the venerable elder, and him that hath a large family and small means, and the like of them in the countries of the earth and the distant provinces, and I felt that my Lord would ask an account of them at my hands on the day of resurrection, and I feared that no defence would avail me, and I wept.' Al Auzá’á’í says that Omar-b-A’bdi’l A’zíz was seated in his house and with him were the chiefs of the Banu Umayyah, and he said, "do ye wish that I should give each one of you to rule over a province?" and one of them said, "why dost thou propose to us what thou wilt not perform?" He replied, "do ye see this carpet of mine, verily I know that it will fall to ruin and decay, yet verily I am loth that ye should soil it with your feet—therefore how can I place ye in authority over my administration—in authority over the property of the Muslims and their persons? this cannot be for you—it cannot be!" And they said to him, "why, have we not kinship—have we not a claim?" He replied,—"ye and the most remote of the Muslims are but equal in my sight in this matter, save that a long journey’s distance keeps that man of the Muslims from me."

Hamíd narrates, "al Hasan dictated to me a letter addressed to Omar-b-A’bdi’l A’zíz, in which he employed all his powers of persuasion and lamented his needs and his large family, and Omar ordered him a present." And al Auzá’á’í, that when Omar desired to punish a man, he kept him in confinement for three days and then punished him, not wishing to be hasty in the first impulse of anger. And al Juayríyah-b-Asmá, that Omar-b-A’bdi’l A’zíz said, "my heart is most covetous—nothing of worldly goods is given to it but it desires something still better, and when I was given that than which nothing in the world is greater, my heart longed for that which is better than it—namely, heaven."

According to A’mr-b-Muhájir the expenditure of Omar every day was two dirhams. Yusuf-b-Ya’kúb al Káhili says that Omar used to wear at night a cloak of camel’s hair and the lamp in his house was placed on the top of three reeds upon which was some clay. Omar ordered his servant to heat some water for him and he went and heated a vessel in the public kitchen, wherupon Omar ordered him to take a dirham’s worth of wood and place it in the kitchen. (A’tá al Khurasáni.) He used to light a wax-candle for himself when engaged in the needs of the Muslims, and when he had finished their business, he would extinguish it and light his own lamp. (A’mr-b-Muhájir.) The Caliph was always attended by three hundred guards and three hundred armed attendants, but Omar said to the guards, "verily I have among ye
Fate as a defender and Death as a guard—he among ye who remains, A. H. 99. shall have ten dinárs, and whoso wishes may go to his family." A. D. 717. (Al Ḥakam-b-Omar.) A'mr-b-Muhájir relates, "Omar once longed for an apple, and one of the people of his house made him a present of one, and he said, 'how sweet is its odour, and how beautiful it is! take it O slave! to him who sent it, and give him greeting and say to him 'verily thy present hath pleased us very much.' I said to him, 'O prince of the Faithful, he is the son of thy uncle and one of thy own house, and verily I have heard that the prophet used to eat such presents;' he replied, 'tie on thee—verily a present to the prophet was a present, but to us in these days it is a bribe.'” "I never knew Omar during his Caliphate," says Ibrahim-b-Maysarah, "strike any one but one man who had received presents from Mu'áwiyyah, and he struck him three stripes." When Omar discontinued to the people of his house, the special allowance which used to be issued to them, they murmured against it, but he said, "my property will not be enough for ye all, yet as for this money, your claim to it is as the claim of a man dwelling afar at-Birku'l Ghimád."* (Al Auzá'a'i.) He also wrote to cancel such orders of al Ḥajjáj as were opposed to public opinion. Yahyá al Ghassání says, "when Omar made me prefect of Mosul, I found theft and house-breaking more common there than in the majority of cities, wherefore I wrote to inform him of the state of the city and asked him whether I should take men up on suspicion and chastise them on mere accusation, or arrest them on clear proof and according as the law directed; he wrote to me in reply that I should arrest them only on clear proof and as the law directed, for if justice would not make them honest, then may God not reform them. I therefore acted accordingly and I did not leave Mosul until it had become one of the most orderly of cities and least frequent in theft and house-breaking." And Rajá-b-Ḥayát narrates, "I was conversing one night with Omar when the lamp grew dim and near it was an attendant asleep. I exclaimed, "shall I rouse him?" He said, "no," I said, "shall not I get up then?" He replied, "it is not polite for a man to exact service from his guest;" and he went to the oil flask and trimmed the lamp and returned and said, "I arose as Omar-b-A'bdíl A'zíz and have returned as Omar-b-A'bdíl A'zíz." According to Nuaym, Omar's secretary, Omar said, "fear of vainglory verily prevents me from speaking much." Makhúl observes, "if I were to swear to it I would but speak the truth, that I never saw any one more pious and god-fearing than Omar-b-A'bdíl A'zíz."

When the mention of death was made, Omar, says Sa‘íd-b-U'rúbah, would tremble in all his joints. He used to assemble every night the doctors of law and converse with them on death and the resurrection, and

* Or Birku'l Ghámád a town at the extreme corner of Yaman. Yaḳút M. B.

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A. H. 99. they would weep as if a bier were before them. (A’tá.) Ubaydullâh-b-A. D. 717. A’yzâr narrates, “Omar preached to us in Syria from a pulpit of clay and said, ‘O people purify your inner thoughts and your exterior conduct will be amended—direct your actions with regard to the world to come, and your worldly concerns will not be amiss—and know that a man between whom and Adam there is no living ancestor, has assuredly a hereditary portion in death,* peace be to ye.’ ”

The Banu Marwân assembled at Omar’s gate and said to his son A’bdu’l Malik—“say to thy father that the Caliphs before him used to make grants to us and recognised our station, but verily thy father hath prohibited to us that which is in his hands;” and his son went in to him and informed him, and he replied, “tell them forsooth my father says to ye—‘verily I fear, if I should rebel against my Lord, the punishment of the Great Day.’” (Kur. VI.) (Wuhayb-b-u’l Ward).

Omar said, “take ye for counsel that which those before ye approved to be good, and take not that which is opposed to them, for they were better than ye and wiser.” Jarîr† once came and took his post for a long time at the gate of Omar who would not notice him, whereupon he wrote to A’un-b-A’bdi’llah who was a confidant of Omar’s—

O reader with the flowing turban,
This is thy day, verily my day hath passed.
Tell our Caliph if thou meetest him
I am at the gate like one chained to a pillar.

(Al Auza’âî.)

When Omar succeeded to the Caliphate, Bilál-b-Abi Bardab went and congratulated him and said, there have been those whom the Caliphate ennobled, but thou hast ennobled it, and there have been those whom it has graced it, but thou hast lent a grace to it and thou art as Malik-b-Asmá says:

“Thou addest a sweet odour to the most delicious fragance
If thou but touch it—where is thy like? where?
For lo! the pearl gives lustre to the beauty of the face
But the beauty of thy face gives lustre to the pearl.”

(Júayrîyâh.)

When A’bdu’l Malik-b-Omar-b-A’bdi’l A’zîz died, Omar began to praise him whereupon Maslamah‡ said, “O prince of the Faithful, if he had lived thou wouldst have made him heir.” He said, “no.” He answered,

* Lane mentions this (‘عربية) as a tradition.
† Abu Hazrah Jarîr-b-A’tiyâh—the poet—the great rival of Farazdaq and al Akhtal—for his history consult Ibn Khall. Kitabu’l Aghani—and the Journal Asiatique for April ’84.
‡ Son of A’bdu’l Malik-b-Marwán.
"and why not, for thou wert but now praising him." Omar said, "I fear A. H. 99. that there might have been a consideration in my regard towards him, such A. D. 717. a consideration as a son holds in the eye of his father," (Ju'únah). A man said to Omar—"leave me a charge." He said, "I commend to thee the fear of God and the preferring of Him above all things, and affliction will be withheld from thee and help will be vouchsafed to thee from God" (Ghassán.) The daughter* of Usámah-b-Zayd went in to Omar and he arose before her and advanced towards her, and made her sit down in his seat, and he sat down before her and left her no wish ungratified. (Abu A'mr.) The sons of Marwán assembled together and they said, "if we went in to the prince of the Faithful, we might make him favourably disposed towards us by pleasantry;" and they entered and one among them spake and jested, and Omar regarded him; then another added his jest to the other's, and Omar said, "is it for this ye have assembled—for the lowest kind of discourse and that which breeds enmities? When ye assemble, betake yourselves to the Book of God, and if ye go beyond that, then to the laws of the Apostle of God, and if ye go again beyond that, then employ yourselves in the interpretation of the meanings of the traditions." (Al Ḥajjáj-b-‘A’basah.)

Iyás-b-Mu’áwiyyah-b-Kurrah says, "I liken Omar to none but an excellent workman who has no tools with which to work—that is, he has none to help him." And Omar-b-Ḥafṣ narrates, "Omar said to me, 'when thou hearest a word from a Muslim, do not impute to it aught of evil as long as thou canst find for it a good motive.'"

Omar used to dissuade Sulaymán-b-‘Abdí’l Malik from putting the Ḥaráríyah sectarians† to death and he would say to him, "imprison them until they show repentance." And a Ḥarárí was brought before Sulaymán who said to him, "well now!" The Ḥarárí replied, "what shall I say, O villain, son of a villain?" Sulaymán exclaimed—"send for Omar-‘Abdí’l A’zíz;" and when he came, he said, "listen to the speech of this man," and the Ḥarárí repeated it, and Sulaymán said, "what dost thou think should be done to him?" but he was silent. He said again "I command thee to tell me what thou thinkest regarding him." He answered,

* Her name was Fáṭimah; she resided at the village of Mizzah near Damascus after the death of her father, the well known Mawla of the prophet who was despatched at the head of an army to Syria at the time the prophet was dying. (See page 74) Usámah died at Medína, and some say at Wádí’l  Khárah about A. H. 64.
† A sect of schematics called after Harúra, a town two miles distant from Kufah because they first assembled there and taught that government belongs only to God. They consisted of Nejdeh and his Companions holding their tenets. They were also called Mubayyádah because their ensigns in war were white. They divided so deeply, says Lane, into matters of religion that they became heretics—and hence the appellation is applied also to any who do thus. Lane, art.
A. H. 99.
A. D. 717.

"I think with regard to him that thou shouldst revile him as he hath reviled thee." He replied, "the matter ends not thus," and he commanded regarding him, and his head was struck off, and Omar departed. But Khálid the captain of the guard, overtook him, and said, "Omar, how couldst thou say to the prince of the Faithful——I do not see anything for him but that thou shouldst revile him as he hath reviled thee? verily I was expecting that he would command me to strike off thy head." He replied, "and if he had commanded thee, wouldst thou have done it?" He answered, "yee, by Allah." Now when the Caliphate fell to Omar, Khálid came and stood up in the place of the captain of the guard and Omar said, "O Khálid put this sword from thee" and he added, "O God, verily I have humbled Khálid for thy sake, therefore raise him up never again." Then he looked upon the faces of the guard, and summoned A'mr-b-Muhájir the Auxiliary and said, "O A'mr, verily thou knowest that there is no kinship between me and thee save the kinship of Islám, but I have heard thee diligently reading the Kurán, and I have seen thee praying in a place when thou didst think that none observed thee, and I saw thee pray with devotion and thou art one of the Auxiliaries——take this sword therefore, for verily I give thee the command of my guard." (Yahya al Ghassání.) Shu'ayb says, "I have been told that A'bdulláh Malik-b-Omar-b A'bdi'l A'zíz went in to his father and said, "O prince of the Faithful what wilt thou say unto thy Lord hereafter when he questioneth thee?" and added, "thou hast witnessed heresies and hast not crushed them, and laws fallen into disuse and thou hast not revived them." And his father answered, "may the Lord have mercy upon thee and reward thee for a good son——my child, verily thy tribe have bound this authority knot by knot and loop by loop, and were I to seek to oppose them by taking away what they possessed, I would not be safe from their making a rupture with me in which much blood would be shed——by Allah, the loss of worldly goods would be easier unto me than that a cupping-glass of blood should be spilt on my account, yet art thou not content that a single day in the world should come to thy father, except he crush a heresy therein and revive a law."

Omar said, "he is happy who is preserved from disputation, anger and covetousness." (Ma'mar.) It was said to Omar, "if thou wert to appoint a bodyguard and to be careful in thy food and drink."* He replied, "O God if thou knowest that I fear aught except the day of resurrection believe not in my fear." (Artáh-b-Mundír.) 'Adi-b-ú'l Fadhíl narrates, "I heard Omar preaching to the people, and he said, 'fear ye God, O people! and proceed with moderation in your quest of worldly goods, for if the destined portion of any one be upon the summit of a mountain or in the depths of

* Such sentences where the apodosis is wanting to complete the period are common enough in the Semitic languages and may be found frequently in the Bible, e. g. Gen. iii. 22.
the earth, it will reach him."

And Azhar says, "I saw Omar preaching to A. H. 99, the people wearing a patched garment." And Abdu'llah-b-u'l A'ls, "I A. D. 717, heard Omar preaching on a Friday a single discourse which he kept repeating and beginning it with these seven sentences—'Praise be to God, we glorify Him and implore His help and His pardon, and we fly to God for protection against the wickedness of our passions and the evil of our deeds; whom God directeth, none can misguide, and there is no guide for him whom God alloweth to go astray—and I testify that there is no god but one God who hath no copartner—and I testify that Muhammed is His servant and His apostle;—he who obeyeth God and His apostle, verily he followeth the right path—and whose rebelleth against God and His apostle, verily goeth astray.'" Then he commended unto them the fear of God and continued to preach, and he concluded his final discourse with these verses "O my servants who have transgressed" (Kur. XXXIX) to the conclusion of the section. Hájib-b-Khalifah al Burjumi says, "I was present when Omar being then Caliph, was preaching, and he said in his discourse, 'verily that which the apostle of God and his two companions have instituted, is the faith which we conform to and follow out and that which others besides those two have established we may put aside.'" (Abu Nuaym gives with their ascriptions in his Ḥuliyyah all that I have advanced.)

Ibn 'Asakir records on the authority Ibrahim-b-Abi A'yla that he said, "we went in to Omar on the day of the festival,* and the people were greeting him, and saying, 'the Lord be propitious unto us and unto thee O prince of the Faithful,' and he returned it to them and did not disapprove their conduct. I remark that this is an excellent precedent for a congratulatory salutation for the day of the festival, and for the year and for the month. He records also from Ju'únah, that Omar gave A'mr-b-Kays as Sakûnî the command of an expedition against the Greeks and said, 'receive graciously those among them that do good and forgive those of them that do evil—and be not the foremost among them, lest thou be slain, nor yet the hindmost lest thou appear cowardly, but be in the middle so that thy place may be seen and thy voice heard.' And from Sáib-b-Muhammed, that A'bdul Jarrah-b-A'bdil'Illah wrote to Omar, saying, 'verily the people of Khurasán are a race whose community is unruly and verily nothing will mend them but the sword and the scourge, therefore if the prince of the Faithful see fit to permit their use to me?'" And Omar wrote, "now, verily thy letter hath reached me, saying, that the people of Khurasán are a community that are unruly, and that nothing will mend them but the sword and the scourge, but in truth thou hast

* By the term Eed is meant one of the two principal religious festivals of the Muslims. Eed u'l Adha (festivals of the victims) held on the 10th of Du'l Hijjah or the Eed ul Fitr the festival of the breaking of the fast after the Ramadhán.
spoken falsely for justice will mend them and truth—therefore spread
A. D. 717. these amongst them and peace be to thee.” And from Umayyah-b-Zayd, of the Kuraysh that he said, “when Omar dictated his correspondence to me, he would say, ‘O God I fly to thee for protection from the evil of my tongue.’” And from Salih-b-Jubayr that he said, “I have often times discoursed with Omar on a subject and he would get wroth and I would say—‘it is written in a book,—fear the wrath of a youthful king and be gentle with him until his anger departeth;’ and he would say to me afterwards, ‘let not what thou seest in me, O Salih, hinder thee from recurring to the subject with me when thou seest it fit.’” And from A’bdul Hakim-b-Muhammad al Makhzumi that Jarir-b-u1-Khahtaf went before Omar and was about to recite poetry when Omar checked him, but he said “indeed I am about to make mention of the Apostle of God.” Omar replied—“well if it be the Apostle of God, then mention him”—and Jarir went on.

Verily He who sent the prophet Muhammad
Hath conferred the Caliphate on a just prince,
Who hath restored extortions with exactness to their just owners
From their unrighteousness, and made straight the erring of the deviator.
Verily I seek of thee a present bounty
For the heart clings to the love of the present.

Omar said to him “I find nothing due to you in the book of God,”
He replied, “yes, O prince of the Faithful—verily I am a wayfarer.” He therefore ordered him fifty dinars from his privy purse.

It is recorded in the Tuuyuryiat that Hariz-b-Othman a’r Rajbi went in with his father to Omar who asked the latter regarding his son, and then said, “teach him the great science,” He answered, “and what is the great science?” Omar replied, “contentment, and abstaining from molesting others.” Ibn Abi Hatim records from Muhammad-b-Kaab al Karadhi that he narrates, “Omar, summoned me and said, ‘define justice to me.’ I said, ‘well, thou askest regarding a momentous thing—be to the little ones among men as their father—to the great as their son—to your equals among them as a brother and the same towards women, and punish men according to the degree of their faults and the measure of their bodily endurance, and strike not, be sure, a single blow of a scourge in anger lest thou exceed justice and be of those who oppress.’”

Abdu’r Razzak records in his Musannaf from az Zuhri that Omar used to make his ablutions after eating anything that had touched the fire, so that he would make his ablutions after eating sugar. And from Wuhayb that Omar said, “he who considers his words as a part of his actions will be sparing of his conversation.”
Ad ḑahabi says that Ghaylán* professed a denial of predestination A. H. 99. during the Caliphate of Omar, who sought to make him abjure, wherefore A. D. 717. he said, “verily I was in error but thou hast directed me aright.” Omar exclaimed, “O God—if he be sincere, forgive him, otherwise crucify him and cut off his hands and feet.” And his prayer concerning him took effect, for he was seized in the Caliphate of Hishám-b-A’bdí’l Malik and his limbs were cut off and he was crucified at Damascus for the denial of predestination. Some other author says that the Banu Umayyah used to vilify A’li-b-Abi Tālib in the Khutbah, and when Omar ruled, he abolished this and wrote to his prefects to discontinue it, and he read in its place “verily God commandeth justice and the doing of good.” (Kur. XVI) and the rest of the verse, and the reading of this has continued to this day.

Al Ḷāli says in his Dictations on the authority of Aḥmad-b-Ubayd that Omar before his Caliphate versified.

“Restrain thy heart from love
And from subservience to passion,
For by the life of thy Lord, verily in
The greyness of thy head and its baldness
Is an admonisher if thou canst
Take warning as he is admonished who is wise.
Till how long wilt thou not forbear?
Till how long and how long!
After thou hast been called of mature age
Dost thou still snatch at the name of youth!
Youth is worn out and thou
If thou live, will be a hostage to calamity.
That sufficeth as an admonisher
To a man from wandering astray.”

At Tha’ālabi says in the Latā’if u’l Ma’ārif (Curiosities of Knowledge) that Omar-b-u’l Khatṭáb, Othmán, A’li, Marwán-b-u’l Ḥakam and Omar-b-A’bdí’l A’zíz were bald, and after that, baldness ceased to be seen among the Caliphs. Az Zubayr-b-Bakkár says that a poet said of Fāṭimah, daughter of A’bdú’l Malik-b-Marwán and wife of Omar-b-A’bdí’l A’zíz.

Daughter of a Caliph—a Caliph her grandsire,
Sister of Caliphs and her husband a Caliph.”

* Ghaylán of Damascus according to Sale, (p. 112) together with Mābad al Juhni and Jonas al Aswāri, broached heterodox opinions concerning predestination shortly after the rise of the first heresy in Islám, that of the Khārijites under the Caliphate of A’li. Their opinions were followed by Wāsīl-b-A’ta the founder of the Mu’ātazalites.
A H. 99. He continues "no other woman but herself can claim in her behalf this verse up to my time," and I add up to mine.

His sickness and death.

Ayúb states that it was said to Omar A'bdull A'zíz, "if thou wert to go to Medina and wert to die there, thou wouldst be buried in the place of the fourth grave with the Apostle of God." He replied, "by Allah, that the Lord should chastise me with every torture save hell-fire, would be preferable to me than that the Lord should conceive that I deemed myself worthy of that place." Walíd-b-Hishám says that it was said to Omar in his sickness, "wilt thou not get thyself a remedy?" He answered—"verily I knew the moment in which I was given to drink poison, and if my cure were but to touch the lobe of my ear or were I brought a perfume which I had only to raise to my nose, I would not do it." U'bayd-b-Hasán narrates that when Omar was on the point of death, he said to those present—"depart from me," and Maslamah and Fátimah sat down by the door and they heard him saying, "welcome these faces that are not the faces of men or genii." Then he said, "as to this future mansion of paradise," (Kur. XXVIII) and the rest of the verse: then the sound grew faint, and they went in and found him dead. Hishám says that when the news of Omar's death went abroad, Hasan al Baṣrí said, "the best of men is dead!" and Khálid ar Ribi'i, "I find in the Pentateuch that the heavens and the earth shall weep over Omar-b-A'bdí'l A'zíz for forty mornings." Yusuf-b-Máhák says, "while we were levelling the earth over the grave of Omar, lo! there fell upon us a scroll of parchment from the sky in which was written, 'In the name of God the most Merciful, the Compassionate. Immunity from God for Omar-b-A'bdí'l A'zíz from hell-fire.'"

Ka'tádah narrates that Omar wrote to the heir who was to succeed him, "In the name of God the most Merciful the Compassionate."

From Omar-b-Abdí'l Azíz, to Yazíd-b-A'bdí'l Mallik.

"Peace be to thee! Verily I glorify God unto thee, besides whom there is no other God. And now, verily, I write to thee, being nigh unto death through my sickness, and insooth I know that I shall be questioned regarding the things that I have governed, the King of this world and the next taking account of me concerning it, and I am unable to hide from him a tittle of my deeds. If therefore He be content with me verily I shall be happy and shall escape from enduring contempt, but if He be displeased with me, then woe unto me for that which I shall become. I ask of God, of Hím besides whom there is no other God, to save me
through His mercy from hell-fire and to vouchsafe unto me His approba-
tion and Paradise. Let the fear of God be upon thee—and the people— A. D. 717.
the people—be thy care, for verily thou will remain after me but a little
while.” (Abu Nua’ym has given all this with their ascriptions in the
Huliyah).

Omar died at Dayr-Sima’án, in the district about Emessa* on the 20th
or as some say the 25th of Rajab of the year 101 (5th or 10th February
720), he being at that time thirty-nine years and six months old. His
death was caused by poison. The Banu Ummayyah hated him on account
of his severity to them and his confiscating from them much that they had
plundered. He neglected to take precautions and they gave him poison to
drink. Mujáhid narrates, “Omar said to me, ‘what do people say
about me?’ I replied ‘they say thou art disordered in mind’ He replied,
‘I am not disorderd in mind: verily, I knew the moment in which they
gave me poison to drink.’ Then be summoned one of his slaves and said
‘ alas! for thee—what brought thee to give me poison to drink?’ He
replied, ‘one thousand dinars that I was given and the promise that I should
be liberated.’ Omar said, ‘bring them here.’ Mujahid adds that he brought
them and Omar put them into the public treasury and said to him, ‘go that
no one may see thee.’ ”

Among people of note who died in Omar’s reign were, Abu Imámah-
b-Sabl-b-Ḥunayf, Khárijah-b-Zayd-b-Thábit, Salim-b-Abi’l Jaa’d, Busr-b-
Sa’id,† Abu Othmán an Naḥdi, and Abu’s Saḥá.

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YAZD-b-A’BDI’L MALIK.

Yazíd-b-A’bdí’l Malik-b-i’l Ḥakam, Abu Khálid, of the house of Umay-
yah, a native of Damascus, was born in the year 71 and ruled the Caliphate
in succession to Omar-b-A’bdí’l A’zíz, according to the covenant of his bro-
ther Sulaymán, as hath gone before. A’bdur Rahman-b-Zayd-b-Aslam
says that when Yazid ruled he said to the people “take as your rule of life,
the conduct of Omar-b-A’bdí’l A’zíz;” and there were brought to him
forty Shaykhs and they testified to him, saying—“ for the Caliphs there
is neither a day of reckoning nor punishment.”

* Yaḵtú says Damascus: it is probably somewhere between those two towns.
Another of the same name was in Mount Lebanon and a third near Antioch. Sima’án
is Simon, and Yaḵtú says that the convent was named, it is supposed, after Simon
Peter, “one of the great doctors of the Christians!”
† Ibn u’l Athír, says Busr-b-Saa’d. The name Abu’s Saḥá is probably wrong—
I have never met a name of the kind and, it is not mentioned in the Kámil. Abu Sálíḥ
Zakwán died in the time of Omar and also Abu Sálíḥ Samán.
When Omar died, Yázid exclaimed, “by Allah, Omar was not more in need of the Lord than I,”—and for forty days he continued to follow the example of Omar, and then abandoned it. (Ibn u'l Mújishún).

When Omar was on the point of death, he wrote to Yazíd-b-A'bdí'l Malik saying, “peace be to thee! now, verily I do not see myself other than what I am—I commend to thee in God’s name the people of Mu'hámmad—for verily thou wilt leave the world to one who will not praise thee, and wilt go unto One who will not hold thee excused—and peace be to thee!” (Sulaym-b-Bashír.)

In the year 102 Yazíd-b-u'l Muhállab rebelled against the Caliphate, and Muslimah-b-A'bdí'l Malik-b-Marwán was despatched against him, and Yazíd was defeated and slain, and that at A'kr* a place near Karbalá. Al Kalbi says, “I was a youth when people used to say that the Banu Umáyyah slaughtered religion on the day of Karbalá and clemency† on the day of A'kr. Yazíd died towards the end‡ of Shaa'bán in the year 105 (28th January 724).

Of people of note who died during his reign were, ad Dháhák-b-Múzálím, A'dí-b-Arťáh, Abu'l Mutawakkil an Nájí, A'ţá-b-Yásár, Múnjáhid, Yahya-b-Watháb the Kurán reader of Kúfah, Khalíd-b-Maa'dan as Shaa'bi the scholar of Irák, A'bdur Rahmán-b-Hassan-b-Thábit, Abu Kilábah al Jarmi, Abú Burdhá-b-Abi Músá al Asha'ri, and others.

HISHÁM-b-A'BDMI' L MALIK.

Hishám-b-A'bdí'l Malik, Abu'l Walid was born after the year 70§ and succeeded to the Caliphate according to the covenant of his brother Yazíd. Musaaz b' az Zubayrí says that A'bdú'l Malik had a dream regarding which he questioned Sa'id-b-u'l Musayyab, who interpreted it to mean that four of the issue of his loins would bear sway. Hishám was the last of these. He was discreet and wise. He would never allow any money to enter his treasury until forty people had testified upon oath that it had

* The printed edition has A'kr which is incorrect.
† By the Caliph's orders 300 Irákian prisoners were put to death at Kúfah. This inhumanity was not however confined to one side, for Mu'áwiyyah, Yazíd's son, according to Weil, on leaving Wásit slaughtered 32 of the prisoners he had taken. Among them A'dí-b-Arťáh and his son. See Weil, Gesoh, Calíph, and Ibn Khall, who has a long article on Yazíd-b-Mu'hállab. The family of Mu'hállab were as celebrated under the Umáyyads for generosity as the Barmekides under the house of A'bbás.
‡ On the 25th according to Ibn u'l Athír.
§ In the year 72 according to Ibn u'l Athír.
been rightfully exacted, and that to every just claimant had been given A. H. 105. his due.

A man once addressed Hishám abusively, and he said to him, "O such a one, it doth not befit thee to revile thy Caliph." And once he was wroth with a man and said—"by Allah, verily I intended to scourge thee!" (Al Aṣma‘i.) Saḥbal-b-Muḥammad says, "I never saw one of the Caliphs to whom the shedding of blood was more hateful and upon whom it was more grievous, than Hishám." It is recorded on Hishám's authority that he said, "there is not one remaining of the pleasures of the world, but I have enjoyed it, save one—a friend regarding whom I can dispense with the trouble of being vigilant concerning what is between me and him."

When Hishám built ar Rusáfah* near Kinnisrin, he desired to retire there for one day during which no care should approach him, but the day was not half spent when there floated towards him a feather covered with blood from some part of the frontier and was borne to him, and he exclaimed, "not a single day!"

It is said that the following line is his and no other of his is recorded.

"If thou dost not rebel against concupiscence, it will lead thee

To what will occasion evil speaking against thee.

He died in Rabī‘† u’l Akhir of the year 125. (6th February 743).
In the year 107 of his reign Ḫaysariyāh in Asia Minor‡ was taken by the sword.
In the year 108 Khanjarah§ was taken by al Battāl the famous hero.
In the year 112 Kharshanah|| near Malātiyah was captured.

Of persons of note who died in the reign of Hishám, were, Sālim-b-Aʿbdillah-b-Omar, Taús, Salaymán-b-Yasár, Iʿkramah Mawla of Ibn

* About four parasangs west of Rakka towards the desert. He built it when the plague desolated Syria and used to reside in it during the summer. One of Yakūṭ's authorities (Ibn Buṭlān) asserts it to have been originally a fort built of stone in which was a large Christian Church built by Constantine the son of Helena. Beneath the Church was a cistern on marble pillars paved with marble and full of rain water. The people living in its neighbourhood were mostly Bedouin Christians. The word Rasafáh رصافة signifies a dam constructed for the purpose of obstructing or retaining water—hence the place was so called after the cistern in the fort, no other water nearer than the river Euphrates being procurable.

† On the 6th according to Weil.
‡ Yakūṭ spells this word ایضاسی and not ابیضی as in the text.
§ The printed edition and MS. both have Hanjarah. Yakūṭ does not give it, but names Khanjarah as a portion of the Grecian territory. Abdūllah al Battāl was one of the Generals of Muʿāwiyyah-b-Hishám who commanded the troops in Asia Minor. In 739-al Battāl was defeated in one of his expeditions and slain. See Weil, p. 638, Vol. 1, and Ibn ul Athir for the year A. H. 122.
|| Kharshanah in the printed edition and MS. but Ibn u’l Athir and Yakūṭ make it Kharshanah.
A. H. 125. A'bbas, al Kásim-b-Muḥammad-b-Abî Bakr i's Šiddîk, Kuthay the poet
lover of A'zza, Muḥammad-b-Kasal-al Karadhi,* al Ḥasan al Başrî, Muḥam-
dad-b-Sirîn, Abu't T'ufayl A'âmîr-b-Wâthinah the last of the Companions,
Jarîr, Farazdaḵ, A'tîyah al Aʿâfî, Muʿawiyyah-b-Kurrah, Makhûl, A'tâ-b-
Abî Rabîh, Abu Jas'far al Bâkîr, Wahab-b-Munabbih, Sukaynah daugh-
ter of al Ḥusayn, al Aʿraj, Ḫâzâdah, Nâfî Mawla-b-Omar, Ibn Aʿâmîr
the Kurân reader of Syria, Ibn Kathîr Kurân reader of Mecca, Thâbit
al Bunâni, Málik-b-Dînâr, Ibn Muḥayyasah† the Kurân reader, Ibn
Shihâb az Zuhri, and others.

Among the narratives concerning Hishâm, Ibn Asâkir records on the
authority of Ibrahim-b-Abî A'yâlah that he said, "Hishâm desired to place
me over the finances of Egypt, but I declined and he grew wroth so that
his countenance was agitated and there was a fierceness in his eye, and he
cast upon me a forbidding look and said, 'thou shalt assuredly take charge
willingly or against thy will;' but I restrained myself from speaking
till his anger had cooled down, and I said, 'prince of the Faithful, may
I speak?' He replied, 'yes.' I said, 'verily God hath spoken in His
glorious Book, "we proposed the faith unto the heavens and the earth and
the mountains and they refused to undertake the same &c."' (Kur XXXIII
now, by Allah, O prince of the Faithful, He was not wroth with them when
they were loth, and I do not deserve that thou shouldst be angered against
me because I refused, or that thou shouldst force me when I am unwilling'—and he laughed and forgave me.' And from Khâlid-b-Šafwân†
that he said, "I visited Hishâm and he said, 'say, what is it? O son of
Šafwân,'—I began—one of the kings set forth on a pleasure excursion to al
Khawrnâk,§ and he was a man of wisdom as well as of wealth and power, and
he looked round and said to his, courtiers—'unto, whom doth this belong'? and

* Ibn u'l Atîr writes this name Kurdi, but Ibn Khall confirms the reading
of the text; al Karadhi signifies a dealer in Karadhi.الکردرہ the leaf of the salam tree used
† Not Muḥayyasah as in the text. See Ibn u'l Atîr for the spelling of this
name, under the year 113 A. H.
‡ His father was the chief of the Banu Tamîm and a great orator. Khâlid was
equally distinguished in his oratory and his avarice and his frequent divorces. No night,
he used to say, was so pleasant as the one wherein he had dismissed his wives. Ibn
Kutaybah K. M.
§ This was an Nua'mân-b-Imr u'l Kays-b-A'di descended from Kahtân—the
palace of Khawrnâk built by him was near Kâfah. It was designed by a Greek called
Sinnimmâr and finished in sixty years. The architect was thrown from its summit by
order of Nua'mân for boasting that by the removal of a secret part of the masonry the
building would fall. The story in the text is given much the same in Yaḵût.
they said—'unto the king.' He exclaimed, 'have ye seen any who hath been A. H. 125. favoured as I have been favoured?' " Now there was with him one of the most A. D. 743. excellent of those versed in lore and he said, "verily thou hast enquired regarding a certain matter—dost thou give me leave to reply?" The king answered, "yes." He said,—"hast thou regarded the condition in which thou art? is it a thing in which thou wilt continue or rather a thing which hath come to thee by inheritance, and which shall pass from thee to another as it hath come to thee?" He answered—"such is the case." He continued, "dost thou then pride thyself on a trifling thing which thou dost possess but for a short time and from which thou must sever for a time that will endure, and of which account will be demanded of thee?" The king exclaimed, "alas! then—where is there a refuge and where a haven of retreat?" and a cold shudder seized him. The other said, "either thou must continue in thy sovereignty and act in obedience to God in regard to what displeasest or gratifieth thee, or thou must relinquish thy kingdom and lay down thy crown and cast from thee thy worn garments and worship thy Lord." He answered, "I will reflect to-night and will go to thee in the morning." And when it was morning, he knocked at his door and said, "I have chosen this mountain and these solitudes and have put on my garments of sackcloth, and if thou wilt be my companion—do not deny me." And they dwelt upon the mountain until they died—

A'di-b-Zayd-b-Hammád* says on this subject:

"O thou who rejoicest at other's affliction and scoffest
At fortune! art thou exempt and perfect?
Or hast thou a firm covenant with time?
Nay! thou art an arrogant fool!
Whom hast thou seen whom Death hath suffered to endure?
Or who hath over him a defender to save him from being wronged?
Where is Kušrau—king of kings—father of Sasan, and where Sabúr before him?
And the fair† illustrious race, monarchs
Of Rūm? no mention of them remains.
And the Lord of Hadhr‡ when he founded it and when

* Not al Himár as in the text. He was a poet of the time of Ignorance. He and his family professed the Christian religion. For his life consult Kitáb u'l Agháni. Tom. II. p. 18, and the Journal Asiatique for November ’38.
† Called also Banu'l A’sfár from A’sfár, son of Rúm, son of Esau, son of Isaac, son of Abraham. See Lane, for other derivations of this word.
‡ Between Mosul and Takrit. The name of a certain king Saṭirún is connected with this city's early history—it was built of cut stone and was of great magnificence which is still attested, according to Yaḵút, by the remnants of its ruined walls. It afterwards fell into the possession of a chief called Dhayzan and being built under
The Tigris and the Khabûr went back towards it—
He built it strongly of marble and covered it with cement,
And now birds have their nests in its pinnacles.
Death hath not respected him and perished
Hath his kingdom, and his gate is deserted.
And remember the Lord of Khaurnak the day
That he gazed from an eminence and be the memory a guide to thee!
His wealth gladdened him and the plenty
That he possessed—and the river lay before him and Sadir.*
And his heart repented and he said,
What is the happiness of a creature that is about to die?
And after prosperity and empire and dominion
The graves have concealed them there,
And they become like unto a withered leaf
That the east and west winds whirl away.”

The narrator continues, “and Hishâm wept until his beard was wet,
and he commanded his two daughters to take up his couch and he secluded himself† in his palace. And his servants and his retinue went to Khâlid-b-SAfarwân and said, ‘what hast thou desired with the prince of the Faithful? thou hast ruined his happiness.’ He replied, ‘begone from me—I have verily made a covenant with God, that I would never be alone with a king, but I would remind him of the Most High.’”

AL WALÎD-b-YAZÎD-b-A’BâDI’l MALIK.

Al Walîd-b-Yazîd-b-A’bdi’l Malik-b-Marwân-b-îl Ḥakam,—the profligate Caliph, Abu’l A’bbâs was born in the year 90. When his father was on the point of death, he was unable to appoint him successor as he was but a child; he therefore covenanted for his brother Hishâm, and named him heir after Hishâm. He assumed the government on the death of Hishâm in Rabî’ u’l Akhir in the year 125. He was a libertine and a wine-drinker and a breaker of the divine commands. He wished to make talismanic influence, it could not be taken save by the breaking of the spell. For the story consult Yakût. The heroine was the daughter of Dhadzân, who had been so delicately nurtured that a crumpled myrtle leaf disturbed her sleep. Ibn Khall says that Satîrân and Dhadzân were the same person. See under “ārî” Muhammad-b-Jâbir.

* A river near Hîrah—also a palace built near Khaurnak by Nu’mân the Great for a Persian king—consult Yakût.

† For I believe the text here to be corrupt. The MS. has امر

لَدِم فَرَشَهُ وَ لَدِم قَصْرَهُ

بَابَنَتِهِ وَ ضَمَّ فِرَشَهُ
the pilgrimage in order that he might drink upon the summit of the Kaa'bah. A. H. 126. The people abhorred him for his profissig, and rose up against him and A. D. 744. he was slain on (27th) Jumáda'í Akhirah of the year 126. (16th April 744).

It is recorded on his authority that when he was besieged he said to the people, "have not I increased your largesses? Have not I removed your grievances? Have not I given unto the poor among ye?" They replied, "we do not reproach thee for ourselves, but we find fault with thee for thy transgressions against the prohibitions of God, and the drinking of wine and marriage with the concubines of thy father who have borne children to him, and thy contempt for the commands of the Lord." And when he was slain and his head was cut off and taken to Yazid an Nákis, he placed it on a spear, and his brother Sulaymán-b-Yazid looking upon it said—"away with it—I testify that he was a wine-drinker, licentious and profigate and he sought to seduce me into immorality."

Al Mu'áfa al Jariri* says, "I have collected some particulars regarding the life of al Walíd and his verses which contain the wickedness he committed through his folly and weakness of mind and the heresies he openly expressed regarding the Qurán, and impiety towards God." Ad Dáhábi observes that the impiety and atheism of al Walid are not clearly established, but he was notorious for drinking and profissig, and for that reason they rebelled against him.

Mention of al Walid was once made in the presence of al Mahdi and a man said that he was an atheist, and al Mahdi replied, "go to, the Vicegerency of God in his charge is too sublime an office that He should have given it to an atheist." Al Walid was one of the most comely of men as well as one of the most violent and he was among the most polished of poets. Marwán-b-Abi Ḥafṣah az Zuhri was always reviling al Walid and finding fault with him to Hishám, and saying, "it is not lawful for thee to do other than put him aside," but Hisham was not able to do so, and if az Zuhri had lived until al Walid reigned, the latter would have put him to death. (Abu'z Zinád.)

Hisham desired to put aside al Walid and bestow the succession upon his son, but al Walid said,

Thou hast been ungrateful for the favours of thy benefactor—wert thou but thankful
The most Merciful would requite thee with favour and bounty.
I have seen that thou hast planned industriously to set me aside.

* Probably Abu Ma'súd al Mu'áfa-b-Imrán, a native of Mosul of the tribe of Ad, who studied jurisprudence under Suṣyán at Thaúri. He was remarkable for his learning and piety, died A. H. 184. I. K. De Slane.
A. H. 126. If thou wert wise, thou wouldst annul what thou has designed.
A. D. 744. I behold thee working enmity upon those that remain,
Happy for them wert thou to die from the evil thou workest!
I am as one among them to-day, while their frequent exclamation is
O would that we had been in happier circumstances* or that thou
hadst never lived.
(ad Dhakhák-b-Othmán).
Ḥammád ar Ráwiyah narrates, "I was one day with al Walíd and
two astrologers came in to him and said, 'we have looked into what thou
hast commanded us, and we have found that thou wilt reign for seven
years. I was desirous,' continues Ḥammád, 'to deceive him so I said
falsely—'I too am learned in signs and the systems of knowledge, and
verily I have looked into this and have found that thou wilt reign forty
years.' And he looked down in thought and then said, 'what they have
declared will not afflict nor what thou hast said, make me over-confident.
By Allah, I will assuredly gather in the revenue lawfully like unto the
meeting of him who was to live forever, and I will surely disburse it
according to its just claims, as he would disburse it who was to die to-
morrow.'"

In the Musnad of Ahmad verily there hath come down a tradition—
"there shall be over this people, a man called al Walíd; he will assuredly
be more hard upon this people than Pharaoh upon his subjects."

Ibn Fadhli'lláh says in the Masálik (Ways).† "Al Walíd was an
inexorable tyrant, a title that does not wrong him—a path which he trod,
but which did not guide him aright—the Pharaoh of this transitory age—
of this world filled with calamities. He will come at the day of resurrec-
tion at the head of his tribe, bringing them into hell-fire and delivering
them over to shame. Miserable the station where they alight—and hateful
their place of return on that plain of assemblage. He hath shot arrows
at the holy Book, and hath been licentious and hath not feared‡ sins."

As Súli records on the authority of Sa'íd-b-Salím that Ibn Miyádah
repeated to al Walíd the verse of his in which he says:
"You have surpassed the Kuraysh, save the family of Muḥammad
Save the Banu Marwán, the eminent.

* I read with the MS. خُطَبُ. Of the word خُبْن in the printed edition, I can make
no sense.
† مسألة الأباصل في إخبار ملوك الأمم. Vico oculorum de historia princi-
pum magnarum urbiun—in twenty folios by Shihád-ūd din Ahmad-b-Yahya-b-
Muḥammad, al Kirmáni, a'd Dimishkí, as Sháfi'i known as Ibn Fadhli'lláh, died 749
(1348). A supplement to this work was written by the author's son. Haj., Khal.
‡ It may be also translated—"hath not concealed his sins"—according as the verb
may be taken from the root خَفَفٍ خَرَفٍ or
Al Walid said to him, "I see that thou hast put before us the family A. H. 126. of Muhammad." He replied, "I do not think it is lawful to do otherwise." A. D. 744. And this Ibn Miyadah is he who says of al Walid also in his long poem.——

"I purposed to say a true speech,  
And verily I shall say it in spite of enemies.  
I have seen al Walid the son Yazid blessed,  
His shoulders strong under the burdens of the Caliphate."

YAZID-AN-NAKISH-B-U'L WALID.

Yazid the Retrencher, Abú Khálid-b-u'l Walid-b-Abdi'l Malik was surnamed the Retrencher because he cut down the allowances to the troops. He usurped the Caliphate and slew his nephew al Walid and took possession of the government. His mother was Shahfarand daughter of Firlz son of Yazdajird, and the mother of Firlz was daughter of Shiruyah son of Khusrau, and the mother of Shiruyah was daughter of Khakán the Turkish chief and the grandmother of Firlz was the daughter of the Roman Emperor—for this reason Yazid says boastingly:

"I am the son of Khusrau, my ancestor was Marwan  
Caesar was my grandsire and my grandsire was Khakán."

At Tha'álabi says that he was the most noble in descent on both sides as well in regard to the monarchy as the Caliphate, and when he had put al Walid to death he stood up to preach and said, "now verily, by Allah, I have not rebelled out of insolence or ingratitude, nor seeking after worldly advantage, nor aiming at sovereignty and verily I have been but an oppressor unto my own soul if the Lord have not mercy upon me—but I came forward out of zeal for God and His religion as a summoner to His Book and the laws of his prophet, at a time when the banners of right guidance were defaced, the light of piety extinguished and a tyrant appeared making lawful, things that are forbidden and indulging in heretical innovations.* And when I beheld that, I feared that a darkness had come over ye which would not be removed for the multitude of your transgressions and the hardness of your hearts,—and I feared lest he should seduce many of the people to follow his course, and that they would consent, wherefore I asked of the Lord a blessing upon my purpose, and I summoned those of my family and under my authority who obeyed my call, and the Lord freed the people and the cities from him by the jurisdiction that is from God and there is no power or strength but from God. O ye people!

* He himself was a Mua'tazalite. See Masa'údi.
verily I promise ye, if I rule your affairs, that I shall not lay a brick upon a brick, nor a stone upon a stone, nor carry away revenue from any city until I have fortified its frontier and expended for its welfare what will suffice to make ye secure, and if any balance should remain, I will transfer it to the city that is next to it, in order that the means of subsistence may be duly provided for, and that you may all be on an equality therein. If therefore ye desire to swear allegiance to me on the conditions I have proposed, I am yours, and if I deviate from my word, allegiance to me will not be binding upon ye. And if ye see any one more capable than I am for this authority, and ye desire to make a covenant with him then I will be the first to swear him allegiance and ask pardon of God for myself and for ye."*  

Othmán-b-Abi’il A’stikah says that the first Caliph who came forth armed on the two festivals was Yazíd-b-u’l Walíd: he came forth then between two ranks of armed horsemen from the gate of the fort to the place of prayer.  

And on the authority of Abu Othmán al Laythi, that Yazíd said, "O children of Umayyah, beware of singing, for it lessens shame, increases concupiscence and destroys manliness and indeed it takes the place of wine and doth that which intoxicating liquor effects, but if needs be that ye do it, then restrain your women therefrom, for song is an incentive to incontinence."

Ibn A’bdîl Ḥakam narrates, "I have heard as Sháfi’î say that when Yazíd assumed the government, he summoned the people to deny predestination and seduced them to it and honoured the followers of Ghaylán. Yazíd did not long enjoy the Caliphate but died in the same year on the 7th of D’u’l Hijjah:† thus his Caliphate lasted not quite six months, he being thirty-five years old, some say forty-six. It is said he died of the plague."

IBRAHIM-B-U’L WALID-B-A’BDI’L MALIK.

Ibrahim-b-u’l Walid-b-A’bdîl Malik was acknowledged Caliph after the death of his brother Yazíd an Nâkîṣ who as some say made a testament in his favor, while others assert that he did not. Burd-b-Sinán narrates, "I was with Yazíd-b-u’l Walid when he was on the point of death, and Kátân‡ came to him and said, ‘I am a messenger from those who are

* This discourse is translated by Weil from Tabari and it is given by Ibn u’l Athîr. They differ slightly, but much less so from each other than either of them from the text of as Suyûtî.
† According to Weil the end of that month.
‡ Perhaps Kátân-b-Mudrik al Kilâbî governor of Başrah.
behind thy gate asking of thee in the name of God's justice why thou hast A. H. 126.
appointed over their affairs thy brother Ibrahim.' But he grew wroth A. D. 744.
and said 'I appoint Ibrahim?' — then he said to me 'O father of the
learned, whom dost thou think that I should appoint?' I replied, 'I
shall not counsel thee regarding the conclusion of what I warned thee
against entering upon.' Then a faintness came over him so that I thought
that he was dead. Then Katan sat down and forged a testamentary docu-
ment as if from the dictation of Yazid and summoned some people and asked
them to bear witness to it—but no, by Allah, Yazid made no testament
at all.'
Ibrahim continued in the Caliphate seventy days* and was then
deposed, for Marwan-b-Muhammad set forth against him and received the
covenant of allegiance and Ibrahim fled. Afterwards he came and abdicat-
ed the government and resigned it to Marwan and voluntarily swore him
allegiance and Ibrahim lived after that till the year 132 and he was killed
among those of the Banu Ummayyah who were slain in the massacre
perpetrated by as Saffah.
* It is related in the history of Ibn A'sakir that Ibrahim heard tradit-
ions from az Zuhri and narrated them on the authority of his paternal
uncle Hisham, and his son Yakub recited them from him. His mother
was a slave concubine, † and he was the brother of Marwan u'l Himar by
his mother. His deposal took place on Monday the 14th of Safar in the
year 127 (23rd November 744). Al Madaini says that his authority was
never completely established, one party acknowledging him as Caliph and
another acknowledging his temporal government, and another refusing
altogether to swear him allegiance, and one of the poets of that time has
said—

We swear Ibrahim ‡ allegiance every Friday—
Verily a government must perish that hath thee for its ruler.
It has been said by some one that the impression on his signet ring
was, "Ibrahim relies upon God!"

* Lit. nights, but the word ليل is often used to signify a period of twenty-four
hours counted from the sunset of one day to the sunset of the next.
† Umm-Walad, signifies a slave who has borne a child to her master. After
she has become a mother, she can no longer be sold, and is considered as married to
her master though no marriage ceremony may have been performed.
‡ For نتاجيإبراهيم of the text, I read with Masa'udi, نجات إبراهيم.
A. H. 127.
A. D. 744.

MARWÁN AL ḤIMÁR.

Marwán the Ass, Abu A'bdull Malik-b-Muhammad-b-Marwán-bi'l Ḥakam was the last of the Caliphs of the Banú Umayyah. He was surnamed al Jaa'dí after his preceptor al Jaa'dí-b-Dirham,* and the Ass, because he was never weary of fighting those who rose up against him, and he would make march after march and was patient under the hardships of war. It is a proverbial expression—"such a one is more patient than an ass in war," and for that reason he was so named. Another reason given is, that the Arabs name every hundred years an ass, and when the rule of the Banú Umayyah was nigh upon a hundred years, they called Marwán the Ass, on that account.

Marwán was born in Mesopotamia of which his father was administrator in the year 72 and his mother was a slave concubine. Before his Caliphate he had the government of several important prefectures and took Ismā'im in the year 105. He was famed for his horsemanship, intrepidity, manliness, sagacity and recklessness. When al Walid was slain and the news reached him, he being in Armenia, he summoned such of the Muslims as approved him, to do him allegiance, and they swore fealty to him. As soon as he heard of the death of Yazíd, he disbursed sums of money and set out and fought Ibra'hím and put him to flight. Marwán was then acknowledged Caliph and that occurred in the middle of Ṣafar in the year 127 and his authority was firmly established.

The first thing he did was to command the exhuming of Yazíd an Nākiš, and he took him out of his grave and crucified him for his murder of al Walid. However he found little repose in the Caliphate on account of the number of those that rose against him on every side up to the year 132. Then the Banú A'bbás rebelled against him, and at their head A'bdulllah-b-A'li, the paternal uncle of as Saffáh. He set out to engage them, and the two armies met near Mosul. Marwán was routed and he returned to Syria, but A'bdulllah followed him and Marwán fled to Egypt. Ṣálih, the brother of A'bdulllah pursued him and they met at the village of Būṣīr† and Marwán was slain in Dūl Hijjah of the same year. (5th August 750.)

* Ibn u'l Athfr says that Jaa'd had the reputation of being an atheist, and he indoctrinated Marwán with his own heresies, teaching the creation of the Kurán and the denial of predestination.
† Four several places all in Egypt—says Gibbon bore the name of Busir or Busiría, so famous in Greek fable. The first where Marwán was slain to the west of the Nile in the province of Fium or Arsinoe, the second in the Delta, the third near the Pyramids, the fourth, which was destroyed by Diocletian, in the Thebais. Chap. XII, Decline and Fall.
Of people of note who died during his reign were, as Suddi, the A. H. 132.
elder, Mālik-b-Dīnār, the ascetic, A'āsim-b-Abī'īn Najūd, the Kurān reader, A. D. 750.
Yazīd-b-Abī Ḥabīb, Shaybāh-b-Nisāḥ the Kurān reader, Muḥammad-b-
n'īl Munkadīr, Abu Jaʿfar Yazīd-b-īl ʿAţā'ī the Kurān reader of Medina, 
Abū Ayūb as Sīkiṭiyānī, Abūʿz Zinād, Ḥammām-b-Muḥabbih, and Wāsil-
b-Ātā the Muʿatatālīte.

As Sūlī records on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Sālīḥ, that when 
Marwān was slain, his head was cut off and sent to Aʿbdullāh-b-Abīl, who 
gazed upon it, and it was removed, when a cat came and tore out the 
tongue and began to gnaw it; whereupon Aʿbdullāh-b-Abīl said, “if the 
world had shown us none other of its wonders but the tongue of Marwān 
in the mouth of a cat, it would have been sufficient for us.”

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AS SĀFFĀḤ,

First Caliph of the House of ʿAbdās.

Asʿ Sāffāḥ, the first Caliph of the House of Aʿbbās, Abūl Aʿbbās, 
Aʿbdullāh-b-Muḥammad-b-Abīb-b-Abīdīl-b-Abībās-b-Abīdīl Muʿtālib-b-
Ḥāshim, was born in the year 108 (some say 104) at Ḥumaymāḥ in 
the district of Balkā, and there grew to manhood. He was acknowledged 
Caliph at Kūfah. His mother was Rāʿīṭah of the tribe of Ḥārith. He 
related traditions on the authority of Ibrahīm-b-Muḥammad the Imām, 
and his paternal uncle. Isā-b-Abīl related them on his. He was younger 
than his brother al Maṣūrū.

Aḥmād records in his Musnad on the authority of Abū Saʿīd al Khudrī 
that the Apostle of God said, “there shall come forth from the people of 
my house, after the lapse of time and the appearance of seditions, a man 
called as Sāffāḥ, and it shall come to pass that his largesse of money shall 
be by handfuls.”

Uʿbaydullāh al Aʿyshī narrates—“my father relates ‘I heard the 
Shaykhs saying—by Allah, verily the Caliphate hath come to the children 
of Aʿbbās, and there is not upon the earth any more learned in the Kurān, 
nor more distinguished for piety nor more devout than they.’” The origin 
of the authority of the Banū Aʿbbās was that the Apostle of God told 
his uncle Aʿbbās that the Caliphate would descend to his posterity, and his 
descendants continued in expectation of it (Ibn Jarīr at Tabārī). The 
latter relates from Rishdīn-b-Kurayb, that Abū Ḥāshim Aʿbdullāh-b-
Muḥammad-b-īl Ḥanafiyyah went to Syria, and met Muḥammad-b-Abīb-b-
Abīdīl-b-Abībās and said, “O cousin, verily I have information which 
I wish to lay before thee, but be sure tell no one of it—verily this authority
A. H. 132. which people hope for, shall be with you." The other replied, "verily A. D. 750. I was aware of it, but let no one hear of it from thee."

Al Madâ'ini* narrates on the authority of a number of people, that the Imam Muḥammad-b-A'li-b-A'bdillah-b-A'bbás said, "we have three opportunities—the death of Yazid-b-Mu'awiyah, the beginning of the century, and the rupture in Africa. At that time the summoners shall summon the people in our behalf, and our allies from the east shall come until their horsemen shall reach the west."

And when Yazid-b-Abi Muslim was slain in Africa and the Berbers were reduced, Muḥammad the Imam sent a man to Khurāsān and commanded him to invite the people to approve one of the posterity of Muḥammad and not to name any one. Then he despatched Abū Muslim al Khurāsānī and others, and wrote to the principal men who received his letters favourably, but it came to pass that Muḥammad died, leaving the succession to his son Ibrahim. On the news of this reaching Marwān, he imprisoned Ibrahim and put him to death. Ibrahim had bequeathed the succession to his brother A'bbasullah as Saffāḥ and his followers gathered about him and he was acknowledged as Caliph at Kūfah on the 3rd Rabī' u'l Awwal in the year 132. He read prayers to the people on the Friday and said in his discourse, "praise be to God who hath chosen Islam for Himself and hath honored it and exalted it and magnified it and hath chosen it for us and strengthened it by us, and made us its people, its asylum and its defence to maintain and protect it." Then he went on to mention the kinship of the Banu A'bbás alluded to in the Kurān until he said, "and when the Lord took to Himself His prophet, his companions stood up in authority until the Banu Ḥarb and Marwān usurped it, and they were tyrannous and appropriated every thing to themselves. And God bare with them for a time until they angered Him, wherefore He took vengeance upon them by our hands, and restored unto us our right, that He might be bountiful through us upon those who are outcast† throughout the earth, and He hath ended with us as He began with us and we of the prophetic house have no grace but through God. O ye people of Kūfah ye are the seat of our regard and the abiding place of our affection—ye have not been remiss in this, nor hath the rigour of the tyrannous turned ye from it—for ye are the most favored people unto us and of those who most honour us; wherefore verily I have increased your largesses by a

* Abu'l Ḥasan A'li-b-Muḥammad al Madâ'ini was a Mawla of the family of A'bd Shams-b-A'bd Manāf. He was born A. H. 135 (752-3) and died A. H. 225 (839-40). He was a disciple of the Muta'zalite doctor Ma'mar-b'-u'l Ashath. He wrote upwards of twenty works on Muḥammad and many others biographical and historical treatises, De Slano I. K.

† For ستَفَعَ read ستَفَعَ
hundred dirhams each. Therefore be prepared, for I am the justifying A. H. 132. shedder of blood and the destroying avenger.”*

Isa-b-A’li† when he mentioned their setting out from Ḥumaymah‡ for Kūfah, used to say, “fourteen men departed from their homes, seeking what we sought through the greatness of their resolution, the steadfastness of their hearts.”

When news of the allegiance sworn to as Saffāḥ reached Marwān, he set forth to encounter him, but was defeated as hath gone before, and afterwards slain. At the ceremony of allegiance sworn to as Saffāḥ, a countless number§ of the Banu Ummayyah and their followers were put to death and his dominions were firmly settled under his authority to the furthest confines of the West.

Ad Ḍahā’bi says that in his reign the unity of the State was dissolved and all between Tabart and Ṭūbnah as far as the Soudán fell from his obedience, as well as the entire kingdom of Spain, and there come forth in these provinces, those|| who took possession of them, and that so continued.

As Saffāḥ died of small-pox in Du’l Hijjah in the year 136 (9th June 754) bequeathing the succession to his brother Abū Jaa’far. In the year 136 he removed to Anbār and made it the seat of government.

Regarding accounts of as Saffāḥ, Súlī relates among his sayings, “As power becomes great, concupiscence grows less. It is rare that bounty is given unasked but a just claim is destroyed thereby. Verily they are the basest and meanest of men who account avarice prudence, and clemency ignoble. When forbearance is mischievous, to pardon is weakness. Patience is praiseworthy save in what prejudices the faith or renders sovereignty contemptible, and moderation is commendable except at the season of opportunity. As Súlī adds that as Saffāḥ was the most generous of men—he never made a promise and delayed its fulfilment at its appointed time, may he never rose from his seat without performing it.

* This discourse which is here considerably shortened, is given in full by Ibn u’l Athir. During its delivery as Saffāḥ was seized with an attack of fever and sat down. His uncle Dānūd-b-A’li rose and continued the oration which will be found in the Kāmil.
† The uncle of the Caliph al Maṣūr and of as Saffāḥ.
‡ The Kāmil has erroneously § Sulaymān-b-A’li put to death a number of them at Baṣrah, and had their bodies flung to the dogs. Abdu’llah-b-A’li, in Palestine massacred about ninety of them. “The laws of hospitality were violated by a promiscuous massacre, the board was spread over their fallen bodies and the festivity of the guests was enlivened by the music of their dying groans.” The surprising accuracy of Gibbon can only be known to those who consult his authorities. Though the Kāmil is not one of them, the above passage is almost a literal translation from it.
§ The Edrisites of Mauritania and the Fatimites of Africa and Egypt.
A’bud’Allah-b-Hasan once said to him, “I have heard of a million dirhams but have never seen them,” whereupon he ordered concerning them and they were brought, and he commanded him to take them with him to his house.

As Şâli says that the impression on his signet-ring was, “God is the reliance of A’bud’Allah and on Him he confideth.” Scarcely any poetry of his has been handed down.

Sa‘id-b-Muslim al Báhili narrates that A’bud’Allah-b-Hasan went in unto as Sa‘fah and the assembly was full of the Banu Hâshim and their followers and the chiefs of the people and with him he carried the Kurâ and he said, “O prince of the Faithful, give us our right which God hath vouchsafed unto us in this book.” He replied, “(verily thy great-grandfather A’li, who was better than I am and more just, held this authority, and he gave unto thy progenitors al Hasan and al Husayn somewhat, and it would be but right did I give thee the same, and if I have done that, verily I have given thee thy due, and if I have done more, then this should not be my reward from thee.” And A’bud’Allah departed and returned no answer, and the people were astonished, at the reply of as Sa‘fah. Historians say that under the House of A’bbás the unity of Islâm was dissolved, and the Arab name lapsed from the registers, and the Turks were installed in public offices and the Daylamites came into power, and afterwards the Turks, and a mighty empire belonged to them, and the dominions of the earth were parcelled out and on every side was a usurper, doing violence to the people and ruling them with tyranny. They say that as Sa‘fah was quick to shed blood and his prefects in the east and west followed his example in that, but withal he was liberal with his wealth.

Of people of note who died in his reign were Zayd-b-Aslam, Abdu’lAllah-b-Aslam, A’bud’Allah-b-Abi Bakr-b-Hasim, Rabii’ ar Râi,* jurisconsult of Medina; A’bud’l Malik-b-U’mayr, Yahya-b-Abi Ishâq al Hadhrami, Abdu’l Ḥamîd the wellknown scribe slain with Marwân at Bûsîr, Mansûr-b-u’l Mu’atamir, and Ḥammâm-b-Munabbih.’

AL MANS’UR.

Al Mansûr Abu Jaa’far, A’bud’Allah-b-Muḥammad-b-A’li-b-A’bdAllah-b-Abbás (whose mother was Salâmah a Berber slave concubine) was born in the year 95 and had known his grandfather but had no traditions from

* Or the Rationalist, so called, because he drew many of his legal decisions from the fourth source of Muḥammadan law, which is entitled Râi (private judgment) or Kiyâs (analogy). This system was followed by the Hanâfîs who were called Ashâb’u’r Râî, or Rationalists. See De Slane, I. K. note to Rabii’ u’r Râî.
him. He narrated them on the authority of his father and A'tá-b-Yasár; A. H. 136. and his son, al Mahdi, from him.

He was acknowledged Caliph according to the bequest of his brother and was the foremost among the Banú A'bbás in majesty of demeanour, bravery, prudence, judgment and haughtiness—a hoarder of wealth, averse to pastime and frivolity, of cultivated mind, of excellent converse in science and literature and with a natural taste for jurisprudence.

He put a multitude of people to death until his power was established, and it was he who scourged Abu Ḥanífah on account of his refusal to accept the office of Ḧaḳḳah, and then put him in prison where he died after some days. It is also said that he despatched him by poison because he had passed a judicial sentence authorizing rebellion against him. He was polished in language, eloquent and fluent, well fitted, for governing but excessively avaricious. He was surnamed Abu'd Dawáníḳ* on account of his scrutiny of the accounts of intendants and artificers even to fractions of dirhams and grains.

Al Khaḍīb records on the authority of the prophet that he said, “from us shall arise as Saffáḥ and from us al Manṣūr, and from us al Mahdi,” (ad Ḍahabi states this to be unacknowledged and its ascription interrupted). He and Ibn A'sákîr and others state on the ascription of Sa'íd-b-Jubayr that Ibn A'bbás said, “from us shall come as Saffáḥ, from us al Manṣūr and from us al Mahdi.” The ascription of this is pronounced by ad Ḍahabi to be sound. Ibn A'sákîr records from Abu Sa'íd al Khudrî that he narrates, “I heard the apostle of God say, ‘from us shall arise al Kā'im, from us al Manṣūr, from us as Saffáḥ and from us al Mahdi. As to al Kā'im, the Caliphate shall come to him, and during his reign not a cupping-glass of blood shall be spilt, as to al Manṣūr, his standard shall not be turned back: as to as Saffáḥ, he will lavish treasure and blood and with regard to al Mahdi, he shall fill the Caliphate with justice as it hath been filled with tyranny.’”

And from al Manṣūr, that he said, “I beheld myself as it were in the precincts of the temple and the Apostle of God was in the Ka'a'bah the door of which was open and a crier cried out, ‘where is A'bdullâh?’ and my brother Abu'l A'bbás arose and stood upon the step and was taken within, and it was not long before he became forth with a spear upon which was a black pennon measuring four cubits. Then there was cried out, ‘where is A'bdullâh?’ And I stood upon the step and was made to ascend and lo! there was the Apostle of God and Abu Bakr, Omar and Bilál, and he invested me with authority and commended to me his people, and put on my head a turban, the windings of which were twenty and

* A Dáníḳ is the sixth part of a dirham.
A. H. 136. three and he said, 'take this unto thyself, O father of the Caliphs, until the day of resurrection.'

Al Mansūr assumed the Caliphate in the beginning of the year 137. The first thing he did was to put to death Abu Muslim al Khurāsānī, the author of their Call and the founder of their dynasty. In the year 138 A’bdūr Rāḥmān-b-Mu’āwiyah-b-Hishām-b-Abī’l Malik-b-Marwān the Umayyad entered Spain and conquered it. His reign was long and Spain continued in the hands of his descendants until after the fourth century. This A’bdūr Rāḥmān was a man of learning and justice. His mother was a native of Barbary.

Abu Mudhaffar al Abiwardi says that people used to say that the two sons of two Berber women ruled the world—al Mansūr and A’bdūr Rāḥmān-b-Mu’āwiyah.

In the year 140 he laid the foundation of the city of Baghdađ. In the year 141 appeared the Rāwandīyāh sectaries the asserters of metempsychosis and al Mansūr put them to death. During the same, Ṭabaristān was conquered.

Ad Ḱahabi says that in the year 143 the doctors of Islam began at this period to compose works on tradition, jurisprudence and the interpretation of the Qurān. Thus Ibn Juraij† wrote at Mecca, Malik composed the Muwattā at Medina, al Auzā‘ī wrote in Syria, Ibn Abī A’rūbah,† Ḥammād-b-Salzamah§ and others in Basrah, Ma’mar, in Yaman,|| Sufyān at Thaurī in Kūfah, Ibn Ishāk drew up his Maghāzī (wars of Islam.) Abu Ḥanīfah wrote treatises on law and the theory of private judgment. Very soon after Husaym,¶ al Layth, and Ibn Lahi’aḥ com-

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† A traditionist of Basrah, died A. H. 156, (772-3.) De Slane I. K.
§ Abu Sulamah Ḥammād-b-Salzamah, a traditionist of the highest order, descended from an enfranchised slave of this Banu Tamūm, died A. H. 167. Ibid.
|| Ma’mar-b-Abī U’rwah Rāshid a Mawla to the tribe of Azd, learned traditions from az Zuhri a native of Basrah and settled in Yaman, died A. H. 153. De Slane I. K.
¶ Abu Mu’a’wiyah, Husaym the Traditionist was a native of Basrah died A. H. 183. De Slane in translating this passage of ad Ḱahabi (Introduction to Vol. 1,) gives "Ibn Hishām," for "Husaym." Ibn Hishām’s family was also of Basrah though he was born at old Cairo. He is the author of the history of the Prophet drawn from Ibn Ishāk’s work and called Sitat Ibn Hishām. He died A. H. 218 I have not the work of ad Ḱahabi to consult: the Nujūm, of Abū’l Muḥāsīn from which De Slano
posed their works. Then followed Ibn u’l Mubarak and Abu Yusuf and A. H. 143. Ibn Wahab, at which period the collection of works of science and their A. D. 760. classification increased greatly and, treatises on the Arabic language and idiom were drawn up and also on history and the encounters of the desert Arabs. Before this period, the learned used to discourse from memory or lectured on science from manuscripts, accurate, but unsystematically arranged.”

In the year 145 occurred the rebellion of the brothers Muhammad and Ibrahim, the two sons of A’bdullah b. Hasan b. i’l Hasan b. A’li b. Abi Talib, but al Mansur defeated and slew them and a large number of the descendants of the prophetical House. Verily we belong to God and verily unto Him shall we return. Al Mansur was the first who occasioned dissensions between the A’bassides and the Aliites for before that they were united. He persecuted many of the learned who had risen with them or counselled rebellion, by putting them to death and scourging them and in other ways—among them Abu Haanifah and A’bdull b. Hamid b. Ja’far, and Ibn A’jlân. Among those who pronounced on the legality of rebelling with Muhammad against al Mansur, was Malik b. Anas. It was said to him—“upon our necks is the oath of allegiance to al Mansur!” He replied—“ye swore allegiance under compulsion and an oath is not binding upon one who is forced.”

In the year 146 occurred the expedition against Cyprus. In the year 147 al Mansur removed his paternal uncle I’sa b. Mosa’ from the succession to which as Saffah had appointed him after al Mansur. Isa was he who fought for him against the two brothers and defeated them and he rewarded him by setting him aside against his will and nominating his own son al Mahdi.

In the year 148 the whole empire was firmly established under the authority of al Mansur, and awe of him waxed great in the minds of men. The provinces submitted to him and Spain alone was excluded from his sway, for A’bdur Rahmân b. Mu’awiyah, the Umayyad, of the house of Marwan, had taken possession of it, but he was not called prince of the Faithful but “the prince” only and in the same way, his posterity.

cites, has “Hisbâna” without any prefix. De Slane is incorrect in his translation of the word ابلى the original in Abû Mahâsin where the name Rabî’i does not occur. Moreover after the words في النجوم in the Nujum follows بالكرمة. Now Rabî’i was jurisconsult of Medina and Ibn Khali mentions nothing of his ever having been at Kufah whereas it was Abu Hanifah’s native town. For the biographies of those authors not mentioned in the notes, consult Ibn Khâlî. 
In the year 149 al Manṣūr completed the building of Baghdad. In the year 150, the Khurásán troops under their leader Ustád Sis* revolted from his authority and seized the greater part of Khurásán, and calamities increased and evils waxed great and affairs grew serious with al Manṣūr, for the strength of the army of Khurásán amounted to 3,00,000 warriors horse and foot. Āṯtham† al Marwazi engaged them in battle but he was slain and his army destroyed. Then al Manṣūr despatched Kházim-‡ b-Khuzyamah to attack them at the head of a prodigious force that obstructed the plains, and the two armies met and fought obstinately. It was a famous battle. It is said that seventy thousand men were slain in it and Ustád Sis was routed and he fled to the mountains. The general, Kházim, gave orders in the following year regarding the prisoners, and their heads were struck off and they were in number 14,000. Then they besieged Ustád Sis for some time, until he surrendered. They kept him in confinement and dismissed his troops who numbered 30,000.

In the year 151 al Mansūr built ar Rusáfah (of Káfah) and made it a strong and lofty construction.

In the year 153, al Mansūr compelled his subjects to wear tall caps—they used to make them of reed and paper, and cover them with black. Abú Dulámah§, says—

We desired an increase from the Imám
And the chosen Imám gave us an increase to our caps.
Thou mayest behold them on the heads of men as if
They were wine jars of the Jews covered with the burnús.

In the year 158 al Manṣūr commanded the governor of Medina to imprison Sufyán at Thauri and A'bbád-b-Kathír and they were put into confinement, and the people feared that al Manṣūr would put them to death when he came from the pilgrimage, but the Lord did not suffer him to reach Mecca in health, for he arrived ill and died, and the Lord was sufficient for them against his wicked purpose. His death occurred at Baṭn|| in Du'l Hijjah (6th) (7th October 775) and he was buried between al Ḥajún and Bir Maymán. Salma¶ al Khásir says,

* So Ibn u'l Athir and Weil. The text gives سيس which is incorrect.
† Ibn u'l Athir has "Āṯsham" إشم
‡ Abú Dulámah was an Abyssinian slave celebrated for his wit, his amusing adventures and his talent for poetry. He died A. H. 161 (778-9). His real name was Zand. Some amusing stories regarding him, may be found in Ibn Khalikán.
|| Baṭn Murr or Marr, five miles from Mecca. This name is not mentioned by Weil or Ibn Athir: Mas'ú'di says that death overtook him at the Bustán of the Banú A'ámir on the Irāk road. Al Ḥajún is a hill overlooking Mecca.
¶ A native of Basrah, a poet notorious for his prodigal life. He lived at Baghd-
The pilgrims returned and left the son of Muhammad
As a pledge at Mecca in the niched tomb.
They witnessed the entire ceremonies while their Imam
Beneath the broad stone, purposing to perform the pilgrimage,
-witnessed them not.

Regarding accounts of al Mansur, Ibn A’sákir records with its ascriptions, that Abu Jaa’far al Mansur used to travel for the purpose of acquiring knowledge, before his Caliphate. Once when he was about to enter a place of resort, the guardian seized him and said, “pay down two dirhams before thou enterest.” He replied, “loose me for I am one of the Banu Hashim.” The man said, “pay down two dirhams.” He replied “loose me, for I am one of the descendants of the uncle of the prophet.” The man went on, “pay down two dirhams.” He replied, “loose me for I am a man versed in the book of God.” The man repeated “pay down two dirhams.” He exclaimed “loose me for I am a man skilled in jurisprudence and the law of inheritance.” He replied “pay down two dirhams.” When at length the man’s insistance wearied him, he paid the two dirhams and returned and set himself to amassing money and to scrupulous niggardliness therein, until he received the nickname of Abú’d Dawáník. And on the authority of Rabí’-b-Yunas the chamberlain, who narrates, “I heard al Mansur say, ‘the Caliphs are four, Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman and A’li, and the kings are four, Mua’wiyah, A’bdul Malik, Hishám and I.” And from Malik-b-Anas, “I went in unto al Mansur and he said, ‘who are the most excellent of men after the apostle of God!’ I replied, ‘Abu Bakr and Omar.’ He said, ‘thou hast hit it—and such is the opinion of the prince of the Faithful.’” And from Isma’l al Fihri, “I heard al Mansur on the day of A’rafah, saying in his discourse from the pulpit at A’rafah, ‘O ye people! verily I am the Lord’s ruler upon His earth and I govern ye through His grace and guidance and I am His treasurer over His tribute which I divide according to His pleasure and bestow with His permission. And verily the Lord hath made me as a lock upon it: when He willeth to open me, He openeth me that I may give unto ye, and when it pleaseth Him to fasten me, He fasteneth me. Wherefore turn ye to the Lord, O ye people! and ask of Him on this glorious day in which he hath given unto ye of His grace, as he hath made known to ye in His Book when he saith, “this day I have perfected your religion for ye and have completed my mercy upon

dad and received his epithet (the loser) because he sold a copy of the Kurán to buy a book of poetry or else because he squandered his patrimony. He died about 186 A. H. De Slane I. K.
A. H. 158. ye, and I have chosen for ye Islám to be your religion” (Kur. V)*, that He
A. D. 775. may vouchsafe unto me justness of conduct, and guide me to rectitude and inspire me with clemency unto ye and kindness towards ye, and open me to be bountiful unto ye, and the distribution of your allowances in equity, for he hearkeneth and granteth.’” As Šulí records this and mentions further at the beginning of it, that the reason of this discourse was that the people esteemed him niggardly, and he adds at the end, “and people said ‘the prince of the Faithful transfers to his God the responsibility of withholding his bounty.’” And he records on the authority of al Asma’ı and others that al Mansúr ascended the pulpit and said, “praise be unto God: I glorify Him and implore His aid, and I believe in Him and put my trust in Him and I testify that that there is no god but one God who hath no equal.” Then there arose before him a man who said, “O prince of the Faithful, be thou mindful of Him whom thou art praising.” He answered, “welcome, welcome, verily thou hast admonished me by One that is great and put me in fear of One that is mighty—God forbid, that I should be as one who when it is said to him, ‘fear God,’ his pride takes it as an offence, but the exhortation began with me and proceeded from me; and thou! thou speaker, I swear by Allah. it was not God thou thoughtest of, but thou soughtest that it should be said—he arose and spake and was punished but bore it patiently. But the thing is not worthy of notice from such a speaker, and take this as a favourable opportunity from God.† Have a care. Verily I have pardoned it. Beware, ye men, of the like of it;—and I testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His apostle.” He then returned to his discourse as fluently as though he were reading it from paper.

He also records with various ascriptions that al Mansúr said to his son al Mahdí—“O Abú A’bdulllah, nothing maketh a Caliph virtuous but piety, nor well disposeth a monarch but obedience, nor reformeth a people but justice; and the best of men to pardon is he who is the most powerful of them to chastise, and the feeblest of men in intellect is he who oppresseth him that is beneath him. Do not proceed with an affair until thou hast reflected upon it, for the meditation of a wise man is a mirror which showeth him his faults and his merits. O son, seek the continuance of bounty by gratitude, and of power by pardon, and of obedience by conciliating affection, and of victory by humility and forgiveness of men.” And from Mubáarak-b-Fudhálah that he said, “we were with al Mansúr when he summoned a man and sent for a sword, and Mubáarak said, ‘O prince

* This passage it is said was revealed on Friday evening, being the day of the pilgrims visiting mount A’rafat the last time Muḥammad repaired to the temple of Mecca, therefore called the pilgrimage of Valediction. Sa’d, p. 81.
† The Kámil has ﴿١٨﴾١٨٨.
of the Faithful, I heard al Ḥasan declare that the Apostle of God said, A. H. 158.  
"when the day of resurrection cometh, a crier of the Lord's shall rise A. D. 775.  
and shall cry out—arise those whose reward is with God, and none shall  
stand up but he who hath pardoned."  And al Manṣūr said—let him go  
his way.'"

And from al Aṣma'ī, that a man was taken to al Manṣūr whom he  
was about to punish, but the man said, "O prince of the Faithful, ven-  
geance is but justice, but forgiveness would be super-eminent virtue and  
may God preserve the prince of the Faithful from choosing for himself the  
less noble of two courses without being able to attain to the higher  
degree;" and he pardoned him.  And from the same, that al Manṣūr met a  
desert Arab in Syria and said to him, "praise God; O Arab, who hath taken  
from ye the plague under the government of us of the prophetic house;"  
He replied, "verily God hath not overwhelmed us with both bad dates and  
bad measure, your government and the plague."

And from Muḥammad-b-Manṣūr al Baghḍādi, that a certain devotee*  
stood up before al Manṣūr and said, "verily the Lord hath given unto  
thee the whole earth, redeem then thy soul, with a portion of it.  
Remember the night which thou shalt pass in the grave,—a night  
thou hast never before so passed, and remember the night which shall  
bring forth the day that hath no night after it."  And al Manṣūr was  
silenced and commanded money to be given to him, but he said, "if I  
needed thy money, I should not have admonished thee."  And from  
A'bdū's Salām-b-Ḥarb, that al Manṣūr sent for A'mr-b-Ubayd who came  
to him, and he commanded money to be given to him but he refused to  
accept it, and al Manṣūr said, "by Allah, thou shalt accept it."  He re-  
plying, "by Allah, I will not accept it."  Al Mahdi who was present said  
to him, "verily the prince of the Faithful hath taken his oath."  He  
replied, "the prince of the Faithful is more able to pay the expiation of  
broken oaths than is thy uncle."†  Al Manṣūr said to him, "ask for what  

* This was A'mr-b-Ubayd whose mention follows in the next anecdote. Both of  
them are related in his life in Ibn Khallikān. He was a celebrated ascetic and  
scholastic theologian; his devotion was proverbial though his orthodoxy is disputed  
by nearly all but his own sect of the Mu'tazalites of which he was the chief. He was  
born A. H. 80 (699) and died A. H. 144 (761-2). Al Manṣūr composed an elegy on  
his death and praised him as an orthodox believer and saint.

† In Ibn Khallikān, he addresses al Mahdi, as "son of my brother" and therefore  
calls himself his uncle, not of course meaning that there existed the remotest relation-  
ship, for A'mr's father acted as lieutenant to the successive chiefs of police at  
Baṣrah and had been one of the prisoners taken at Kabul. The expiation for breaking an  
oath consists in granting freedom to a slave or in once feeding and clothing ten  
paupers—if this cannot be done, a fast for three days is obligatory. De Slane, I. K.  
A. H. 158. thou needest.” He replied, “I ask thee not to send for me until I go to thee, and not to give unto me until I ask of thee.” He said, “dost thou know I have made this al Mahdi my heir?” He replied, “the supreme power will come to him the day it comes to him, and thou wilt be otherwise employed than in providing for it.” And from A’bdullah-b-Salih that al Mansur wrote to Sawwar Kadhî of Basrah, saying, “look to the piece of land regarding which a certain officer and a certain merchant have disputed and give it to the officer;” and Sawwar wrote, “verily it was proved to me that it belonged to the merchant, and I cannot withdraw it from his possession except on clear evidence.” Then al Mansur wrote, “by Allah, save whom there is no God, thou shalt give it to the officer;” Sawwar replied to him, “by Allah, save whom there is no God, I shall not withdraw it from the possession of the merchant except lawfully.” When this letter reached al Mansur, he exclaimed, “thou hast filled thy office with justice and my judges are now turning me to justice.” And from another source that Sawwar was denounced to al Mansur who summoned him, and al Mansur happened to sneeze and Sawwar did not bless him, and al Mansur said, “what prevented thee from saying a blessing?” He replied, “because thou didst not praise God.”* Al Mansur said, “indeed I praised God to myself,” and he answered “I prayed for a blessing on thee to myself.” The Caliph exclaimed, “go back to my office, for verily if thou payest no regard to me, thou wilt pay none to any other.”

And from Numayr al Madani who narrates, “al Mansur arrived at Medina, and Muhammed-b-Imran at Talhaí was holding judgment as Kadhî and I was his scribe. And certain camel-owners sought justice against al Mansur in some affair, and Muhammed ordered me to write to him to appear, and to do them justice; but I asked to be excused, but he would not excuse me, wherefore I wrote the summons and sealed it.” He said—“by Allah, no one shall go with it but thyself.” Wherefore I carried it to ar Rabii who went in unto al Mansur. Shortly after he came forth and said to the people, “verily the prince of the Faithful saith to ye—“I have been summoned to the judgment-seat, but let no one go up with me.” Then he and ar Rabii’ went, but the Kadhî did not rise before him, nay, he loosed his mantle and wrapped it round his legs and back, and then summoned the plaintiffs. They made their plaint and he decided in their favour against the Caliph; and when he had finished, al Mansur said to him, “may God reward thee for thy judgment, with the best of rewards—verily I have commanded to be given to thee, ten thousand dinârs.”

* The prayer for the sneezers (which is, may God avert from thee what may make thy enemy rejoice at thy affliction) is uttered, when he has, in obedience to an injunction of the prophet said لحمد لله praise be to God. Lane, art. شيت.
And from Muḥammad-b-Hafs al I'jili, that a son was born to Aḥū A. H. 158. Dulamah, who went early in the morning to al Mansūr and informed him A. D. 775, and recited—

“If there sat above the sun, on account of their liberality
A people, it would be said—sit ye O children of Aḥbās.
And ascend upon the rays of the sun, all of ye.
Unto heaven, for ye are the most bountiful of men.

Then Abu Dulamah drew out a purse and al Mansūr said, “what is that?” He replied, “I mean to put into it what thou orderest for me.” He said, “fill it for him with dirhams,” and it held a thousand dirhams. And from Muḥammad-b-Sallām al Jimīḥ, that it was said to al Mansūr, “is there any yet left of the pleasures of the world that thou hast not enjoyed?” He replied, “one thing is still wanting—that I should sit upon a bench, and round me the traditionists, the disciple writing from dictation, saying, ‘whom didst thou mention* may the Lord have mercy on thee?’”

The next morning the courtiers and the sons of the ministers came with their ink-horns and tablets, but al Mansūr said, “ye are not they—for they are of soiled garments, weary of foot, long of hair, the couriers of the earth, the transmitters of tradition.” And from Aḥdu’s Šamad-b-Aʿli, that he said to al Mansūr, “verily thou hast applied punishment as if thou hadst never heard of pardon.” He answered, “because the Banū Marwan, their bones have not yet decayed and the swords of the descendants of Abū Ṭalib have not been sheathed, and we are among a people who saw us subjects yesterday and Caliphs to-day, and the fear of us will not take possession of their hearts save by ignoring pardon and the adoption of chastisement.” And from Yunus-b-Ḥabīb that Ziyād-b-ʿAbdillah al Ḥārithi wrote to al Mansūr, petitioning for an increase to his allowances and stipends, and employed all his eloquence in the composition of his letter but al Mansūr noted on the case, saying, “verily wealth and eloquence when combined in one individual, make him vain-glorious, and the prince of the Faithful hath compassion on thee on that account; therefore be content with eloquence.” And from Muḥammad-b-Sallām, that a slave girl saw al Mansūr with a patched tunic, and she exclaimed—“the Caliph with a patched tunic!” He replied, “sit on thee, hast thou not heard the words of Ibn Harmah:

* That is, of course, asking for the names of the authorities whom the traditionalist mentions in the ascriptions of any tradition.
† Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrahim-b-ʿAbī-Ḥasanah-b-ʿAmīr-b-Harmah died A. H. 176. Al Asmaʿī says of him that he was the last of the poets, and his life has been written by as Šāli (probably not now extant). This is the only information regarding him furnished by de Slane in his life of as Šāli. I. K. 35
Verily a youth may attain honor though his mantle
Be threadbare, and the collar of his tunic patched."

Al A’skari says in the Awa’il that al Manṣūr among the sons of Abbás, was like A’bdul Malik among the Banu Umayyah, in niggardliness. One of the people saw upon him a patched tunic, and said, “great is He who hath tried Abū Ja’far with poverty in his own kingdom,"

Salm the camel-driver once drove al Manṣūr’s camel, singing to it, and al Manṣūr was so excited with delight, that he nearly fell from the animal, and he rewarded him with half a dirham. The man said, “I drove Hisham and he rewarded me with ten thousand.” The Caliph replied, “He had no right to give thee that from the public treasury. O Rabī’,* appoint some one to take it from him;” and they did not finish with him until al Manṣūr made him drive the camel, going and coming for nothing.

In the Awa’il of al A’skari it is stated that Ibn Harmah was much addicted to wine, and he went into al Manṣūr, and versified, saying,

“His glances from both sides of his throne
When he launches them, contain punishment or favour.
On the one band he to whom thou grantest protection, thou protectest from destruction,†
On the other, he whom thou wishest to be bereft of a child, he is bereft.

And al Manṣūr was pleased with him and said, “what is thy need?” He replied, “write to thy prefect at Medina not to punish me, if he finds me drunk.” Al Manṣūr answered, “I will not abate a single restrictive ordinance of the ordinances of God.” He said “contrive some expedient for me.” And al Manṣūr wrote to his prefect, saying, “whoever bringeth before thee Ibn Harmah drunk, scourge him with a hundred stripes and scourge Ibn Harmah with eighty.” Wherefore when the watch used to pass by Ibn Harmah when he was drunk, he would exclaim, “who will buy a hundred for eighty,” and then leave him and pass on. Al Manṣūr gave him on this occasion ten thousand dirhams and said to him, “take care of them, O Ibrahim, for there is nothing for thee like it again with me.” He replied, “verily I will meet thee on the bridge of as Şirāṭ with it, with the seal of the court treasurer.”‡

* Abu’l Fadhl Rabī‘-b-Yunas was chamberlain to al Manṣūr, and later, on the deposition of Abū Ayūb, al Sufārī, became his vizier, and continued in the service of al Mahdī in the same capacity. The Caliph treated him with signal favor. He died in A. H. 170 (788) in the reign al Hādī, poisoned according to some, by that Caliph. Ibn Khall.

† This line is faulty: in the text the word دم as it stands has no meaning and will not scan—I suggest and adopt the following emendation. فَامَ الَّذِي آمَنتُ أَمِينَةً الَّذِي رَدَى
‡ The word جَبُيل is used by Masa’ūdi in this sense, in his life of al Mahdī.
Among the lines of al Manṣūr, and they are few, is the following—

When thou hast formed an opinion be steadfast in it,
For verily it is an ill-judgment that is vacillating.
Nor grant thy enemies respite in power for a single day
But be beforehand with them, lest they obtain the same to-morrow.

Abdu'r Rahmán-b-Ziyád-b-Anu'm al Ifríki narrates, "I was pursuing my studies with Abú Jaa'far al Manṣūr before his Caliphate, when he took me into his house and placed some food before me, wherewith there was no flesh-meat. Then he called out, 'girl! hast thou any sweetmeats?' She said, 'no.' 'Nor any dates?' 'No.' Then he laid himself down and read 'peradventure your Lord will destroy your enemy,' &c. (Kur. VII.) And when he succeeded to the Caliphate, I visited him, and he said, 'how is my government compared with that of the Banu Umyyah?' I replied, 'I see no oppression under their rule, but I find it also under thine.' He exclaimed, 'we have no helpers.' I answered, 'Omar-b-Abdîl A'zîz said that a monarch is like a market that attracts to itself what will sell freely in it: if he be virtuous, they bring him the virtuous among them; if he be wicked, they bring him the wicked among them,' whereupon al Manṣūr lowered his eyes."

Among the sayings of al Manṣūr are,* "kings can tolerate every thing but three practises—revealing a secret, an outrage on his harem, or a blow aimed at his power. When thy enemy stretches out his hand to thee, cut it off if thou art able, otherwise kiss it." The ascriptions of these are given by as Şáli who also records on the authority of Ya'kúb-b-Jaa'far as one of the instances related of the quick apprehension of al Manṣūr,† that he entered Medina and said to ar Rabî‘, "find me a man who will point out to me the chief mansions of the people." And a man came to him and began to inform him about the houses, save that he never began to speak until al Manṣūr questioned him. And when he left him he ordered him a thousand dirhams. The man asked ar Rabî‘ for it, but he replied, "he said nothing to me about it, but he will soon ride round again when you can remind him." Al Manṣūr continued his ride a second time, and the man began to give him information regarding the houses, but found no opportunity of speaking on the subject of his reward. At length when the Caliph desired to leave him, the man said, beginning of his

Speaking of Sharîk, he says, كتب له بارزاقه ابي الجهمذ translated by M. de Meynard, "le Khalife lui ayant donné un bon sur le payeur de la cour."

* This is told by Masâdî of al Mâmûn.
† This story will be found in Ibn Khalîkan's life of ar Rabî‘-b-Yunas.
own accord, “and this, O prince of the Faithful, is the house of A'atikah
of whom al Aḥwas* says

“O dwelling of A'atikah which I avoid
Through dread of foes, upon thee my heart is fixed.”

Al Mansūr was displeased at his beginning to speak unasked, but he went over the poem in his mind, and behold there was in it,

“I see that thou performest what thou dost promise
But there are some insincere of speech who promise what they never perform.”

Al Mansūr laughed and said—“confound thee! Rabī‘ give him a thou-
sand dirhams.”

As Śūlī records on an ascription from Ishāk of Mosul that al Mansūr never joined his courtiers in convivial drinking bouts or musical entertain-
ments, but when he sat, a curtain was between him and them, a distance of twenty cubits being between it and them and he the same distance from it. The first of the Banu A‘bbās who mixed with his courtiers, was al Mahdī. And from Ya‘qūt-b-Ja‘far, that al Mansūr said to Kutham-b-u‘l A‘bbās-b-A‘bdillah-b-i‘l A‘bbās, who was his prefect over Yamāmah and Bahrayn, “what is the meaning of Kutham and whence is it derived?” He replied, “I do not know.” Al Mansūr exclaimed, “thy name a Hashimite name, and thou not understand it! by Allah, thou art ignorant.” He replied, “will the prince of the Faithful deign to enlighten me re-
garding it?” Al Mansūr said, “the Kāthim is he who broacheth a cask of wine after eating and “yekthimu al ashiyā" means, he takes the things and breaks them.”

It is related that a fly was worrying al Mansūr, whereupon he sent for Muktātil-b-Sulaymān† and asked him why God had created flies? He replied, “to humble the mighty by their means.” Muḥammad-b-A‘lī al Khurisānī says that al Mansūr was the first Caliph who admitted astro-
llogers into his society, and acted according to the dictates of the stars, and the first Caliph for whom Syrian and Persian books were translated into Arabic, such as the apologue of Kāliḥah and Damnah,‡ and Euclid. He

* A‘bdullāh-b-Muḥammad al Anṣārī, surnamed al Aḥwāṣ (and not al Aḥwāṣ as the text and all the MSS. of Ibn Khalīl except the autograph have it) was a descendant of one of the Anṣārs. He cultivated poetry and such was the virulence of his satires that Omar-b-A‘bdill A‘ẓīz banished him to the island of Dāhlak in the Red Sea. Omar’s successor recalled him, and he died A. H. 179 (795-6.). De Slane, I. K. Vol. I, p. 526.

† Abu‘l Ḥasan Muktātil-b-Sulayman-b-Bashīr; he was distinguished as an eminent commentator on the Kurān. As a traditionalist his authority is disputed, and the general opinion is unfavorable to his veracity. He died at Basrah, A. H. 150 (767-8.) Ibn Khalīl.

‡ Translated by A‘bdullāh Ibn ‘l Mukaffa‘ the Kātib renowned for the elegance
was the first who appointed his freedmen to offices and preferred them A. H. 158. before Arabs, and this custom became frequent after his time, until the A. D. 775. Arab sway and preeminence declined. He was also the first who sowed dissensions between the Banu A’bbás and the descendants of A’li for before that they were united in interest.

Traditions from the narration of al Maṣūr.

As Şüli says that al Maṣūr was the most learned of men in traditions and genealogy, famous for his research. Ibn A’sákir in his history of Damascus gives the ascription of a tradition told by al Maṣūr from Ibn A’bbás, that the prophet wore his signet ring on his right hand. And as Şüli mentions an ascription through al Maṣūr from Ibn A’bbás that the Apostle of God said, “the people of my house are like unto the ark of Noah; who saileth in it is saved, who remaineth behind perisheth.” And through al Maṣūr from the father of Ibn A’bbás that the apostle of God said, “when I appoint a governor and fix for him his stipend, whatever else he may acquire over and above, is unlawful plunder.” And from the father of Yahya-b-Ḥamzah al Ḥadhrā’ī that he narrates, “al Māhdi appointed me to the office of Ḳādī and said, “be fearless in thy judgments for my father told me on the authority of al A’bbás that the Apostle of God said, “the Lord saith—by my majesty and glory, I will take revenge upon the oppressor in his present life and in his life to come, and I will take vengeance upon him who seeth one oppressed, being able to succour him and yet doth it not.’” And through al Maṣūr from Ibn A’bbás that the prophet said, “every connection and every affinity shall be sundered at the day of resurrection, save connection with me and affinity to me. And from the same that he said, “I heard A’li-b-Abī Talīb say, ‘journey not in the last three nights of the lunar month nor when the sun is in Scorpio.’”

Of people of note who died in the reign of al Maṣūr were Ibn u’l Muṣaffa’, Subayl-b-Abī Sāliḥ, al A’lā-b-Abītdi’r Rahmān, Khālid-b-Yazīd al Miṣrī the juriconsult, Dauūd-b-Abī Hind, Abu Ḥāzim Salimah-b-Dinār al A’a’raj (the lame), A’tā-b-Abī Muslim al Khurāsānī, Yunus-b-U’bayd, Sulaymān al Ahwāl (the one-eyed), Mūsā-b-U’kbāh, author of the Maghāzī, A’mr-b-Ubayd al Mu’atazali, Yahya-b-Sā’id al Anṣārī, al Kalbi, Ibn Iṣḥāq Jaa’far-b-Muḥammad as Šādik, al A’a’mash, Shīb-l-b-A’bbād the Kūrān of his style. He was a Persian by birth, and a Magian but made the profession of Ḥalām: his orthodoxy however was always suspected. He was put to death under al Maṣūr’s orders.
A. H. 158. reader* of Mecca, Muhammad-b-A'jlan, al Madani the jurisconsult, Muhammad-b-Abdi'r Rahmán-b-Abí Layla, Ibn Juraij, Abu Hanifah, Hajjáj-b-Aráját, Hammád ar Rawiyah, Rúbáh the poet, al Jarír, Sulaymán at Tamími, A'asim al Aḥval, Ibn Shírmah an Dhabbi, Mukátíl-b-Ḥayyán, Mukátíl-b-Sulaymán, Hishám-b-U'rwhah, Abu A'mr-b-If A'lá, Aša'ab at Tammáa', the avaricious, Ḥamzah-b-Ḥabib az Zayyát, al Auzáa'í† and others.

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AL MAHDI.

Al Mahdi Abu Abdu'llah Muḥammad-b-If Manṣúr was born at Aidaj‡ in the year 127 or as some say 126. His mother was Umm Músa, daughter of al Manṣúr a descendant of the Himyarite.§ princes. He was munificent, much exalted, of handsome countenance, beloved by his subjects and of orthodox belief. He persecuted the Zindíks‡ and destroyed a considerable number of them. He was the first who commanded the writing of polemical works in refutation of the Zindíks and the heretics. He related traditions on the authority of his father and Mubárak-b-Fudháláh; and Yahya-b-Ḥamzah, and Ja'far-b-Sulaymán al Dhabái, and Muḥammad-b-A'bd'lllah ar Raḵáshi, and Abu Sufyán Saiid-b-Yahya the Himyarite, have narrated them from him. "I have never known it said," observes ad Dhabá, "that there was any invalidation or correction of his testimony." Ibn A'dí records from a tradition of Othmán ascribed to the prophet, "al Mahdi shall be of the descendants of my uncle A'bbás." Muhammad-b-u'l Walid the Mawla of the Banú Háshim is the single authority for this, and he was one who fabricated traditions. Aḏ Dhabá in this place adduces a tradition of Ibn Masa'ud ascribed to the prophet, "the name of al Mahdi shall correspond with mine and the name of his father with that of my father."

* The difference between a “Kári” and a “Mukri,” is that the first reads the Kurán to his pupils, the second makes them read and corrects them where they err.

† Between Khuzistán and Ispahan.

‡ His genealogy according to Masa'úd, al Manṣúr-b-A'bd'lllah-b-Ḍi Sahm-b-Abí Sarh, descended from Ḍu Ru'ayn a Himyríte prince.

§ The precise religious or irreligious code of this free-thinking commune of sectarians, is nowhere satisfactorily given, but the broad principles of their school seems to have been a denial of the existence of a Supreme Being, the rejection of all religious systems, but a strict observance of the laws of nature as imprinted in the heart of man and the profession of the love of humanity in its widest sense. A practical application of this last, permitted incestuous marriages. Consult Weil, p. 105, under al Mahdi.
When al Mahdi grew up, his father appointed him governor of A. H. 158. Tabaristán and its dependencies, and he was taught polite literature and A. D. 775. associated with the learned and distinguished himself. Subsequently his father named him to the succession and when his father died, he was acknowledged Caliph. The news reached him at Baghdad and he preached before the people and said, "verily the prince of the Faithful is a servant—he hath been summoned and hath answered to the summons, and he hath been commanded and hath obeyed." Then his eyes filled with tears and he said, "verily the apostle of God wept at separating from his friends, and indeed, I have suffered a great separation and have been invested with a weighty charge, but the prince of the Faithful reckons upon a reward from God and I implore His assistance upon the Caliphate of the Muslims. O ye people! be inwardly, as ye appear outwardly, obedient to us, and we will grant ye security and ye will be made worthy of commendation in the end. Lower ye the wings of submission unto him who hath diffused justice amongst ye, and hath put away coercion from ye and hath shed peace over ye, since the Lord hath approved him as a promoter of these things. By Allah, I will consume my life between chastising and favouring ye." Niftawayh says that when the public treasure came into the hands of al Mahdi, he set about the removal of grievances and took a considerable part of the public stores and distributed them and treated generously his kindred and his clients. Another author observes that the first who congratulated al Mahdi on his accession to the Caliphate and consoled with him on his father's death was Abu Dulámah who said

"Of my eyes one of them is seen joyful
Glad for its lord, while the other sheds tears.
Weeping and smiling by turns, for saddens it
That which it takes ill, and that which it experiences, makes it glad.
Now the death of the Caliph in the inviolable state of pilgrimage,
grieves it,
And that this most clement one has arisen, gladdens it.
I have never before beheld what I have now seen nor do I experience
My combing one hair while plucking out another.
The Caliph is dead, alas for the religion of Muḥammad!
But there comes to ye after, one that succeeds him.
God hath granted to this, the honor of the Caliphate
And to the other the beauteous gardens of delight."

In the year 159 al Mahdi made a covenant for the succession in favor of his sons Mūsa al Hádí and Harún-ar Rashíd after him. In the year 160, Bārabad* in India was taken by force. During the same al Mahdi

* So the word is given both by Ibn u'l Athír and Weil. The latter cannot determine the position of the town, but supposes it to have been on the sea coast or on one of the arms of the Indus. The expeditionary fleet was commanded by A'bdu'l
A. H. 160. made the pilgrimage and the guardians of the Ka'bah informed him that 4. D. 776-7. they feared its breaking in from the number of coverings over it, and he gave orders regarding it, and it was stripped and restricted to the covering of al Mahdi. Snow* was carried to al Mahdi at Mecca. Ad Ḥāhabi observes that this was never arranged for any sovereign before.

In the year 161, al Mahdi commanded the construction of the Mecca road, and built houses along it and made reservoirs, and he ordered the abandonment of the reserved places for Imāms in the mosques of Islām and lessened the size of the pulpits and restricted them to the measure of the pulpit of the Apostle of God.

In the year 163 and the following years, conquests in the Grecian provinces were numerous. In the year 166 al Mahdi removed to Kaṣr u's Salām† and he ordered to be established for him a postal service of mules and camels from the prophetical city (Medīna) and from Yaman and Mecca to the royal residence. Ad Ḥāhabi says that he was the first who established a post from al Ḥijāz to al ʿIrāk. During this and the following years al Mahdi was energetic in the persecution of the Zindiks and in exterminating them and hunting them down throughout the provinces and putting people to death on mere suspicion. In the year 167 he ordered a great enlargement of the sacred mosque (of Mecca)‡ and brought a number of buildings within its enclosure. In the year 169 al Mahdi died: he had given chase to an animal, and the quarry rushed into a ruined building; the horse following, al Mahdi struck his back against the doorway and died on the spot. This took place on the 22nd Muharram. (4th August 785). It is also said that he died of poison. Salm al Khāṣir laments him as follows:

"There weeps over al Mahdi one that weeps
As if frenzy were on her, yet she is not insane.
Yea—she tears her countenance and discovers
Her locks and reveals her tresses.
Verily, if the Caliph has passed away after his exaltation,
Surely he has left deeds which have not passed away.

Malik-b-Shihāb al Masmaʿī. The troops before setting sail on their return were attacked by a disease in the mouth, of which about a thousand died. Shipwreck added to their discomfiture and a similar attempt was not repeated.

* "A pious and charitable motive may sanctify the foundation of cisterns and caravanseras which he distributed along a measured road of 700 miles, but his train of camels laden with snow could serve only to astound the natives of Arabia and to refresh the fruits and liquors of the royal banquet." Decline and Fall. Chapter LII.

† "The palace of peace"—Yaḥyā states this to have been erected at Rakkah, by ar Ṣaḥḥār the son of al Mahdi—Rakkah is the ancient Nicephorium.

‡ Burton is an error in giving the year 163, as the date of this enlargement. See Mecca, p. 151.
The peace of God throughout each day A. H. 169.
Be upon al Mahdi from the time when he remained a pledge of the A. D. 785.

grave.

We have left religious peace and worldly happiness all
Where the prince of the Faithful lies buried.”

Among accounts of al Mahdi, as Şüli says that when he covenanted for the succession of his son Músa, Marwán-b-Abi Ḥafṣah said,

“All Allegiance hath been covenanted for Músa at Rusáfah
By which God hath made fast the loops of Islám,
Músa, he whose merit the Kuraysh know
And unto them is preeminence among the tribes.
Through Muḥammad (Músa) after the prophet Muhammad
All lawful things have sprung to life, and all that is forbidden hath perished.
The guide of his people—who are through him
Protected from ignominy and deprivation.
Músa sways the rod of the Caliphate after him (al Mahdi)
And with that are dried up the records of pens!”

Another says—

“O son of the Caliph, verily the people of Ahmad (Muḥammad)
Their desires incline to thee in obedience.
Thou shalt fill the earth with justice, like unto that
Which the learned of the people used to relate to them,
Until their dead shall desire to witness
Of the justice of thy rule what the living behold.
Then upon thy father now be the gladness of their empire
And hereafter upon thee its garment and its mantle.”

As Şüli records with its ascription that a woman advanced before al Mahdi, and said, “O sinew† of the Apostle of God! see to my need.”

He exclaimed, “I have never heard that epithet from any one—(turning to his attendants), do what she wants and give her ten thousand dirhams.”

Kuraysh al Khuttali says that Şáliḥ-b-Abdi’l Ḥuddús al Baṣrí was brought

* جفت العالم is an expression that signifies an unalterable fact, the ink of the pen that decreed it having dried up—so the tradition جفت العالم بما إنت لأت that is, all that a man meets with in the world has already been destined and cannot be avoided or altered. See the Ṣaḥīḥ of Bukhārī, Chapter on Fate, p. 976, Folia and Kirmáni’s notes on this expression.

† It may also mean—“heir.” The word signifies also the heirs of a person who has left neither parent nor offspring, and can be applied to a single person as well as to a pl. number.
before al Mahdi on the charge of being a Zindik, and Šalih exclaimed, A. D. 785. "I repent before God," and he recited to him regarding himself.

"Enemies suffer not at the hands of a fool
What a fool suffers at his own.
And an old man will not abandon his habits
Until he is hidden in the dust of his grave."

Al Mahdi therefore let him go, but when he was about to depart, he called him back and said, "didst thou not say that an old man will not abandon his habits?" He replied, "yes." "In the same way then," said he, "thou wilt not abandon thy ways until thou diest," whereupon he ordered him to be put to death. Zahir states that ten traditionists were brought before al Mahdi, among them Faraj-b-Fudhálah and Ghiyáth-b-Ibrahim. Now al Mahdi took pleasure in pigeons and when Ghiyáth was introduced, it was said to him, "recite a tradition unto the prince of the Faithful." Whereupon he related from so and so on the authority of Abu Hurayrah from the prophet, "there shall be no wager except on a hoof* or an arrow or lance head" and he added to it, "or a wing." Al Mahdi then ordered for him ten thousand dirhams," but as he arose, al Mahdi said, "I declare that the nape of thy neck is as the nape of the neck of a liar. Surely thou hast interpolated that." Then he gave orders regarding the pigeons and their throats were cut. It is related that Šarîk went in unto al Mahdi who said to him, "one of three things thou must do—either thou must take the office of Kádhí, or thou must instruct my sons and relate traditions to them or eat a meal with me." He considered a moment and said, "to eat with thee will be least inconvenient to me." Whereupon al Mahdi ordered dishes of marrow mixed with sugar and other things, of which he eat; but the cook said, "he will not prosper after it." The narrator adds that after this Šarîk taught traditions to them and accepted the office of Kádhí.†

Al Baghawi records in the Ja'diyát on the authority of Hamdán al Işbaháni that he narrates, "I was with Šarîk when there came to him the son of al Mahdi, who leaning against the wall asked him concerning a tradition, but Šarîk did not take any notice of him, so he repeated his

* The tradition is not here given entire, it should be إلا نَظف أَو حَافُر، أَو نُصِل "except in the hoof of a camel, or that of a horse, mule or ass, or in the case of an arrow or lance head"—(shooting or throwing the lance), because all these are used in fight with the enemy. Lane, art سنق

† Masaúdí adds to this story that the Caliph having given Šarîk an order on the paymaster, Šarîk made some difficulty on the subject of payment, upon which the paymaster said—"you have not been selling cloth?" "No," said Šarîk, "but something more precious, my religion." Murúj ud Dahab, Vol. VI.
question and Sharik repeated his conduct, when the former said to him, A. H. 169. "it seems as though thou thinkest lightly of the sons of the Caliph!" He A. D. 785. replied, "not so, but knowledge is too precious in the estimation of its possessors, for them to throw it away." The other then sank down upon his knees and then put his question, whereupon Sharik said, "thus should knowledge be sought."

Among the verses of al Mahdi recited by as Súli are the following—

"The people will not restrain themselves from us,
The people do not weary of us,
Verily their endeavour is
To dig up what we have buried.
If we dwell in the bowels of the earth
They would come where we were."

As Súli records with its ascription to Muḥammad-b-U’márah, that al Mahdi had a slave girl of whom he was passionately fond, and she likewise of him, save that she avoided him not a little, whereupon he sent one clandestinely to her who knew what was in her mind, and she said to him, "I fear lest he should weary of me and leave me and I should die." Al Mahdi then said concerning this,

"A girl fresh as a new moon
Hath conquered my heart.
Whenever my love is assured to her
She bringeth but excuses;
Separation is not pleasing to me
Nor our refraining from meeting.
Nay, I will continue in my affection
For her, keeping in fear, satiety."

The following is by him on his boon-Companion, Omar-b-Bazí'.

"O God! perfect unto me my joy
Through Abu Hafs my comrade:
For the pleasure of my life
Is in song and wine,
And perfumed slave girls
And music and enjoyment.

* * The next line I have omitted to translate as I can make no sense of it and believe it to be corrupt. I give it for the benefit of those who may succeed better.
A. H. 169. I observe that the poetry of al Mahdi is much smoother and more graceful than that of his father or of his sons.

As Şáli also states with ascription to Isháq of Mosul, that al Mahdi at the beginning of his reign, like al Mansúr, kept himself secluded from his courtiers for about a year, after which he mixed with them. It was suggested to him that he should withdraw himself more, but he said, "verily the enjoyment consists in their being present." And on the authority of Mahdí-b-Sábbik, that a man called out to al Mahdí while he was among his cortege.

Say to the Caliph, Hátim is a traitor to thee,
Then fear God and save us from Hátim.
For when a virtuous man asks the assistance of a traitor
He becomes a partner in his guilt.

Whereupon al Mahdi said, "let every one of my prefects who is named Hátim, be deprived of office." And from Abú U’baydah that he said, "al Mahdi used to read to us the five appointed services of prayer in the mosque of Basrah when he came there. One day prayers were being begun when a desert Arab exclaimed, 'I am not in a state of legal purification, and verily I desire to join the prayers behind thee.' Whereon he ordered them to wait for him, and they waited for him, and al Mahdi entered the arched niche of the mosque and stayed until it was said that the man had come, upon which he recited the takbír, and the people wondered at the considerate courtesy of the Caliph." And from Ibrahim-b-Náfi', that some of the people of Basrah carried a dispute concerning one of the streams about Basrah before al Mahdi, and he said, "verily the earth belongeth to God being in our hands for the benefit of the Muslims, therefore that regarding which there hath been no purchase, its value, reverts to all of them and for their advantage. Therefore no one individual hath any claim upon it." Then the deputation said, "this stream is ours by the direction of the apostle of God, for he said, 'he who cultivateth waste land it belongeth to him,' and this land is waste." Al Mahdi threw himself forward at the mention of the prophet, until his cheek pressed the ground, and he exclaimed, "I hearken unto what he hath said and obey." Then he continued, "it remains now to be shown that this is waste land, so that I may make no objection, and yet how can it be waste when the water surrounds it on all sides—now if they can establish the proof of this, I will assent."

And on the authority of al Asma‘i, I heard al Mahdi from the pulpit at Basrah say, "verily the Lord hath laid upon ye a command, in the performance of which He Himself set the example and made His angels follow Him for He hath said, 'verily God and his angels bless the prophet &c.' (Kur. XXXIII.) He hath distinguished him by means of it
among the apostles inasmuch as He hath distinguished ye by it among A. H. 169.

nations."
A. H. 169. Ibn A'bbás, that the prophet called aloud—In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate—‘I said to al Mahdi, ‘may I transmit this on thy authority?’ He replied, ‘yes.’”

Ad Dahabi says, “this ascription is unbroken in continuity but I never knew any one adduce al Mahdi, or his father as authority for religious ordinances.” Muḥammad-b-u'l Walîd, client of the Banû Hāshim is the only authority for this, and Ibn A’lî states that he fabricated traditions. I remark that he is not alone in this, for I have noticed another that follows him.

Of people of note who died in the reign of al Mahdi were Shu’bah-b-wl Ḥajjāj Ḥabu Bistâm, Ibn Ābî Ḏib, Sufyân at Thaurî, Ibrahim-b-Adham the ascetic, Danûd at Tâî the ascetic, Bashshâr-b-Burd the most eminent of the post-classical poets, Ḥamâd-b-Salâmah, Ibrahim-b-Ṭahmân and Khalîl-b-Âḥmad, author of the treatise on prosody.

AL HÂDI.

Al Hádi, Ābû Muḥammad, Mûsâ-b-u'l Mahdî-b-i'î Mansûr, whose mother was a Berber slave concubine called al Khayzûrân, was born at Rai in the year 147 and was acknowledged Caliph after his father, in accordance with the latter’s deed of succession. Al Khâṭîb says that no one ruled the Caliphate before him at his age. He continued in it for a year and some months. His father charged him as his last bequest to exterminate the Zîndîḳs and he pursued them actively and put to death a large number of them. He used to be called Musâ Āṭîḳ, because his upper lip was contracted, and his father placed a servant in charge over him when he was a child, who whenever he saw his mouth open would say, “Musa, draw your lips together!” (Āṭîḳ), whereon he would recover himself and compress his lips. He was therefore thus distinguished.

Ad Dahabi says that he was addicted to drinking and frivolous amusement, and used to ride a brisk-going donkey, and did not uphold the dignity of the Caliphate; yet withal he was eloquent, with a great command of language, well educated, an aspect of awe encompassed him and he possessed intrepidity and hardiness. Another author describes him as a despot, and as being the first before whom men marched with sharp scimitars and staves and strung bows. His prefects imitated him in this and the wearing of arms prevailed much in his time.

He died in Rabî' u'l Awwâl* in the year 170, (15th Sept. 786). Accounts are conflicting regarding the manner of his death. Some say

* The text has “Ākhîr.” This is an error probably of the copyist as in the life of Ār Rashîd, as Suyûṭî places al Hádi’s death in Rabî’ I. All other authorities
that he pushed one of his courtiers over a precipitous bank upon the A. H. 170.
stumps of a reed bed that had been cut, but the courtier clung to him and A. D. 786.
he fell and a reed entered his nostril and they were both killed. It is said
too that he had an ulcer in his stomach. Another account is, that his
mother al Khayzurán poisoned him, when he sought to murder ar Rashíd
in order to confer the succession on his own son.

It is said that his mother was an imperious woman, assuming absolute
direction of affairs of state. A line of persons attended at her gate every
morning, but he forbade them doing so, and addressed her in rough lan-
guage, and said,* "verily, if there attendeth a noble at thy gate, I will
assuredly strike off his head—but as for thee, hast thou not a spindle to
employ thee, or a Kurán, or beads to engage thee in devotion?" And she
arose beside herself with anger, and it is reported that he sent her poisoned
food, but she caused some of it to be given to a dog which was imme-
diately affected† by it. She therefore conspired to put him to death
when he was prostrate with fever and they smothered him with the bed
covering and sat upon its sides. He left seven sons.

Of the verses of al Hádi, are the following on his brother Hárún
when he refused to renounce the succession.

I counselled Hárún, but he rejected my counsel,
And every man that taketh not advice, repenteth;
I invite him to a deed that will restore harmony between us,
But he turneth from it, and in that he doth wrong.
And were it not for my expectation of his consent from day to day
He should do what I say under compulsion.

Among the events of al Hádi's reign, it is recorded by Al Khaṭīb on
the authority of al Fadhíl that al Hádi was wroth with a man, and they
interceded for him with the Caliph, upon which he was pacified towards
him, and the man went to make his excuses, and al Hádi said to him,
"my approval exempts thee from the pain of apology." And on the
authority of Musaa'b, that Marwán-b-Abi Hafṣah went in unto al Hádi

concur in the mouth being Rabí' I, except Ṭabari, who says Jumáda I, and a
Makín, Rabí' II, but this latter is a mere slip of the pen, as he himself states the
duration of al Hádi's reign to be one year and 52 days, which fits in with 14th Rabí' I.
Weil fixes the date at the 16th Rabí' I. See Geah, der. Cal.

* This speech is not accurately given by as Suyúṭí and is marred in the telling.
Ibn u'l Athir and Masu'di concur in their narratives of it.

† The verb أن تذكر has not this meaning in the Lexicons, but it is plain that
this is the sense intended which would be usually expressed by تذكر.
A. H. 170. and recited to him a panegyric on him, until he came to the following verse,
A. D. 786.

His bounty and intrepidity are to-day so evenly balanced
That no one knows with which the superiority lies.

Al Hádi said to him, "which doest thou prefer, thirty thousand dirhams
down, or one hundred thousand paid through the accountant's office?"
He replied "give the thirty thousand dirhams down and let the hundred
thousand come round to me through the office." Al Hádi said "nay, both
shall be paid down together," and the sum was taken to him.

As Şáli observes that no woman is known to have given birth to two
Caliphs, except al Khuzayrán, the mother of al Hádi and ar Ráshíd, and
Wiládah, daughter of al Abbás, of the tribe of A'bs,* wife of A'bdull
Malik-b-Marwán, who bore al Walíd and Sulaymán; and Sháhín† daughter
of Firáz son of Yazdajird, son of Khusráu, who bore to al Walid-b-
A'bdí'l Malik, Yazíd an Nákiš and Ibráhím, both of whom succeeded to
the Caliphate. I remark that there may be added to these, Bai Khatún,
the concubine of the last al Mutawakkil who gave birth to al A'bbás and
Hamzah who both ruled the Caliphate; and Kazzl a concubine of the same
who bore Daúd and Sulayman who governed it likewise.

As Şáli also says that no Caliph was ever known to ride post, except al
Hádi who rode from Jurján to Baghdad,‡ He adds that the impression on
his signet ring was, "the Lord is the reliance of Músa and in him he confides."
The following, according to as Şáli is by Salm al Khásir eulogising
al Hádi.

Músa is a rain—a cloud that riseth early,—and is then discharged—he appropriates power to himself—how hath he forcibly seized—and waxed strong!—and then pardoned!—just in disposition—of enduring renown—for good and evil—weal and woe—the best of mortals—of the race of Mudhár—a moon that is at full—unto him who beholdeth—He is the refuge—of them that are nigh—and the glory—of those that remain.

As Şáli says, "this detached verse—is of the measure Musta'filüm—
Musta'ilün;§ he was the first to employ it and I have never heard
poetry of this detached character by any one else."

* There are two of this name; one a branch of the Kays A'ylán, the eponymous head of which was A'bs-b-Baghídh-b-Rayth, and the other of the Banú Kudjás'h sprung from A'bs-b-Khulán. Muntaha'l Arab.
† See page 257. The name there given is "Shahfarand."
‡ This took place when the death of his father was announced to him and he accomplished the distance according to Ibn u'l Athir, in twenty days.
§ A variety of the Rajaz, dimeter catalectic, the third epitrite

--- — — variet by the diamb — — —

O carminum | dulces noto,
Quas ore fun | dis melloo.
He traces an ascription to Sa‘id-b-Salm who is reported to have said, 'verily I trust that the Lord will be merciful unto al Hádi on account of an act of his which I witnessed. I was present with him one day when Abu’l Khitab, as Saa’di was reciting a poem to him in his praise continuing
till he came to,

“O best of those whose hands tie the waist band,
O best of those whom the race of Muqhar hath invested with their authority.”

Al Hádi said to him, “have a care! whom dost thou mean? Shame on thee!” For he excepted no one in his verse; whereupon I exclaimed, “O prince of the Faithful, surely, he means of the people of this age.” The poet then reflected and said,

“Save the prophet, the Apostle of God* to whom
Belongeth preeminence and thou, in that preeminence, doth glory.”

Al Hádi said, “now thou hast hit it and hast done well,” and he ordered fifty thousand dirhams to be given to him.

Al Madáini says, that al Hádi consoled with a man on account of the loss of his son, and said, “he made thee glad when he was to thee a temptation† and an evil, and now grieveth thee when he hath become unto thee a reward and a mercy!”

As Súli narrates that Salm al Khásir recited on al Hádi the following verse coupling condolence and congratulation.

“Verily Músa hath assumed the Caliphate and guidance unto salvation,
And Muḥammad (al Mahdí) prince of the Faithful, is dead.
He is dead whose loss the people suffer in common
And he hath arisen who will suffice thee for him who is gone.”

And Marwán-b-Abí Ḥafṣah says similarly—

“Verily there pride themselves in every city
On account of the grave of the prince of the Faithful, the cemeteries.

* Who was eighteenth in direct descent from Muqhar-b-Nizár-b-Maz’d-b-Adnán; the generations between Adnán and Iahmael are uncertain, some enumerating eight, others (and among these, Muḥammad himself) counting no more than three. See Sale’s Genealogical Tables.

† This is said with reference to Kur. VIII, “Know that your wealth and your
children are a temptation to you” and it is mentioned in a tradition that the death of a child is the occasion of a storing of reward unto the father.
A. H. 170. And had they not been consoled in his son after his death, Never would the pulpits have ceased to weep over him. And if Mūsa had not arisen upon them, they would have wailed With a yearning cry, as the tribes yearn for the best portions of plunder.”

Traditions from the narration of al Hádi.

As Śūlī narrates from al Muṭṭallib-b-U’kkáshah al Marri that he said, “we went to al Hádi as evidence against a man who had reviled one of the Kuraysh and passed on to the disparagement of the prophet—whereupon he convened an assembly for us, to which he summoned the chief jurists of his time, and had the man brought into his presence; and we gave evidence against him. The countenance of al Hádi changed, and he hung down his head, and then raised it, and said, ‘I heard my father al Mahdi relate on the authority of Ibn A’bbás, that he said—he who desireth to put scorn upon the Kuraysh, may the Lord put scorn upon him, and thou, O enemy of God, wert thou not satisfied in desiring that for the Kuraysh but thou must pass on to disparage the prophet? Strike off his head:” (recorded by al Khatīb from the ascription of as Śūlī): and the tradition in this narration stops thus with Ibn Abbás, but one with another ascription traced to the prophet, hath also come down.

Of people of note who died in the reign of al Hádi were, Nāfi’, Kurán reader of the people of Medīna and others.

HARUN U’R RASHĪD.

Ar Rashíd Harún, Abú Jaa’far-b-u’l Mahdi Muḥammad-b-il Maṣūr A’bdillah-b-Muḥammad-b-A’li-b-A’bdillah-b-i’l A’bbás succeeded as Caliph by the covenant of his father on the death of his brother al Hádi on Friday night the 16th Rabī’ I, in the year 170. As Śūlī mentions that that on this night al Mamún was born to him, and in the whole course of time there has never been a night but this, in which a Caliph died, a Caliph succeeded, and a Caliph was born. He used to be called Abú Mūsa but took henceforth the surname of Abú Jaa’far. He related traditions on the authority of his father and grandfather and Mubarak b-Fudhálah, and his son al Mamún and others have related them on his. He was one of the most distinguished of Caliphs and most illustrious of the princes
of the earth. He undertook many military expeditions as well as pil. A. H. 170.
grimages, as Abu’l A’lá al Kilábi has said concerning him—

A. D. 786.

"He who seeketh or desireth to meet thee
Will find thee either in the two sacred cities or on the most distant
frontier.
If in the country of the enemy, it will be on a high-mettled charger,
If in the land of the desert, on a camel’s saddle.”

His birth took place at Rai when his father was Prefect over it and
over Khurásán in the year 148. His mother was a slave concubine called
Khuzayrán who was also the mother of al Hádí, and Marwán-b-Abi
Hafṣah* has said regarding her:

"O Khuzayrán, rejoice thee and again rejoice!
For thy two sons have come to rule the universe.”

Ar Rashíd was very fair, tall, handsome, of captivating appearance,
and eloquent. He was versed in science and literature. During his Ca-
liphate, he used to pray every day a hundred “rakaa’tas,” until he died, never
neglecting them save for some special cause, and he used to give in charity
from his private purse every day a hundred dirhams.

He loved science and its professors, and held in reverence the sacred
shrines of Islám and abhorred disputation in religion and controversy on
established points of doctrine. The opinion of Bishr al Marrísit on the
creation of the Kurán was reported to him, and he exclaimed—“if I catch
him, I will strike off his head.”

He used to weep over his own extravagance and his sins, especially when
an exhortation was addressed to him. He loved panegyric and would
bestow large sums in reward for it. There are likewise verses attributed
to him.

On one occasion Ibn u’s Sammák‡ the preacher went in unto him and

* He was descended from Abu Hafṣah Yazíd, according to some a Jewish convert,
according to others one of the captives taken at Istakhar. He was purchased by
Othmán, given to Marwán-b-al Ḥakam who married him to one of his own concubines
by whom he had had a daughter called Hafṣah. This girl was brought up by Yazíd as his
own and he received the surname of “father of Hafṣah” Marwán, the subject of this
notice, was extremely avaricious and asked 1000 dirhams for every verse he wrote in
† Abu A’bdur’ Rahmán Bishr-b-Ghiáth al Marrísit a theologian and jurisconsult
of the school of Hanfisah. He taught openly the creation of the Kurán and he be-
longed to the sect of the Murgians which is called after him the Marrísian, and he held
that it was not an act of infidelity to bow down to the sun and moon but only a token
incorrectly “Marrís” for Marrísit.”
‡ Abu’l Abbás Muḥammad-b-Sabíh surnamed al Maḏkúr (or as Ibn u’l Athír says
A. H. 170. he exerted himself to the utmost to do him honor, and Ibn u's Sammak A. D. 786. said to him—"thy humility in thy greatness is nobler than thy greatness;" then he addressed him an exhortation and made him weep. He was also in the habit of going in person to the house of al Fudhayl-b-I'yadh.*

A'bu'du'r Razzák says, "I was with al Fudhayl at Mecca when Ḥarún passed by and al Fudhayl said, 'the people dislike this man, but there is not on earth any more esteemed by me than he—were he to die, thou wouldst surely behold most serious events occur.'"

Abu Mu'áwiyah ad Dharír† says, "I never mentioned the prophet before ar Rashíd, but he said, 'may God bless my lord,' and I related to him this tradition of his, 'I would that I might do battle for the sake of God and be slain, and he brought to life and slain again,' and Ḥarún wept until he sobbed aloud; and I once related to him the tradition, 'Adam and Moses entered into a disputation,' and there was by him one of the chiefs of the Kuraysh, and the Kurayshi said,—but where did he meet him?—At this ar Rashíd grew wroth and exclaimed—the leather mat and the sword!—shall a Zindík impugn a tradition of the prophet!"—But I continued to pacify him and to say, 'O prince of the Faithful, it came from him unpremeditatedly,' until he was appeased. I was once taking a meal with ar Rashíd, when a man whom I did not perceive poured water upon my hand, and ar Rashíd said, 'dost thou know who is pouring water upon thee?' I said, 'no.' He replied, 'it is I, out of reverence for thy knowledge.'" Mansúr-b-A'mmar‡ says "I never saw any more copious in devotions than three men, al Fudhayl-b-I'yád, ar Rashíd, and another."

U'baydu'llallah al Kāwarí narrates that when ar Rashíd met al Fudhayl, al Muḍakkar) and known as Ibn u's Sammak, (son of the seller or catcher of fish). He was a native of Kufah and a professional narrator of anecdotes. His devotion, his pious exhortations and the elegance of his language acquired him great celebrity. He died at Kufah, A. H. 183 (799-80). Ibn Khall.

* Abu A'li al Fudhayl-b-I'yád a celebrated ascetic. Drew his origin from a family of the tribe of Tamím which had settled at Talakán in Khurásán. He was born at Abiward or Samarkand, passed his youth at Abiward and then went to learn traditions at Kufah, from thence he removed to Mecca where he dwelt till his death in 187 A. H. (803). It is said that his commenced life as a highway robber and was converted by hearing a sentence of the Qurán pronounced, when he was about to climb a wall to see a girl whom he loved. Ibn Khall.

† Abú Mu'áwiyah Muḥammad-b-Kházím, ad Dharír (the blind) adopted member of the tribe of Minak, born at Kufah A. H. 113. He was a traditionist of eminence, died A. H. 195 (811). Do Slane, I. K.

‡ A native of Khurásán (or of Baṣrah as some say) celebrated for his wisdom piety and eloquence as a preacher. He also delivered traditions. He resided at Cairo and died A. H. 225 (839-40). Do Slane, I. K.
the latter said to him, "O thou with the handsome face! art thou he who A. H. 170. is answerable before God for this people? Layth related to me on the A. D. 786. authority of al Mujāhid, that the verse 'and the cords of relation between them shall be cut asunder,' (Kur. II) signifieth the connection that was between them in the world, and Ḥarūn began to weep and sob.'* As an instance of his good qualities, it is said that when the news of the death of Ibn u'l Mubarak† reached him, he gave an audience of condolence and commanded his nobles to condole with him on the loss of Ibn u'l Mubarak.

Niftawayh says that ar Rashīd followed in the footsteps of his grandfather Abū Ja'far save in covetousness, for no Caliph before him, had been as munificent as he. He bestowed on one occasion on Sufyān-b-U'aynah, one hundred thousand dinars, and on another, two hundred thousand on Ishāk§ of Mosul, and he gave Marwān-b-Abi Ḥafṣah for a poem, five thousand dinars, a robe of honor, a horse from his own stud and ten Greek slaves.

Al Aṣma'i narrates, "ar Rashīd said to me, 'O Aṣma'i, what hath made thee neglect me and keep aloof from me?' I replied, 'by Allah, O prince of the Faithful, the provinces, after thee could not attach me to them, until I came to thee.' And he was silent but, when the people dispersed he said 'what means could not attach me,' (alākātuni).|| I said,

'Of thy two hands, one keepeth not within it a dirham
Through munificence, while the other sheddeth blood with a sword.'

* This story is related differently and probably more correctly in Ibn Khall.

† Abū Abdur Rāhām Abdu'llah al Marwazi, a Mawla to the tribe of Handhālah, a man of profound learning and of mortified life. He loved retirement and was extremely assiduous in the practice of ascetic devotion. He died at Hit on the Euphrates on his return from a military expedition in A. H. 181 (797). The nauseous details of his funeral are given by Māsā'ūdī. Ibn Khall.

‡ He was an imām of learning and piety and distinguished for the exactitude of his traditions. His parents lived at Kūfah where he was born A. H. 107. He made the pilgrimage seventy times. He died at Mecca, A. H. 198 (814). Ibn Khall. In the text for مسبع read مسبع

§ Abū Muḥammad Ishāk known by the name of Ibn u'n Nadīm al Mawsili (son of the boon companion from Mosul) a member by adoption of the tribe of Tamīm and born al Arrajān. He was a constant companion of the Caliphs in their parties of pleasure: he was well versed in pure Arabic and the history of the poets, in jurisprudence and tradition, and as a singer was without a rival. Born A. H. 160, died 235 (A. D. 850). Ibn Khall.

|| The verb ilākāt means to bind to one's self or to put raw silk into an inkstand as is the oriental custom, to prevent the reed-pen being overcharged with ink. Al Aṣm'ā'i who had a marvellous command of the Arabic language and knowledge of the poets and their works, purposely used an uncommon word to attract the attention of
A. H. 170. He replied, 'thou hast said well and continue to be thus; honor us in public and instruct us in private,' and he ordered for me five thousand dinars.'

In the Murúju'd Daḥab (Meadows of gold) of Maṣ'āḏi, the author says that ar Rashíd desired to unite the Mediterranean and the Red Sea at a point adjacent to Farama,* but Yahya-b-Rashíd the Barmecide said to him that the Greeks would carry off the people from the sacred mosque (at Mecca) and that their ships would come up to al Ḥijáz; he therefore abandoned it.

Al Jáhidh† observes that there were assembled round ar Rashíd such a company as were never united under any other Calīph, to wit, his ministers the Barmecides, his Kádhī Abú Yusuf, his poet Marwán-b-Abí Ḥafsah, his boon companion al A'báśa-b-Muḥammad the paternal uncle of his father, his chamberlain al Fadhl-b-u'r Rabī' one of the most celebrated and remarkable of men, his musician Ibráhīm of Mosul, and his wife Zubaydah. Another author says that all the days of ar Rashíd were as happy in their joyousness as if they had been marriage-feasts, and ad Daḥabi states that a narrative of the adventures of ar Rashíd would extend to great length and his good actions are numerous. There are accounts of him also in his diversions, forbidden pleasures and musical entertainments,—may God exalt him.

Of people of note who died in his reign were Málik-b-Anas, al Layth-b-Saa'd, Abú Yusuf the disciple of Abú Ḥanīfah, al Kāsim-b-Ma'ān, Muslim-b-Khálid al Zanjī, Nūḥ al Jámi', the Ḥāṣid Abú U'wánah al Yeshkuri, Ibráhīm-b-Saa'd az Zuhri, Abú Isháq al Fazāri, Ibráhīm-b-Abí Yahya the master of as Shafi'i, Asad al Kúfī one of the most eminent of the disciples of Abú Ḥanīfah, Ismail-b-A'yyásh, Bashir-b-u'l Mufadḥhalt, Jarīr-b-Abdīl Ḥamīd, Ziyād al Bakkāl, Sulaym the Kurān reader, the disciple of Ḥamzah,‡ Sibawayh the great master of Arabic, Dhaygham Harún, and then illustrated it by a verse which instructed the Calīph in its meaning as well as in the needs of the speaker. The Arabic verse in the printed edition is incorrect. The word كفَّارْك should be pointed كُفَّارْك and the second hemistich should begin with the word جَوْر which has been omitted, but which is in the MS. Th of metre is Rajāz.

* Near what is now al Arīfah on the Mediterranean; the town of Farama has disappeared and no trace of it remains. See Yakūṭ for its history.

† Abú Othmán Amr-b-Bakr known as al Jāhidh (the starer) and al Hadsaki (the goggle-eyed) on account of the prominence of his eyes. He was a native of Baṣrah, celebrated for his learning and author of numerous works on every branch of science. One of his best works is the Book on Animals. Numerous anecdotes are told of him by Ibn Khull whom the reader may consult. He died at Baṣrah A. H. 250 at the age of ninety.

‡ Probably Ḥamzah-b-Habīb az Zayyāt one of the seven readers of the Kurān and master of al Kisā, died at Ḥulwān A. H 166 (772-3). Ibn Khull,
the ascetic, A'bdu'llah al U'mari the ascetic, A'bdullah-b.-u'l Mubarak, A. H. 170. A'bdullah-b.-Idris ad Kufi, A'bdul A'ziz-b.-Abi Hāzim, ad Darawardi, al A. D. 786. Kisāi master of the Qurān readers and grammarians and Muḥammad-b.-u'l Ḥasan the disciple of Abū Ḥanīfah both on the same day; A'lī-b.-Mushir, Ghunjar, Isb-a.-Yunas sa Sabii', al Fudhayl-b.-I'yadh, Ibn u's Sammāk the preacher, Marwān-b.-Abī Ḥafṣah the poet, al Mu'āfā-b.-I'mran al Mawsīlī, Mu'ātamar*-b.-Sulaymān, al Mufādḥal-b.-Fudḥalah Kādhi of old Cairo, Mūsa al Kādhim (the forbearing), Mūsā-b.-Rabi'ih Abū'l Ḥakam al Miṣrī one of the saints, an Nua'mān-b.-A'bdī's Salām al Iṣbahānī, Husaym, Yahya†-b.-Abi Zādīlah, Yazīd-b.-Zuray', Yūnas-b.-Ḥabīb the grammarian, Yakūb-b.-A'bdī'r Raḥmān, the Qurān reader of Medīna, Sa'sā'ah-b.-u's Sallām, the learned doctor of Spain, one of the disciples of Mālik, Abdūr Rahmān-b.-u'l Kāsim the most eminent of the disciples of Mālik al A'bbās-b.-u'l Ahnaf, the famous poet, Abū Bakr-b.-A'yyāsh, the Qurān reader, Yusuf-b.-u'l Mājīshān and others.

The following are among the events of his reign. In the year 175 A'bdullah-b.-Muṣā'āb az Zubayri falsely accused Yahya-b.-A'bdillah-b.-Ḥasan, the descendent of A'Lī of having invited him to rebel with him against ar Rashīd, whereupon Yahya imprecated with him the curse of God upon which ever of them spoke falsely, in the presence of ar Rashīd and locked his hand in the hand of the other, and exclaimed, “say—O God, if thou knowest that Yahya did not invite me to oppose and rebel against the prince of the Faithful here, then commit me to my own power and strength, and utterly destroy me by a chastisement from thee. Amen. Lord of created things.” Az Zubayri stammered hesitatingly but repeated it, and Yahya did the like, and they arose and departed and az Zubayri died the same day.

In the year 176 the city of Dubsah‡ was captured by the Amīr A'bdur Raḥmān-b.-A'bdī'l Mālik-b.-Sāliḥ al A'bbāsī. In the year 179 ar Rashīd performed the lesser pilgrimage in the month of Ra'mādān and remained in the state of Ḥaḍram‡ until he made the greater pilgrimage and went on foot to A'rafah from Mecca.

In the year 180 occurred the great earthquake in which the top of the minaret at Alexandria fell. In the year 181, the fort of Ṣafṣaf|| was

*“Mua'ammar” according to Ibn u'l Athīr.
† “Zakariya.” Ibn u'l Athīr.
‡ Ibn u'l Athīr has Dulsah or Dulsah, for the word is not pointed, but Dulsah is stated in a note to be a variant. I cannot find the name on the map. He places this event in the year 190.
§ I. e. abstaining from all acts which are unlawful at that season.
|| On the frontier of Syria between Antioch and the Grecian territory.
A. H. 180. captured by force of arms, the captor being ar Rashíd. In the year 183
A. D. 796. the Khazars* burst upon Armenia and fell upon the true believers and
made great slaughter and carried away captive more than a hundred thou-
sand souls. Thus a grievous calamity fell upon Islám, the like of which
had not been heard of before.

In the year 187, there came a letter to ar Rashíd from Nicephorus†
the Roman Emperor breaking the truce which had been established be-
tween the Muslims and Irene Empress of Rome. The letter ran as follows:
"From Nicephorus, the Roman Emperor, to Harún, sovereign of the Arabs:
After preliminaries—verily the Empress who preceded me gave thee the
rank of a rook and put herself in that of a pawn, and conveyed to thee many
loads of her wealth, and this through the weakness of women and their
folly. Now when thou hast read this letter of mine, return what thou
hast received of her substance, otherwise the sword shall decide between
me and thee." When ar Rashíd read the letter, he was so inflamed
with rage, that no one durst look upon his face, much less speak to him,
and his courtiers dispersed from fear, and his ministers speechless forborne
from counsel. Then ar Rashíd sent for an inkhorn and wrote upon the
back of the letter. "In the name of God, the most Compassionate the
most Merciful, from Harún the prince of the faithful to Nicephorus the
Roman dog. Verily I have read thy letter, son of an unbelieving mother,
and the answer thou shalt behold and not hear." Thereupon he set out
the same day and did not stay until he reached Heraclée, and there took
place a famous battle and a manifest victory, and Nicephorus implored
peace and engaged to pay a tribute which he would transmit to him every
year and it was accepted. But when ar Rashíd returned to ar Raḳkah,
the dog violated the engagement, deeming impossible the return of ar
Rashíd in the winter, and no one durst tell ar Rashíd of the violation, but
A’bdū’r Raḥmán-b-Yusuf at Tamími versified, saying,

"Nicephorus hath violated what thou didst concede to him,
Therefore around him the circle of destruction shall revolve.
Give the good news to the prince of the Faithful,
Verily he is a spoil that the great God hath vouchsafed thee."

And Abū’l Aṭáḥiyah made some verses which were shown to ar Rashíd,
and he said—"indeed hath he done so?" He therefore set out on his

* A Turkish tribe north of Derbend, their eponymous ancestor being Khazar the
son of Japhet, the son of Noah—for a particular account of them, consult Yākūt. The
cause of their irruption was the death of the Khاهáns daughter whom the Barmociide
Fāṭih-b-Yahya had wooed. The Khاهán had been informed that the Muslims had
put her to death. According to another account the murder of the Khاهán himself by
† The printed edition has نفع for نفع.
return march in the face of the greatest hardships until he caused his camel to kneel in the Emperor's courtyard, and continued until he attained his purpose and accomplished the object of his holy war: and concerning this, Abu'l A' tabiyah says,

Now hath Heraclea perished in war
At the hand of the king who is guided to success.
Harún hastened thundering with death,
And lightening with bright cutting swords;
And his standards upon which victory alights
Speed by as though they were broken masses of cloud.

In the year 189 he ransomed his people in captivity with the Romans, so that there did not remain a single Muslim captive in their territories. In the year 190 he took Heraclea and spread his troops over the Roman territories. Shurahiyl-b-Maa'n-b-Zaidah captured the fortress as Sakaliyah, and Yazid-b-Makhbad, Malaḵuniyah.† Ḥumayd-b-Ma'yun set out against Cyprus, and devastated and wasted it by fire and carried away into captivity sixteen thousand of its people.

In the year 192 ar Rashíd marched towards Khurásán, and Muḥammad-b-u's Šabáḥ at Tabari mentions that his father accompanied ar Rashíd to an Nahrawân, and he used to enter into conversation with him on the road, until he said one day, "O Šabáḥ I do not think that thou wilt see me again after this," † I replied, "nay—may the Lord bring thee back in safety." He continued, "I do not think thou knowest what I have." I answered, "no—by Allah." Ar Rashíd said "come till I show thee," and he left the road and signed to his attendants who retired. Then he said "the faithfulness of God, O Šabáḥ, be thy oath, that thou keep it secret concerning me," and he uncovered his stomach, when lo! there was silken bandage round about his stomach, and he said, "I have concealed this disease from all men, for each one of my sons hath a spy upon me; Masrūr is the spy of al Mamún, and Gabriel the son of Bakhtisháu'§ is the spy of al Amin, and I have forgotten the third. There is not one of them but counts my breathings, and reckons my days and finds my life too long, and if thou wishest to know this, I will at once send for a horse and they will bring me one very lean in order to increase my malady by its roughness." And he sent for a horse and they brought one such as he described, and he

* Read حمل *
† The printed edition has erroneously al Ḫuniyah. Malaḵuniyah is stated by Yaḵūt to be near Iconium. According to Theophanes, the Arabs took Thebasa (Dub-sah or Dalsah?) Malacopea, Sideropolis, and Andrasus. Neither Yaḵūt nor Weil fix the position of as Sakaliyah. See Weil's notice of these names, Tom. II, p. 160.
‡ The narrative here passes from the third to the first person with the usual جل.
§ His physician.
A. H. 192, glanced at me and then mounted and bid me farewell, and set out for A. D. 807. Jurján. Shortly after he left it in the month of Šafar of the year 193, while still suffering, for Țús, and continued there till he died.

Ar Rashíd had covenanted for the succession of his son Muḥammad in the year 175 on account of his mother Zubaydah’s great eagerness for it and surnamed him al Amín, he being at the time five years of age. Ad Ḯahabi says that this was the first unsetlement that came upon the Muslim state as regards the Imamate. He afterwards covenanted for his son Aʾbduʾllaḥ after al Amín in the year 182 and surnamed him al Mámán and bestowed on him the government of all the provinces of Khurásán. Next he covenanted for the succession of his son al Kásim after his two brothers, in the year 186 and surnamed him al Mútamin, and made him governor of Mesopotamia and the frontiers while he was yet a child. When he had thus partitioned the world among these three, it was observed by one of the learned, that he had thrown among them what would be their injury, and that the evil of it would work mischief to his people. The poets recited congratulatory poems on the covenant of allegiance, and he afterwards suspended copies of the covenant in the temple of Mecca, and regarding this Ibráḥím of Mosul and said—

“The best of affairs in their issue,
The most just of ordinances in their completion,
Is a deed, the decrees of which hath promulgated
The most Merciful in the Sacred Temple.”

And Aʾbduʾl Malik-b-Šálīḥ says:*

“The love of the Caliph is a love to which submit themselves not
The sinner against God, and the schismatic who promoteth discord.
God invested Harún with this jurisdiction
When He chose him, He verified our faith and our laws.
And Harún through this benignity unto us, hath given jurisdiction
over the earth
Unto al Amín, al Mámún, and al Mútamin.”

It has been stated by some authorities that ar Rashíd withheld the Caliphate from his son al Muaʾṭasim on account of his being illiterate, but the Lord caused it to come to him and made all the Caliphs succeeding him, to be of his descendants, and did not establish a Caliph from among sons of ar Rashíd, save of his stock.

* Abú Aʾbduʾr Raḥmán Aʾbduʾl Malik-b-Šálīḥ-b-Aʾli-b-Aʾbdiʾllah-b-iʾl Aʾbbás-b-Aʾbdiʾl Mutḥalib. He was the most elegant speaker of all the surviving descendants of al Aʾbbás. The town of Manbij which he held as appanage, was his place of residence. He died at Rakka A. H. 193. Ibn Khall.
Salm al Khásir says regarding the covenant in favour of al Amin—

"Say to the dwellings on the white sand-hills
Watered by the morning rain-clouds,
Verily men and spirits have sworn allegiance to the guide unto salvation
Unto Muḥammad, the son of Zubaydah, daughter of Ja'a'far.*
Verily God prospered the Caliphate, when he built
The House of Vicegerency, for the nobly born, the illustrious,
For he is the Caliph through his sire and grandsire
Who bear testimony unto him by evidence of sight and report."

Upon this Zubaydah stuffed his mouth with jewels which he sold for twenty thousand dinārs. (£10,000.)

Some particulars of the life of ar Rashīd.

As Silāfī records in the Ṭuyyūṭiyāt with ascription to Ibn u'l Mubārak, that when ar Rashīd succeeded to the Caliphate, one of the slave girls of al Mahdī made an impression on him and he sought her hand, but she said, "I am not lawful unto thee, since thy father used to visit me." But he grew violently enamoured of her and sent to Abū Yusuf,† and asked of him, saying, "hast thou any remedy for this case?" He replied, "O prince of the Faithful—what! is a slave girl to be believed whenever she makes an assertion? do not credit her—for verily she is not to be trusted." Ibn u'l Mubārak observes on this "I know not at whom I should most wonder in this affair—whether at this man who steeped his hands in the blood of the Muslims and seized their goods, or at this slave girl who of her own accord shrunk from the prince of the Faithful, or at this jurisconsult and judge of the earth who said, 'violate the honour of thy father and gratify thy lust and put it upon my shoulders?'" As Silāfī records also on the authority of A'bdullāh-b-Yusuf that ar Rashīd said to Abū Yusuf, "I have bought a slave and wish to take her at once before the legal period of abstention he passed—hast thou a device to offer?" He

* Son of the Caliph al Manṣūr.
† The Kādīh Abū Yusuf Yaḥūb al Anṣārī. He was a native of Kufah and one of Abū Ḥanīfah's disciples, a legist, a learned scholar and a Ḥāfīdh. While at Baghdād, he acted as Kādī to al Mahdī, al Hādī and Hārūn by the latter of whom he was treated with great honor and respect. He was the first who bore the title of Kādīh u'l Ḥudhāt (or Chief Justice) and it is said that he was the first who changed the dress of the ulemā (learned) and gave it the form which it retains to this day. The anecdotes told of him by Ibn Khall are numerous. He was born 113 A. H. and died at Baghdād A. H. 182 (798) holding the Kādīhship till his death.
A. H. 193. replied, "Yes—give her to one of thy sons and then marry her."* And A.D.808-9. from Isháq-b-Ráhwayh that ar Rashíd sent for Abú Yusuf one night, who gave him his judgment on the case required. Ar Rashíd then ordered one hundred thousand dirhams (£2,500) to be given to him. "Abú Yusuf exclaimed if the prince of the Faithful sees good, he will order it to be given at once before morning." Ar Rashíd said to his attendants, "bring it immediately," but one of his suite exclaimed "the Treasurer is at his house and the doors of the Treasury are locked." Abú Yusuf retorted "verily the doors were locked when he sent for me." They were therefore opened and the money given.

As Şáli records with ascription to Ya'kub-b-Ja'afar, that ar Rashíd set out in the year in which he assumed the Caliphate, in order to ravage the outlying Roman provinces and returned in Shaa'bán and performed the pilgrimage with the people at the close of the year, and distributed great sums among the Sacred Cities. He had previously seen the prophet in a dream who had said to him, "this authority will come to thee during this month; make war therefore and perform the pilgrimage and give largely to the people of the Sacred Cities:" all of which he carried out. And from Mu'áwiyyah-b-Şáliḥ on the authority of his father, that the first verse composed by ar Rashíd was when he made the pilgrimage in the year of his accession to the Caliphate; he entered a house and lo! at the head of a chamber in it was a line of a verse written upon the wall.

"Now, O prince of the Faithful, dost thou not see
(I ransom thee) that separation from a friend is a momentous thing?"

Whereupon he sent for an inkhorn and wrote beneath it with his own hand—

"Yes; and the camels marked for sacrifice, and what moves
In Meeca wearied, at a hurried pace."

And from Saíd-b-Muslim that the understanding of ar Rashíd was as the understanding of the learned. An Nu'máni versified to him in describing a horse,

"As if his two ears when he raises his head
Were the first feather of a wing or an obliquely-nibbed pen."

Ar Rashíd said "omit ʿwāṣ (as if) and say "thou wouldest think his two ears." So that the verse may run smoothly.†

And from A'bdu'lllah-b-u'll A'bbás-b-i'l Faḏhl-b-i'r Rabí' that ar Rashíd swore that he would not approach a female slave of his for a certain number of days, and he was much attached to her. And when the period

* This legal period of abstention not being required in cases of marriage.
† The Caliph's emendation does not touch the scansion which is the same with other word. The metre is Rajaz.
had elapsed, she did not seek to make him reconciled to her, wherupon he said,

"*He shunned me when he saw me infatuated
   And prolonged his patience, when he discovered it.
   He was my slave and hath now become my master
Verily this is among the wonders of the age."

Then he sent for Abú'l A'táhiyah and said "Cap these lines" who said,

"The potency of love hath disclosed to him my humiliation
   In my love for him, and he hath a comely face:
   And through the one I have become his slave
   And through the other hath appeared and become manifest what I feel."

Ibn A'sákír records on the authority of Ibn U'layyah that ar Rashíd seized a Zindík, and gave orders that his head should be struck off, and the Zindík said, "why dost thou strike off my head?" He replied "I shall free the people from thee." He replied "and where art thou against the thousand traditions which I have falsely ascribed to the Apostle of God, not one word of which he spoke?" Ar Rashíd answered, "and where art thou, O enemy of God, before Abú Ishaq al Fazári, and A'bdulláh-b-u'l Mubárak who can sift and eject them letter by letter?"

As Şúlí records on the authority of Isháq al Háshími that he said, "we were with ar Rashíd when he exclaimed, 'I hear that the people suspect me of hatred towards A'li-b-Abi Talib, whereas, by Allah I love no one with the love I bear to him, but these people are the most violent in hating and reviling us, and in attempting to excite discord in our kingdom, notwithstanding that we have taken their blood-revenge, and shared with them what we possess, so that they are more favourably inclined to the children of Umayyah than towards us. But as to the descendants of his loins, they are indeed the chiefs of the people and the first in merit, and verily my father al Mahdí related to me on the authority of Ibn Abbás that he heard the prophet say regarding al Hasan and al Husaýn—whose loveth those two, verily loveth me, and whose hateth those two, verily he hateth me;—and he likewise heard him say—Fátimah is the chief of the women of the universe, save Miriam the daughter of I'mrán† and A'syah daughter of Muzáhím.'"

* This mode of appealing to a mistress under the mark of an address to one of the other sex is common in oriental poetry. It is from a jealousy of making public the circumstances of life, or the attractions of those whom Eastern custom rigidly excludes from the gaze of men. According to De Slane this is still carried so far in Cairo that public singers dare not amuse their auditors with a song in which the beloved indicated is a female.

† This is the name given in the Kurán to the father of the Blessed Virgin. (Kur.
A. H. 193. It is related that Ibn u's Sammak went in unto ar Rashid who called A.D.808-9, for water to drink, and a goglet was brought to him, and when he took hold of it, Ibn u's Sammak said "gently! O prince of the Faithful! if thou wert forbidden this draught, at how much would'st thou purchase it?" He answered "with the half of my kingdom." The other said—"drink, may the Lord make it wholesome to thee." And when he had drunk, Ibn u's Sammak said, "I ask of thee, if its emission from thy body were forbidden thee, at how much would'st thou purchase its emission?" He replied "with the whole of my kingdom." He continued "verily a kingdom whose price is a draught of water and its emission, is not worth contending for." And Harun wept bitterly.

Ibn u'l Jauzi relates that ar Rashid said to Shayban, "give me an admonition." He replied, "that thou shouldst consort with one who will terrify thee until security cometh upon thee, is better than that thou shouldst consort with one who will inspire thee with a feeling of security until fear cometh upon thee." Ar Rashid said, "explain this to me." He replied, "he who saith to thee, 'thou art answerable for thy people,' is a better counsellor unto thee than one who saith—ye people of the prophetic house—your sins are forgiven ye—for ye are the kinsfolk of your prophet." And ar Rashid wept until those who were around him had compassion on him.

In asSuli's work of the Aurak it is stated with its authorities, that when ar Rashid assumed the Caliphate, and installed Yahya-b-Khålid as first minister, Ibrahim of Mosul said,

"Didst thou not see that the sun was wan,
But when Harun came, its rays shone forth.
The world has become clothed with beauty through his sovereignty,
For Harun is its monarch and Yahya its minister."

Whereupon ar Rashid made him a present of one hundred thousand dirhams and Yahya gave him fifty thousand.

The following is by Dauud-b-Razin of Wasit on Harun.

"Through Harun the light hath shone over every city,
And in the justice of his disposition the ways of rectitude are through him established.
The Imam whose works are directed to the service of God,
And what most frequently occupy him to that end, are war and pilgrimage.
The eyes of the people are blinded by the light of his face
When his shining countenance appeareth before men.

III, see Salo's notes, p. 39). Asyah was the wife of Pharaoh who saved the life of Moses from the anger of her husband. (Kur. XX, Sale, p. 257).
Hopes grow ample through the munificence of his hand,  
For he giveth unto him who hopeth from him beyond what he hopeth.”

The Kādhi al Fādhillī* observes in one of his Epistles. “I know of no journey ever undertaken by a monarch in search of knowledge, save that by ar Rashíd, who journeyed with his two sons al Amīn and al Māmūn to study the Muwatta† under Mālik: the original of the Muwatta heard by ar Rashíd was in the library of the Egyptians. Afterwards the Sultan Salāḥ-u’ddīn-b-Ayūb travelled to Alexandria and studied the Muwatta under Ibn Tāhir‡-b-A’uf—I do not know of a third that can be added to these two.”

The following is by Maṇṣur an Namari§ on ar Rashíd—

“He made the Kurān his Imam and his guide
When the Kurān chose him as a defence.”

And from a poem of his is this verse—

“No noble qualities and beneficence are valleys,
God hath caused thee to dwell in them where they meet.”

It is said that ar Rashíd rewarded him for this with a hundred thousand dirhams.

* Abū A’lī Abū’r Raḥīm al Lakhmi, al A’skālānī, known as the Kādhi al Fādhillī (the excellent Kādhi) was the son of the Kādhi al Aṣḥāf (the most noble) and grandson of the Kādhihas Sa’līd (fortunate). He was born at Aṣcalon in A. H. 529 and was Vizīr to al Mālik an Nāsir Salāḥ-u’ddīn by whom he was treated with great favour. He was pre-eminent as a writer of epistles and surpassed every predecessor. Such is the judgment of Ibn Khall confirmed by the opinion of his contemporaries but to a European taste, his style is turgid, and the specimens of his correspondence given by Ibn Khall, show the conventional mannerism and the hackneyed tropes of all Oriental letter writers. He died at Cairo A. H. 596, (1200).

† The famous work on tradition by Mālik-b-Anas, which is part of the basis on which the Mālikite system of jurisprudence is founded.

‡ The printed edition has incorrectly the name A’lī for the preposition a’la (على) and Ibn (ابن) for abi (ابی). The MS. has not these faults. Abū Tāhir Isma’il-b-Malkī-b-Iṣma’il-b-Iṣa-b-A’uf az Zuhri was a doctor of the school of Mālik and a Muftī of the highest consideration, The Ḥāfīḍh as Silāfī attended his lectures and as the text rightly says, the Sultan Salāḥ-u’ddīn studied the Muwatta under him. He died A. H. 581 (1185).

§ Maṇṣūr-b-u’l Zibrikān-b-Salmah called an Namari because descended from Namār-b-Kāsīṭ. He was a native of Mesopotamia and brought by al Fādhill-b-Yahya to the notice of ar Rashīd. This poet adroitly copied Marwān-b-Abī Ḥafṣah in joining to his elegies of the Caliph the disparagement of the family of A’ti, by which he intended to show that he did not recognize their claim to the Imamate. A practice pleasing to the Caliph, notwithstanding his professions of love towards A’ti and his affected kindness to his descendants. Mansūr died at Rās u’l A’yin in the reign of Harūn; consult Kitāb u’l Aghānī, Tom. 12.
A. H. 193. Al Ḥusayn-b-Fahm narrates that Ar Rashīd used to say—"among A.D.803-9. the most pleasing to me of what has been said in my praise, is—

The father of al Amin, al Māmnān and al Mūtāmin

"How generous is he as an affectionate father! and how generous those whom he hath begotten."

Ishák of Mosul says, "I went in unto Ar Rashīd and recited to him,

'A woman enjoyed thrift, I said to her, Stay thee
For that is a thing to which there is no way.
I see that men are friends of the munificent and I see not
A miser in the universe that hath a friend.
And verily I have seen that avarice bringeth contempt on those that
practise it.
And my spirit is too generous that it should be called avaricious.
And the best of circumstances for a youth—if thou knowest it,
Is when he hath acquired a thing, that he be in the habit of giving
to others,

My gift is as the gift of the abundant in generosity,
And I have not, as thou verily knowest, little.
And how should I fear poverty and be deprived of wealth
While the judgment of the prince of the Faithful is so excellent."

Ar Rashīd exclaimed—"no indeed—how? if it please God. O Fadhl, give him one hundred thousand dirhams. To God be attributed the flow of the verses he hath brought us! How admirable is their point and how beautiful their arrangement!" I said, "O prince of the Faithful, thy words are better than my verse." He replied, "O Fadhl, give him another hundred thousand."

In the Ṭuyyuriyūt with its ascription to Ishák of Mosul, it is stated that Abūl Aṭāhīyah said to Abū Nawās* I would that I had been before hand with thee in the verse in which thou didst praise Ar Rashīd.

"Verily I used to fear thee, but what freed me
From fearing thee was thy fear of God."

Muḥammad-b-ʿAlī al Khurāsānī says that Ar Rashīd was the first Caliph who played with hockey stick and ball and shot arrows at a target, and the first Caliph of the sons of al Aḥbās that played at chess, and as Sāli states that he was the first who appointed degrees and classes for singers. Of the verses of Ar Rashīd in lament over his female slave Haylānah, (Helen) as Sāli quotes the following:

* The ready wit and brilliant powers of extempore versification of Ar Rashīd’s famous poet may be sought for in D’Herbelot’s meagre sketch of his life, by the reader who may be unacquainted with Arabic. The Arabic scholar needs no reference to the life of one of the best known figures of his time.
"I endured afflictions and sorrow
When death took Haylânab to itself.
I parted from my happiness when I lost her
And care not now what it may be.
She was my world: and when she sank
Into her grave, I parted from my world.
Verily people have multiplied, but I
Behold no creature after her.
By Allah, I shall not forget thee
As long as the wind shaketh the boughs on the uplands."

And quoted by as Śúlî is this verse by him—

"O, mistress of the mansion in Fîrk,
And mistress of the Sultan and his kingdom
For God's sake, spare to slay me
For I am neither Daylâm nor Turk."

Ar Rashîd died at Tûs in Khurásán while leading a military expedition, and was buried there on the 3rd Jumâda II, 193* (23rd March 809) at the age of forty-five, and his son Śâlîh read prayers over him.

As Śâlî says that ar Rashîd left one hundred million dinârs, and furniture and jewels and bullion and beasts of kinds, to the value of one hundred and twenty-five thousand dinârs.

Another author states that Gabriel the son of Bakhtishû’ erred† in his medical treatment of ar Rashîd which was the cause of his death, and ar Rashîd purposed to have him quartered, but he said, "give me time till to-morrow and thou wilt enter upon the morning in health." But he died the same day.

It is said that ar Rashîd dreamed that he was leading the prayers as Imâm at Tûs, and he wept, and said "dig me a grave;" and one was dug for him, and he was borne in a covered litter upon a camel, and it was driven along until he beheld the grave, and he said, "O son of man, thou art about to come to this." And he gave orders to a party who set him down, and they read over him the entire Qurân while he was in the litter on the

* It is as Weil remarks, a strange fact that notwithstanding the full and splendid court kept by ar Rashîd and the learned doctors, authors, traditionists and poets that attended it, the date of his death, as that of his birth, is uncertain. According to Wâkîdi, he died on Friday night, 3rd Jumâda II, according to Hishâm, Sunday night in the beginning of Jumâda II. According to others Jumâda I. The duration of his Caliphate is also a matter of dispute—Weil follows Wâkîdi whose narrative accords with that of as Suyûtî.

† The MS. has ḫâl (was rough or harsh) instead of ḫal (erred) of the printed text.
A. H. 193. edge of the grave. When he died allegiance was sworn in the army to
A. D. 809. al Amín, he being at that time in Baghdad. When the news reached him,
he prayed before the people on the Friday and preached a discourse and
announced the death of ar Rashíd unto the people, and they swore alle-
giance to him. Rajá the eunuch took the mantle, sceptre and signet ring
and rode post from Marw till he reached Baghdad in twelve days in the
middle of the month of Jumáda II, and deposited them with al Amín.

The following is by Abú'sh Shíš* lamenting ar Rashíd—

"A sun hath set in the East
And for it my eye weepeth;
We have never before seen a sun
That set where it riseth."

Abú Nuwás has the following partly in condolence and partly in
congratulation.

"The stars revolve in fortunate and sinister aspects,
And we too are in grief and joy.
The heart weeps while the eye smiles
For we are in gloom and in gladness.
The rising al Amín makes us smile
And the death yesterday of the Imám makes us weep.
They are two moons. One hath appeared at Baghdad
In al Khuld,† and a moon at Tús hath sunk in the grave."

Of the traditions recited by ar Rashíd, as Šáli mentions one related
by him on the authority of Anas that the Apostle of God said, "fear hell-
fire, though it be but for the value of a split date." And from A’li-b-Abí
Ṭalib that the prophet said, "purify your mouths, for they are the path-
ways of the Kurán."

AL AMÍN.

Al Amín Muḥammad, Abú A‘bdu‘llah, son of ar Rashíd was the heir
of his father and assumed the Caliphate after him. He was one of the
finest of youths in appearance—fair, tall, handsome, possessed of great
strength and vigour and of renowned bravery. It is said that he once

* Muḥammad-b-A‘bdu‘llah-b-Razín al Khuzá‘a‘i surnamed Abú’sh Shíš. He com-
posed poems in honour of ar Rashíd, al Amín and that Caliph’s son and successor, and
† "Paradise" the name of the palace at Baghdad, built by al Manṣúr. Yakút.
killed a lion with his own hands. He was eloquent, polished in speech, A. H. 193.
well-educated and accomplished, but defective in judgment, of great prodi-
gality, weak in mind, apathetic and unfit for government.

As soon as he was acknowledged Caliph, on the following day, he
ordered the construction of a level piece of ground near the palace of al
Mansūr for playing at ball. In the year 194 he removed† his brother al
Kāsim from the government to which ar Rashīd had appointed him, and
there occurred an estrangement between him and his brother al Māmūn.

It is said that Fadhl-b-Rabī', being aware that when the Caliphate
came to al Māmūn, he would have no mercy on him,‡ instigated al Amīn
and urged him to set him aside and give the succession to his son Mūsa.
When the disgrace of his brother al Kāsim reached al Māmūn, he cut off
all communication with al Amīn and omitted his name from the uniforms§
and the coinage. Shortly after al Amīn sent to him desiring him to yield
Mūsa precedence in the succession to the Caliphate before himself and stated
that he had named him Nāṭik-b-i'l Ḥakāk (proclaimer of the truth).
But al Māmūn rejected it and refused him. The messenger|| (of al Amīn)
joined the party of al Māmūn, and did homage to him as Caliph in secret.
Afterwards he used to keep him informed of news and sent him advice
from Frāk.

And when he returned and informed al Amīn of the refusal of al
Māmūn, he struck out his name from the succession and sent for the deed
which ar Rashīd had written and deposited in the Ka'bah. They there-
fore brought it to him and he tore it in pieces and the estrangement be-
tween the brothers was thus increased. His counsellors urged their advice
on him and Khuzaymah-b-Khāzīn¶ said, "O prince of the Faithful, he
who lieth to thee, giveth thee no good counsel, and he who speaketh the
truth to thee, doth not betray thee. Do not encourage** the officers to call

* The narrative of the feat is given by Maṣa'ūdī.
† That is Mesopotamia, but allowed him to retain the governorship of Kinnasrīn
and command of the fortresses of the marches. Weil.
‡ He was the prime minister of al Amīn and altogether wedded to his interest.
He had also suffered the maltreatment of one of al Māmūn's messengers in his presence
by one of his suite, and allowed him to speak harshly of that prince of which al Māmūn
was informed by the messenger himself on his return. Ibn u'l Athīr.
§ So Weil translates this word طرّاز. The MS. has "khutbah" (خطبة) Ibn u'l
Athīr has طرّاز with the printed text.
¶ His name was Abīb-b-Mūsâ, one of four delegates despatched by the Caliph
to al Māmūn.
|| The printed text and MS. have—Hāzīm-b-Khuzaymah, but this is an error—
Maṣa'ūdī, Ibn u'l Athīr Ibn Khaldūn and Weil who follows them, write the name as I
have given it.
** For نظری of the printed text, read, as in Maṣa'ūdī and Ibn u'l Athīr.
The MS. has also نظری but without the Tashdīd.
A. H. 194. for deposal, for they will some day depose thee, and do not incite them to violate a compact, for they will violate their covenant of allegiance to thee, for verily he who deceives shall be deceived, and he who perjures himself shall be betrayed.” But he would not listen to advice, and set about conciliating the officers with presents, and had the covenant of succession taken for his son Mūsa who was at that time a child in arms, and surnamed him Nātīk-b-i’l Ḥakk. One of the poets has said regarding this.*

“The Caliphate is ruined by the treachery of the vizier, The profligacy of the prince and the folly of his counsellor; For Fadhl is the vizier and Bakr the councillor, Seeking that in which lieth the perdition of the prince. And stranger than either one or the other Is that we should swear allegiance to a little child, One† that is unable to blow its nose And is never out of the lap of its nurse. And‡ what is this, but that Fadhl and Bakr Seek to deface the Illustrious Book. And were it not for the vicissitudes of Fortune, these two Would never be among princes and leaders.”

When al Māmūn was assured of his having been set aside, he assumed the title of the prince of the Faithful and was thus addressed. Al Amin appointed A’li-b-I’sa-b-Māhān to the mountainous districts of Hamadhān, Nahawand, Kumm and Isphahān in the year 195. A’li-b-I’sa then set forth from Baghhdād in the middle of Jumādā II, at the head of an army forty thousand strong, the like of which had not been seen, to engage al Māmūn, and he took with him a silver chain,§ in order as he thought to bind him with it. Al Māmūn despatched against him Tābir-b-u’l-Ḥusayn at the head of less than four thousand men. He was victorious and A’li was slain and his army routed. His head was taken to al Māmūn and sent through Khurasān and al Māmūn was saluted as Caliph. The news reached al Amin while he was engaged in fishing, and he said to him who brought the report, “Confound thee! Leave me, for Kau-thar (his eunuch) hath taken two fish, and I have not taken anything as yet.”

* This, according to Masaʿūdī was a blind poet of Baghhdād called A’li-b-Abī Ṭālib. Some of the lines I have omitted for reasons obvious to those who can read the original.
† So this line runs in Masaʿūdī: من ليس يحسن مسأله ولم يخل منه من حضرظر
‡ Masaʿūdī has: ومآذاك إلا يباغ وغآو But he also gives a closing line which is not in the text, ولكنها قنآ كلهبان ترفع فيها بشبع أحمد. But it hath summits like hills upon which worthless things are flung up.
§ This, according to Tabari, was given to Ali by al Amin, according to Ibn Khal-dūn by Zubaydah. Weil.
A'bdullāh-b-Ṣalih al Jarnī* says, that when A'li was slain, the people in Baghdād raised a great tumult and al Amin repented of having set aside his brother. The nobles too, sought to obtain what they could of him, and despatched their troops to demand pay of al Amin, and the contest continued between him and his brother. The affairs of al Amin daily grew worse through his abandonment to frivolity and follies, while those of al Māmūn improved till the inhabitants of the Sacred Cities and the greater part of Irāk swore allegiance to him. The circumstances of al Amin at length became desperate, the discipline of the army was destroyed, and his treasures dissipated, by reason of which the condition of the people fell into a grievous state. Meanwhile violence, devastation and ruin waxed great and increased through the continuance of hostilities and the play of the engines of war and the liquid naphtha, till the splendours of Baghdād were obliterated and dirges were sung over it. And among the pieces recited regarding it, is the following—

"I† wept tears of blood over Baghdād when
I lost the delights of a happy life;
The eye of the envious fell upon it
And destroyed its people by the engines of war."

The siege of Baghdād continued for fifteen months, and the greater number of the Abbasides and ministers of State joined the forces of al Māmūn and none remained with al Amin to defend him, but the rabble and the vagabonds‡ of Baghdād, and this lasted till the beginning of the year 198. Then Tāhir-b-u'l Husayn entered Baghdād at the point of the sword, and al Amin fled with his mother and family from the palace to the city of al Mansūr,§ and all his troops and servants dispersed, and food and water became scarce among them.

Muhammad-b-Rashīd narrates, "Ibrāhīm-b-u'l Mahdī‖ told me that he was with al Amin in the city of al Mansūr, and added, "he sent for me

* In the text this name is marked Jurnī, but I think this is an error. Ibn Khal in his life of Abū Omar al Jarnī (so De Slane writes the name) says that there are several tribes so called. The Muntaha' Arab gives the name Jarm, but not Jurn, nor is there such a town in Yākūt who, however, mentions Jirm as a place near Badakhshān.
† Kazimirski gives two plurals to this word—viz., حرفانش and حرفانش. The text and MS. have حرفانش. Lane does not give it.
‡ Ten more lines of this poem may be found in Maṣ'ādī.
§ The old city called also the city of Abū Jaa'far. Maṣ'ādī. See M. de Meynard's translation, Tom VI., p. 471.
‖ Brother to Hārūn ar Rashīd. He had great talent as a singer and was an agreeable companion at parties of pleasure. He was surnamed at Tinnīn or the dragon, from his large frame. He was proclaimed Caliph at Baghdād during the absence of al Māmūn in Khurāsān, and so continued for nearly two years. His flight and adventures have been given by Tabari and others and are well known. He died at Sarr-man-rāa A. H. 224 (839). Ibn Khall.
A. H. 198. one night, and I went to him and he said, 'dost thou not observe the beauty of the night, the splendour of the moon and its radiance on the water? what sayest thou to a bout of wine?' I replied, 'do as thou wilt.' Then we drank together and he sent for a slave girl whose name was Dhaaf (weakness) and I was struck with the ill-omen of her name. He commanded her to sing and she sang a verse of an Náibighah al Jaa'di's.*

'By my life, Kulayb had more allies, Had more numerous followers than thou, and yet was stained with blood.'

The Caliph felt this as in ill augury and said 'sing something else.' So she sang—

'Their departure hath made mine eye to weep and hath rendered it sleepless, For separation is a cause of weeping unto friends. The adversity of fortune continued to attack them Until they destroyed one another, for the adversity of fortune is inimical. And to-day I weep for them greatly and lament them Until I return so incessantly that no tears are left in my eyes.'

He exclaimed—'may Allah curse thee! knowest thou nothing but that? She replied 'I thought that thou didst like this.' Then she sang again—

'But, by the Lord of repose and movement, Verily death hath many snares. Days and nights do not recur nor Do the stars revolve in the sky and the firmament, Save to take a king from his kingdom. Verily his authority passeth to another monarch, But the kingdom of the Lord is everlasting, It decayeth not neither is it shared.'

He exclaimed—'Begone—Allah curse thee!' and she arose and stumbled over a crystal goblet of price and broke it. He said, 'alas, Ibrá-

* Hassan-b-Kays a member of the tribe of Jaa'd-b-Kas'b known as an Náibighah al Jaa'di was one of the most celebrated of the poets contemporary with Muhammad. He was born before the promulgation of Islamism and fought on A'li's side at Siffin. He died during the reign of Abdu'Uah-b-uz Zubayr. He was surnamed an Náibighah because he did not give any proofs of poetical talent till after his 30th year. Do Sla£e, Ibn Khall.

† So I venture to translate إسرازنا The phrase عقيل طويلة الذنب means Okayl has numerous horsemen, مذنبي a man having many dependents. Masa'údi has إسراءزما and Ibn u'l Athir the same.
him!—dost thou not see? by Allah. I cannot but think that my time is A. H. 198.
drawing near!’ I replied ‘nay—may Allah prolong thy life and render A.D.813-14—
glorious thy kingdom.’ Then I heard a voice from the Tigris, saying—‘ the
case is judged regarding which ye two called for a judicial decision’—at
which Muhammad al Amín sprung up in great trouble. A night or two
after this, he was slain. He was taken and imprisoned in a house and a
party of Persians were let in upon him, and they struck him with their
swords, and cut him through the nape of his neck and went with his head
to Táhir, who placed it upon a wall of a garden, and it was proclaimed by
the crier, ‘This is the head of the deposed Muhammad,’ and his body
was dragged by a rope.’

Táhir then sent the head, the mantle, the sceptre and the praying
carpet which was of palm branches lined, to al Mámán. The assassination
of his brother weighed sorely on al Mámún for he would have
preferred that he should have been sent to him alive in order that he might
consider his intention regarding him. He therefore hated Táhir and neg-
lected him with total oblivion till he died in distant exile.* Thus were
verified the words of al Amín, for he had written a letter with his own hand
to Táhir-b-u’l Husayn when he was summoned to war against him in which
he said ‘O Táhir, no assessor of our rights hath ever arisen in our behalf,
since we came to power, but his reward from us was the sword—therefore
look to thyself or meddle not—consider Abú Muslim and such as he, who
spent themselves in serving the A’bbasides and their end was death at their
hands.’ Regarding the murder of al Amín, is the following by Ibáhím al
Mahdí.

"Turn to the mansion on the hills, effaced by the blowing winds
At Khuld, formed of stone and tile,
And the polished marble with which it was faced
And its gate, a gate of resplendent gold.
And convey for me a message to
The prince, concerning† the ruled and him who rules.
Say to him ‘O son of the prince of right guidance,
Cleanse the cities of God from the presence of Táhir;
It was not enough for him that he should cut‡ the jugular veins of
al Amín

* His splendid banishment to the almost independent government of Khurásán
may well have consoled him for the loss of the society of a capricious master from whose
tardy remorse he did not feel himself safe. D’Herbelot says that al Mámún could not
look upon Táhir without weeping. He became the founder of the dynasty that bears
his name.
† Ibn u’l Athír has علی for عَ ن of the text.
‡ The text makes this and another verb in the next line passive without any
Like the slaughter of sacrificial offerings, with cutting blades,
But he must* drag his limbs
With a rope, meaning thereby to act as a merciless avenger†;
Verily death hath settled on his eyelids
And his eye hath a troubled glance.""

And among the verses that were composed is also—

"Why should I lament thee? why? for thy mirth,
O Abú Músa and thy continual frivolity?
And for thy neglect of the five devotions at their appointed times
Through, thy passion for wine?
For Shanif‡ I shall not mourn
Nor care I for the retribution that hath befallen Kauthar.
Thou wert incapable of rule nor
Was obedience rendered unto thee in the Arabian kingdom.
Why should we mourn for thee? for what thou hast exposed us to
At one time to the engines of war, and at another to pillage?"

There is a poem by Khuzaymah-b-u'l Hasan supposed to be recited by Zubaydah, in which he says:§

"Ṭáhir came, may the Lord not purify Ṭáhir from sin,
For Ṭáhir was impure in the purpose for which he came.
He turned me forth with uncovered head and unveiled,
And plundered my goods and destroyed my dwellings.
What I have suffered will afflict Harún,
And what hath befallen me from the basest and most corrupt of mankind.

Remember, O prince of the faithful my kinship:
I ransom thee with my life, thou who art revered and remembered.

Ibn Jarír says that when al Amin assumed the government, he purchased eunuchs and gave excessive prices for them, and admitted them to his intimacy and abandoned the society of his wives and slave girls. Another author observes that on his accession he sent into the districts in quest of buffoons, and allowed them stipends and procured a number of occasion. The sense is made clearer by allowing them to stand simply as transitive verbs which from Ibn u'l Athír, it is evident they are.

- حنیث إلی حسبِ Ibn u'l Athír.
- هذا متمي السائر †Ibid.
† These were two of his minions.
§ This poem is omitted in the MS., but it will be found in Maṣṣ'ādī where it is stated to be written by Zubaydah herself to al Mánú. There are several additional lines in Maṣṣ'ādī and some variants from those in the text, the last line especially being altogether different.
wild beasts, and animals of prey and birds, and kept apart from his family A. H. 198. and his nobles, and treated them with contempt. He wasted what was in A.D. 813-14. the public treasuries and squandered jewels and objects of price in profusion and built numerous palaces in various places for purposes of amusement, and on one occasion he gave a boat full of gold as a present to one who sang to him the following verse—

"I kept retired from thee till thou saidst, 'he knoweth not the distress of aversion,'
And I visited thee so often that thou saidst, 'he hath no self-restraint.'"

He also built five barques in the shape of a lion, an elephant, an eagle, a serpent and a horse, and spent great sums on their construction, regarding which Abú Nuwás said,

"The Lord hath subjected unto al Amin Animals for his riding which have never been subjected to Solomon. For whenever his riding camels go by land, He goeth upon the water mounted on a lion* of the forest. A lion with outstretched limbs ready to spring With wide jaws and terrible teeth."

As Šáli relates on the authority of Muḥammad-b-A'mr ar Rûmi, that Kauthar the eunuch of al Amin went forth to watch the fighting and a missile struck him in the face. Al Amin set about wiping the blood from his face and said—

"They have struck the apple of my eye, And on account of me, have they struck him. May Allah punish for my heart's sake Those who have set it on fire."

But he was unable to add to these lines, so he summoned A'bdullāh-b- u't Taymi the poet and said to him "Cap these two." Upon which he exclaimed—

"There is no equal to him whom I love, The whole world is dazed in him. Union with him is sweet, but Parting is bitter and hateful. Those who see in him his Superiority over them, are envious of him. In the same manner as the monarch that reigns is envied by his brother."

* For ليت read ليت
Upon which al Amin gave him three mule-loads of dirhams. But when A.D.813-14. al Amin was slain, at Taymi went to al Mamun and vaunted his praises, but he would not allow him an audience, whereupon he betook himself to al Fadhl-b-Sahl who introduced him into al Mamun’s presence, and when he had made his salutation, the Caliph said, “Come, O Taymi, some more of—”

In the same manner as the monarch that reigns
Is envied by his brother.

At Taymi said,*

“A’bdulllah al Mamun was succoured
When they oppressed him.
The covenant was violated
Which they had formerly made with him.
His brother did not deal with him
As his father had directed.”

Upon this he pardoned him and ordered ten thousand dirhams to be given to him.

It is said that Sulayman-b-Manṣūr complained to al Amin that Abu Nuwas had satirized him and he replied, “O uncle, can I put him to death after his saying—

I offer praise unto Muhammad al Amin,
And beside it there is no commodity so desired.
Praise speaketh truly of Muhammad al Amin,
Though of praise there is much that is false and lieth.
Verily the bright moon waneth after it hath reached its fulness,
But the splendour of the light of Muhammad waneth not:
And if the pebbles of the sons of al Mansūr be counted
Then Muhammad among them is like a picked sapphire.”

Ahmad-b-Hanbal observes “verily I trust that the Lord will be merciful unto al Amin for his repudiation of Isma’il-b-U’layyah, who was brought unto him, and the Caliph—son of an adulteress—it is thou that sayest that the Qurán is created!”

Al Masa’údi says, “no one up to my time hath ruled the Caliphate being a Hāshimite and the son of a Hāshimite woman, save A’li-b-Abí Ṭalib, his son al Hasan, and al Amin whose mother was Zubaydah daughter of Jaa’far-b-Abí Jaa’far al Manṣūr: her name was Amat u’l Aziz (handmaid of the Almighty) and Zubaydah† was a surname given to her.”

* To the reader who is not acquainted with the Arabic it may be as well to mention that this is continued in the same metre and rhymes with the preceding lines to al Amin.

† Zubaydah is diminutive of “Zubdah” cream or fresh butter. See her life in Ibn Khall. And De Slane’s note.
Isbâk of Mosul states that there were qualities in al Amín to be A. H. 198. A.D.813-14. found united in no other—he was one of the handsomest of men in face and one of the most generous; the noblest of the Caliphs by his father's and mother's side, skilled in letters, versed in the art of poetry, but enslaved by sensuality and frivolity, and notwithstanding his extra-vagance in money, a niggard in his table.

Abú Ḥasan al Aḥmar says, "I used often to forget a verse by which a point of grammar might be illustrated, and al Amín would adduce it for me, and I have never met among the sons of a monarch any quicker of apprehension than he and al Mámún. His assassination occurred on (the 24th or 25th) Muḥarram of the year 198, (24th or 25th September, 813) he being twenty-seven years of age."

Of people of note who died during his reign were: Ismaiil-b-U'layyah, Ghundur, Shakîk al Balkhi the ascetic, Abú Mu'awiya ad Dharîr (the blind) Muwarrij* as Sadûsi, A'bd'u'llah-b-Kathîr the Kurán reader, Abu Nuwâs the poet, A'bd'u'llah-b-Wahl, disciple of Mâlik, Warsh the Kurán reader, Wakî' and others.

A'li-b-Muḥammad an Naufali and others say that neither as Saffâh nor al Manṣûr nor al Mahdí nor al Hádí nor ar Rashîd were prayed for in the pulpits by their surnames, nor so addressed in epistolary correspondence until al Amín reigned, and he was prayed for as al Amín in the pulpits, and correspondence was conducted in his name thus, "From the servant of God Muḥammad al Amín prince of the Faithful," and to the same effect al A'skari observes in his Awâil, viz., that the first who was prayed for by his surname in the pulpits was al Amín.

Among the verses of al Amín addressed to his brother al Mâmún, reviling him on account of the base descent of his mother, on hearing that al Mâmún was in the habit of recounting his vices and asserting his own superiority over him, are the following quoted by as Sûlî—

"Be not vain-glorious for thyself in the absence of the choicest of thy race,

For vaunting is justified alone in a perfect man.
And if thou exaltest thyself over men through their merit,
Then pause, for thou art not pre-eminent.
Thy grandsire hath bestowed upon thee what thou didst desire,
yet forsooth
Thou wilt find the reverse of thy wishes with Marâjil,†
Thou ascendest the pulpit each day, hoping
For that which thou shalt not obtain after me.

* The text has erroneously "Muwarrakh," but the MS. is correct. Muwarrij was a grammarian of Baṣrah. See his life in Ibn Khall.
† The name of his mother who was a slave concubine.
A. H. 198. And thou reproachest one who is above thee in merit
A.D. 813-14. And repeatest vain words regarding me."

I remark that this verse is of approved merit, and if it is really his, it
is better than the poetry of his brother and his father. As Śúli says, that
the following lines on his eunuch Kauthar who was serving wine to him
while he was reclining on a couch of narcissus flowers, and the moon had
just risen are ascribed to him, but others ascribe them to al Ḥusayn b-u'd
Dḥahhák* al Khalī'i, a boon companion of his who was never separate from
him.

"The full moon hath so pourtrayed thy beauty of thy face that
I deemed I saw thee and yet saw thee not.
Whenever the tender narcissus breathes,
I think it the sweet breath of thy brightness.
An illusion of my desires hath occupied me with thee
In the splendour of the one and the fragrance of the other.
I will abide while I live, in thankfulness
Unto the one and the other while they resemble thee."

By him also are these lines on his eunuch Kauthar—

"What seek the people of a lover
Afflicted for one he loves?
Kauthar is my faith and my worldly fortune,
Both my sickness and my physician;
The most despicable of men is he who reproveth
A lover on account of his beloved."

The following was composed by him when he despaired of his kingdom,
and Tāhir obtained the mastery over him.

"O soul! now must thou beware
For where is there a refuge from Fate?
Every man, of what he feareth
And hopeth, is in peril.
He who sippeth the sweets of life
Shall one day be choked by affliction."

As Śúli records with its ascription that al Amín said to his scribe,
"Write as follows: From the servant of God, Muḥammad, prince of the
Faithful, to Tāhir-b-u'l Ḥusayn—Greeting to thee! And now, verily, things

* Generally known by the appellation of al Khalī'i (the libertine). He was born
at Baṣrah in 162 A. H., descended from a native of Khurāsān. He was a writer and a
poet, and was admitted to the society of the Caliphs and enjoyed their favour to an
extent almost unequalled by any other save Ibrāhīm of Mosul. He had some amusing
adventures with Abu Nuwās. He died A. H. 250 (864) having nearly attained his
hundredth year. Ibn Khall. An account of him will be found in the Kitāb u'l
Aghānī. Fol. 6, p. 170—but the verses in the text are not cited therein,
have proceeded between me and between my brother even to the rending A. H. 198.
of veils, and the disclosure of what is inviolable, and I am not sure but A.D.813-14.
that he may covet this authority which is distant and remote from him,
through the differences in our friendship and the opposition of our interests.
Yet, verily, I am content that thou shouldst write me a safe-conduct to my
brother, and if he be generous towards me, such conduct is worthy of him,
but if he put me to death, then hath manliness destroyed manliness, and
the sword cloven the sword, for, verily, I would rather that a lion should
rend me than that a dog should bark at me;" but Ťahir refused his re-
quest. And on the authority of Ismaīl-b-Abi Muḥammad al Yazīdī, that
he said, "my father used to discourse with al Amin and al Māmūn on sub-
jects in which they displayed their eloquence, and he used to say, "the
children of the Caliphs of the House of Umayyah used to be sent out to
the desert, that they might gain purity of speech, but ye are even more chaste
in language than they." As Sūlī says, "I know not of any relation of a
tradition by al Amin save this one. Al Mughirah-b-Muḥammad al Muhal-
labi said to me, 'I saw a company of the Banu Ḥāshim, among whom was
one of the sons of al Mutawakkil, with al Ḥusayn-b-u'd Dḥāhāk, and
they asked him regarding al Amin and his acquirements. Al Ḥusayn
described his accomplishments as considerable. 'And in theological law ?'
asked they. He replied 'that al Māmūn was more profoundly versed in it
than he.' 'And in tradition ?' they said. He answered 'I never heard
a tradition from him but once, when it was announced to him that a slave
of his had died in Mecca, when he exclaimed—my father related to me a
tradition, heard from A'bbās, who said—I heard the prophet say—he who
dies engaged in the functions of the pilgrimage, shall be raised giving the
salutation Labayk.' "**

At Tha'alabi in the Latā'īf-u'l Ma'ārif observes that Abū'l A'yna†
used to say, "were Zubaydah to let loose her braided locks, they would

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* This Talbfyat or cry of supplication (which signifies, "here I am at thy service")
is incumbent upon the pilgrim. To use it frequently is meritorious and is a sunnat
or practice, a single Talbfyat is a "shart" or positive condition. The refrain is

لبيك الهم لبيك
لا شريك لك لبيك
أنت أحمد والنعمت الم والملك
لا شريك لك لبيك

See Burton's Mecca, p. 232.

† Abū Abdullāh Muḥammad-b-al Ḥasīm, Maula to the Caliphal Mansūr was a blind
man remarkable for his repartees, verses and literary knowledge. He was born at al
Ahwāz A. H. 131 and bred at Basrah. He received the surname of Abū'l A'yna from
H. 198. fasten upon nothing but Caliphs or heirs to the Caliphate, for al Mansūr A.D. 813-14. was her grandsire and as Saffāh the brother of her grandsire, and al Mahdī her paternal uncle, and ar Rashīd her husband, and al Amin her son, and al Māmūn and al Mu'tasim the sons of her husband, and al Wāthīk and al Mutawakkil her husband's grandsons, and as for the heirs-apparent, they are numerous. Like her, in this respect, of the House of Umayyah was A'ātikakah, daughter of Yazīd-b-Mu'āwiyyah. Yazīd was her father, Mu'āwiyyah her grandfather, Mu'āwiyyah-b-Yazīd her brother, Marwa'n-b-u'l Ḥakam her father-in-law, Abdu'l Malik her husband, Yazīd her son, al Walīd her son's son, al Walīd, Hishām and Sulaymān the sons of her husband, and Yazīd and Ibrāhīm the two sons of al Walīd, grandsons of her husband.

AL MĀMŪN.

Al Māmūn A'bud'llah Abū'l A'bbās the son of ar Rashīd was born in the year 170 on Thursday night* in the middle of Rabī' I, the same night on which al Hádī died, and on which his father ar Rashīd, succeeded him. His mother was a slave concubine named Marājil who died in giving birth to him. In his childhood he applied himself to learning. He heard traditions from his father and Husaym and A'bbād-b-u'l A'wām, Yusuf-b-A'ṭiyah, Abū Mu'āwiyyah ad Dharīr, Ishma'il-b-U'layyah, Ḥajjāj al Aa'war (the one-eyed) and men of their class.†

Al Yazīd instructed him in polite accomplishments and he assembled the jurists from all quarters, and became a proficient in jurisprudence and the Arabic language, and the history of the encounters of the desert Arabs. When he grew up he applied himself to philosophy and the sciences of the ancients and became profoundly versed in them, and it was that which seduced him into asserting the creation of the Qurān.‡ Ja'far-b-

his having asked Abu Zayd al Anṣāri, the diminutive of A'ynā (a large-eyed female) to which he received the answer 'U'ayna O Abu'l A'ynā, which nickname clung to him ever after. He died, according to some in 283, according to others 282 A. H. Some of his witty replies are given by Ibn Khallīf from whom the above extract is taken.

* In the life of ar Rashīd, this event is given as having occurred on Friday night. See page 290.
† For ١٢٤٩٢٣ read as in the MS. ١٢٤٩٢٨.
‡ The orthodox Muslims maintain, if I may venture upon a definition of their belief, that the Qurān, the uncreated Logos, was from the beginning,—co-eternal with the Deity, not of His essence in hypostatic union, but an inseparable inherent quality of it, like His Unity. Al Māmūn adopted the opinions of the Mu'tazalites (whom Weil terms the Protestants and Rationalists of Islām) who asserted the necessity of its creation by the Deity. They believed the word of God to have been
Abú Othmán at Ta'qalisi and others have related traditions on his authority. A. H. 198. He was the most distinguished of the House of A’bbás for his prudence, A.D.813-14. His determination, his clemency and judgment, his sagacity and awe-inspiring aspect, his intrepidity, majesty and liberality. He had many eminent qualities, and a long series of memorable actions are recorded of him were it not that he married them by what he did in forcing men to an interrogation regarding the creation of the Qurán. Of the House of A’bbás none wiser than he ever ruled the Caliphate. He was eloquent and fluent of speech, and he used to say, “Mu’áwiyah ruled through his A’mar, and A’bdul Malik through his Hajjáj, but I by myself.” It used to be said that the Banú A’bbás were distinguished by a beginning, a middle and an end, for the beginning was as Saffāh, the middle al Mámún, and the end al Mu’attaďhid.

It is related that in one of the fasts of the Ramadţán, he read the Qurán through thirty-three times. He was notorious for his attachment to the Shiite doctrines which indeed led him to exclude his brother al Mi†amín and confer the succession upon A’lì ar Rídáb as we shall shortly mention. Abú Ma‘as’hár, the astrologer, says that al Mámún was wont to govern with justice, possessed a natural turn for jurisprudence, and deserved to be accounted among the greatest doctors. Of ar Rashíd, it is reported that he said, “verily I recognise in A’bdulllah (al Mámún) the prudence of al Mansûr, the piety of al Mahdi, and the majesty of al Hádí, and if I chose to mention him in connection with a fourth (meaning himself), I might do so, and yet I gave precedence to Muḥammad (al Amín) before him, although I knew him to be a slave to his passions, lavishly profuse of what he possessed, and calling into counsel with him his concubines and wives, and had it not been for Umm Ja‘far (Zubaydah) and the affection of the Banú Háshim for him, I would have placed A’bdulllah before him.’

Al Mámún assumed the supreme power after the assassination of his brother in the year 198, while he was in Khurásán and he took the surname of Abú Ja‘far. As Šúlî says that the A’bbassides preferred this surname, because it was the surname of al Mansûr, and it possessed in their minds created in subjecto, and to consist of letters and sound, copies thereof being written in books to express the original. They also went further and affirmed, that whatever was created in subjecto was an accident and liable to perish. See their doctrines in Sale. The arguments of al Mámún in defence of his opinions will afterwards appear in a letter to his Prefect at Baghdád.

* The son of Músá, the sixth in descent from A’lî-b-Abi Ṭalîb.
† Abú Ma‘as’hár Ja‘far-b-Muḥammad, al Balkhi the celebrated astrologer was the great master of his age in that art. He composed a number of works on the science of the stars, such as the Mudkhil (Introduction) the Zij (astronomical tables). He was very successful in his divinations. He died A. H. 272 (886-6). Ibn Khall.
A. H. 198. a majesty and an auspiciousness on account of the longevity of those who A.D.813-14. were so named, such as al Mansûr and ar Rashîd.

In the 201 he excluded his brother al Mûtamin from the succession and appointed as heir after him A’li ar Ridhâ the son of Mûsa al Kâdhim (the meek) the son of Ja’far as Sâdîk (the upright). His extravagant attachment to the Shi’ite doctrines induced him to this, so that it was even said, that he himself purposed abdicating and resigning the government to him. It was he who named him ar Ridhâ (the accepted of God and men), and he coined money in his name, gave him his daughter in marriage and promulgated this in the various quarters of his empire. He likewise commanded the abandonment of black garments* and the adoption of green. This was highly displeasing to the Banû’l A’bbás, and they rose up against him and swore allegiance to Ibrâhîm the son of al Mahdî who was surnamed al Mubárak (blessed). Al Mâmûn prepared to oppose him and various affrays and engagements took place and al Mâmûn set out for Irâk. Now it came to pass that A’li ar Ridhâ died† in the year 203, whereupon al Mâmûn wrote to the people of Baghda’d telling them as they were angered against him on account of his having taken the covenant of allegiance for A’li, that he was now dead, but they returned him a rough answer, so al Mâmûn began his advance. Now Ibrâhîm the son of al Mahdî heard that the people had withdrawn from their engagement to him, wherefore he hid himself in the mouth of Dû’l Hijjah. Thus his reign lasted two years all but a few days, and he remained in concealment for the space of eight years. Al Mâmûn arrived at Baghda’d in Safar 204, and the Abbasides and others entreated him to return to the wearing of black and the abandonment of green; he at first hesitated but afterwards consented.

As Sûlî records with its ascription that one of the women of his family said to al Mâmûn, “verily thou art generous to the descendants of A’li-b-Abi Tâlib, but the government in thy hands is more powerfully employed against thy interests for their benefit than it would be in their hands for thine,” but he replied, “verily I have done what I have done,

* According to Ibn Khaldûn, the A’bbasides adopted black as mourning for the slaughter of so many of the Hashimites under the Umayyad dynasty. The followers of A’li who rose against the Abbasides took the opposite colour, white. The adoption of green by al Mâmûn, Weil supposes to have been suggested by an idea of a mixture of the two colours, as significant of an alliance between the two—the word خضر meaning grey as well as green. The rebel Alîites in the reign of al Mansûr wore yellow according to Tabari. Al Mâmûn, however, soon recalled the order, and the cherished black was again resumed. See Weil, Tom II, p. 216.

† It was strongly suspected that he died of poison administered at the instigation of al Mâmûn; Musa’ûdî attributes his death to indigestion from eating grapes, but alludes to the rumour that he was poisoned.
because Abú Bakr when he ruled, did not appoint any of the Banú Háshim A. H. 204. to office, and so with Omar and Othmán; then A’li succeeded to the A. D. 819. government and he appointed A’bdullāh-b-A’bbás to Basrah, Ubayd-ullāh to Yaman, Maa’bad to Mecca and Kutham to Bahrāyn, and he left none of them without naming them to some post. This therefore was upon our shoulders, until I recompensed him in his posterity by what I have done.”

In the year 210, al Māmūn married Burān daughter of al Ḥasan-b-Sahl* and her outfit amounted to many thousand dinārs. Her father presented the chief officers of State with robes of honour and entertained them for the space of nineteen† days, and wrote on slips of paper the names of estates belonging to him, and scattered them among the generals and the A’bbasides, and into the hand of whomsoever a slip fell with the name of an estate in it, he received it, and he showered before al Māmūn a tray full of pearls when the bride was conducted to him.

In the year 211 al Māmūn commanded it to be proclaimed that whoever should speak well of Mu’āwiyyah should be outlawed and that A’li-b-Abi Tālib was to be considered the best of men after the Apostle of God. In the year 212 al Māmūn made public his doctrine on the creation of the Qurān conjoined with the declaration of the superiority of A’li over Abū Bakr and Omar, but the people shrank from it with aversion and the country was near being involved in rebellion, but he did not obtain by this what he desired, wherefore he desisted from it until the year 218. In the year 215 al Māmūn undertook an expedition against the Byzantines and captured by force of arms the fortress of Kurrah, and the fortress of Majīdah; and then returned to Damascens. In the year 216 he again advanced into the Roman territory and took a number of fortresses and again retired to Damascens. Afterwards he proceeded to Egypt and entered it, and was the first who entered it of the A’bbasid Caliphs. In the year 217 he returned to Damascus and repeated his invasion of the Roman territory.§

* His prime minister. The cost of the nuptials is stated by Ibn Khall to have been 50 million dirhams (about £1,200,000). Burān’s grandmother presented the Caliph with 10,000 pearls—and on the marriage night a candle of ambergris weighing 80th was placed in a candlestick of gold. The Caliph himself protested against this wild extravagance. In compensation for his expenses he gave al Ḥasan one year’s revenue of Fars and al Ahwaz. Ibn Khall.

† For ḍagā in the text which is a misprint, read ḍaḡā

‡ So Ibn al Athir and Weil: the text has Májid. Both these places are in the neighbourhood of Tarsus.

§ As Suyūṭi omits to mention the conquest of Crete and Sicily. "Under the reign of al Māmūn, at Baghdad, of Michael the Stammerer at Constantinople, the
A. H. 218. A. D. 833. In the year 218 he submitted the people to an inquisition regarding the doctrine of the creation of the Kurán, and he wrote to his prefect in Baghdád, Ishaq-b-Ibráhim al Khuzsz’i cousin of Tahir-b-u’l Husayn regarding the interrogation of the learned, a letter in which he says as follows:

"Verily the prince of the Faithful is aware that the public at large, and the general herd of the rabble and vulgar mob who have no insight nor knowledge, nor seek illumination from the light of wisdom and its demonstration, are a people ignorant of God and blind in regard to Him, and in error as to the truth of His doctrine, and fail to estimate Him according to the reality of His transcendence, and to arrive at a true knowledge of Him and to distinguish between Him and His creature, and that inasmuch as they have formed an ill opinion of the difference between Him and His creation and what He hath revealed in the Kurán, for they are agreed upon its being from the beginning; not created by God nor produced by Him; yet, verily, the Most High hath said, ‘verily we have made the same an Arabic Kurán’ (Kur. XLIII). Now, indeed whatever He hath made, He hath created, as the Most High hath said, ‘and hath created the darkness and the light,’ (Kur. VI) and, ‘do we relate unto thee of the histories of the Apostles,’ (Kur. XI)—viz., of what had previously occurred—wherefore He announceth that He relateth events subsequent to which He produced the Kurán. Again He says, ‘this book, the verses of which are guarded against corruption, and are also distinctly explained,* (Kur. XI). Therefore is God the guardian of His book and its expounder, He is therefore its maker and its originator. Further, they pretend to adhere to the prophetical traditions and that they are the people of orthodoxy and of the church, and all besides them are in error and infidelity, and they pride themselves on this and seduce the ignorant by it, so that a number of persons following a false course and yielding submission to other than God, have inclined to agreement with them. Thus they wrest the truth to the side of their vain words and make of other than God a channel to their own error.” He goes on to say, “the prince of the Faithful therefore considereth these to be mischievous people who would hinder a portion of the divine unity, and vessels of ignorance and beacons of falsehood and the tongue of Satan speaking among his islands of Crete and Sicily were subdued by the Arabs. The former of these conquests is disdained by their own writers who were ignorant of the fame of Jupiter and Minos, but it has not been overlooked by the Byzantine historians.” Decline and Fall, (C. iii). The history of Sicily under the Muslims may be read with interest in the pages of Amari-Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia.

* So distinctly explained that this single passage alone has received many different interpretations on account of the ambiguity of the words فصلت. The difficulties of private judgment are not confined to the churches of the West.
accomplices and terrifying his enemies—the people of God’s word. It is A. H. 218.
right, therefore, that the sincerity of such a one should be suspected and his
testimony rejected, for he is not to be trusted who is ignorant as to his
ture course and his portion in the divine unity, and hath been moreover in
exceeding error and hath wandered astray from the right path. And by the
life of the prince of the Faithful, the greatest liar among men is he who
spareth falsely of God and of His revelation, and who inventeth untruths
and doth not comprehend God with a real comprehension of Him. Assemble,
therefore, the  Khádhîs that are with thee and read to them my letter and
question them as to what they maintain, and discover from them what they
believe in regard to the creation of the  Kûrân and its being called into
existence, and inform them that I seek no assistance in my service, nor do
I put my confidence* in one who is untrustworthy in his faith. And if
they allow it and are of accord, then command them to interrogate those
witnesses that come before them and to question them as to their belief†
in the matter of the  Kûrân, and to reject the testimony of those who do
not allow it to be created, and write to me regarding what cometh to thee
concerning the  Khádhîs of the people under thy jurisdiction in their inter-
rogations, and orders about them will be issued accordingly.” Al Mâmun
likewise wrote to him to send seven individuals to him, and they were,
Muḥammad-b-Saa’d Kâtib u’l Wâkîdi, Yahya-b-Ma’in, Abu Khaythamah,
Abu Mu‘âlim disciple‡ of Yazid b-Hârûn, Isma’il-b-Dauûd, Isma’il-b-Abî
Masa’ûd, and Aḥmad-b-Ibrâhîm ad Daqrâki. They were accordingly sent
to him and he questioned them on the creation of the  Kûrân and
they admitted it, wherefore he sent them back from Râkâh to Baghdad.
The reason of their having been summoned was, that they at first hesita-
ted, but afterwards admitted it through fear. He wrote again to
Ishâq-b-Ibrâhîm to summon the jurists, the Shaykhs and the traditionists and to inform them of what the seven had admitted. He
did so, and some joined in agreement, while others were recusant and
Yahya-b-Ma’in said, “we consented through fear of the sword.” After-
wards he wrote another letter to Ishâq, after the manner of the first, and

* The MS. has  كَرَّنَتْ لا وَأَوْرَنَتْ of the text.
† The MS. has  عَنْ الْأَوْرَّةَ عِنْ of the text.
‡ Lit. one who writes at the dictation of another. It was the custom for the
disciples of a master of any science to sit round him and write down the information
he gave them: these manuscript records were termed Amâl or dictations. Yazid-b-
Hârûn was a famous traditionist of Baghdâd. It was through dread of his opposition
that al Mâmûn hesitated for some time to assert publicly his doctrine on the creation
of the  Kûrân, a doctrine which Yazid strenuously opposed. He was born A. H. 118,
died 206. See De Slane I. K. regarding further particulars of his life. The lives of
the others mentioned (except the last) will be found in Ibn Khall.
commanded him to summon those who were recusant. He therefore summoned a number among whom were Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal, Bishar-b-u’l Walīd al Kindi, Abū Ḥassān az Ziyādī, A’lī-b-Abī Muḥāṭāl, al Fadhl-b-Ghānim, U’baydu’llah-b-Omar al Kawārī (the flask-seller), A’lī-b-u’l Jas’d, Sajjādāh, ad Dayyāl-b-u’l Haytham, Kutaybah-b-Sa’īd, Saa’dawayh al Wāsīṭi, Ishāk-b-Abī Isrāfīl, Ibn u’l Harās.* Ibn U’layyah the elder, Muḥammad-b-Nuḥ al I’jīl, Yahya-b-A’bdūr Rāḥmān al Omarī, Abū Naṣr at Tammār (the date-seller) Abū Ma’mar al Kaṭīfā’, Muḥammad-b-Ḥātim-b-Maymūn and others, and he showed them the letter of al Māmūn, but they hung back and dissembled, neither admitting nor denying. Then he said to Bishar-b-u’l Walīd “what dost thou say?” he answered “verily I have informed the prince of the Faithful more than once.” The other continued, “and what is thy opinion now? for verily a letter has newly arrived from the prince of the Faithful.” He answered, “I say, it is the word of God.” He rejoined, “I do not ask thee that—is it created?” Bishar replied, “there is nothing better to say than what I have told thee, besides I have a stipulation with the prince of the Faithful that I need not discuss it.” Then Ishāk addressed A’lī-b-Muḥāṭāl, “what dost thou say?” He replied, “the Kurān is the word of God, but if the prince of the Faithful lay on us a command, we hear and obey,” Abū Ḥassān az Ziyādī replied to the same effect. Next he questioned Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal “what dost thou say?” He answered “it is the word of God.” He asked, “is it created?” he replied, “it is the word of God, I shall not say more than this.” Then he interrogated the rest and recorded their answers. Ibn u’l Bakā said, “I declare that the Kurān was made and brought into existence on the authority of the revealed text to that effect.” Ishāk said to him “and what is made is created.” He replied “yes.” “Therefore,” said Ishāk, “the Kurān is created.” He answered, “I do not say it is created.” Then Ishāk sent their answers to al Māmūn, and a letter from al Māmūn reached him, saying, “what the pretenders to orthodoxy and the seekers after an authority for which they are unfit have replied, hath reached me. Now whoso doth not admit that the Kurān is created, suspend his exercise of judicial powers and authority to relate tradition.” He goes on in his letter. “As to what Bishar sayeth, verily he lieth, for there passed no stipulation between the prince of the Faithful and him,† more than the accounts which the prince of the Faithful has of his belief and sincere profession and assertion that the Kurān is created. Summon him before thee therefore, and if he recanteth, publish his case abroad, but if he persisteth in his infidelity and denieth, in his impiety and heresy, that the Kurān is created, smite him on the neck and send his head to me. The same with

* MS. and Ibn u’l Athīr. Harash
† MS. Ḥarash *in this matter.*
Ibráhím-b-u'l Mahdí: question him, and if he assents, it is well, if not cut A. H. 218. off his head. As for A'li-b-Abí Mağátil, say to him, 'art thou not he who said to the prince of the Faithful that thou verily canst absolve and bind?' As to ad Dayyal, inform him that the grain which he stole from the granaries is what distracts him from other affairs. With regard to Ahmad-b-Yazíd-b-i'l A'wâm and his saying that he cannot give a better answer concerning the Kurán, tell him that he is a child in mind though not in years—he is ignorant—he will find an answer to his liking when he is better taught; if he doth not do so, the sword is behind it. As to Ahmad-b-Hanbal, inform him that the prince of the Faithful is aware of the matter of his argument and draws an inference from it, of his ignorance and falsehood. As to Fadhil-b-Gháním, tell him that it is not unknown to the prince of the Faithful what he was about in Egypt and what wealth he acquired in less than a year—to wit in his office of Ḫádhi. As for az Ziyádí tell him that he used falsely to claim clientship with a spurious son.* (But Abú Hassan az Ziyádí denied that he was client by descent of Ziyád "the son of his father," but that he was called az Ziyádí for other reasons.) As to Abú Naṣr the date-seller, verily the prince of the Faithful likeneth the meanness of his intellect to the baseness of his trade. With regard to Ibn Núḥ and Ibn Ḥátim inform them that they employ themselves in taking usury, to the hindrance of their knowledge of the divine unity, and if nothing justified the prince of the Faithful in hostility to them in the cause of God, but their usury and what hath been revealed regarding such as they, that alone would justify it, but how much the more when they have added infidelity to usury and have become like the Nazarenes. As to Ibn Shujá'í inform him that the prince of the Faithful was with him but a short time since, and took from him what he took of the property which he authorized unto Ibn Hishám from the substance of the prince of the Faithful. As for Saa'dawayh of Wásit, say to him—"may the Lord bring to shame that man whose pretentiousness in tradition and the craving for authority therein have led him to lie at the time of interrogation. With regard to him known as Sajjádah and his denial that he had heard from those who had conversed with the learned, of the doctrine that the Kurán is created, tell him that his occupation, and the counting of beads (date stones) and his directions for the adjustment of his prayer-carpet and the deposits made with him by A'li-b-Yahya and others, are what cause him to forget the divine unity. As to the flask-seller, what is

* See note 4, page 198. It will be remembered that Mu'áwiyyah attempted to procure the recognition of Ziyád as the son of Abú Sufyán by Summayya the wife of a Greek slave whom he met in a tavern and in a fit of drunkenness seduced. The truth of the affiliation, however, was doubtful and Ziyád was known or unknown as the "son of his father."
A. H. 218. manifest of his circumstances and taking of bribes and presents, sufficiently
A. D. 833. reveals his religious profession, his evil course of life and the weakness of
his understanding and of his faith. As to Yahya al Omari, if he be a
descendant of Omar-b-u'l Khaṭṭah, the answer to him is apparent. With
regard to Muḥammad-b-u'l Ḥasan-b-Abī-l-ʿĀʾishah, if he followeth his
ancestors who have passed away, he cannot have professed adherence to the
doctrinal school which is mentioned in connection with him, besides, he is
but a lad in need of being instructed. And verily the prince of the
Faithful sent to you one known as Abū Mushir, after the prince of the
Faithful had subjected him to inquisition on the subject of the Qurān;
—he faltered and hesitated about it, until the prince of the Faithful called
for the sword for him when he abjectly yielded. Now interrogate him in the
matter of his assent, and if he standeth by it, publish it abroad and
proclaim it, and such as do not draw back from their heresy of those thou
hast named after Bishar and Ibn u'l Mahdi, send them bound to the camp
of the prince of the Faithful, that he may question them, and if they recant
not, he will put them to the sword.” The narrator says——“but all of them
yielded upon this, save Abū Ḥanīfa, Sajjadah, Muḥammad-b-Nūh and
the flask-seller, whereupon Ishāq gave orders regarding them and they
were put in fetters. Then he questioned them the following day, they
being in fetters, and Sajjadah yielded. Again he interrogated them a
third time, and the flask-seller submitted, and he sent Abū Ḥanīfa
and Muḥammad-b-Nūh to the Roman territories.* Afterwards it came to al
Māmūn’s ear that these had really yielded under compulsion, wherefore he
was enraged and summoned them to him, and they were being taken to
him when the news of the death of al Māmūn reached them before their
arrival in his presence. Thus the Lord was merciful to them and banished
their fear.”

Now al Māmūn fell sick in the Roman territories, and when his illness
became serious, he sent for his son A'bās to be brought to him, and he
feared that he would not reach him in time, but he arrived when al
Māmūn was in the last distress. And, verily, letters had been already
despatched to the provinces containing the following, “From A'būdu'llah
al Māmūn, and his brother Ishāq the Caliph after him, under authority of
these presents.” Some say that this occurred by order of al Māmūn,
while others assert that they wrote this at a time when a swooning fit was
on him.

Al Māmūn died on Thursday the 18th Rajab, 218 (9th August 883)
at Baḍandūn in the Roman territories and was carried to Tarsus and there
buried.† Al Masaʿūdī relates that he encamped on the stream of Baḍand-

* Where the Caliph with his army was at the time.
† Known to the Byzantines under the name of ποδαρθον or ποδαρτος. Yakūt,
places it at a day’s march from Tarsus. Within the fortifications of which is the
dún and its coldness and limpidity, the beauty of the place and its abundant A. H. 218.

verdure pleased him. He saw in the stream a fish *glittering* like silver A. D. 833.

which struck him with admiration, but no one could swim in the stream

on account of the intensity of its coldness. He therefore offered a sword* to any one who would bring it out An attendant went in and caught it and came out, but it struggled and got away into the water, and the chest and throat of al Mámún were splashed and his garments drenched. The attendant went in a second time and caught it. And al Mámún said "let it be fried at once." Shortly after an ague seized him and he was covered up with blankets while he was shivering and crying out.† Then they lighted a fire round him and the fish was brought, but he could not touch it in his distraction regarding his own condition. After a little he rallied from his suffering and asked the interpretation of the name of the place in Arabic. They said, "stretch out thy feet,"‡ and he regarding it as an evil omen. Then he asked the name of the country and they said "Rakkah." Now according to the horoscope drawn at his birth, it was foretold that he would die at Rakkah, wherefore he always avoided making a stay at Rakkah, but when he heard this reply from the Romans he knew his fate and despaired and said "O Thou whose kingdom never endeth, have mercy on one whose kingdom hath passed away." When the news of his death reached Baghdád, Abu Sa'id al Makhzúmi said—

"Hast thou seen the stars protect
Mamun and his kingdom firmly established?
They have abandoned him between the two valleys of Tarsus
As they abandoned his father at Túš."

At Thá'álabi observes, "there are not known of any father and son among the Caliphs any more distant graves than those of ar Rashíd and al Mámún." He adds, "similarly the sepulchres of five of the sons of al A'bbás are separated by a wide interval of space, the like of which men have not seen, for the tomb of A'bud'llah is in Taíf, that of U'baydu'llah at Medina, that of al Fadhî in Syria, of Kutham in Samarkand, and of Maa'bad in Africa."

tomb of al Mámún. According to him one of the gates of the town is called the gate of Dadandún.

* Masa'údi, has معينا "a prize."
† "The cold! the cold!" مسارع al-Masa'údi.
‡ Podendon—from ṣāṣa and ṣeww.
Niftawayh* says that Ḥāmid-b-u'l A'bbás-b-i'l Wazir related to me as follows: "We were in the presence of al Mámún when he sneezed, but we did not pray for a blessing upon him, whereupon he said, 'why do ye not pray for a blessing upon me?' we replied, 'we held thee too exalted, O prince of the Faithful.' He answered, 'I am not one of those monarchs who thinketh himself above prayer.'” Ibn A’sákir records on the authority of Muḥammad al Yazídi that he said, “I used to instruct al Mámún, and one day I went to him but he was in privacy, wherefore I sent to him one of the attendants to inform him of my arrival, but he delayed, and I sent again to him and still he tarried, so I said 'this youth often diverts himself with idle trifling.’ They replied, 'yes, and withal when he leaves thee, he is ill-tempered with his attendants and they meet with great annoyance from him, therefore set him right with correction.’ And when he came out, I ordered him to be brought up and I struck him seven blows with a scourge, and he was rubbing his eyes which were in tears when they called out, 'Jaa'far-b-Yahya* is coming.’ So he took a kerchief and wiped the tears from his eyes and gathered up his garments and went to his carpet, sat down cross-legged and after a little, said, 'let him come in,’ He then entered and I withdrew from the assembly, fearing that he would complain to him of me. Jaa'far then advanced in front of him and conversed with him and made him laugh and went out again. Then I came up and said, 'verily I feared that thou wouldst complain of me to Jaa'far.' He replied, 'O Abú Muḥammad, I would not have told ar Rashíd of this, how then Jaa'far! indeed I am much in need of correction.’”

And from A’bdulláh-b-Muḥammad at Taymi that he relates—“Ar Rashíd designed to make a journey, wherefore he commanded the people to prepare for it and informed them that he would set out at the end of the week, but the week passed and he did not go, so they gathered round al Mámún and asked him to obtain information concerning it, wherefore al Mámún wrote to ar Rashíd, who did not know that he could versify, the following lines;—

“O best of those whom a beast of burden conveyeth,
And of those whom a saddled charger followeth,
Is there an appointed time for the march that we may know it,
Or is our order for the march to remain obscure?

* This famous grammarian was a native of Wásit where he was born in A. H. 244, he resided at Baghdád and died there A. H. 323. Ibn Khall.
† For the life and unhappy end of this famous minister of ar Rashíd consult Ibn Khall, and D’Herbelot.
There is no knowledge of this save with the king,
From his lustre we borrow light in the darkness.
If thou go forth, good guidance will set out following thee
And if thou remain, good guidance will be detained with thee.”

Ar Rashid read them and was pleased with them, and wrote upon them, “O my little son! what hast thou to do with verse-making,* which is the highest qualification of the base, but the last of the accomplishments of the noble.” He also records on the authority of al Asma‘i that the impression on the signet ring of al Mâmûn was, “the servant of God son of the servant of God.” And on that of Muhammad-b-A‘bbâd, that none of the Caliphs knew the Kûrân by heart except Othmân-b-A‘ffân and al Mâmûn. I observe, that I have already refuted this limitation in the remarks that have preceded. He records likewise on the authority of Ibn U‘aynah,† that al Mâmûn assembled the learned and held a public audience, when there came forward a woman and said, “O prince of the Faithful, my brother died and left six hundred dinârs—they have given me but one dinár, saying, “this is thy share.” Al Mâmûn computed and made the fractional division of the inheritance and said to her, “this is thy portion.” The learned said to him, “how dost thou know, O prince of the Faithful?” He said to her, “this man left two daughters.” She answered, “yes.” He proceeded, “then they have two-thirds, viz., four hundred, and he left a mother, and she has one-sixth, viz., one hundred, and he left a wife and her share is an eighth, viz., seventy-five—and, by Allah, hast thou twelve brothers?” She said, “yes.” He went on—“they get two dinârs a piece and one dinár comes to thee.” And from Muhammad-b-Ḫafṣ al Anmâṭi (the carpet merchant), that he narrates, “we were breakfasting with al Mâmûn on a festival day and there were placed upon the table more than three hundred dishes, and every time a dish was served, al Mâmûn looked upon it and observed, “this is good for such a thing and hurtful for such another. Now if there be among you one who is phlegmatic, let him avoid this, and be among you, who has the yellow bile‡ let him eat of this, and be who is subject to strabiliusness, let him not partake of this, and he who desires to eat but little, let him restrict himself to this.” Upon this Yahya-b-Aktham§ said to him, “O prince of the Faithful, if we were to

* In the printed text for. عينه عينية. The MS. is here correct.
† According to early notions on this subject the four constituent humours of the body were: بلغم، yellow bile، السوسدآم، black bile، الدم، and the blood. See Lane, Art. سوسد. 
‡ Yahya-b-Aktham was appointed Kâdhi of Baṣrah by al Mâmûn in A. H. 292. See I. K. Life of Ibn Abi Dûwâd.
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enter upon the discussion of medicine thou wouldst be a Galen in the
knowledge of it, or of the stars, a Hermes in their computation, or of
jurisprudence an A'li-b-Abi Talib in its comprehension, or should liberality
be spoken of, thou wouldst be a Hâtim Tai in its description, or the truth
of tradition, an Abu Darr in its proof, or generosity a Kaâ'bi-b-Mâmah* in
his deeds, or good faith, a Samuel b-A'âdïya in fidelity.† Al Mâmûn
was pleased at this speech and said, "verily, man is distinguished by his
intellect, and were it not for that, no flesh would be better than other flesh,
nor blood than other blood."

And from Yahya-b-u'l Akthâm—"I never saw a more perfect man
than al Mâmûn—I once passed a night with him and he awoke and said,
'O Yahya, see what there is near my foot.' I looked but saw nothing.
He then called for a candle and the attendants hastened up, and he said,
'search' and they searched and lo! beneath his quilt was a snake as long as
his body, and they killed it, and I said 'verily the knowledge of the
unseen is a further addition to the accomplishments of the prince of
the Faithful!' He replied—'God preserve me! no—but a secret monitor called
to me but now when I was sleeping and said—

"O, thou who sleepest at night—awake!
For calamities travel by night.
The reliance of a youth on his fortune
Is like trusting to loosened fastenings."

And I awoke and knew that something had happened either near or at a
distance, and I reflected on what might be near and it was what thou hast
seen." And from U'maráh-b-U'kayl, "Ibn Abi Ḥafsah‡ the poet said

* One of the principal chiefs of the tribe of Iyâdî, noted for his liberality. Do
Slane, I. K. under Yâkût al Ḥamawi.
† Samuel the son of A'âdiya, proverbial among the Arabs for his good faith. His
name is introduced in the 23rd Assembly of al Harîrî. The story of his fidelity is
briefly as follows: Imr'u'l Kays having fled from the pursuit of the king of Hira took
refuge with Samuel in his castle of al Ablak in Tayma. Thence he proceeded to the
court of the emperor Justinian to implore aid against his enemies, leaving with Samuel
his daughter and several suits of mail. After various adventures at the Greek court,
he died at Ancyra. On his death the prince of Ghassân determined to seize the
armour of the warrior poet and besieged Samuel in his castle. Samuel's infant son
was by some accident, captured outside the gate and Samuel was offered the choice of
surrendering the armour or seeing his child slain. On his refusal to betray his trust
the alternative was carried out before his father's eyes. The siege was raised and
Samuel had the satisfaction of delivering the armour to the heirs of Imr'u'l Kays at the
‡ Marwan-b-Abi Ḥafsah a native of al Yamâma and grandson of Abu Ḥafsah the
Mawla of Marwan-b-u'l Ḥakam, born, A. H. 105, died at Baghdad A. H. 182. He
to me, "dost thou know that al Mámún doth not understand poetry?" I A. H. 218. replied "who is there that hath a quicker perception of it than he? by A. D. 833. Allah, verily did we recite the first line of a verse he would anticipate the end of it without ever having heard it." Ibn Abí Ḥafṣah replied, "verily I recited to him a line which I had well expressed, but I did not see him moved by it—and it was this—

The Imam of right guidance, al Mámún, is employed
In the concerns of religion, while men are busy about the world."

I said to him, "thou hast done no more than make of him an old woman in her closet with beads in her hand, for who can rise to the transaction of worldly affairs, when he is diverted from them by other things and trammelled by them? Thou hast not spoken as thy uncle spoke of al Walíd—

He doth not lose his portion in the world
Nor do the things of the world distract him from religion."

Ibn A’sákir states that he had heard that an Nadhr-b-Shumayl* related
as follows: I went to al Mámún when he was at Marv, wearing worn out garments and he said to me, "O Nadhr, dost thou come into the presence of the prince of the Faithful in such garments?" I replied, "O prince of the Faithful verily the heat of Marv cannot be kept out except by wearing old garments like these." He said, "nay, but thou livest in a miserable way." We then spoke on tradition. At length al Mámún said, "I heard a tradition from Hushaym-b-Bushayr† on the authority of Ibn A’bbas who related that the apostle of God said, ‘when a man marries a woman for her piety and beauty, it is a preventive (sadád) against want.’" I replied "the words‡ of the prince of the Faithful have reported truly the tradi-

ranked as a poet with the first of his age and his best piece is considered his Kasída rhyming in-l-(al Lármiyh) composed in honor of Mas'n-b-Záida as Shaybání. Ibn Khall.

* Abú’l Ḥasan, at Nadhr-b-Shumayl-b-Kharashah-b-Yazid, at Tamími was a native of Basrah and celebrated as a grammarian. He was skilled as a jurisconsult and traditionist and well acquainted with poetry and the battles of the desert Arabs. He left Basrah, where he found no means of support and settled al Marv and acquired great wealth. The story in the text is given in Ibn Khall, with some variation. An Nadhr died A. H. 204 (A. D. 820).

† Hushaym-b-Bushayr a native of Wásit acquired a high reputation as a traditionist at Baghdád. He knew by-heart twenty thousand of them. Died A. H. 183-(799) at the age of 79. De Slane; Ibn Khall.

‡ Ibn Khall’s version has here

صدوق يا إمبري المؤمنين هشيم
صدق يا إمبري المؤمنين

and the Kitáb n’l Aghámí, (in the life of Hamzah-b-Baïd) without the mention of Hushaym.
A. H. 218. *tion* from Hushaym. It was related to me by A’uf al A’arabī* on the authority of al Ḥasan that the prophet said, ‘when a man marries a woman for her piety and beauty, it is a preventive (sidád) against want.’ Al Mámún was at the time lecturing, but sat up then and exclaimed, ‘is saddá a mispronunciation, O Nadhr?’ I said, ‘yes here, but undoubtedly a mispronunciation of Hushaym’s, for he was an incorrect speaker.’ He asked, ‘what is the difference between the two?’ I answered, ‘Sadá means, following a right course of action, and sidád, what is necessary to support life and whatever thou mayest stop up a thing with.’ He said, ‘do the Arabs (of the desert) know this distinction?’ I replied ‘yes, al A’rji,† a descendant of Othmán-b-A’ffán, says as follows—

They have left me to perish and what a youth have they left to perish

One who could have helped them in an evil day or in the defence (sidád) of a breach.’"

Al Mámún looked down for a little and then said, “the Lord confound those who have no education.” After a little he said, “recite to me, O Nadhr the most captivating verse composed by the Arabs.” I replied the lines of Ibn Baidh‡ on al Ḥakam-b-Marwán:

“She says to me with sleepy eyes

Stay with us; but I did not stay,

‘Which of the chiefs hast thou visited?’ I said to her

‘What chief but al Ḥakam!’

Whenever the two chamberlains§ of his tent, say

‘This is Ibn Baidh at the door,’ he smiles:

Verily I paid in advance in regard to thee, as a pledge—

Come,‖ let him enter and give me my earnest money.”

He continued—“recite to me the verse expressive of the greatest

* A’uf-b-Abi Jamila surnamed al Aa’rabi (the desert Arab) bore a fair reputation as a traditionalist.
† Abdullāh-b-A’mr al A’rji, a grandson of the Caliph Othmán: his life extracted from as Suyūtī’s Sharḥ Shawāhid‘ul Mughni, is given by De Sacy in his Anthologie Grammaticale, p. 453. De Slane; Ibn Khall. A notice of him will also be found in the Kitāb u’l Aghānī.
‡ Ḥamzah-b-Baigh al Ḥanafi was one of the best poets of the Umayyad dynasty as well as one of the most licentious. He was a native of Kūfah and eulogised al Muhallab and his son, also Abán-b-u’l Walid and the Kādhi Bilāl-b-Abi Burdah. He received large rewards from them. A long notice of him will be found in the Kitāb u’l Aghānī, where the verses in the text are also given. He did not live till the accession to power of the Abbaside dynasty.
§ For حاجبا read حاجبًا
‖ The text and MS. are here in error. It should be as in the Kitāb u’l Aghānī—
justice of conduct, which the Arabs have spoken.” I repeated the lines A. H. 218. of Ibn A‘rúbah* of Medina—

“Verily, though the son of my uncle were to chide,
I would thrust away such as came behind and after him.
And my wealth† should aid him, even were he a man
Far remote in his land and sky.
And I should be the lord of his secret and preserve it
Until there seized me a yearning‡ for the time of its fulfilment.
And if misfortunes injured his camels at pasture
My healthy camels should join his afflicted with mange.
And were he to call me by name to ride a steed
That was refractory, I would sit on his back for him.
And were he to come on his way and on his own affairs
I would not look into what was behind his tent.
And were he to wear a handsome garment, I should not say
Would that upon me were the beauty of his mantle.”

He said, “now recite to me a verse of the Arabs, most expressive of content.” Upon which I quoted the lines of Ibn A‘bdal al Asadi—

“Verily I am a man who continues (and that
By the favour of God) being well instructed, to teach polite learning.
I remain at home while home is free from disquiet to me,
And if I am far away, I am cheerful.
I grasp not at the friendship of a friend nor
Make my mind desire a thing after it hath passed away.
I seek myself what a generous man seeketh
Of the means of subsistence and am moderate in my desire thereof.
Verily I behold a generous man when
I seek a benefit of him, eager to grant it.
But the slave pursueth not what is lofty nor
Giveth ought to thee save in fear.
Like an ass, galled in the back§ and vicious,
Which is good for nothing until it is beaten.

* For read as in the K. A. De Slane states that he was
e a traditionist of Başrah. Died A. H. 166.
† For read (as in the MS. and Kitáb u‘l Agháni)
‡‡ The MS. and Kitáb u‘l Agháni have in the first hemistich the K. A. has
§ The text is here in error. In the second hemistich the K. A. has
A. H. 218.  
A. D. 833.  
And I have found no firm stay* save
Religion, from what I have experienced, and nobility of race.
Verily he who stays tranquilly at home is nourished, who never
Hath bound pack or saddle on his camel,
While support of existence is withheld from the owner of the
camel and pack
And one who never ceases to travel.”

Al Mámún exclaimed, “thou hast said well, O Nadhr!" He then took
a piece of paper and wrote something I know not what: then he observed,
“How do you form the imperative from turāb?” (earth or dust). I said
"atrib;"† (cover him with earth or dust). “And of tin?” (clay). I said,
“tin” (plaster or seal up). He went on, “what then would a writing be?” I said “mutrab, (sprinkled with dust) or matin,” (plastered or sealed with clay). He exclaimed, “better and better,” and he wrote for me an order for fifty thousand dirhams. Then he commanded an attendant to take me to al Fadhl-b-Sahl, and I went with him and when al Fadhl read the writing, he exclaimed, “O Nadhr, didst thou charge the prince of the Faithful with a mispronunciation?” I said, “by no means, but Hushaym spoke very incorrectly and the prince of the Faithful did but follow his words.” Then he ordered me on his own account thirty thousand dirhams, thus I set forth for my house with eighty thousand.”

Al Khaṭīb records on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Ziyād the desert
Arab, that he relates as follows: “Al Mámún sent for me and I went to
him, and he was in the garden walking with Yahya-b-Aktham, and I saw
the two moving with their faces turned from me, so I sat down, and when
they came forward, I arose and saluted him as Caliph and I heard him say
to Yahya, ‘O Abu Muḥammad how good are his manners! He saw us
turned from him and sat down, and then seeing us advance, he arose and
returned me my salutation.’ Then he said ‘tell me regarding the verse of
Hind the daughter of U’tbah†—

We are the daughters of Tārik
Moving upon cushions with the walk of the desert grouse.’

* عِرَة is the loop-shaped handle of the water skin and عِلَة its suspensory thong.
† The text points the word “itrab," but the simple triliteral form is intransitive and the transitive derived conjugation (IV.) is here meant (إفعال) as is clear from Ibn Khaliljân’s narrative where, after the words ‘better and better,’ al Mámún says boy, earth, him, and plaster him بإغلام التربة وطنه The text has likewise erroneously “muṭayyan for matin.
‡ Wife of Abu Sufyân and mother of Muʿāwiya. The words were used by her on
the day of Ohud, quoting proverbially the saying of az Zarkā al Iyādījīyah when
Kisrah warred with Iyādīh. Lane gives the following version:  
ناص بناط طارق لأنثني
لواطع نمشي علي الدمارق We are the daughters of the morning star, we bond not to a
'Who is this Ṭārik? for I have looked in her pedigree and found him A. H. 218. not.' I replied, 'O prince of the Faithful I do not know of him in her A. D. 833. pedigree.' He answered 'assuredly she meant by it the star, claiming descent from it on account of her beauty—according to the words of the Most High. "By the heavens and the nocturnal star."' (Kur. LXXXVI.) I said, 'corroborate that by proof,' O prince of the Faithful.' He rejoined, 'I know it perfectly well.' Then he threw to me a piece of amber which he was turning about in his hands and I sold it for five thousand dirhams.'

And from Abu U’bádah* who says, that al Mámún was one of the greatest sovereigns of the earth and that this title was justly due to him.

And from Ibn Abí Dauúd that one of the schismatics came before al Mámún, and he said to him, "what induced thee to oppose us?" He answered, "a verse of the Book of God." Al Mámún said "and which is that?" He replied, "the words of the Most High, 'and who so judgeth not according to what God hath revealed, they are infidels' (Kur. V)." The Caliph asked "hast thou any certain knowledge that this was revealed?" He replied "Yes." "And what is thy proof?" "The consensus of the people." Al Mámún replied "then as thou art content with their agreement concerning the revelation, be content with their unanimity in the interpretation thereof." The other said, "thou hast spoken truly, peace be to thee. O prince of the Faithful."

Ibn A’sakir records on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Maṣûr that al Mámún said, "one of the signs of a man of distinction is that he will ill-treat one who is above him, and will suffer one who is beneath him to ill-treat him." And from Sa’id-b-Muslim that al Mámún said, "I would that those who commit crimes were aware of my conception of pardon, that fear might leave them and joy be unmixed in their hearts." And from Ibrahim-b-Sa’id al Jauhari, that a man stood before al Mámún who had committed a crime, and he said to him, "by Allah, I will slay thee!" He replied, "O prince of the Faithful act gently in regard to me for compassion is the half of mercy." He replied, "how can I? now that I have sworn to slay thee." He answered, "it is better to meet God as a perjurer than to meet Him as a slayer,"—upon which al Mámún let him go his way.

Al Khaṭīb records from Abú’s Šalt A’bdū’s Salám-b-i’s Šálih that he narrates as follows, "I passed the night with al Mámún and the attendant lover &c. Two other lines with variations of the others will be found in Ibn Hishám used by Hind as an encouragement to the youths going to battle at Ohud.

إن تقبلوا نعاقت إن تدبروا نفاق If ye advance we shall embrace ye. If ye fly, we shall abandon ye.

* Probably Abú U’bádah al Buhturi the poet, the friend and contemporary of Abu Tammam the author of the Hamáasah; his life will be found in Ibn Khall.
who used to trim the lamp went to sleep, and al Mámán arose and trimmed it and I heard him say, 'I am sometimes in the bath-room when the servants are reviling and traducing me, not knowing that I hear them but I forgive them.' As Šáli records on the authority of A'bdulláh-b-u'll Bawwáb that he said, 'al Mámún was so forbearing that he used to enrage us. On one occasion he sat cleaning his teeth behind a curtain on the banks of the Tigris and we were standing before him, when a boatman passed and said—'do ye imagine that this al Mámán hath any worth in my eyes, when verily he hath put to death his own brother?'—and, by Allah, he did nothing more than smile and say to us, 'what contrivance have ye, that I may have merit in the eyes of this excellent man?'

Al Khaṭīb records on the authority of Yahya-b-Akhtham that he narrates as follows, "I never knew a man more noble than al Mámán. I passed a night with him and he was seized with coughing and I saw him close his mouth with his sleeve, so that I might not awake, and he used to say that the beginning of equitable dealing is that a man should be just to his intimate friends, then to those who are nearest to them in succession, until he reaches the lowest grade."

Ibn A'sákir records from Yahya-b-Khálid al Barmaki that he relates, "al Mámán said to me, O Yahya take every opportunity of satisfying the needs of men, for the heavens are too inconstant and fortune too unjust, to leave a man in one condition and continue unto him his enjoyments."

And from A'bdulláh-b-Muḥammad az Zuhri,—"al Mámún said, 'superiority in argument is more pleasing to me than superiority of force, for superiority of force vanishes by its decay, while superiority in argument nothing can destroy.'" And from U'thi, "I heard al Mámán say, 'he who praiseth thee not for goodness of intention will not thank thee for excellence of deed.'" And from Abúl A'áliyab, "I heard al Mámán say, 'how odious is contentiousness in monarchs, and more odious than that, is vexation in judges, before comprehension of what is before them, and more odious than it, is the shallowness of jurisconsults in religion, and more odious still is avarice in the rich, jesting in old men, idleness in youths and cowardice in soldiers.'"

And from A'li-b-Abdi'r Raḥím al Marwazi, that al Mámún said, "he, of all men is most unjust to himself, who draweth near to one who keeps him at a distance, and abaseth himself before one who honoureth him not and receiveth the praise of one whom he doth not know." And from al Mukhárík,* "I recited to al Mámún the words of Abúl A'tálíyab."

* He was one of the first singers of his time. He once sang in the presence of the Caliph ar Rashíd who was so delighted, that he caused the curtains usually placed between himself and the musicians to be removed, and ordered him to draw near and sit on the throne by his side. He was afterwards attached to the service of al Mámún.
“I am in need of the protection of a master,
Who is compassionate and who is unruffled though I trouble him.”

He said to me, “repeat it,” and I repeated it seven times, whereupon
he exclaimed, “O Mukhāriq; take the Caliphate from me and give me
such a master.”

And from Hudbah-b-Khālid, “I was at breakfast with al Māmūn,
and when the table was taken away, I began to gather up what was on the
ground, and al Māmūn looked at me and said, ‘hast thou not had enough?’
I replied, ‘yes, but Ḥammād-b-Salamah told me on the authority of Anas
that he had heard the apostle of God say,—whoso eateth what is under
the table is secure from poverty: whereupon he ordered me a thousand
dīnārs.’” And from al Ḥasan-b-ʿAbd-as Saflʿ (the brazier), that when al
Māmūn married Burān, the daughter of al Ḥasan-b-Sahl, the people sent
presents to al Ḥasan, and a poor man sent him two wallets in one of which
was salt and in the other glasswort and wrote to him at the same time,
_saying_, “May I be sacrificed for thee—these goods of little worth fall short
of the extent of my desire, but I was unwilling that the scroll of the beneficent
should be folded up and no mention of my name within it, therefore have
I sent unto thee what is commenced with, on account of the auspiciousness
and blessing of it, and what is concluded with, by reason of its goodness
and cleansing properties.” Al Ḥasan took the two wallets and went
with them to al Māmūn, who was pleased thereat and ordered them to be
emptied and filled with dīnārs. As Śuli records on the authority of
Muḥammad-b-uʾl Kašīm that he had heard al Māmūn say, “by Allah,
I delight in pardon to such an extent, that I fear I may not be rewarded
on account of it, and if men knew the extent of my love of pardoning,
they would come to me guilty of crimes.”

Al Khaṭib records on the authority of al Mānsūr al Barmaki, that
ʿAr Rashīd possessed a slave girl whom al Māmūn loved, and once while
she was pouring out water for ar Rashīd from a vessel she held, al Māmūn
who was behind him, made a sign of a kiss to her, and she reproved him
with her eyebrows and delayed in pouring out the water. Harūn looked at
her and said, “what is this?” and she faltered in her answer to ar Rashīd.
Whereupon he said—“if thou dost not tell me, I will certainly put thee
to death.” She replied, “Aʾbdullāh made a sign to me of a kiss.” Harūn
looked towards him, and lo! shame and fear so fell upon him that it made
Harūn take pity on him, and he embraced him and said, “dost thou love
her?” He said, “yes.” He answered, “rise and take her into that room.”

and accompanied him to Damascus. He died A. H. 230 (844-5). He was surnamed
ʿAbd Hīna. De Slane, I. K.

* The Arabs beginning their meals by tasting salt and using glasswort to wash
their hands with.
A. H. 218. And, he arose and as he went, ar Rashíd said to him, 'say a verse on this' and he recited—

"A gazelle, I hinted with my glance
As to my feelings to her.*
I kissed her from afar,
But she made excuses with her lips,
And returned the best of answers
By the contraction of her eye-brows.
But I did not quit my place
Before I obtained possession of her."

Ibn 'Asákir records on the authority of Abu Khalífah al Fadhl-b-Ḥabáb, that he narrates, "I heard a slave-dealer say as follows: 'I showed a slave girl to al Mámún, skilled in versifying, eloquent, well-bred and a good chess-player, and I asked of him a thousand dinãrs as her price, and he said, "if she can cap a verse I will recite to her by a verse of her own, I will purchase her for what thou askest, and will give thee over and above the bargain," and al Mámún recited—

'What wilt thou say regarding one whom sleeplessness hath emaciated
Through the strength of his love for thee, so that he became distracted.' And she capped it thus—

'When I find a lover whom hath smitten
The sickness of love, I will show him kindness.'"

As Ṣúli from al Ḥusayn al Khalî' that he narrates as follows, "when al Mámún was angered with me and stopped my stipend, I composed a poem wherein I praised him and gave it to one who conveyed it to him."
The beginning of it is—

"Reward me, for I thirst for the promise:
When wilt thou fulfil the promise confirmed by vow?
I fly to thee for protection from the breach of faith of princes, and
verily thou seest
That I die for love of thee.
Will he who is incomparable in goodness, grudge me
A slender gift? and verily I alone have given him an incomparable love."
&c., until he says—

"The Lord found A'budllah the best of His servants,
And he gave him sovereignty and God knoweth His servants best.
Now surely al Mámún is a defence unto his people
Distinguishing between error and right guidance."

* The pronoun is here in the masculine, the reason of which has been before explained.
"Al Mâmûn observed 'verily he hath done well, save that he is the A. H. 218. author of the following:

'O mine eyes! rain abundantly and weep over Muhammad (al-Amîn)
And spare not thy tears over him and give your aid.
May public affairs fail of success after Muḥammad
And the unity of the kingdom not cease to be divided.
May al Mâmûn not enjoy the kingdom after him.
And not cease to be an exile in the world and a fugitive.'

This then is against the other and I have nothing for him." The chamberlain said, "where, then, is the prince of the Faithful's practice of pardon?" He replied, "well as to that, why, yes," and he ordered him a present and restored to him his stipend.

And from 'Ulayyah Hammâd-b-Ishâk, that when al Mâmûn went to Baghdad, he held inquiry into wrongful exactions every day until noon. And from Muḥammad-b-u'l 'Abbâs, that al Mâmûn was very fond of chess and used to say, "this sharpens the intellect," and he originated some moves in it. He used to say, "I will never hear any one say, 'come let us play,'—but, 'let us fall on, let us press one another.'" However he did not excel in it, and he would exclaim, "I have the administration of the world and am equal to it, whereas I am straitened in the ordering of a space two spans by two spans."

And from Ibn Abî Š'ây, that Di'bil* satirized al Mâmûn saying:

"I belong to the same tribe as those whose swords
Slew thy brother and raised thee to the throne.
They exalted thy fame after its long abasement
And drew thee forth from the depth of thy degradation."

When al Mâmûn heard it, he did no more than say "what little shame hath Di'ibil! when was I obscure who indeed have been reared in the lap of Caliphs?" and he did not punish him. As Šúli states also from various sources that al Mâmûn used to drink date-wine. And on the authority of Jâhidh, that the associates of al Mâmûn used to assert that the colour of his face and of his body was the same except his legs which were yellow as if anointed with saffron.

And from Ishâk of Mosul, that al Mâmûn said, "the sweetest of songs

* Abû 'A'li Dîbîl-b-Ali' Khuzâ'a', was a good poet, but addicted to satire and securritly, always ready to slander men of merit, not sparing even the Caliphs. Ibrâhim-b-u'l Mahdi was so irritated at one of his cutting verses, that he complained to al Mâmûn who counselled him to put up with it in silence as he himself had done in regard to the lines quoted in the text which are given by Ibn Khall. Dîbîl was born A. H. 148, and died at Tib near Wâsîf A. H. 216. Ibn Khall. His life will also be found in the Kitâb u'l Aghâni.
A. II. 218. is that which, the hearer, whether it be well or ill sung, rejoiceth over.
A. D. 833. And from 'Ali-b-i'l Husayn that Muhammad-b-Hāmid* was standing over al Māmūn while he was drinking, when Gharīb broke forth and sang a verse of an Nābihah al Jaa'di's.—

"Like the hem of the striped garment of Yaman." Whereupon al Māmūn suspected that she did not begin without a reason and the company were silent. He therefore said, "may I be repudiated by ar Rashid! but if I am not told truly regarding this, I will cause the culprit to confess with grievous blows and will punish him heavily, but if I am told the truth, I will forward the true speaker's desire." Whereupon Muhammad-b-Hāmid replied, "my lord, I made signs of a kiss to her." He rejoined, "now comes the truth, thou hast spoken truly, dost thou wish that I should marry thee to her?" He answered, "yes." Then al Māmūn said, "praise be to God the Lord of all creatures, and may God bless our chief Muhammad and his offspring—verily I give in marriage unto Muhammad the son of Hāmid, my freedwoman Gharīb and I assign her as a dowry from him four hundred dirhams with the blessing of God and by the ordinance of the prophet. Take her hand," and she arose with him. Then al Mu'ātaṣīm went to the threshold and said to Ibn Hāmid, "the brokerage!" He replied, "it is thine"—The other said—"my brokerage is that she must sing to me during the night." And she continued to sing to him till the morning and Ibn Hāmid at the door. Then she arose, took his hand and departed with him. And from Ibn 'Abī Dauūd, that the Roman Emperor sent a present to al Māmūn of two hundred pounds of musk and two hundred skins of sable, and al Māmūn said, "double the gift for him that he may know the splendour of Islām." And from Ibhrāhīm-b-u'l Ḥasān that al Madāinī told al Māmūn that Mu'āwiyyah said, "the Banū Hashim are lions and swift to wrath, but we are more numerous in chiefs." Al Māmūn replied, "verily he hath made an admission and adduced a claim; he is therefore, in his claim, a plaintiff, and in his admission a defendant."

As Súli likewise records on the authority of Abu† Usámah that he narrates as follows,—"one of my companions told me that Ahmad-b-Abi Khālid‡ was once reading stories to al Māmūn and said, "a certain at

* De Slane in a note to the life of Abū Tammám mentions a Muḥammad-b-Hamūd at Tūsī, a son of one of al Māmūn's principal generals who fell in battle against Bābak al Khurrami in Aḍarbijān A. H. 214. He is mentioned as renowned for his liberality and that his death gave great pain to al Māmūn. It is probably the same person, the accent on the name being misplaced in one or other version.

† The MS. has Ibn Abi Usámah, of which name there are two, at Tamimí, a traditionist and al Ḥalabī, a disciple of the poet an Nāmī. Abū Usámah Junádah was a philologer of distinction who died A. H. 399.

‡ Ahmad-b-Abi Khālid al Ahwāl was vizier to al Māmūn and al Mu'ātaṣīm, succeeding al Fadhl-b-Saḥl in that post. He was a man of great intelligence and
Tharí'd†* (it being al Yazí'dí) and al Mámún laughed and called out 'ho! A. H. 218. page, bring some food to Abu al A'bbás for verily he is hungry'—and he A. D. 833. was ashamed and said, 'I am not hungry but the author of the story is a dunce, for he has pointed the ya (يا) with the points of the th (ث).' Al Mámún exclaimed, 'never mind.' And they brought food and he eat until he had done. Then he went on and came to the story of a certain al Ḥamṣí, instead of which he said, al Khabíši,‡ whereupon al Mámún laughed and called out, 'ho! boy, a dish of Khabíš.' Ahmad said, 'verily the author of the story was a fool, for he hath made an open mín (ما) and it is as, if there were two dots.' Al Mámún laughed and said, 'were it not for the incorrectness of those two words, thou would'st have remained hungry.'"

And from Abu A'bbád that he said, "I do not think that God ever created a disposition more excellent than that of al Mámún nor one more generous, and in truth he was aware of the gluttony of Aḥmad-b-Abi Khálíd, so that whenever he sent him on any business, he gave him his breakfast before he sent him. It was represented to him in a case that if he, the prince of the Faithful, saw fit to settle some provision upon Ibn Abu Khálíd, it would be well, as he was in the habit of favouring the more powerful party for the sake of his entertainment, wherefore al Mámún settled upon him a thousand dirhams a day for his table, yet notwithstanding, he would desire greedily to eat at the expense of others. 'Débíl the poet has said regarding this—

"We thank the Caliph for the settlement
Of a maintenance upon the son of Abu Khálíd.
Thus he hath restrained his tyranny over the Muslims
And given him his occupation at home."

And from Ibn Abí Dáuíd,‡‡ "I heard al Mámún say to a man 'whether thy conduct be marked with perfidy or with token of good, I will not hold thee responsible for either; thou wilt not cease to do evil, and I to do good, and thou to be in fault and I to forgive until it shall be pardon itself that shall amend thee,'" And from al Jáḥidh that Thumámah-b-u'l Ashras§ foresight and expressed himself elegantly in speech. He died A. H. 240. See De Slane's correction of D. Herbelot's error regarding this Wazír. Vol. I, p. 20.

* Tharí'd signifies sliced bread in milk or broth with meat.
† Khabíš is a kind of sweetmeat.
‡ I am of opinion that this name should be Ibn Abi Duá'id, the Kadhi who died in 240 A. H. Ibn Abi Dáuíd the Háfíz died in 316. It is scarcely probable that he could have heard and remembered speeches of al Mámún's in 218.
‡‡ Abu Ma'á'n Thumámah-b-u'l Ashras surnamed al Májín or the licentious for his disorderly life. Al Mámún met him once in the street in a state of intoxication and said to him, "is it you Thumámah?" "Yes?" "Are you drunk?" No, "Do you know me?" "Yes." "Who am I?" "I don't know." This threw the Caliph into such a fit of laughter that he nearly fell off his horse. He died A. H. 213. De Slane, I. K.
A. H. 218. said, "I have never seen any one more eloquent than Ja'a'far-b-Yahya al
A. D. 833. Barmaki and al Mámún."

As Sila'i records in the Ţuyyūriyát on the authority of Hafṣ al
Madiání, that a negro who pretended to the gift of prehce was brought
before al Mámún and said, "I am Moses the son of Imrán," and al
Mámún said to him, "verily Moses the son of Imrán drew forth his hand
from his bosom white, therefore draw forth thy hand white, that I may
believe in thee." The negro replied, "surely that was done by Moses
when Pharaoh said to him, 'I am thy most High God.' Therefore say as
Pharaoh said, that I may draw out my hand white, otherwise it will not
become white." Also that al Mámún said, "a revolt has never broken
out against me, but I found the cause of it in the tyranny of the prefects."
Ibn A'sákîr records on the authority of Yahya-b-A'kthâm, that al Mámún
used to preside at a disputation on questions of jurisprudence every
Tuesday, and there came a man wearing a garment which he had tucked
up, and holding his shoes in his hand and he stopped on the border of the
carpet and said, "peace be to you." Al Mámún returned his salutation and
the other said, "tell me regarding this seat which thou occupièst-dost
thou sit there* with the unanimous consent of the people or by violence
and force?" He replied, "neither the one nor the other, but one who
governed the affairs of the Muslims bequeathed it to me and to my
brother, and when the authority devolved upon me, I felt that I needed
the unanimous consent of the Muslims in the east and the west in
accepting me, but I saw that if I abandoned the government, the
security of Islám would be disturbed, and their affairs fall into confu-
sion, and that they would contend in strife one with another, so that holy
wars and pilgrimages would be neglected, and the highways infested with
robbers, wherefore I arose in defence of the Muslims, until they should be
of accord upon one man whom they should approve, and I would then
resign the government to him: now when they agree upon a man, I will
abdicte in his favour." The man replied, "peace be to you and the mercy
of God and his blessing," and he departed. And from Muḥammad-b-u'l
Munçîr al Kindî, that ar Rashîd, being upon the pilgrimage entered Kûfah
and summoned the Traditionists, and none stayed away but A'bdullâh-b-
Idrîs, and Isá-b-Yunas. He sent al Amîn and al Mâmûn to them, and
Ibn Idrîs related to them one hundred traditions, and al Mâmûn said,
"O uncle! Suffer me to repeat them by heart." He answered, "do so,
and he repeated them and Ibn Idrîs marvelled at his memory. Some
author states that al Mâmûn took away books of philosophy and works
of Grecian writers from the islands of Cyprus. This much ad Ḍahabi
briefer narrates. Al Fâkâbi says that the first who covered the Ka'bah
with white brocade was al Mâmûn, and this continued to be the custom

* I prefer to read, ءلاجح as in the MS. for ءلاجح
after him till the time of the Caliph an Násir, save when Mahmûd the A. H. 218.
son of Sabattagín during the interval, covered it with yellow brocade. A. D. 833.

The following are among the sayings of al Mámún. "There is no pleasure greater than that of observing the intellects of men. Stratagem is of no avail to turn back an affair when it advances, or to advance it where it is retrogressing. The best of conferences is where one gets an insight into men. Men are of three classes. Those who are as nourishment, necessary under all circumstances; those who are like medicine, necessary on occasion of sickness, and those who are like diseases, hateful under every condition. The answer of none has ever embarrassed me, as the answer of a man of the people of Kúfah embarrassed me, whom its inhabitants sent to me and he complained against their governor. I replied, "thou liest, for he is a just man."
He said, "the prince of the Faithful hath spoken truly and I have lied: verily thou hast specially chosen him for us in this city, to the exclusion of other cities, now appoint him to another city that he may encompass them with his equity and justice as he hath encompassed us." I said, "rise, and be off, verily I shall remove him from over you."

The following are among the lines of al Mámún:
"My tongue concealeth your secrets
And my tell-tale tear is an informer of my secret.
Were it not for my tears, I should conceal my love,
Yet were it not for love, I should have no tears."

And on chess—
"A square field of red-dressed leather
Between too friends known for generosity;
They call war to mind and invent stratagems therein,
Without being guilty of shedding blood there.
This one attacks that, and that
Falls upon this, and the eye of caution sleepeth not.
See then the ingenious foes moving with skill
Among two armies without drum or banner."

As Sáli records on the authority of Muhammad-b-A’mr, that Asram-b-Humayd* presented himself before al Mámún with whom was al Mua’tasim, and the Caliph said "describe me and my brother and give no preference to either over his fellow;" whereupon he versified after a little:
"I saw a ship sailing upon a sea,
Towards two seas, beyond which are other seas,

* This individual is mentioned in Ibn Khall’s life of A’bdullah-b-Táhir, as the author of some verses quoted, but no other information is given of him.
Towards two princes whose splendours both,
Are equal, at whom the beholder is confounded.
They are two Princes; this resembles that,
And that this, and that and this are chiefs;
If this were that and that this
In this and that together would be my delight.
A canopy of glory is extended over the one
And the face of the other is a shining moon.”

Traditions related on the authority of al Mâmûn.

Al Bayhaqi mentions on the authority of Jaa'far-b-Abi Othmân at Ṭayalisi that he relates as follows, “I was praying the afternoon prayer at ar Ruşáfah behind al Mâmûn in the enclosed space of the mosque on the day of A'rafah, and when he pronounced the salutation the people responded with the Takbîr, and I saw al Mâmûn behind the railing exclaiming, ‘no, O people! no O people! to-morrow is the day prescribed by Abu'l Kásim (Muḥammad).” And when the day of Adha (10th Dîl Hijjah) arrived, I went forth to prayers and he ascended the tribune and praised God and glorified Him and said, “God is exceeding great, and frequent be the praise of God, and I extol the perfections of God morning and evening!” Hushaym-b-Bushayr related to me on the authority of Abu Burdah-b-Dinâr that the apostle of God said, “he who performeth sacrifice before he prayeth, assuredly it is a flesh offering which he hath anticipated before its time, but who so performeth sacrifice after he hath prayed, verily he fulfilleth the ordinance. God is exceeding great, and frequent be the praise of God and I extol the perfections of God morning and evening. O Lord, amend me and seek to render me virtuous, and amend others through me.” Al Ḥâkîm says, “I have copied this tradition only from Abu Aḥmad who is in my opinion a trustworthy authority, and it continued to occupy my thoughts until I mentioned it to Abû'l Ḥasan ad Darakuṭnî who observed, ‘this relation is, in my opinion, soundly transmitted from Jaa'far.’ I said, ‘does any corroborative authority follow our Shaykh Abu Aḥmad in this?’ He said, ‘yes’ and recited a tradition from the Wazîr Abu'l Fadîl Jaa'far-b-u'l Furât through Jaa'far at Ṭayalisi to Yahya-b-M'aín* who said that he had heard al Mâmûn and mentioned the discourse and the tradition.”

* Abû Zakariya Yahya-b-M’aín was a native of Baghdad, a celebrated Ḥâfîdh and noted for the exactitude of his traditional information. On his death, he left one hundred and thirty cases and four water-jar stands filled with books. Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal used to declare that any tradition unknown to Ibn Ma’in was not a true tradition,
As Şüli states that Yabya-b-Ma‘īn says as follows: "Al Mâmûn A. H. 218. preached to us at Baghdad on a Friday which happened to coincide with A. D. 833, the day of A‘rafah, and when he came to the salutation, the people shouted the Takbîr, but he disapproved of the Takbîr and he leaped up and seized the wooden rail of the enclosure and said, ‘O people, this Takbîr should not be said out of its place. I have heard from Hushaym on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbâs that the apostle of God used to continue the Talbîyat until he had thrown stones at the Jamrat* u‘l ‘Akbah, and the Takbîr was pronounced on the morrow at midday at the close of the Talbîyat, if God so willeth.’"

And that Ibrâhîm al Mosuli says, “we were with al Mâmûn when a man stood before him and said, ‘O prince of the Faithful, the apostle of God said—creatures are the household of God, and the most pleasing of the servants of God unto God (may He be honored and glorified) is he who most profiteth His household.’ Al Mâmûn cried out and said, ‘be silent, I am more learned in tradition than thou art: Yusuf-b-A‘tîah, the brazier told me on the authority of Thâbit-b-Anas that the prophet said—creatures are the household of God, and the most pleasing of the servants of God unto God, is he who most profiteth His household.’”† Ibn ‘Asa‘kîr records this by the same ascription.

As Şüli also mentions that he had heard a tradition on the authority of ‘Abdu‘l Jabbâr-b-Abd’l-lah who relates—"I heard al Mâmûn preaching and he spoke in his discourse of modesty and he described and praised it and said, ‘Hushaym told me on the authority of Abû Bakrah‡ and Imrân-b-Husayn that the apostle of God said—modesty is a part of faith and faith hath its portion in Paradise, while obscenity is brutishness, and

and that he was created for the express purpose of exposing false ones. He said of himself that he had written quantities of traditions under the dictation of liars and made use of the paper for heating his oven. I thus obtained, he added, one advantage that of having bread well-baked. He died A. D. 233.

* Vulgarly called the Shaytan u‘l Kabîr or Great Devil. Another pillar is the Wusta or central place of stoning built in the middle of Muna and there is a third at the eastern end called al Ula. These mark the successive spots where the devil in the shape of an old Shaykh appeared to Adam, Abraham and Ishmael and was driven back by the throwing of stones, the size of a bean, as enjoined by Gabriel. This Jamrat u‘l Akbabah is a dwarf buttress of masonry about 8 feet high by 2½ placed against a rough wall of stones at the Meccan entrance to Muna. Burton’s Mecca, p. 282.

† The parenthetical sentence of the first speaker was apparently an incorrect transmission.

‡ Abú Bakrah Nufai-b-u‘l Hârith was a companion of Mu‘hammad’s, who named him Abú Bakrah or the father of the pulley, because he let himself down by a pulley from the castle of Ta‘if when it was attacked by the Muslims in A. H. 8. Ymrán-b-

Husayn al Khuzâ‘î was also a Companion, became Kâdhî of Basrah and died there A. H. 63. De Slane; I. K.
brutishness hath its portion in hell fire.’” Al Ḥakīm mentions on the authority of Yahya-b-Aktham the Kādī, that he says as follows—“Al Māmūn said to me one day, ‘O Yahya, I wish to relate traditions.’ I replied, ‘and who is fitter for this than the prince of the Faithful?’ He said, ‘let them place a tribute for me,’ and he ascended it and the first tradition he gave us was through Husaym from Abu Hurayrah that the prophet said—‘Imr u’ll-Kays is the leader of the poets in hell’; then he related about thirty traditions and afterwards descended and said, ‘O Yahya what dost thou think of our lecture?’ I replied, ‘a most excellent lecture, O prince of the Faithful thou hast instructed high and low.’ He answered, ‘no! by thy life!’ I observed no pleasure that you took in it: a lecture is for men with thread-bare garments and ink-horns.”

Al Ḥaḍīth says that he was told on the authority of Ibrāhīm-b-Sa’īd al Janhārī that when al Māmūn conquered Egypt, a person said to him, “praise be to God, O prince of the Faithful who hath sufficed thee against thy enemies, and subjugated to thee the two Irāk and the Syrian provinces and Egypt and withal thou art the descendant of the uncle of the apostle of God.” Al Māmūn replied,* “well said, now there is one condition still wanting to me, and that is, that I should sit in an assembly and below me a disciple who should say ‘whom didst thou mention, may the Lord be well pleased with thee?’ and I should reply—the two Ḥammad, Ḥammād-b-Salamah and Ḥammād-b-Zayd† narrated to me on the authority of Anas-b-Mālik that the prophet said, ‘he who supported two daughters or three or two sisters, until they die, or he is taken from them by death, shall be with me in Paradise like these two,’ and he pointed to his fore and middle fingers. Al Ḥaḍīth remarks that there is a glaring error in this story and he supposes it probable that al Māmūn related this on the authority of some person who had it from the two Ḥammad, and that, because the birth of al Māmūn occurred in the year 170, and Ḥammad the son of Salamah died in the year 167, three years before al Māmūn was born, and Ḥammad-b-Zayd died in the year 179.”

Al Ḥakīm mentions that he was told on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Sahl-b-A’ṣkar that he narrates as follows: “Al Māmūn one day stood waiting for the call to prayers and we were standing before him, when there came up to him a stranger with an ink-horn in his hand, who said, ‘O prince of the Faithful, I am a master of tradition, devoted to it.’ Al Māmūn said, ‘what dost thou remember on such and such an article?’ and he could

* For فقَالٍ read فقال.
† Abu Iṣmā’īl Ḥammad-b-Zayd surnamed al Azraḵ (blue-eyed) a native of Basra who received his knowledge from the first doctors of his age under some of whom his name was b-Salamah studied. He held a high repute as a jurist, traditionist and Ḥāfidh died A. H. 179. D. Siane I. K.
not mention a word about it, while al Mámún continued, ‘Hushaym A. H. 218. told me who had it from Ḥajjáj, who had it from such and such a one’ A. D. 833. &c., until he mentioned the article, then he questioned him on a second article, and he could not say a word about it, and al Mámún gave it and then turning to his companions said, ‘one of these searches for traditions for three days and then says—I am a traditionist. Give him three dirhams.’

Ibn A’sákir quotes from Yahya-b-Aktham as follows: ‘I passed a night with al Mámún and I awoke in the middle of the night, being thirsty and I tossed about and al Mámún said, ‘Yahya, what is the matter with thee?’ I replied, ‘I am thirsty.’ He leaped up from his couch and brought me a goglet of water. I said, ‘O prince of the Faithful, wilt thou not call a servant? wilt thou not summon a page? He replied, ‘no my father told me on the authority of U’kbah-b-A’ámir that the apostle of God said, ‘the chief of the people is their servant.’” Al Khätíb mentions a similar tradition from Yahya-b-Aktham save that he traces it up to Jarír-b-A’bdulláh who heard the apostle of God say, “the chief of the people is their servant.” Ibn A’sákir gives the ascription of a tradition through Abú Hudayfah of Bukhára and al Mámún to Ibn A’bbás that the prophet said, “the prince of a people is of them.”

Muḥammad-b-Kudámah states that it reached al Mámún that Abu Hudayfah related this tradition on his authority, whereupon he ordered ten thousand dirhams to be given to him. During the reign of al Mámún the descendants of al A’bbás were numbered and they were thirty-three thousand males and females and that in the year 200 A. H.

Of people of note who died in his time were, Sufyán-b-U’ayah, the Imám as Shá’í’i, A’bdü’r Rahmán-b-Mahdí, Yahya-b-Sa’íd al Kaṭṭán (the cotton-spinner), Yunás-b-Bukayr the historian of the wars, Abu Maṭí’ al Bakhí the disciple of Abu Ḥanífah, Ma’rúf al Karkhi the devotee, Isháq-b-BASHR, author of the Kitáb u’l Muβtdá, Isháq-b-u’l Furát Kádhi of old Cairo one of the most eminent of the disciples of Málík, Abu A’mr as Shaybáni, the philologist, Ashhab the disciple of Malik, al Ḥasan-b-Ziyád al Lúlí’i disciple of Abu Ḥanífah, ḤImmád-b-Uşa’máh the Háidh, Rúḥ-b-U’bdáh, az Zayd-b-u’l Ḥabáb, Abu Dauḍá at Ṭayálís, al Gházi-b-Káys one of Malik’s disciples, Abu Sulaymán ad Dárání, the famous devotee, A’lı’i ar Ridha-b-Máṣa al Kaḍhim, al Fárá the great master of the Arabic language, Kutaybah-b-Mihrá́n the author of the Imálah, Kuṭrub the gramm-arian, al Wákídi, Abú U’baydah, Maa’mar-b-u’l Muthanna, an Nadr-b-Shumayl, as Sayyidat Nafísah, Hishám, one of the grammarians of Kufah, al Yazídí, Yazíd-b-Hárún, Yakúb-b-Isháq al Hadhrami the Kúrán reader of Baṣrah, Abdúr Razzáḳ, Abú’l A’táhiyah the poet, Asad u’s Sun-


AL MUA’TASIM BI’LLAH.

Al Mua’tasim Billah, Abú Ishāk Muḥammad the son of ar Rashid was born in the year 180, so says ad Dahabi, but according to as Šūli, in the year 178. His mother was a slave concubine of Kufah of foreign extraction: her name was Máridah,† and she was held in the highest favour by ar Rashid. He related traditions on the authority of his father and his brother al Mámūn, and Ishāk of Mosul and Ḥamdūn-b-Isma’il and others related them on his. He was a brave man, of great personal strength and of high spirit, but destitute of education. As Šūli relates on the authority of Ibráhîm-b-Muḥammad al Háshimi that there was a page studying at the same school with al Mua’tasim. The page died, and al Mua’tasim’s father, ar Rashid, said to him, “Muḥammad, thy page is dead.” He replied, “yes, my lord, and is at rest from school.” Ar Rashid exclaimed, “is this what school gets from thee? (turning to his attendants) let him alone, do not teach him.” “Ibráhîm,” he adds “therefore, used to write and to read but indifferently.”

Ad Dahabi says that al Mua’tasim would have been one of the greatest and most awe-inspiring of the Caliphs were it not for the inquisition of the learned regarding the creation of the Qurān which has left a stain upon his glory. Niftawayh and as Šūli say that al Mua’tasim had many good qualities, and he was called the Octonary because he was the eighth Caliph of the house of ‘Abbās, and the eighth in descent from ‘Abbās, the eighth of the children of ar Rashid, succeeded to the government in the year 218, reigned eight years and eight months and eight days, his birth occurred in 178, he lived forty-eight years, his horoscope was the Scorpion which is the eighth sign of the Zodiac, he was victorious in eight expeditions, slew eight of his enemies, left eight male and the same number of female children, and he died in the month of Rajab I, eight nights thereof still remaining unelapsed.‡ Many laudable actions are ascribed to him, and

* The text has incorrectly Faryani. His name was Muḥammad-b-Yusuf-b-Wākid-b-A’bdillah ad Dhabbi, and he was one of the Traditionists of Bukhara. “Ibn .ul Athīr.”
† According to Masaḍūdī, she was the daughter of Shabīb: no other particular is given.
‡ In another account he had also 8,000 slaves and 8 millions of gold.
some eloquent sayings and tolerable verses, but when he was enraged, he A. H. 218.
was reckless in the destruction of life.

Ibn Abi Du'âd * says, "al Mua'tasim would put out his arm to me and
say, 'Abdullah! bite my arm with all your force; I would decline and
he would say, 'it will not hurt me,' and I would try it, but, lo the points
of spears would make no impression upon it much less teeth." Niḥawayh
observes that he was one of the most powerful of men in bodily strength
and would take a man's elbow between his fingers and break it. Others
remark that he was the first of the Caliphs to introduce Turks into offices
of state. He affected to imitate the Persian monarchs and to adopt their
manners; his Turkish slaves amounted to over ten thousand.

Ibn Yunas says that Dîbil satirized al Mua'tasim; subsequently fearing
its consequences he became terrified and fled until he reached Egypt.
Afterwards he proceeded to Mauritania. The verses in which he satirized
him were these:

"The kings of the sons of 'Abbás in history are seven,
And history doth not show us an eighth among them.
So the people of the cave in the cave were seven,
On the morn they took up their abode therein and the eighth was
a dog.
And verily I hold their dog in greater esteem than thee,
For thou art a man of sin, and it was sinless.‡
For verily the affairs of the people have been ruined since there
ruled over them
Wasif and Ashnâs, and afflictions have increased.
And verily I hope that there will be seen after their setting
The risings of a sun through which thou mayst be straitened.
And thy heart's desire is a despicable§ Turk
To whom thou art a father and a mother."

He was acknowledged as Caliph in succession to al Mámûn in the
month of Rajab in the year 218. He followed the course adopted by al
Mámûn in regard to questioning the people on the creation of the Kurân
and continued in it to the end of his life. He wrote to the provinces on
that subject, and commanded the teachers to instruct the children accord-
ingly, and the people suffered much tribulation on that account, and he

* Not Daudd as in the text.
† The seven sleepers.
‡ Or tailless, a pun intended. In the first half of this line the Kitab u'l Aghâni
(art. Dîbil, fol. 18), has وَ أَيُّهَا الْعَزِيزُ لَعَلَّكَ يَعْتَفَدُ عَنْكَ رَفْعَةٌ. The last two lines are
not in the K. A.
§ For اَلْمَهَأَتْ read اَمَهَاتْ as in the MS.
A. H. 218. put to death many of the learned therefor, and he scourged the Imam Ahmad-b-Hanbal whose scourging took place in the year 220.

During the same, al Mua'tasim removed from Baghdad and founded Surra man raa, and this because he was solicitous to enlist Turks in his service. Wherefore he sent into Samarkand, Farghánah and the adjacent countries to purchase them and lavished wealth upon them and clothed them in various kinds of brocade and belts of gold. And they used to gallop their horses through Baghdad and harrass the people, and the city was reduced to extremities through them. Then the people of Baghdad assembled round al Mua'tasim and said, “if thou goest not forth from among us with thy troops, we will attack thee,” and he said “how will ye attack me?” They replied “with the arrow of enchantments.” He replied, “I have no power against that.” And this was the cause of his founding Surra man raa and his removal to it.

In the year 223 al Mua'tasim led an expedition against the Byzantines and slaughtered* them with a great slaughter, the like of which hath not been heard of under any other Caliph. He dispersed their collected troops and ravaged their country and carried Amorium† by the sword, massacreeing therein thirty thousand and taking a like number captive. When he was engaged in the preparations for its attack, the astrologers pronounced that the aspect of the stars was sinister, and that he would be defeated, but it proved amongst his most conspicuous victories and successes. It was upon this subject that Abú Tammam‡ wrote his well known poem which runs thus:

“The sword is more truthful in prophecy than documents,
In its edge, a sharpness between earnest and jest.
And divination lies in the flaming fires of glittering lances
Between the set battalions, not in the seven planets.
Where now is their fabling—and where the predictions of the stars
and all
The fictions and falsehood they fabricated!
Delusion and lying asseverations
That come not to fulfilment§ when computed, nor is it strange.”

Al Mua'tasim died on Thursday the 19th of Rabī’ I, 227. (5th January 842). He had in truth humbled his enemies round about, and it

* The MS. has فَنَّاكَا فِي نُفَّاكلم, the text فَنَّاكَا فِي نُفَّاكلم, but this verb does not possess the 4th conjugation. I would therefore emend as follow فَنَّاكَا مِمْ.  
† For the name and site of Amorium. See Gibbon, Cap. LII.
‡ Abú Tammám Ḥabbá the celebrated poet and author of the Ḥamásah. His life will be found in Ibn Khall. He died at Mosal about A. H. 231 (845-6). Consult also Kitāb al Aghání, Fol. 16, p. 99.
§ The MS. has بَلْغ for بَلْغ
is said that he exclaimed in his last sickness—"Until while they were A. H. 227, rejoicing for that which had been given to them, we suddenly laid hold on A. D. 842. them." (Kur. VI.) And when death was nigh at hand he began to say, "artifice is exhausted and there is no evading (death)." It is related also that he began to say, "I have been taken from among this people" and it is also said that he exclaimed, "O God, verily thou knowest that I fear Thee on my own account and I do not fear Thee in respect of Thyself, and I hope in Thee in respect of Thee, and I do not hope in Thee from my deserts."

Among his verses are the following—

"Bring my steed and be quick, page,
And place the saddle and bridle upon him.
Tell! the Turks that I am about to plunge into
The sea of death, then let who will, arise."

He had purposed marching to the uttermost parts of the west to conquer the provinces which had not come under the authority of the House of 'Abbás on account of the occupation of them by the Umayyads, for as Şúli narrates that al Mua'tasim said, "the sons of Umayyah ruled and none of us had any territory and now we have authority and yet this Umayyad holds Andalusia, for them." He therefore appointed what was necessary for the expedition, and made due arrangements, but his sickness increased and he died. As Şúli states that he had heard al Mughirah-b-Muḥammad observe that it was stated that kings were never gathered together at the court of any one in such numbers as in the court of al Mua'tasim, and that no monarch had ever made conquests like his, for he took prisoner the king of Adarbiján, the king of Šafarštán, the king of Astisân, the king of Ashyásih,* the king of Farghánah, the king of Takháristán, the king of Suffah and the king of Kabul." As Şúli also states that the impression on his signet ring was—"Praise be to God who hath no like."

Regarding personal accounts of al Mua'tasim, as Şúli records on the authority of Aḥmad al Yazídi that when al Mua'tasim had finished the building of his palace in the plain and held audience within it, the people came to him and Ishák of Mosul wrote a poem on it, the like of which in beauty no one had heard, save that he began it with these words—

"O mansion! misfortune hath altered and defaced thee:
Would that I knew what† hath afflicted thee!"

* The MS. has "Ashyáh," which is mentioned by Yaḳút as the name of a lofty and impregnable fort in the mountains of Yaman. Astisán and Suffah are unnoticed by him, and I have not found them in Ibn ul Athír. The text has Takháristán but Yaḳút's authority points the word Takháristán or Takháristán.

† The MS. has ما الذي for بالذي.
A. H. 227. And al Mua'tasim and the people took an ill omen at this and they
A. D. 842. looked at each other and wondered, saying, "how hath this happened
with Ishâk with his penetration and intelligence and long attendance upon
kings." After this al Mua'tasim destroyed the palace. He also records
on the authority of Ibrâhîm-b-u'l A'bbâs that when al Mua'tasim discoursed,
he attained whatever he desired to effect and even went beyond it. He
was the first who was bountiful in his table and increased its expenses till
they reached the sum of one thousand dinârs a day. And from Abu
U'aynah, "I heard al Mua'tasim say 'when passion is in the ascendant,
reason is dulled.' And from Ishâk, that al Mua'tasim used to say, 'he
who seeketh the truth with all its duties and responsibilities, is sure to
attain to it.' And from Muñammad-b-Omar ar Rûmi, "al Mua'tasim had
a page called A'jìb, the like of whom men had never seen, and to whom he
was attached, and he composed some verses on him and then summoned me,
and said, 'thou knowest that I am inferior to my brothers in polite learn-
ing on account of the affection of the prince of the Faithful (my father)
for me, and my inclination to amusements, and I am but a youth and
cannot reach to what they have attained, yet verily I have composed some
verses on A'jìb and if they are good, tis well, otherwise tell me truly that
I may suppress them,' then he recited—

' Verily I behold A'jìb
Resembling a reared gazelle:
His face is like a moon,
And his stature like a wand,
And when he snatches a sword,
I behold a lion robbed of his prey.
And when he shoots arrows,
He does it excellently and hits the mark.
He is a physician for all that I suffer in love.
May I never be without such a physician,
Verily I love A'jìb
With a love which I find wonderful.'

Thereupon I swore to him by the oath of allegiance that it might be
accounted a graceful composition among the verses of such of the Caliphs
who were not poets, at which he was pleased and ordered me 5,000 dirhams."

As Súlí records on the authority of A'bdû'l Wáhid-b-u'l A'bbâs ar
Riyâshi, that the Roman Emperor wrote to al Mua'tasim a letter threatening
him, and when it was read to him, he said to the secretary, "write—In
the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Compassionate. Now, I
have read thy letter, and heard thy address, and the answer is what thou
shalt see; not hear, 'and the infidels shall surely know whose will be the
reward of paradise.'" (Kur. XIII.) And from Fadhl al Yazidi, that al
Mua'tasim sent to the poets in attendance, *saying*, 'who among you is A. H. 227. capable of versifying on me as well as did Mansur an Namari on ar Rashid A. D. 842. as follows:

"Noble qualities and munificence are valleys,
God hath caused thee to dwell in them where they meet.
He who relieth not upon the trusted of God,
Obtaineth no profit from his five daily prayers.
If rain withholdeth itself, His bounties are not corrupted.
And if an affair is straitened to us, if we remember Him, it is unloosed."

Upon which Abu Wuhayb said, "there is one among us who can do better than that," and he continued.

"Three things there are by the beauty of which the world is resplendent.
The noonday sun, Abu Isháq and the moon,
In every calamity, his actions resemble
A lion, rain, and a sharp sword."

When he died, his Wazir Muḥammad-b-Abdi'l Malik mourned him in verse partly elegiac, partly congratulatory, and said,

"I exclaimed when they buried thee, and there were tossing
Above thee hands full of earth and clay.
Go, for thou wert an excellent protector in things temporal,
And an excellent defender of the faith.
May the Lord make not amends to the people who have lost
The like of thee, save by the like of such as Harún (al Withik)."

As Śúli narrates a tradition through al Mua'tasim from Ibn 'Abbás that the prophet observed a body of men of a certain tribe moving proudly in their gait, and a flush of anger rose to his face, and he recited, "and the tree cursed in the Kurán" (Kur. XVII). It was said to him, "what tree is that, O apostle of God, that we may avoid it?" He said, "it is not a tree of vegetable growth, but the children of Umayyah, who when they rule, will be tyrannous, and when trusted in, will betray;" and he slapped his hand upon the shoulder of his uncle al 'Abbás and said, "the Lord will bring forth from thy loins, O uncle, one whose hand shall accomplish their destruction." I am of opinion that this tradition is not genuine but fabricated by al 'Aláí. Ibn 'Asákir records a tradition from Isháq-b-
A. H. 227. Yahya-b-Ma’âd that he said, “I was once visiting al Mua’tasim when he was sick and I said to him ‘art thou better?’ he replied, ‘how can that be, when verily I have heard ar Rashid relate a tradition from the prophet—whoso is cupped on a Thursday and sickens on that day, dies in it.” Ibn ’Asâkir observes that the names of two authorities between ad Dhabîlî and Ishâk have been omitted from this ascription.

Of people of note who died during the reign of al Mua’tasim were al Humaydî, Shaykh al Bukhári, Abu Nuaym al Fadlî-b-Dukayn, Abu Ghassán an Nahdî, Kalâm and Khallâd the Qurân readers, Adam-b-Abî Ayâs, A’dân al Ka’nabi, A’bdân al Marwazi, A’bdullâh-b-Šâlih, the secretary of al Layth, Ibrâhîm-b-’I’râbî, Sulaymán-b-’Abdî, A’lî-b-Muḥam-mad al Madâînî, Abû U’bayd al Kâsim-b-Sallâm, Kurrah-b-Ḫâbîb, A’ârîm, Muḥammad-b-Īsâ, the sword cutler and Hâfîdâb, A’sbâqh-b-’I’râbî Faraj, the jurisconsult, Saa’dawayh of Wâsît, Abû Omar al Jirmî, the grammarian, Muḥammad-b-Sallâm of Baykand, Sunayd, Sa’yd-b-Kâthîr, U’fâyîr, Yahya-b-Yâhya at Tamîmî and others.”

AL WATHIK BILLAH.

Al Wâthîk b’lîlîh, Abû Jaa’far (and it is also said, Abû’l Kasîm) the son of al Mua’tasim, the son of ar Rashid whose mother was a Greek slave concubine named Karâtîs, was born on the 20th Shaa’bân in the year 196 and assumed the Caliphate according to the testament of his father. Allegiance was sworn to him on the 19th of Rabî’ I in the year 227. In the year 228 he appointed Ashnâs the Turk, regent (Sultan) of the kingdom and decorated him with a jewelled double girdle, and a jewelled crown, and I believe him to have been the first Caliph who appointed a Sultan* for verily the Turks became numerous only in the time of his father.

In the year 231 his instructions reached the governor of Başrah commanding him to question the Imâms and callers to prayer regarding the creation of the Kurân, and he followed his father in this, but retracted towards the close of his reign. In this year he put to death Ahmad-b-Nasr† al Khuzâ’i. He was one of the traditionists and assumed authority‡

* So Freitag in the notes to Halobi, p. 84.

Anno 228 Watsikus Aschasum tuoram in imperio vicarium sibi creavit quem primum chelifarum vicarium sibi constituerit fuisse putat.” Weil, Note 2, p. 344. Al Wâthîk billâh.

† D’Herbelot. Ibn ul Athîr, Weil, and the Murûj ud Ḍahab all have Nasr and not Nadhir as in the text.

‡ That this is the meaning here, appears to be evident from Weil’s statement
to enjoin to good and to prohibit from evil. He sent for him from Bagh-
dad to Samarra in fetters and questioned him regarding the Kur'an, but he
said “it is not created,” and in regard to the vision of God at the Day of
Judgment, he said, “thus goes the narration and he related the tradition.”
Al Wathik said to him “thou liest,” but he replied to al Wathik, “nay, it
is thou that dost lie.” The Caliph said, “what! will He be seen, as is
seen, a circumscribed and corporeal form which space can contain and the
eye grasp! verily I deny a God with such attributes—what say ye?” And
some of the Mu'tazalite doctors who were about him, said, “it is lawful to
put him to death.” Therefore he ordered the sword to be brought and said
“When I rise against him, let no one rise with me, for verily I throw the
burden of my sins† upon this infidel who worshippeth a God I do not wor-
ship, and whom I do not recognize with those attributes with which he
investeth Him.” He then commanded the executioner’s carpet to be
brought, and the prisoner was placed upon it while still fettered, and he
walked towards him and smote off his head, and ordered the head to be
taken to Baghdad where it was impaled, and his body was impaled at
Sarra man ra. It remained in that state for six years until the reign of
al Mutawakkil, who caused it to be taken down and buried. When he
was impaled, an inscription was written and attached to his ear, which ran
thus: “This is the head of Ahmad the son of Nasr, the son of Malik.
The servant of God, the Imam Harun invited him to affirm the creation
of the Kur'an and to deny the similitude of God to human form, but he
refused except to continue in his obstinacy, therefore may God hasten his
descent into hell fire.” A man was placed on guard over the head, to turn
it from looking towards the kiblah, with a spear, but the guard who was
over it narrated that he saw it one night, turn its face towards the kiblah

that Ahmad-b-Nasr in his conspiracy to dethrone the Caliph meant either to usurp
the government himself or place therein a Caliph of his own choice. This is confirmed
by the words of the Kamil &c. 

† قبلى ابن آدم المؤمن
قلت باعث عليه ان يعمم
الجنى على ربيكم يوم القيامة كسائر البشر
ترون ركب يوم القيامة كسائر البشر

Ye shall see your Lord at the Day of
Judgment as ye see the moon.” The Mu'tazalites hold this to attribute a corporeal
from to the Godhead, but they assert that men after death will see God with their
spiritual eyes that is with their reason. Another tradition runs

قلب ابن آدم المؤمن
قلب ابن آدم المؤمن
بين اصبعين من اصابع الراحمن يقليبه

“God will turn about between two of his
fingers the heart of a son of Adam a true believer.” The orthodox believe that the
Essence of God’s corporeal form is different from that of man’s; but the Mu'tazalites,
of whom the Caliph was one, allowed not the existence of matter, and gave this an
allegorical interpretation. See the Kamil and Weil’s note. If the latter copies the
Kamil, I think he is in error in putting the last tradition and speech into the mouth
of Ahmad.

† Meaning that he hoped for the forgiveness of God for his offences, through the
merit of slaying such an infidel.
A. H. 231. and recite the Surah Y. S. (XXXVI) with a fluent tongue. This narration
A. D. 845. is given in other ways.

During this year al Wathik engaged for the ransom of sixteen hundred* Muslim
prisoners from the Romans, but Ibn Abi Duád† (may the Lord
reprobate him) said, “such of the prisoners as acknowledge the creation
of the Kurán, let us release and bestow upon them two dinárs, but whoseo
refuseth let us leave him in captivity.” Al Khatíb says that Ahmad-b-
Abi Duád influenced al Wathik and urged him to severity in the inqui-
sition, and summoned the people to confess that the Kurán is created. It
is said that al Wathik retraced his steps before his death. One author
relates that one of those who were brought in fetters from the provinces,
was taken before the Caliph, and when he entered, Ibn Abi Duád being
present, the prisoner said; “Inform me regarding this belief which you
summon the people to accept—did the apostle of God hold it and yet not
call the people to believe in it, or was it a thing which he held not?” Ibn
Abi Duád replied “yes he did hold it.” The other said “then he was at
liberty not to call the people to believe in it, and you are not so!” The
narrator says, that those present were confounded and al Wathik laughed,
and arode holding his mouth and entered a chamber and threw himself
down at length, exclaiming, “the prophet was at liberty to be silent about
it and we are not!” He then ordered that the man should be given three
hundred dinárs, and should be sent back to his city, and he did not ques-
tion any one after this, but held Ibn Abi Duád in aversion from that day.
The man alluded to was Abu A’bdur Rahmán A’bdulllah-b-Muhammad al
Azadi, the Shaykh of Abú Dauád and an Nasáí.

Ibn Abi’d Dunya says that al Wathik was of fair complexion in which
sallowness prevailed, with a handsome beard, and a spot in his eyes.‡ Yahya-
b-Aktham states that no one was as generous to the posterity of Abu
Talib as was al Wathik. There was not one among them in distress, when
he died. Another author observes that al Wathik was well versed in
polite literature and was a graceful poet. He was much attached to a slave
who had been sent to him as a present from Egypt, and one day al Wathik
annoyed him, and afterwards, he heard him say to another slave, “by

* According to Ibn Ath. 4,400 men, 800 women and children, and 100 of the
non-Muslims (Ahl ud Dimmah) living under a Muslim government.
† Not Dauád as in the text. Ibn A’bi Dauád was the well known Hafidh of
Baghdad who died in A. H. 316, “Ibn Abi Duád was made chief Kádi by al Mu’á-
tasim and continued in high favor with that Caliph and his successor. In the reign
of al Mutawakkil he was struck with paralysis and his office conferred on his son
and he died in A. H. 240 (854). See his life in Ibn Khall. The mistake in the name
is made in the Kámil, doubtless by a copyist and passed unnoticed by Weil who has
followed it.”
‡ The terrible eyes of al Wathik are noticed by D’Herbelot and figure in Beck-
ford’s famous romance.
Allah, al Wáthík has been wishing since yesterday that I would speak to A. H. 231.

him but I will not;”—and al Wáthík said—

"O thou who dost glory in punishing me

Thou art but a tyrant, tyrannous when in power.

Were it not for my infatuation, we would meet according to our

respective positions.

And if I recover from this some day, thou shalt see!"

Among the verses of al Wáthík are the following:—

"A heart that ruleth hearts*

With the repose of a languishing dark eye,

Beautiful of form, ravishing,

Full of coquettishness, and arch glances:

It is not possible for an eye when

She glanceth, to turn away from her."

As Sáli says that al Wáthík was called al Mámún the Younger on account

of his polite learning and accomplishments, and al Mámún used to honour

him and give him precedence before his son. Al Wáthík was one of the

most proficient of men in every thing; for he was a poet and the most

versed in music among the Caliphs, there being about a hundred melodies

and airs composed by him. He was also skilled in the lyre and in reciting

poetry and narratives.

Al Fadhl al Yazídí observes that there was none of the Caliphs of the

House of A’bbás that could recite more poetry than al Wáthík and having

been asked whether al Wáthík could recite more than al Mámún, he replied,

"yes, for al Mámún mixed up with Arabian learning, the learning of the

ancients in astrology, medicine and logic, and al Wáthík adulterated Arabian

science with nothing." Yazíd al Muhallabí says that al Wáthík was a very

great eater, and Ibn Fahm,† that al Wáthík had a table of gold made up of

four-pieces, each piece requiring twenty men to carry it, and everything

upon the table, dishes, plates and saucers were of gold. Ibn Abí Duád

begged of him not to eat from it on account of the prophethical prohibition

against it, whereupon he ordered it to be broken up, coined and taken to

the treasury.

Al Husayn-b-Yahya narrates that al Wáthík dreamed that he asked

for paradise of God, and a speaker said, "no one shall perish before God,

save he whose heart is 'mart' (مّرت). In the morning he asked his com-

panions regarding that, and they knew not the meaning of it. Then he

* Read ٍٔ ٍٔ for ٍٍٔٔٔ.

† Abu’Ali al Husayn-b-Muhammad-b-Fahm, a learned traditionist and a native of

Baghdad, died A. H. 289 (902), aged 78. De Slane; I. K.
A. H. 231. sent for Abú Muhallim* and caused him to be brought into his presence
A. D. 845. and enquired of him regarding the dream and the word 'mart.' Abú
Muhallim replied, 'mart' is a desert which produces no herbage, and the
meaning of it is, that no one will perish before God except he whose heart
is barren of faith, like the barrenness of a desert of herbage." Then al
Wáthik said to him, "I should like a proof from poetry of this 'mart;'
whereupon one who was present hastily interposed and recited a line from
the Banu Asad.

"She passed deserts which the sand-grouse avoids
Did a wise man enter into daybreak in them, he would lose his senses."

Abu Muhallim laughed and said "I shall not depart until I have recited to thee;" and he recited from the desert Arabs a hundred well-
known verses from a hundred distinguished poets in every verse of these
being the mention of the word 'mart,' and al Wáthik ordered him one
hundred thousand dinârs. Ḥamdún-b-Isma'îl says that there was none
among the Caliphs more forbearing than al Wáthik nor more patient under
annoyance and opposition than he. And Abîmad-b-Ḥamdún narrates that
his tutor, Harán-b-Ziyâd went to him and he received him with the greatest
deferece, and it was said to him, "who is this, O prince of the Faithful to
whom thou dost this thing?" He replied, "he is the first who unloosed
my tongue to recite the praises of God and brought me within the compass
of His mercy."

The following eulogy on him is by A'li-b-Jahm :—

"The minds of men confide
In the monarch Wáthik bi'lláh.
A monarch through whom wealth suffers,
But his companions suffer not.
A' lion at whose fierceness smiles
Stern war.
The sword is friendly with him
But the dainty gazelle is in fear.
O sons of A'bbás, the lord hath forbidden
But that ye only should rule."

Al Wáthik died at Surra man raa on Wednesday the 24th of Du'il
Hijjah in the year 232, (11th August 847). When he was on the point of
death, he began repeating these two lines:

"Death is common to all mankind
Neither prince nor subject is spared.

* The MS. has Abu Mujlim, but I can find no celebrity bearing either of those
names.
Their poverty* hurteth not the poor  
And princes are not† profited against God by what they possess.”

It is related that after he was dead, he was left abandoned and the people set about swearing allegiance to al Mutawakhil and a lizard came and pulled out his eyes and eat them.

Among distinguished persons who died during his reign were Musaddad, Khalaf-b-Hishâm, the cloth merchant and Kurâ reader, Isma'il-b-Sa'îd as Shâlakhi the Shaykh of the people of Tabaristan, Muḥammad-b-Sa'â'd Kâṭîb u'l Wâkîdi, Abû Tammâm at Tâî the poet, Muḥammad-b-Ziyâd-b-i'îl Aâ'rabî the grammarian, al Buwayî the disciple of as Shâfî'i in prison and in manacles on account of the inquisition on the Kurân, A'îlî-b-u'l Mughîrah al Athram (broken tooth) the grammarian and others.

Regarding personal accounts of al Wâthîk, as Şûlî records that Ja'aftar-b-A'îlî-b-i'r Rashîd narrates as follows:

“We were in presence of al Wâthîk who had just taken his morning draught, when his eunuch Mahaj brought him a rose and a narcissus. The next day he recited the following regarding this:

“God preserve thee with thy narcissus and rose,  
Thou shapely of figure and form.  
His eyes have inflamed love  
And increased desire and passion.  
I sought by my sovereignty proximity to him,  
But my sovereignty is the cause of my remoteness.  
The intoxication of love hath dazed him,  
And in union he turneth to repulsion.  
If a favour is asked of him he turneth aside  
And the tears pour down his cheeks.  
He glories over the injuries his glances have done,  
And he knoweth not the fulfilling of promises.  
The master complains of the tyranny of the slave  
Wherefore do justice to the master against his slave.”

He adds “and they were agreed that by no other Caliph were there verses equal to these.” As Şûlî also records that A'bdullâh-b-u'l Mua'tazz said, “one of my companions recited to me the following verse by al Wâthîk who was attached to two slaves, one of whom served him one day and the other the next.”

“My heart is divided between two persons:  
Who has ever before seen one soul in two bodies?

* For نفاّراهم read as in Ibn u'l Athîr لِن نَفَّرُهُمُ عِنْدَهُم إِمْرَالَهُم.  
† Compare Kur. III, 8 and LVIII 18 “Their possession will not suffice them in lieu of (or defend them) against God.”
This one is angry if the other is kind
Thus my heart is occupied by a double grief:"

And from Khirbil, that a verse of al Akhtal was sung in presence of al Wáthiq as follows:

“A jovial singer joined me in my cups
Neither abstemious nor yet quarrelsome (sawwár) over his wine.”

Some said it was “sawwár” and others “saár,” Whereupon he sent to Ibn u’l Aa’rábi questioning him on the point. He replied, “Sawwár means assaulting”: one says, “he does not assault his boon companions” and saár is one who leaves a residue (súran) in the cup, and verily both readings are given.” Upon this al Wáthiq ordered Ibn u’l Aa’rábi twenty thousand dirhams. He records likewise from Ahmad-b-u’l Ḥusayn-b-Hishám that he says, “al Ḥusayn-b-u’d Dahhák and Mukhá-rik were disputing one day at an assembly in presence of al Wáthiq regarding Abú Nuwás and Abú’l A’tahiyah as to which was the better poet, and al Wáthiq said, ‘lay a wager between ye,’ and they staked between them two hundred dinárs and al Wáthiq said, ‘who among the learned is here?’ They replied, ‘Abu Muhallim;’ whereupon he summoned him and he was questioned on the subject. He said, ‘Abu Nuwás is the better poet and the most profoundly versed in Arabian science and the most copious of us in his variety of the kinds of verse.’ Upon this al Wáthiq commanded that the stakes be paid to al Ḥusayn.’”

AL MUTAWAKKIL ALA’L’LAH.

Al Mutawakkil ala’l’láh Jaa’far Abu’l Fadhl the son of al Mua’tasim the son of ar Rashíd, whose mother was a slave concubine named Shujá’, was born in the year 205 and according to some, 207. He was acknowledged Caliph, in succession to al Wáthiq in Du’l Hijjah 232. He evinced his partiality for the Sunnite doctrines and favoured its professors and abolished the inquisition and wrote to the provinces to that effect, and that, in the year 234.

He summoned the Traditionists to Sámarrá and loaded them with presents and honoured them and commanded them to bring forward traditions on the attributes* of God and His personal vision at the day of judgment. Abu Bakr-b-Abi Shaybah taught in the mosque of Rusáfah,

* Which were rejected by the Muatazalites, the true doctrine of Wásil-b-A’ta their founder being that whoever asserted an eternal attribute, asserted that there were two gods. See Sale, p. 113, on their tenets.
there gathering round him about thirty thousand people, and his brother A. H. 234. O'thmán lectured in the mosque of al Maṣûr, about thirty thousand A. D. 848-9. also being collected under him. The prayers of the people for al Mutawakkil were frequent and they were vehement in his praise and honor to such an extent that one of them said, "the Caliphs are but three—Abu Bakr for his waging war on the apostates, Omar-b-A'bdî'l A'zîz for his removal of abuses, and al Mutawakkil for his revival of traditional doctrine and abolition of severe measures. Regarding this, Abu Bakr-b-u'l Khabbázah says—

"And now to-day orthodoxy has become
Honoured, as if it never had been in reproach.
It overpowers and subdues since its pinnacle has been set up,
While the pinnacle of falsehood and lying is overthrown from its height.
And the innovators in religion have fled
Into hell fire disgraced and unaccepted of God.
The Lord hath made amends for them by his Caliph Jaa’far
His Vicegerent, the holder of orthodoxy and trusting in Him.
The Vicegerent of my Lord and the descendants of His prophet’s uncle,
The best of those of the sons of 'Abbás who have borne rule.
The gatherer of the scattered portions of the faith after their dispersion,
And the cleaver of the heads of apostates with the sword.
May the Lord of mankind preserve him long
Safe from dangers and unreplaced.
And grant him, for his protection to religion, an abode in paradise
In the familiar society, among its gardens, of the best of the Apostles."

In this year Ibn Abî Duád was seized with paralysis which made him like a fallen stone; may God not reward him! Among the wondrous events of this year, was a wind that blew in I’rák, an intensely hot wind, the like of which had not been known. It burnt up the sown fields of Kúfah, Baṣrah and Baghdad, and destroyed travellers, continuing for fifty days. It reached Ḥamadán and burnt up the fields and cattle and came upon Sinjár and Mosal, preventing the people from frequenting the market places and walking in the streets, and killed a large number. In the previous year a tremendous earthquake occurred in Damascus, the houses of which fell and killed the people within them, and it extended to Antioch and destroyed it, and to Mesopotamia and laid it waste and even to Mosal, and it is said that fifty thousand persons were killed.

46
A. H. 234. In the year 235 al Mutawakkil ordered the Christians* to wear collars round their necks.

In the year 236 he ordered the tomb of al Ḥusayn to be destroyed, and the destruction likewise of the houses round about it, and that it should be turned into cultivation, and he forbade the people to make pilgrimages to it; it was therefore destroyed and it remained a waste.

Al Mutawakkil was notorious for his Naṣabī† tenets, and the Muslims were grieved on this account, and the people of Baghdad wrote upon the walls and mosques reviling him and the poets satirized him. Among what has been said on the subject is the following—

"By Allah, if the Umayyads
Went to slay the son of the Prophet's daughter unjustly put to death,
Verily the sons of his ancestor have come against him likewise.
See, by my life, his tomb destroyed!
They grieve that they did not share
In his assassination wherefore they pursue his mouldered bones."

In the year 237 he sent to the prefect of Egypt to shave the beard of Abu Bakr Muḥammad-b-Abī'l Layth, the chief judge of Egypt and to scourge him and to have him carried round the city on an ass. This was done, and indeed done well for Abī Bakr was an oppressor, and one of the leaders of the Jahmīte‡ following. He appointed to the judicial office in his stead al Ḥārith-b-Miskīn one of the disciples of Mālik notwithstanding his declining it, and he disgraced the deposed Kādīhī by scourging him with twenty stripes every day in order to return their oppressions upon the doers thereof. In this year a conflagration broke out in Ascalon and burnt down houses and granaries, and it continued burning for a third of the night, when it ceased. During the same he invited Ahmad-b-Hanbal to come to see him, and he went, but he had no interview with him, obtaining audience only of his son al Muʿazz.

In the year 238 the Romans attacked Damietta and plundered and burnt it, and took thence six hundred women prisoners, and made good a

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* Ibn u'l Athīr makes no mention of this word "ghal" which means a collar of iron, wood or leather worn round the neck, but he says that the non-Muslim population were compelled to wear yellow head coverings and girdles, to use stirrups of wood, and among other things to have the figures of devils put in front of their dwelling-houses; the women and slaves had also distinct dresses assigned to them. See also Weil, p. 351, Vol. II.

† Īl al-ismūb was the name given to the adversaries of the Caliph A'll.

‡ Ibn u'l Athīr mentions four persons who encouraged al Mutawakkil in his persecution of the followers of A'll, viz., A'll-b-ʾul Jāḥm the poet, of the Banu Shāmah, Omar-b-Farakh, Abūs Samāt, and Aʾbdullāh-Muḥammad-b-Dauūd al Ḥāshimi.
hasty retreat by sea. In the year 240, the people of Khiláṭ* heard a loud A. H. 240. shriek from the vault of heaven, and a large number of people died there- A. D. 854. from, and hail fell in Irák, like hen's eggs, and thirteen villages were swallowed up in the earth in Mauritania.

In the year 241, there was a commotion of the stars in the heavens, and the heavenly bodies were falling the greater part of the night like locusts; a disturbing occurrence such as had not been known.

In the year 242 there was a great earthquake at Támis and its dependencies, and at Rai, Khurásán, Naysabur, Tabaristan and Ispahan, the hills were rent asunder, and the earth opened to an extent that would have admitted a man into the cleft. The village of Suwayda on the confines of Egypt was stoned from heaven, and one of the stones was weighed and it came to ten ratis (pounds). A mountain too in Yaman on which were the tilled fields of its owners, moved until it came to the tilled lands of others, and in Aleppo there came down a white bird somewhat smaller than the white vulture, in the month of Ramadhán, and it screamed out, "O ye people, fear the Lord, the Lord, the Lord," and it called out thus forty times, and then flew away but returned on the morrow and did the same again: the post brought word to this effect and five hundred men who had heard it, testified to it.

During the same year Ibráhím-b-Muṭahhar the secretary made the pilgrimage from Basrah in a carriage drawn by camels at which the people wondered. In the year 243 al Mutawakkil went to Damascus which greatly pleased him and he built himself a palace at Darayya and resolved to dwell there, upon which Yazid-b-Muḥammad al Muhallabí said—

"I think that Syria will rejoice over the sorrow of Irák
Since the Imám hath resolved to quit it.
For if thou quittest (O prince) Irák and its inhabitants
Verily thou wilt afflict the fair one with divorce."

Upon which he changed his mind and returned after two or three months. In the year 244 al Mutawakkil put to death Yakúb-b-u's Sikkit† the great master of the Arabic language whom he had invited to teach his sons, and one day looking upon his two sons al Mu'atazz and al Muayyad, he said to Ibn u's Sikkit, "which are the more endeared to you, these two or al Hasan and al Ḥusayn?" He answered "Kanbar," (meaning the freedman of A'li) is better than these two." Upon this he gave orders to the Turks who trampled upon his belly till he died. It is also said that he commanded his tongue to be torn out, after which he expired, and he sent his blood-money to his son. Al Mutawakkil was a Naṣabi.

In the year 245 earthquakes occurred over the world universally and

* In Central Armenia.
† He was the author of the work Isláh u'l Mantık. Muntaha'l Arab.
A. H. 245. cities and forts and bridges were destroyed, and a mountain at Antioch fell into the sea. In the heavens there were heard dreadful sounds: Egypt was convulsed by an earthquake and the inhabitants of Bilbis* heard a terrible shriek from the direction of Cairo† from which many of them died. The springs at Mecca dried up and al Mutawakkil sent one hundred thousand dinars to have water conveyed to it from A'rafah. Al Mutawakkil was very liberal and much eulogised. It is said that no Caliph gave in bounty to a poet as much as was given by al Mutawakkil and regarding this Marwán-b-Abi Janúb said‡—

"Stay the munificence of thy hands from me and add not more
For verily I fear lest I become haughty and insolent."

He replied, "no, I shall not refrain till my bounty overwhelmeth thee." He bestowed on him for one poem, a hundred and twenty thousand dirhams and fifty robes. One day A'li-b-n'l Jahm visited al Mutawakkil who held in his hand two pearls which he was turning about, and A'li recited to him a poem, upon which he threw him a pearl. A'li turned it about and al Mutawakkil said, "dost thou think little of it, while, by Allah, it is worth more than a hundred thousand dirhams?" He answered, "no, but I was thinking over some verses that I am composing in order that I may have the other too." The Caliph exclaimed, "say them." He recited—

"At Surra man raa is the Imám of justice,
From whose ocean the seas lap their waters.
May the kingdom be with him and with his children,
As long as night succeedeth day.
In every contingency he is hoped in and feared
As if he were heaven and hell.
His two hands in bounty are as rival wives,
For both of them are jealous of him.
His right hand giveth nought
But the left giveth the like to it."
Upon this, he threw him the other pearl.

One author observes that eight persons of the father of each of whom was a Caliph acknowledged al Mutawakkil as Caliph, namely, Mansúr, the son of al Mahdi, A'bbás the son of al Hází, Abu Aḥmad the son of ar Rashíd, A'bdul'llah the son of al Amín, Músá the son of al Mámún, Aḥmad the son of al Mu'a̲tasim, Muhammad the son of al Wáthík, and his son al Muntasír.

* Not Bulbays as in the text, though Yakút says it is vulgarly called Bilbays.
† The phrase من ناحية مصر may be also taken to mean that Bilbis was in the district of old Cairo, but I do not think that is here intended.
‡ The text has یهودی which must here be taken to imply a past sense. Ibn Khall has no notice of this poet beyond mentioning one of his verses in praise of Ibn Abi Duád.
Al Mas'udi remarks that no one was known to be distinguished for any A. H. 245. accomplishment, whether grave or gay, but had a share in al Mutawakkil's A. D. 859. favour, and received considerable sums of money, and further that he was addicted to sensual pleasures and wine and had four thousand concubines.

A'li-b-u'l Jahm relates that al Mutawakkil was much attached to Kabihah* the mother of his son al Mua'tazz, and was constantly in her society. She stood before him one day having written upon her cheek in musk and ambergris the word " Jaa'far," whereupon he looked at her meditatingly and versified as follows:—

"She hath written Jaa'far upon her cheek with musk,
I would give my life for the spot where it has left a trace.
If she hath engraved lines of musk upon her cheek
Verily she hath inscribed lines of love upon my heart."

In the work on Inquisitions by as Salami, it is stated that Du'n Nún† was the first who discoursed in old Cairo on the methods of ecstatic communion with the Deity and the degrees of the contemplative life among the mystics. A'bdullah-b-u'l Ḥakam, who was one of the principal men of old Cairo and among the most eminent of the disciples of Mālik, opposed him on the ground of his introducing a doctrine which none before him had advanced, and accused him of impiety. The governor of Egypt then sent for him and questioned him as to his belief which he explained. The governor approved his conduct and wrote regarding him to al Mutawakkil who commanded him to be summoned. He was accordingly sent, travelling post, and when the Caliph heard his discourse, he was enraptured with him and held him in high favour and honoured him, so that he used to say, "talking of pious men, give me Du'n Nún!"

Al Mutawakkil covenanted for the succession, first for his son al Muntasir, then for al Mua'tazz, and next for al Muayyad. He subsequently sought to give al Mua'tazz the precedence out of his love for his mother, and he asked al Muntasir to renounce the succession, who refused. Al Mutawakkil thereupon summoned him to a public audience, degraded him from his position, and threatened, reviled and menaced him. It happened that the Turks had withdrawn their countenance from al Mutawakkil on account of certain affairs, wherefore they conspired with al Muntasir to

* The text "Fatihah" is wrong, all authorities together with the MS. have ُقبيحة, Maṣāfī has ُقبيحة (a slave) in one copy and ُجدت in another, and the story is told differently, the verses being ascribed to Maḥbūbah another slave girl of the Caliph's and two other lines are added.

† Abūl Fayāḥ Thānān-b-Ibrāhīm surnamed Du'n Nūn (or he of the Fish, an epithet of the prophet Jonas) the well-known Muslim saint and ascetic; his life will be found in I. K. He died A. H. 246 or 246 in Old Cairo, buried in the lesser Karāfa one of its cemeteries.
A. H. 245. A. D. 859.

slay his father, and five men went in to him at dead of night when he was at a festive meeting and they slew him and his minister Fath-b-Khākān on the 5th of Shawwl in the year 247 (10th Dec. 861).

Some one saw him in a dream and said to him, “what hath God done to thee?” He replied, “He hath pardoned me for the sake of the few orthodox traditionary doctrines that I have revived.” When he was slain the poets mourned him, and among these are the following verses of Yazīd al Muhallabī.

“His death came while his eye was sleeping, 
Why came not death to him where lances are in splinters? *
A Caliph who obtained what none hath received;
Never were there created a body and a soul like his.”

Among his concubines was a girl called Maḥbūbah, a poetess, and possessing many accomplishments, and very skilful with the lute. When he was slain, she came into the possession of Bughā the elder, and he summoned her one day to a carousal. She sat down sorrowfully and he asked her to sing. She excused herself, but he adjured her and sent for the lute and she placed it on her lap and sang extemore.

“How can life delight me 
When I see Jaʿfar no more? 
This monarch whom I have seen 
Covered with blood and dust. 
All who are sick with love† 
Or disease may be indeed cured, 
Save Maḥbūbah who 
If she knew that Death were to be purchased, 
Would purchase it with all 
That her hands possessed, that she might be borne to the grave. 
For a melancholy death 
Is preferable to life prolonged.”

Bughā was angry with her at this and ordered that she should be imprisoned, and this is the last that was heard of her.

Among curious coincidences it is stated that al Mutawakkil said to al Buhturi, ‡ “speak a verse regarding me and Fath-b-Khākān for I desire that he should continue in life with me, and that I should not lose

* This word should be printed plur. of قصيدة a fragment.
† Masaʿūdī has بَيٰام for يِمَام
‡ Abu Uḥbādah al Walīd-b-Uʿbayd of the tribe of Tālī, al Buhturi was born at Manbij about A. H. 206 (821-2). He was accounted a poet of the first rank and was considered by some superior to Abū Tammām and al Mutarabī. He returned to Manbij after the death of al Mutawakkil and died there in A. H. 284 (897-8). Consult Ibn Khall.
him for my joy would then depart, nor he lose me. Say therefore some. A. H. 247. thing to this effect,”—and al Buhturi said,

"O my prince, how hast thou broken thy promise to me
And abstained from the fulfilment of thy engagements with me.
May the days not show me thy loss O Fath,
Nor announce my loss unto thee while thou livest:
The greatest of calamities would be that thou should’st precede me,
And yet a calamity, should’st thou remain after I am gone.
Beware of taking another friend than myself
Since I have made thee alone the object of my love."
They were both slain together as hath gone before.

Regarding personal accounts of al Mutawakkil, Ibn A'sakir records
that al Mutawakkil saw in a dream a piece of sugar of the kind called
Sulaymáni falling upon him from heaven upon which was written; Jaa'far
al Mutawakkil ala’li’láh (who confideth in God). When he was saluted Caliph,
the people deliberated about giving him a name, and some said “let us call
him al Muntasir.” Then al Mutawakkil related to Ahmád-b-Abi Dufád
what he had seen in his dream, who found it a suitable name. He there-
fore adopted it and wrote to that effect to the provinces.

He records also from Hislfm-b-'A'márá that he narrates, “I heard
al Mutawakkil exclaim, ‘alas! for Muḥammad-b-Idrís as Sháfi’i! how
glad should I have been had I lived in his days; I would then have beheld
him, and witnessed his life and received instruction from him, for I saw
the apostle of God in a dream, and he was saying—O people! Muḥammad
the son of Idrís, the descendant of al Muṭṭalib hath departed to the mercy
of God and hath left behind with ye an excellent doctrine, wherefore
follow it and ye shall be rightly guided.’ Then al Mutawakkil con-
tinued, ‘O God! vouchsafe unto Muḥammad, the son of Idrís a large
share of Thy mercy and render easy unto me the remembrance of his
doctrines, and profit me thereby.’ I remark that from this we may infer
that al Mutawakkil was attached to the Sháfi’i school. He was the first
of the Caliphs who followed its teaching.”
He also records on the testimony of Ahmád-b-A’li al Baṣrí that al
Mutawakkil sent to Ahmád-b-ul Ma’dil and others of the learned and
assembled them in his palace; he then went out to them and all the com-
pany arose before him except Ahmád-b-ul Ma’dil, and al Mutawakkil said
to U’baydu’lláh, * "does not this man consent to our covenant of allegiance?"
He said, “yes, O prince of the Faithful, but there is a defect in his eye-
sight.” But Ahmád exclaimed, “prince of the Faithful, there is no
defect in my eyesight, but I have preserved thee from the wrath of God,

* U’baydu’lláh-b-Yahya-b-Khákán who succeeded Muḥammad-b-Fadhl as Wazír
A. H. 247. for the prophet hath said, 'whoso desireth that men should stand up
A. D. 861. before him, let him take up his abode in hell-fire;' thereupon al Mutawakkil went and sat down by his side.

And from Yazid al Muhallabi, "al Mutawakkil said to me, 'O Muhallabi, the Calips oppressed their subjects to compel their obedience, but I have been gentle with them that they might submit to and obey me.'" And from A bdullah-b-Hammad at Tarmusi that he relates as follows:
"I went to al Mutawakkil and he said—'O Abu Yahya, what hath kept thee from me, I have not seen thee for three days! I purposed to give thee something but have transferred it to some one else.' I replied, 'O prince of the Faithful! may the Lord requite thee with good for this intention. Shall I give thee a couple of verses on this subject?' He replied 'yes,' so I versified—

'I thank thee indeed for the favour that thou didst intend,
For thy solicitude in granting favours is well known.
And I shall not reprove thee since destiny hath not brought it about.

For one's lot is apportioned according to fixed decree.'

Upon this he ordered me one thousand dinars.'

He records also from Jaafa r-b-Abdu'l W h the Hashimite as follows: "I visited al Mutawakkil when his mother died, and he said, 'O Jaafa r, I often repeat this single verse, and when I wish to go on to the next, I get confused—and this is what I say.'

'When the world parts us, I call to mind
And console myself with the memory of the prophet Muham mad.'

One of the company present capp'd it with—
'And I say to it—verily death is our road
And he who dieth not to-day, dieth to-morrow.'"

And from Fath-b-Kh a k that he says, "I went in one day to al Mutawakkil and I saw him looking down and abstracted in thought and I said,—'Prince of the Faithful! why this thoughtfulness! for by Allah, there is not upon the face of the earth any one possessing greater happiness nor one more fortunate than thou art.' He answered, 'O Fath—he enjoyeth greater happiness who hath a spacious house, a virtuous wife, and a present sufficiency, one who knoweth us not lest we injure him and hath no need of us, lest we disdain him.'" And from Abi'l U'ayna, that a slave girl who was a poetess and named Fadhl was given as a present to al Mutawakkil who said to her, "art thou a poetess?" she replied, "so think they who sold and bought me!" He continued—

"recite me some of thy verses," she versified—

"The Imam of right guidance assumed the sovereignty
In the year thirty and three.
The Caliphate passed to Jaa'far
When he was seven and twenty.
I hope, indeed, O Imám of right guidance
That thou mayest rule the kingdom for eighty years.
May God not bless the man who sayeth not
At the time of my prayer for thee—Amen.”

Ibn A'sákir further records that A'li-b-u'l Jahm narrates as follows:
“There was given to al Mutawakkil a slave girl called Maḥbūbah. She had been brought up in Ta'if, instructed in polite learning and could compose verses. Al Mutawakkil was much enamoured of her, but she fell subsequently under his displeasure, and he forbade the slave girls of the palace to speak to her. I visited him one day and he said to me, ‘verily I had a dream of Maḥbūbah that I had become reconciled with her and she with me.’ I answered, ‘a happy omen, O prince of the Faithful.’ He rejoined, ‘come with us and let us see what she is about.’ We proceeded until we reached her chamber, when lo! she was touching her lute and saying,

‘I wander round the palace and behold none
To whom I can complain or who will respond to me.
So that I am as if I had committed a sin
For which there is no repentance which will release me.
Then* who will be my intercessor with a monarch
Who visited me in his slumber and made peace with me.
But when the morning dawned upon us
He reverted to his disdain and forsook me.’”

Then al Mutawakkil called and she came forth, and she fell at his feet, and kissed them, and murmured, “O my Lord, I dreamt of thee this night that thou wert reconciled with me.” He replied, “and I too, by Allah, dreamt of thee.” He then restored her to her former place in his favour. When al Mutawakkil was assassinated, she fell to the lot of Bughá, and the preceding† verses have already been recorded in their place.

Ibn A'sákir mentions on the authority of A'li-b-u'l Jahm that al Buhturi praises al Mutawakkil for having abolished the Inquisition and satirizes Ibn Abí Duád in the following lines:

“Prince of the Faithful verily we thank
Thy ancestors the illustrious and noble.
Thou hast restored to the faith its unity, after
I had seen it in two hostile factions.
Thou hast overthrown oppressors over the whole earth
And the place of tyranny is known no more.

* The Murúj-u’d Šahab has عُو for عُ.
† Page 366.
And in the space of a year which hath smitten their proud ones
A. H. 247.
A. D. 861.
According to their deserts by a sudden descending calamity.
And it hath left nothing of Ibn Abi Duád
Save a punishment which speaks with signification.
Sabúr-b-Sahl* was confounded at it
And granted him respite and afforded him protection.
When his companions carouse at night
They prolong vain discourse on the creation of the Kurán.”
And from Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal, that he says, “I was wakeful one night
but afterwards fell into a slumber and in my dream I saw, as it were, a
man ascending to heaven, and a speaker, saying,
‘A king who is led to a just king
Eminent in mercy and not an oppressor.’
Afterwards when I awoke at dawn, there arrived at Baghdad from
Surra man ráá a messenger announcing the death of al Mutawakkil.”
And from A’mr†-b-Shaybán al Jubní “I saw in the night in which
al Mutawakkil was slain, in my dream a speaker, saying,
‘O thou whose eye sleepeth in regard to the things of the body,
Shed‡ thy tears, O A’mr, son of Shaybán.
Seest thou not the youths guilty of shameful deeds, what they have
done
Unto the Hásimite and Fath-b-Khákán.
He hath departed to God unjustly dealt with, and there call out
to him
The dwellers in the heavens by twos and ones.
And there shall come unto ye others distinguished§
Whom ye may expect possessing dignity upon dignity.
Then weep for Jaa’far and mourn for your Caliph
For verily men and jinns weep for him.’
Again I dreamt of al Mutawakkil after some months, and I said,
‘what hath the Lord done unto thee?’ He answered, ‘He hath pardoned
me for the sake of the few traditionary doctrines I have revived.’ I
continued, ‘what then dost thou do here?’ He replied, ‘I wait for
Muḥammad, my son, that I may plead for him to God.’”

* I can find no mention of this name in any work I have consulted and cannot
explain the allusion.
† Probably the son of the grammarian and philologer Abu A’mr Isháq. Súk u’l
Jubn is the name of a street in Damascus, which has given its name to several indivi-
duals.
‡ These verses are different in Ibn u’l Athír and only two couplets are given.
§ Compare اخيل البدعة Kur. III, 9. And read نا نكم پایان کن. The
line is obscure.
Al Khaṭīb narrates a tradition through al Mutawakkil from the prophet that he said, "whoso refuses to be compassionate, declines a good action." Ibn A’sākir records in a tradition from A’li-b-u’l Jahm that he relates as follows: ‘I was with al Mutawakkil when they were discoursing with him on the subject of beauty, and he said, 'fine hair is undoubtedly a beauty;’ then he recited a tradition from Ibn A’bbás, who said,—'the apostle of God had tresses of hair that fell to the lobes of his ears like strings of pearls. He was one of the most comely of men, and was of a delicate tawny colour, erring neither on the side of excess nor of deficiency. A’bdū’l Mutṭalib also had locks falling to the lobes of his ears and Hāshim likewise.' A’li goes on to say that al Mutawakkil had the same, and adds, ‘al Mutawakkil told me that al Mua’tasim likewise wore long locks, and so too al Mā’mūn, ar Rashīd, al Mahdī and al Mansūr and his father Muḥammad, his grandfather A’li and his great-grandfather A’bdū’l-lah-b-‘Abbās.'"

I remark that this tradition is continuous in three ways—by the mention of the hair, by the mention of the genealogical tree of descent, and the enumeration of the Caliphs—and in the ascription six Caliphs occur.

Of distinguished persons who died during the reign of al Mutawakkil were: Abū Thaur, Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal, Ibrāhīm-b-u’l Munḏir al Hīzāmī, Ishāk-b-Rahwayh, Ishāk the Caliph’s boon Companion, Rūḥ the Qurān reader, Zuhayr-b-Ḥarb, Saḥnūn, Sulaymān as Shādkūnī, Abu Mas’aūd al-A’skārī, Abu Jaa’far an Nufaylī, Abu Bakr-b-Abī Shaybah and his brother, Dīk u’l Jinn the poet, A’bdū’l Malik-b-Ḥabīb the Imām of the Mālikī school, A’bdū’l A’zīz-b-Yahya al Ghūl, one of the disciples of as Shārī‘, U’baydullāh-b-Omar al Kawwārī, A’li-b-u’l Madīnī, Muḥammad-b-A’bdū’l-lah-b-Numayr, Yaḥya-b-Ma’īn, Yaḥya-b-Ḥabīr, Yaḥya-b-Yahya, Yusuf al Aẓrāk the Qurān reader, Bishr-b-u’l Walīd al Kindī al Mālikī, Ibn Abī Duād that dog, may God not have mercy on him, Abū Bakr al Haḍallī al A’llāf Shaykh of the Mua’tazalite school and head of those who err from the true faith, Jaa’far-b-Ḥarb one of the heads of the Mua’tazalites, Ibn Kilāb the orator, the Kādhi Yahya-b-Aktham, al Ḥārith al Muḥāsibī,* Harmalab a disciple of as Shārī‘, Ibn u’s Sikkīt, Aḥmad-b-Manū‘, Ṭu’n nūn al Miṣrī the ascetic, Abū Turāb an Nakhshabī, Abu Omar ad Dārī the Qurān reader, the poet Di’bil, Abū O’thmān al Māzīnī the grammarian and others.

* See his life in Ibn Khall. He was an ascetic and called al Muḥāsibī, because he frequently called himself to account (yuḥāsib) for his actions.
A. H. 247.
A. D. 861.

AL MUNTAŞIR BİLLAH.

Al Muntaşir bîllâh Muhammâd Abû Ja'far, called also Abu A'bdû'l-lâh was the son of al Mutawakkil the son of al Mua'tasim, the son of ar Rashîd. His mother was a Greek slave named Ḥabshiyah. He was of comely countenance, of a tawny colour, large-eyed, with an aquiline nose, of middling stature, robust of body, corpulent, and of engaging and yet awe-inspiring exterior. He was a man of great capacity, well-inclined, with little of the tyrant in him, a benefactor to the followers of A'lî, and generous to them. He removed from the posterity of Abu Tâlib the threats and persecutions which they suffered by being forbidden to visit the shrine of al Ḥusayn, and restored to the posterity of al Ḥasayn, the domain of Fadak.* Yazîd al Muhallabî says, regarding this,

"Thou hast been generous to the descendants of Abû Tâlib after they
Had suffered reproach age after age.
And thou hast restored concord in the house of Hâshim
I behold them as brothers after hostility had divided them."†

He was acknowledged Caliph after the assassination of his brother in Shawwâl 247. He set aside his brothers al Mua'tazz and al Muâyyad from the succession after him, covenanted for them by al Mutawakkil. He displayed justice and equity towards his subjects, wherefore all hearts were inclined towards him notwithstanding the great awe in which they held him, and he was moreover munificent and forbearing. Among his sayings are the following: "The pleasure of pardoning is sweeter than the delight of gratifying anger, and the worst of deeds in the powerful is revenge." When he assumed the government, he began to reproach the Turks, saying, "these are the assassins of the Caliphs." Therefore they conspired against him and sought to do away with him, but they failed in their purpose, because he was formidable, brave, sagacious and circumspect. Then they went cunningly to work until they sent secretly thirty thousand dinârs to his physician Ibn Tâyfûr‡ to cause a malady. He therefore proposed to bleed him and he bled him with a poisoned lancet of which he died. It is also said that Ibn Tâyfûr forgetting this and falling ill himself, ordered his slave to bleed him, who bled him with the same lancet and he died also. It is likewise stated that he was poisoned by a pear, and according to another account, that he died of the quinsy. When he was on the point of death, he exclaimed, "O mother, this world and the next have gone from me: I shortened the days of my father, and my own end is now hastened."

* See life of Omar-b-'Abd'îl A'zîz, p. 236.
† Two more couplets are given by Masa'ûdi.
‡ Masa'ûdi and the Kâmil have at Tâyfûrî.
Al Muntasir died on the 5th of Rabii II, 248, (7th June 862) at the age of 26 or less, having enjoyed the Caliphate for a term computed at somewhat under six months. It is said that one day he sat down to a convivial meeting, and some carpets having been brought out from his father's treasuries, he ordered them to be spread at the banquet and he beheld on one of the carpets a circle in which was figured a Persian, and on his head a crown, and round it a Persian inscription. He sent for some one who could read it, and a man was brought; who looked at it and frowned, and the Caliph said, "what is this?" He replied, "it has no meaning," but the Caliph insisted, whereupon the man read. "I am Shírúyáh the son of Khusran the son of Huranuz, I slew my father, but I did not enjoy the sovereignty for more than six months." The face of al Muntasir changed colour and he ordered the carpet which was woven with gold, to be burnt.

In the Latáif u'l Ma'árif (Curiosities of Knowledge) of at Thá'álabí, it is stated that the most nobly born of the Caliphs who governed the Caliphate was al Muntasir, for he and his five immediate ancestors were Caliphs, as well as his brothers Mua'tazz and al Mua'tamid. I remark that even more nobly born than he was al Mua'tasim, whom the Tartars slew, eight of whose immediate ancestors were Caliphs. At Thá'álabí further observes that the noblest by birth of the Persian monarchs that reigned was Shírúyáh who slew his father and survived him only six months and the noblest of the Vicegerents that ruled the Caliphate was al Muntasir who likewise slew his father and enjoyed the succession but six months.

AL MUSTA'TN B'LLAH.

Al Musta'in bi'lláh Abu'l A’bbás Aḥmad the son of al Mua'tasim, the son of ar Rashíd and the brother of al Mutawakkil was born in the year 221. His mother was a slave concubine named Mukhárik. He was comely, fair, pock-marked in the face, and had a defective pronunciation. When al Muntasir died, the generals assembled and took counsel together and said, "if you should appoint to the government any of the sons of al Mutawakkil, there will remain none of us alive." Wherefore they said, "there is nothing for it but Aḥmad the son of our master al Mua'tasim." They therefore swore him allegiance, and he continued in power till the beginning of the year 251. The Turks became alienated from his cause when Waṣíf and Baghá put to death* Bághir the Turk, he who murdered al Mutawakkil.

* The text is here incorrect, the words و نَكَّي (not in the MS.) should be omitted; the words of Masa‘udi are identical with the MS. لِبَأ قَتِل وَصَفِر وَغَيْبَةَ البَّرْزِي the names Waṣíf and Bugha should therefore stand in the nominative case.
A. H. 248. Al Musta’in in the hands of Waṣīf and Bughá lost all authority, so that it
A. D. 862. was said on this subject—

“A Caliph in a cage
Between Waṣīf and Bughá
Says what they tell him
As speaks a parrot.”

And when the Turks became estranged from him, he feared and fled from Sāmarra to Baghdád, and they sent to him pleading excuses and tendering submission, begging of him to return, but he refused, whereupon they went to the prison and released al Muatazz bi’lláh and swore him allegiance and deposed al Musta’in. Al Mu’atazz then fitted out a large force to attack al Musta’in, but the people of Baghdád espoused the cause of al Musta’in and many engagements took place between the two factions. The war lasted for some months and the slaughter was great. Prices also rose and disorders increased, and the cause of al Musta’in began to decline.

They endeavoured to bring about a peace founded on the deposal of al Musta’in, and Ismá’il the Kádhí and others proposed with this object definite conditions. Al Musta’in therefore abdicated in the beginning of the year 252 and the Kádhí and others testified to it. He was removed to Wáṣīf and remained there nine months imprisoned under the charge of a nobleman,† but was subsequently brought back to Sāmarra. Al Mu’atazz then sent to Aḥmad-b-Ṭúlín to overtake al Musta’in and slay him, but he said, “by Alláh, I will not slay the sons of the Caliphs.” He next incited to it Sa’īd (b-Sáliḥ) his chamberlain who slew him on the 3rd of Shawwál of the same year, he being 31‡ years of age.

He was virtuous, of distinguished merit, accomplished and eloquent, and he was the first who set the fashion of wearing loose sleeves, for he made their breadth about three spans, and he diminished the height of the caps which were excessively tall before his time.

Among persons of note who died during his reign were: A’bd-b-Hamíd, Abú’t Táhir-b-Sárh, al Ḥárith-b-Miskín, al Bazzi the Qurán reader, Abu Ḥátim al Sijistáni, al Jáhidh and others.

AL MUA’TAZZ Bİ’LLAḤ.

Al Mu’atazz bi’lláh Muḥammad called also az Zubayr, Abu A’bdulláh the son of al Mutawkkil, the son of al Mu’ataṣim the son of ar Rashíd,

* 11th Du‘l Hijaḥ, 4th January 866.
† Aḥmad-b-Ṭúlín afterwards governor of Egypt. Masa’udí.
‡ Masa’udí says 35.
was born in the year 232. His mother was a Greek slave called Kabihah.* A. H. 252. He was acknowledged Caliph on the abdication of al Musta‘in in the year A. D. 866. 252, at the age of nineteen, none ever having ruled the Caliphate before him at an earlier age than his. He was exceedingly beautiful. A‘li-b-Harb one of the teachers of tradition to the son of al Mua’tazz says, “I never saw a Caliph more comely than he.” He was the first Caliph who set the fashion of appearing on horseback with ornaments of gold, for the Caliphs before him used to ride with but trifling ornaments of silver. In the first year of his reign died Ashnás he whom al Wáthik had appointed Regent of the kingdom, leaving 500,000 dinárs. Al Mua’tazz took possession of them, and he invested with the robes of office Muḥammad-b-A‘bdillah-b-Táhir and girded him with two swords. Subsequently he deposed him and bestowed the viceregal robes upon his brother, that is the brother of al Mua’tazz, Abu Ḥamad, and crowned him with a diadem of gold and a jewelled cap and gave him two jewelled girdles and belted him with two swords. He deposed him, however, the same year and banished him to Wāsīf and invested Bughá† the cup-bearer and placed upon him the viceregal crown; but he rebelled against al Mua’tazz the following year and was slain and his head brought to the Caliph.

In the month of Rajab of this year, al Mua’tazz set aside his brother al Muayyad from the succession, and scourged him and put him in prison where he died after a few days. Al Mua’tazz fearing, however, lest it should be said of him that he had put him to death or had artfully contrived it, summoned the Kádi in order that they might behold him, and there was no mark of violence‡ found on him.

Al Mua’tazz was impotent in the hands of the Turks. It happened that a number of the chiefs went to him and said, “O prince of the Faithful give us our pay and we will slay Sáliḥ the son of Waṣīf.”§ Now al Mua’tazz feared him, wherefore he sent to his mother for money to distribute among them, but she being extremely covetous, refused him and there was nothing left in the public treasuries. Then the Turks straightway agreed to depose him, and Sáliḥ-b-Waṣīf and Muḥammad-b-Bughá joined with them, and they armed themselves and went to the palace and sent to al Mua’tazz, saying, “come out to us.” He returned as answer,

* See page 365.
† This was Bughá the younger.
‡ Masa‘údi says he had been enveloped in a fur robe, the sides of which were fastened, so that he was smothered within it.
§ This promise was only a blind to induce the Caliph to give them money, for Sáliḥ was one of the three principal promoters of this insurrectionary demand. Together with the other two, viz., Bahkial and Muḥammad the son of Bughá, he subsequently took the Caliph prisoner and forced him to abdicate.
A. H. 252. saying, "verily I have taken medicine and am weak." Then a number of
them set upon him and dragged him by the foot, and beat him with clubs
and made him stand in the sun in the fierce heat of the day and smote him
on the face, saying, "abdicate." Then they summoned the Kādhi Ibn
Abi Shawārib and witnesses and deposed him. Next they sent for Muham-
mad the son of al Wāthik (al Muhtadi) from Baghdad to the capital
which was then at Sāmarra, for al MA'atazz had removed him to Baghdad,
and al Mu'a'tazz resigned the Caliphate to him and swore him allegiance.
Then the mob seized al Mu'a'tazz five nights after his abdication and put
him into a hammām and when he had bathed he became thirsty, but they
forbad him water. Then he was taken out* and they gave him snow water
which he drank and dropped dead. This occurred in the month of Shaa‘bān
the honoured, in the year 255 (July 869). His mother Kabīḥah concealed
herself, but subsequently appeared in public in Ramadḥān and gave up
immense treasures to Sālīḥ the son of Waṣīf. Among these were 1,300,000
dinārs,† and a casket in which was eleven and a quarter pounds weight of
emeralds, and a casket in which was a similar measure of pearls of large
size, and a measure of three pounds and three quarters of rubies, besides
other things. The caskets were valued at two thousand dinārs. When
Sālīḥ-b-Waṣīf beheld all this, he exclaimed, "may God bring evil upon
her. She exposed her son to be murdered for the want of 50,000 dinārs,
while she had this in her possession." He appropriated the whole and
banished her to Mecca where she remained until the reign of al Mu'a'tamīd
who brought her back to Sāmarra where she died in the year 264.

Of persons of note who died in the reign of al Mu'a'tazz were, Sarri as
Saḳtī, Hārūn-b-Sa'id al Ayli, ad Darimi author of the Musnad, al U'tbi
author of the Masā'īl u'l U'tbīyah on the doctrine of Mālik, and others.

AL MUHTADI Bİ'LLAH.

Al Muhtadi Bİ'llah, the good Caliph, Muḥammad Abū Ishāḳ, called
also Abu A'bdullāh, the son of al Wāthik, the son of al Mu'a'tasim, the
son of ar Rashīd whose mother was a slave concubine named Wardah‡ was

* The MS. has not the word لَوِ which here has no meaning and should be
omitted from the text. Ibn u'l Athīr relates the manner of his death altogether
differently.

† The dinār of that period, according to De Slane, had an intrinsic value of about
ten shillings British.

‡ According to Ibn u'l Athīr, her name was Kurb or Kurb.
born during the Caliphate of his grandfather about the year 210 and A. H. 255. odd,* and was acknowledged Caliph on the 29th Rajah 255 (13th July 869). A. D. 869.

He would not accept the oath of allegiance† from any one until they had brought al Mua’tazz, whereupon al Muhtadi rose and saluted him as Caliph and seated himself before him. Witnesses were then brought who testified against al Mua’tazz that he was unequal to the Caliphate, and he himself acknowledged it and stretched out his hand and tendered allegiance to al Muhtadi. From that day al Muhtadi was raised to the throne.

Al Muhtadi was of a light tawny complexion, comely of countenance, chaste, pious, just, firm in carrying out the commands of God, intrepid, and brave, but he found none as an ally or a helper. Al Khaṭīb says that he did not cease to fast from the time he began his reign till he was assassinated.

Hāshim-b-u’l Kāsim relates as follows: I was once in presence of al Muhtadī one evening in the Ramadān, when I started up to depart, but he said “sit down,” and I sat down, and he advanced and prayed before us. Then he called for food, and an earthen‡ vessel was brought in which were round flat cakes of white bread, and on it were vessels in which were salt, vinegar and olive-oil, and he invited me to eat. I began to eat, thinking that they would presently bring the viands, but he looked at me and said, “dost thou not fast?” I replied, “Yes.” He continued, “hast thou not the intention§ of fasting?” I answered, “how not! since it is Ramadān!” He said, “eat and satisfy thyself, for there is no other food than what thou seest here.” I was astonished, and after a little I exclaimed, “and why, O prince of the Faithful? for the Lord hath given thee amply of his benefits!” He replied, “verily the thing is as thou sayest, but I considered that there was indeed among the Banū Umayya, Omar-b’A’bdil A’zīz, and he lived on scanty food and poorly as thou hast heard, therefore I was jealous for the Banū Hāshim, and I adopted the life thou dost witness.”

Jaa’far-b’A’bdil Wālīd|| says, “I was conferring with al Muhtadi regarding a certain point, and I said to him, ‘Ahmad-b-Ḥanbal used to maintain, it,’ but he was averse to my alluding to any of his departed ancestors, and he said, ‘may God have mercy upon the son of

* “Or it may be translated, between the years 213 and 219.” See the discussion on this point in Lane, art. بَعْثٌ.
† For بَيْعَة اِحْدَاد read بَيْعَة as in the MS., it would read therefore بَيْعَة اِحْدَاد.
‡ For خَالِفَات read خَالِفَات: the Kāmil has خَالِفَات (a kind of willow the Salix Egyptia) and in another reading.
§ See note page 55.
|| A member of the Abbaside family whom al Mutawakkil appointed to succeed Yahya-b-Aktham, as Ḍādi. He died in 268 (871-2) some say 268. Ibn Khall, life of Yahya-b-Aktham.
A. H. 255. Ḥanbal, if it were permitted to me to hold myself clear of my father, I would have no part with him."* Then he said, ‘assert the truth and maintain it, for the man who asserts the truth is noble in my eyes.’"

Niftawayh relates as follows: “One of the Hāshimites told me that he found in al Muhtadi’s possession a coffer containing a woollen tunic and a coarse garment which he used to wear at night and pray in. He put down all wanton pastimes and forbade singing, and checked the oppression of the Regent’s myrmidons. He was particularly zealous in the administration of the public registers, himself sitting down and making the secretaries sit down in front of him, and they would work at the accounts. He also never failed to hold audience on Mondays and Thursdays. He scourged a number of the principal men and banished Ja’far-b-Maḥmūd to Baghdad abhorring his presence, because he considered him attached to the Rāfiḍī white tenets.”

In his time Mūsa the son of Bughā set out with his followers from Rai for Sāmarra to put to death Šāliḥ-b-Waṣīf in revenge for the murder of al Mu’aṭṭazz and the spoliation of his mother’s treasures, and the populace called out against Ibn Waṣīf, saying, “O tyrant, verily Musā hath come against thee.” Then Musa-b-Bughā sought admission to the presence of al Muhtadi, but he would not grant it, upon which he forced an encounter with his followers while the Caliph was seated in the Hall of Justice and took him away upon a sorry mare and they sacked the palace and lodged al Muhtadi in the palace of Nājūd† who kept saying, “O Musa, fear God. Alas for thee! what dost thou want?” He replied, “by Allah, we seek nothing but what is for thy good,—now swear to us that thou wilt not follow the guidance of Šāliḥ-b-Waṣīf.” He took this oath to them and they renewed the oath of allegiance to him at the same time. They next sought Šāliḥ to bring him to account for his deeds, but he hid himself and al Muhtadi invited them to a mutual reconciliation. They then suspected that he knew his place of concealment and a discussion arose about this. Subsequently they talked of deposing al Muhtadi, but the next day al Muhtadi came out to them girt with his sword, and said, “verily, your intentions have come to my knowledge, but I am not like those who have preceded me, such as al Musta’in and al Mu’aṭṭazz. By Allah, I have not come forth to you save well considering what I do.† I have made my last testament and this is my sword. By Allah, I will wield it as long as I can grasp its hilt in my hand. Have ye no religion, no shame, no

* On account of his persecution of Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal and others on the question of the creation of the Kurān.
† Ibn u’l Ṭḥir has Ṭajūr. Nājūr and Bajūr are also variants. Ibn Khaldūn, likewise according to Weil gives the name of this Turk as Yājūr.
‡ In Ibn u’l Ṭḥir, the word is ʿāṣa ʿaṭ “prepared for death.”
gentleness left? How long* will there continue this opposition to the A. H. 255. vicegerents and this audacity against God?" Then he continued, "I have A. D. 869. no knowledge of Šālih." On this they were appeased and dispersed and Mūsā-b-Bughá issued a proclamation that whoever should bring Šālih should receive ten thousand dinārs, but no one was able to lay hold of him. It happened, however, that a certain boy entered a lane at noontide and he saw a door ajar. He entered and crossed the vestibule which was dark and beheld Šālih asleep. He recognized him and there being no one with him he went to Mūsā and informed him, and he sent a party who seized him and cut off his head which was carried round the city and al Muhtadi was inwardly grieved at this.

Subsequently Mūsā accompanied by Bākyálf set out for Simm against Musáwir.† Al Muhtadi hereupon wrote to Bākyál to put to death Mūsā as well as Mušlih one of the Turkish chiefs or to arrest them, and himself assume the leadership of all the Turks. Bākyál acquainted Mūsá with the purport of his letter and said, "I am not pleased with this, for indeed it toucheth us all." They then agreed to put al Muhtadi to death, and set out against him. On the side of al Muhtadi fought the men of the west and of Farghánhah and of Usbūrúsanah,§ and there were slain of the Turks in one day, four thousand, and the fighting continued until the troops of the Caliph were put to flight. He was taken prisoner, put to the torture and died. This occurred in Rajab (18th) in the year 256, (21st June 870). Thus his Caliphate lasted one year all but fifteen days.||

When the Turks rose against him, the people rose in tumult and wrote on slips of paper and threw them in the mosques, "O ye Muslims! pray for your Caliph, the just, the approved, who resembleth Omar the son of A’bdull A’zíz,¶ may the Lord defend him against his enemies."

* The MS. has  and so Ibn u’l Athir—it is a better reading than the  of the text; the accidental oversight of the oblique stroke of the  has no doubt caused the error.
† One of the Turkish leaders.
‡ Musáwir-b-A’bdull Hamíd-b-Musáwir in revenge for the maltreatment of his son by the prefect of Mosul, attacked Mosul at the head of a band of Bedouins and Kurds, released his son from prison, defeated the Turkish generals and for a time occupied the greater part of the province. See Ibn u’l Athír and Weil, p. 406, Vol. II.
§ Not Urdús, as in the text. The MS. is here correct. It is the name of a district beyond the Oxus, lying between Samarkand and the Jaxartes. Yakút.
|| The date of his abdication was the 16th of Rajab. Ibn u’l Athír.
¶ The Kámil has,—but I think incorrectly—Omar-b-u’l Khatṭáb.
A. H. 265.
A. D. 870.

AL MUA'TAMID A'LA'LLAH.

Al Mua'tamid a'la'llah Abu'l 'Abbás, called also Abu Jaa'far, Aḥmad, the son of al Mutawakkil, the son of al Mua'tasim, the son of ar Rashíd, was born in the year 227. His mother was a Greek named Fityán.

When al Muhtadi was slain, al Mua'tamid was lying in prison at al Jausāk,* and they brought him out and swore allegiance to him. He then appointed his brother Abū Aḥmad Taḥḥah surnamed al Muwaffāk bi'llāh, (the directed of God) ruler over the East and nominated his son Jaa'far to the succession and gave him the government of Egypt and the West and surnamed him al Mufawwadāh ila'llāh (recommended to God). Al Mua'tamid now gave himself up to pastime and sensual pleasures, and neglected the care of his subjects, the people therefore regarded him with dislike, and became attached to his brother Taḥḥah.

During his reign the Zanj† entered Baṣrah and its dependencies and laid waste and slaughtered and burned and ravaged and made prisoners. Many engagements took place between them and the Caliph's troops, which during most of them, were commanded by his brother al Muwaffāk.

This event was followed by the plague which never fails to follow bloodshed in Irák, and countless people died therein. This was succeeded by convulsions and earthquakes, and thousands of people perished in falling ruins, and hostilities with the Zanj continued from the accession of al Mua'tamid in 256 till the year 270. In that year the chief of the Zanj—may God curse him—whose name was Bihbūd,‡ was slain. He pretended that he had been sent from God to the people but had rejected the mission, and that he was cognizant of hidden things.

As Sulī says that he slew 1,500,000 Muslims, three hundred thousand having been slain in a single day at Baṣrah. He had a pulpit in his city

* There are various places of this name, some in the vicinity of Baghdad. Consult Yakūt.
† The leader of the Zanj was, according to Ibn u'l Athīr, A'li-b-Muḥammad-b-Aḥmad who was 5th in descent from A'li-b-Abī Tālib: according to another account his grandfather was Abdur Raḥmān (not Abdūr Raḥmān as Weil has it) of the tribe of Kays. He rallied round his standard the African slaves (known by the generic name of Zanj) and kept his ground against the Caliph's troops till the year 270. The Arabic historians name him "al'Khabīth," "the impure," "or the reprobate." Consult Weil, pp. 452-4, Vol. II, and Ibn Athīr p. 139, and D'Herbelot.
‡ This is certainly incorrect, the chief of the Zanj was A'li al Khabīth as above stated. Bihbūd was one of his generals, and took a considerable part in the defence of the Zanj stronghold of Mulḳhtārah. Ibn u'l Athīr does not give the date of his death and rarely mentions him, and Weil not at all. Al Khabīth was slain on 3rd Safar 270, after he had been for more than 14 years the terror of ʿIslām.
which he used to ascend and revile Othmán A’li, Mu’áwiyyah, Talḥah, az A. H. 256. Zubayr and Ayesha, and he used to sell by the public crier an Aliide woman A. D. 270. at two or three dirhams, and one of the Zanj had ten Aliide women whom he employed in his service.

When this reprobate was slain, his head was brought into Baghdád on a spear, and pavilions of triumph were erected and the people called down blessings on al Muwaffak, and the poets praised him and it was "a day upon which men are assembled" (Kur XI). The people thenceforth reposed in security and returned to the cities which the Zanj had taken and there were many such, as Wásít and Ramahurmuz.

In the year 260 of this reign a great scarcity prevailed in Ḥijáz and Irák, and a kurr* of wheat in Baghdad rose to one hundred and fifty dínárs. During the same year the Byzantines captured the town of Lúlúlah.†

In the year 266 al Mua’tamid covenanted for the succession after him of his son Jaa’far al Mufawwadh ila’lláh and next, for his brother Talḥah al Muwaffak. He appointed his son over Mauritania and Syria, Mesopotamia and Armenia, and placed his brother over the East and Irák, Baghdad, Yaman, Parthia, Isphán, Rai, Khurasán, Ṭabaristan, Sijistan and Sind. He appointed also for each of them two banners, black and white, and stipulated that if anything should happen to him, the government should go to his brother, should his son not be of age, and he set the agreement in writing and sent it in charge of the chief Kádhi Ibn Abí Shawárib to hang it in the Kaa’bah.

In the year 266 the Byzantine troops entered Diyárbakr and ravaged it, and the inhabitants of Mesopotamia and of Mosul fled. During the same year the Bedouins plundered the covering of the Kaa’bah and carried it away.

In the year 267 Ahmad-b-A’bdilláh al Ḥiʒábi made himself master of Khurasán, Kirmán and Sijistán and even purposed subjugating Irák. He struck the coinage in his own name, and on the reverse side the name of al Mua’tamid, a strange circumstance. His own slaves put him to death at the close of the year, thus God sufficed for his evil deeds.

In the year 269 al Mua’tamid conceived strong suspicions against his brother al Muwaffak who had risen against him in the year 264, but they had subsequently become reconciled. When in this year these suspicions again strongly possessed him, he wrote to Ibn Ṭūlún his prefect in Egypt and they agreed upon a certain course. Ibn Ṭūlún set out until he reached Damascus and al Mua’tamid left Sámarra on the pretext of a change of air, his intended destination being Damascus. When this reached al Muwaffak,

* About 7100 lbs. Ibn Athír gives the price as 120 dínárs.
† According to Yakút a fortress near Tarsus.
A. H. 269. he wrote to Ishāk-b-Kundāj* to turn him back, and Ibn Kundāj rode from A. D. 882-3. Nasīḥin to al Mua'tamid and met him between Mosul and al Ḥadīthah and said, "O prince of the Faithful, thy brother is opposing the enemy and thou hast come forth from thy residence and the capital of thy empire, and when this becomes authentically known to him, he will return from engaging the rebels, and thy enemies will take possession of the dominion of thy ancestors," and other words to the like effect. Then he placed a party in charge of al Mua'tamid, and gave orders respecting his suite of attendants.† Then he sent to al Mua'tamid, saying, "this is no place for thee, therefore return." Al Mua'tamid said "swear to me that thou wilt go down with me and wilt not deliver me up," and he swore to him and went down to Sāmarra. There Sā'īd-b-Mukhallad the Secretary of al Muwaffāk met him and Ishāk delivered the Caliph up to him, who took him to the house of Ahmad-b-Khaṣīb and would not suffer him to enter the palace and placed over him five hundred men who forbade all access to him.

When this reached al Muwaffāk, he sent Ishāk a robe of honour and presents, and bestowed upon him the estates of the chiefs who were with al Mua'tamid and gave him the title of Du's Sanadān (Lord of the two Sanads) and surnamed Sā'īd, Du'lı Wizarātayn (possessor of the dignity of the two ministries of State). Sā'īd continued to serve under al Mua'tamid, but al Mua'tamid had no real authority in the administration, and he himself says regarding this:

"Is it not strange that one like myself
Should see that there is not a little that is denied him.
The whole world is under the authority of his name
And yet of all this he hath nothing in his possession.
The entire wealth of the state is carried to him
Yet he is denied much of what is exclusively his own."

He was the first Caliph who had force put upon him, was restrained and kept under ward.

Al Mua'tamid was then brought to Wāsiṭ, and when this reached Ibn Ṭuḥn, he assembled the Kādhi and the nobles, and said, "verily al Muwaffaḵ hath rebelled against the prince of the Faithful, therefore set him aside from the succession." They thereupon removed him from the succession, all save the Kādhi Bakkār-b-Kutaybah who exclaimed, "thou didst bring me from al Mua'tamid a deed appointing him to the succession, bring me therefore, another deed excluding him." He replied, "but al Mua'tamid is under restraint and compulsion." He answered, "I do not

* In the Kāmil followed by Weil, this name is written Kundājīk. He was governor of Mosul. Ibn Khall, accords with the text.
† Placed them in chains according to Ibn Athir.
know it.” Then Ibn Tulun said, “the people have beguiled thee with A. H. 269. their saying that there is no one in the world like Bakkar! Thou art A. D. 882-3. old and darest.” He then imprisoned him and put him in chains and confiscated from him all the gifts he had received for years past which amounted to ten thousand dinars, and they say that this sum was found in the house of Bakkar with the seals unbroken.* Al Muwaffak hearing of this caused Ibn Tulun to be cursed from the pulpits.

Subsequently in the month of Shaa'bán 270, al Mua'tamid was brought back to Sámarra and entered Baghdad, Muḥammad-b-Ṭāhir accosted, preceding him and the troops in attendance on him as if he were not under constraint.

Ibn Tulun† died in this year, and al Muwaffak appointed his son Abú'l A'bbás to his government and sent him with the army of I'rab to Egypt; but Khumáruwayh the son of Aḥmad-b-Tulun had succeeded to his father’s possessions, wherefore there took place between him and Abú'l A'bbás the son of al Muwaffak a great battle, so that the earth ran with blood. The victory remained with the Egyptians.

In this year a breach took place in the Isá canal and the water reached Karkh and destroyed seven thousand houses.

During the same, the Byzantines came down upon Tarsus with one hundred thousand men, but the victory remained with the Muslims who took in plunder what could not be computed, and it was a great and unparalled victory.‡

In the same year was made public the mission of al Mahdi U'bayd-ullah-b-U'bayd the ancestor of the Banu U'bayd the heretic Caliphs of Egypt, in Yaman.§ and he continued in the prosecution of this design until the year 278, in which year he made the pilgrimage to Mecca and

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* Ibn Khall in his life of Bakkar states that Ibn Tulun used to give Bakkar every year 1000 dinars in addition to his salary. The Ḫādi made no use of this, neither did he break the seal placed on the purse which contained it. Eighteen such purses were delivered up to Ibn Tulun, to his great confusion with the seals unbroken.

† The good effects of Ibn Tulun’s administration of Egypt, his reforms and endowments, the splendour of his court, and the vast wealth he bequeathed, may be read with interest in Weil, who draws a parallel between him and Muḥammad A’li the destroyer of the Mamelukes in our own times.

‡ This expedition, according to Weil, was led by Stypiotis; Ibn Athīr mentions it and states that, according to report, 70,000 Byzantines fell including the commander of the forces, seven crosses of gold were taken, and one large one of the same metal studded with jewels, 15,000 beasts and mules, besides considerable plunder in silver articles and brocade and 10,000 standards!

§ The establisher of this mission or “call” was Abu Abdullāh al Ḥusayn the Shīte a native of Sana’a in Yaman. Consult his life in Ibn Khall, and Weil, p. 511.
joined with a tribe of the Banu Kutámah.* His pretension satisfied them, and he went with them to Egypt and saw that there was in them devotion and vigour. He accompanied them to Mauritania and this was the beginning of al Mahdi’s rise.

In the year 271, says as Šúli, Harún the son of Ibráhím al Hášimi, took the office of Muḥtasib, and issued orders that the people of Baghdad should transact business with the copper coins called “fulus,” but they employed them reluctantly and afterwards abandoned them.

In the year 278 the Nile in Egypt fell so low that nothing remained of it and prices rose. During the same year, died al Muwaffak, and al Mu'a'tamid was thus freed from him. In the same year, the Carmathians appeared in Kufah. They are a sect of heretics who assert that no ablution is necessary after being in a state of ceremonial uncleanness, and that the use of wine is lawful, and they add words to the call to prayers and maintain Muḥammad-b-u'l Ḥanifah to be the apostle of God, and that fasting is obligatory in the year on two days only, on the festival of the Nauroz (New Year’s Day) and that of Mihrján,† that the place of pilgrimage and that towards which the face should be directed in prayer should be Jerusalem, and the like, and their opinions spread among the foolish and the dwellers in the deserts and the people were troubled by them.

In the year 279, the power of al Mu'a'tamid declined through the usurpation by Abu'l A'bábá the son of al Muwaffak of the administration of affairs, and the devotion of the troops to him. Al Mu'a'tamid held a public audience and before it took himself to witness that he set aside his son al Mufawwaḏ from the succession and he took the covenant for Abu'l A'bábá and surnamed him al Mu'a'tadhid. During this year al Mu'a'tadhid ordered that no astrologer and no story-teller should sit by the roadside, and he took an oath from booksellers that they would not sell works on philosophy and polemics.

Al Mu'a'tamid died suddenly after a few months of this year had elapsed. Some say he was poisoned, others that he was smothered in his bedding when he was asleep; and this on Monday the 19th of Rajab 279 (14th October 892). His Caliphate lasted twenty-three years, but he was under subjection to his brother al Muwaffak through the latter’s usurpation of the government, and when al Muwaffak died, he was for several reasons kept under ward by al Mu'a'tadhid in like manner.

* Not “Kanánah” as in the text. The MS. is in accordance with all the other authorities and has Kutámah. According to Weil, it was the missionary Abu A’budulláh, not U’baydulláh that made the pilgrimage and secured the Banu Kutamah.

† These were two Persian festivals held in honor of the sun. The first took place on the 1st of Farwardín (March) when the sun entered Aries, and the second on the 16th of Mihr (September) the time of the autumnal equinox.—For an account of the Carmathians, consult Ibn Athír, Weil, D’Herbelot, Ibn Khall &c.
Among persons of note who died in the reign of al Mua'tamid were, A. H. 279. al Bukhári, Muslim, Abu Dauúd *as Sijistani*, at Tirmídi, Ibn Májah, ar A. D. 891. Rabí’ al Jízi, ar Rabí’ al Murádi, al Muzani, Yunnas-b-A’bdul ‘Aa’la, az Zubây-r-b-Bakkár, Abu’l Fadhl ar Riáshi, Muḥammad-b-Yahya ad Džulí, Ḥajjáj-b-u’s ‘Ašr, the Ḥāfidh al I’jli, the chief Kádhi Ibn Abi’s Shawáríb, as Súsi the Kúran reader, Omar-b-Shaybah, Abú Zará’h ar Rázi, Muḥammad-b-Abdi’Uah-b-A’bdil Hakam, the Kádhi Bakkár, Dáuí at Tábirí, Ibn Dárah Baquí-r-b-Mukhallad, Ibn Kútaybah, Abú Ḥátim ar Rázi, and others.

The following are among the verses of A’bdulláh the son of al Mua’tazz on al Mua’tamid :

“O best of those with whom riding camels travel swiftly,
Of those the rope of whose eovenant is bound firm,
The reins of sovereignty were unwillingly forced
Into thy hands, which thou didst grasp and abandon.
Subject then to thyself the world and its inhabitants
As long as the arrow is turned aside of which thou art the target.”*

Of the verses of al Mua’tamid when he was under ward, are these :

“I am so placed that I am unable to ward off
What I suffer of indignity and contempt.
The affairs of men proceed without me
And little mention of them is made to me.
When I desire a thing, they take it from me
And say, ‘herein is harm to thee.’”

As Súli says that he had a scribe who used to write his verses in water of gold, and Abu Sa’íd al Ḥasan-b-Sa’íd an Nisabúrí mourned him as follows :

“Verily the eye of avaricious fortune hath brightened
After it had been blurred, dim-sighted and blear.
Misfortunes have attained their desires
By the death of the Imám of right guidance, al Mua’tamid.
And since he has gone, no vigilant guardian is left me
And we strive our best against misfortunes.”

AL MUA’TADHID BI’ LLAH.

Al Mua’tadhíd b’Ulláh Ahmad, Abu’l A’bbás son of the heir-apparent al Muwaffák Tálah-b-u’l Mutawakkil-b-u’l Mua’tasim-b’i’r-Ráshíd was

* For مروسة read as in the MS.

49
A. H. 279. born in Du'l Ka'dah in the year 242, but according to as Sulí in Rabii'
A. D. 891. I, 243. His mother was a slave concubine called Šawáb, but some say, Hírz, and others Dharár, and he was acknowledged Caliph in succession to his paternal uncle al Mu'atamid in the month of Rajab 279.

He was comely, intrepid, of a grave exterior, majestic in presence, of considerable intellectual power, and the fiercest of the Caliphs of the house of A'básí. He once had the courage to engage a lion single-handed. He was little prone to mercy; when enraged with one of his generals, he ordered him to be thrown into a pit, and to be covered over with earth. He possessed great talents for administration.

A'bdu'llah-b-Ḥamdún relates as follows: "Al Mu'a'tadhíd set out for the chase and dismounted by the side of a cucumber bed, I being with him. The keeper called out loudly, and al Mu'a'tadhíd said, 'bring him to me.' He was brought and the Caliph questioned him as to the reason of his shout, and he answered, 'three youths came upon the cucumber bed and plundered it.' They were brought before him and he decapitated them in the cucumber bed on the following day. Some time subsequently discoursing with me, he said, 'tell me truly why the people dislike me!' I replied, 'for shedding blood.' He said, 'by Allah, I have never shed blood unlawfully since I assumed the government.' I rejoined, 'why then didst thou put to death Aḥmad-b-u'l Ṭayyib.' He replied, 'he sought to lead me into heresy.' I said, 'well then, the three who came down upon the cucumber bed.' He replied, 'by Allah, I did not lawlessly shed their blood, but I executed robbers who had been guilty of murder, and I had been made to believe that these were they.'"

The Kádhí Isma'il-b-Ishák* says: "I visited al Mu'a'tamíd upon one occasion and he pushed a book towards me. I glanced into it and lo! there was collected for him in it the ordinances of indulgence from legal observances, granted by the erroneous opinions of the learned. I exclaimed, 'the author of this is a Zíndík.' He said, 'is he a fabricator?' I replied, 'no, but he who permits the use of intoxicating liquor will not hold temporary marriage lawful, and he who holds temporary marriage lawful, will not permit singing, and there is no learned man but has some error, and he who holds all the errors of the learned, his religion is gone,' whereupon he gave orders concerning the book and it was burnt."

Al Mu'a'tadhíd was bold, active, and distinguished for manliness, indeed he had been present in military expeditions, and his capacity was acknowledged. He administered the government admirably and the people stood in awe of him and feared him with a great fear. Dissensions were lulled during his days through the excessive dread he inspired, and his

* He was appointed Kádhí of Baghdad A. H. 262 (875-6). De Slane, I. K.
† The words تکف are not in the MS.
reign was happy and full of peace and prosperity. He diminished the A. H. 279. taxes and diffused justice and freed his subjects from oppression. He used A. D. 891. to be called as Saffah the Second, because he restored the power of the House of A’bbás which had become effete and weak and was approaching its decay, for it had been rudely shaken from the time of the assassination of al Mutawakkil. On this subject Ibn ar Rúmi* says eulogizing him—

"Hail sons of A’bbás, for your Imám
Is the Imám of right guidance, power and liberality, most worthy of praise.†

As with Abu'l A’bbás (as Saffah) rose your power,
So with Abu'l A’bbás likewise is it restored,
The Imám towards whom yesterday turns
Lamenting with grief and for whom to-morrow yearns."

To the same effect, says likewise Ibn al Mua’tazz—

"Dost thou not see the dominion of the House of A’bbás
Hath returned triumphant after its decline.
O thou that seekest power, do like him
Be worthy of sovereignty or otherwise, seek it not."

In the first year during which he became Caliph he forbade book-sellers from selling works on philosophy and the like of them, and prohibited story-tellers and astrologers from sitting by the wayside. He also read the prayers of the festival of Adhá and pronounced the takbir in the first Raka’at six times, and in the second once, but the Khutbah was never heard to be delivered by him.

In the year 280, the missionary of al Mahdi entered Cyrene. His designs became spread abroad and a battle took place between him and the ruler of Africa and his authority grew apace.

In the same year came advices from Daybul that the moon had been eclipsed in the month of Shawwal, and that darkness had spread over the country till the afternoon when a black storm began to blow which continued for a third of the night, followed by a mighty earthquake which

* Abu’l Hasan A’li was the son of al A’bbás the son of Juraij or Jurgis (Georgius). He was considered an admirable poet, and his poems were transmitted down orally by al Mutannabi who learned them from himself. He was born at Baghdad A. H. 221 (836) and died there, A. H. 283 (896). The cause of his death was poison administered by al Mua’tadhid’s minister who feared his satirical tongue. A poisoned biscuit was given to him while he was in the minister’s company. The poet ate it and perceiving that he was poisoned rose to withdraw, on which the minister asked him whither he was going. “To the place you are sending me,” “Present my respects to my father.” “I am not taking the road to hell,” retorted the poet who retired to his house and died a few days after. Ibn Khall.

† His name, Ahmad, has this interpretation.
A. H. 280. destroyed the whole city, and the number of those taken out from the
A. D. 893-4 ruins was one hundred and fifty thousand.

In the year 281, Makûriyâh* in the Byzantine territory was taken. During the same the waters of Rai and Tabaristan subsided into the earth, so that water sold at three pints for the dirham, and the people were famished and fed on corpses. In the same al Mu'a'tadhid demolished the Hall of Assembly† at Mecca and converted it into a place of prayer adjoining the Sacred Mosque.

In the year 282 he cancelled what had been instituted regarding the burning of fires and the pouring of water upon the people on the day of the new year and abolished the Magian year. During the same Katr u'n Nada (the dew-drop) daughter of Khumâruwayh-b-A'hmad-b-Tâlûn was led in bridal procession to his house and he consummated his marriage with her in Rabî' I. Her portion consisted of four thousand jewelled waistbands‡ and ten coffers of jewels.

In the year 283 he prescribed throughout his dominions that relations§ called Dû u'l Arhâm should be capable of inheritance, and he abolished the Court of Inheritances lapsed to the Crown and the benedictions of the people on al Mu'a'tadhid rose louder.

In the year 284 a great redness showed itself in Egypt, so that when a man looked upon the face of another, he beheld him quite red, and in the same way appeared the walls. The people supplicated the Most High in prayer, and this redness continued from the afternoon till night.

Ibn Jarîr|| relates that in this year al Mu'a'tadhid resolved upon having Mu'âwiyyah cursed from the pulpits. His minister U'baydullâh endeavoured to dissuade him by the fear of a public disturbance, but he gave no heed to him, and drew up a letter on the subject in which he men-

* I do not trace this name in Ibn Athîr, and Yakût does not give it.
† The Bâb al Nadwah still exists at Mecca under its later name of Bâb u'l A'tîk, the Old Gate. The Hall of Assembly was built by Kusayy and contained the great tribal standard: see page 39, and Burton's Mecca, p. 180. The new year's day was altered from the Persian date to the 11th of Huzâyûn the Syrian month of June, called thenceforth إنเตรورت المستعادي non Athîr.
‡ Ibn Khall says that she received one thousand mortars of gold. De Slane notes that mortars were used for pounding perfumes and were an important article of the female toilette. Ibn Khall relates on hearsay that the Caliph by marrying her purpose reducing the Tâlûn family to poverty.
§ ذرو الأرهام means in law any relations that have no portions of the inheritances termed عتبة, see Lane arts. and رحمة ذو. 
|| Not Junyâr as pointed in the text. Ibn Jarîr at Tabari is the author of the great commentary on the Kurân and the celebrated history. He was born A. H. 224 (838-9) at Amul in Tabaristan and died at Baghdad 310 (923). Ibn Khall.
tioned many of the virtues of A’li and impugned the character of A. H. 284. Mu’awiyyah. The Kādīhī Yusuf said to him, “Prince of the Faithful, I A. D. 897. fear a disturbance at the hearing of this.” He replied, “if the populace move, I will put them to the sword.” He continued, “what will thou do then, with the followers of A’li, who in every province have rebelled against thee? for when the people hear all this of the merits of the prophethical House, they will be more inclined to them.” Upon this al Mua’tadhid withdrew from it.

In the year 285, a yellow looking storm blew in Baṣrah; it next turned green and then grew black and extended to the provinces. It was followed by hail, the weight of a hailstone being one hundred and fifty dirhams and the wind uprooted about five hundred palm trees and it rained in one village black and white stones.

In the year 286, Abū Sa’īd* al Karmati appeared in Bahrayn and his power increased. He was the father of Abū Ṭāhir Sulaymān he who, as will follow, carried off the Black Stone. Engagements took place between him and the Caliph’s troops. He descended upon Baṣrah and its environs and defeated the army of the Caliph on several occasions.

Of personal accounts of al Mua’tadhid recorded by al Khājīb and Ibn Asakir, is the following on the authority of Abū’l Ḥusayn al Khāṣibī who relates that al Mua’tadhid sent to the Kādīhī Abū Ḥāzim, saying, “verily I have a claim upon the goods of a certain person, and I have heard that his creditors have appeared before thee, and that thou hast divided his property amongst them; therefore put us down as being one of them.” Abū’l Ḥāzim replied, “tell him that the prince of the Faithful—may the Lord lengthen his days—when he conferred with me at the time of investing me with office, said that he put off its responsibility from his own shoulders and placed it upon my shoulders, and it is not permitted to me to pass judgment on the property of an individual in favour of a claimant without evident demonstration.” The messenger returned and informed the Caliph who said, “tell him, such a one and such a one are witnesses, alluding to two respectable persons.” The Kādīhī replied; “let them give testimony before me and I will examine them, and if they are just I will accept their testimony otherwise I will execute what is in my judgment established.” Those persons, however, refrained from giving testimony fearing the result and nothing was given to al Mua’tadhid.

Ibn Ḥamdūn the boon companion† says that al Mua’tadhid spent

* For a sketch of the Carmathians under Abū Sa’īd and his son Abū Ṭāhir, see Ibn Khall under art. al Jannābī, and for the history of the Carmathians, Abu’l Fida, Ibn Ath., Weil, M. de Sacy’s Exposé de l’histoire des Druzes, and Gibbon’s short but picturesque narrative.

† Ḥamdūn-b-Iṣma‘īl-b-Dauūd the Kāṭib was the first of his family who followed
A. H. 286. sixty thousand dinars on the construction of al Buhayrah whither he used
A. D. 899. to retire with his slave girls, among them his favourite Durayrah.

Durayrah died during the reign of al Mua'tadhid, and he grieved over her with exceeding grief, and said, mourning her loss—

"O beloved! none can equal her
As a loved one to me.
Thou art far from my sight,
But near to my heart.
Since thou art gone I have
No share in pleasures.
Thou hast in my heart, over my
Heart, though thou be away, a watcher.
And my thoughts have been of thee since
Thou hast departed, thoughts that are never absent.
Would that thou couldst see how since
Thou hast left, I lament and mourn.
And my heart! a flame hath filled
It with burning grief.
Thou mayst truly know that I
Am disconsolate and afflicted for thee.
I do not find my soul, though I console it
For thy loss, become cheerful.
I have tears that do not resist me
And resignation that will not obey."

One author praises al Mua'tadhid thus, in detached sentences—

A vision approached—in the land of the Mimosa—amongst the tents—wandering about the hills: an auspicious neighbour—healing the sickness—of whomsoever it kiseth—or clingeth to. It hath a slender waist—when clasped—wearing long tresses. Then it departed. I did not sleep—for love and anxiety. Reproach censureth—how long and yet how long—a day of calamity. I labour to collect—all learning*—it hath therefore not perished. He is a beacon—and a place of protection—the best of mortals—by female or male descent—who containeth all high resolves—and how full of manly vigour. Firm and dignified—liberal of nature—who illumineth darkness—like the full moon—whose rights are protected—and what should be inviolate, guarded—wherefore he hath not sought what is forbidden. He distinguisheth especially and generally—in what he lavisheth. With him

the profession of a Nadīm or boon companion. His son Ahmad was an oral transmitter of poetry and historical narrations. De Slane; I. K.

* The MS. has ل for علم.
are favours—and punishments. Good things abound—when he smiteth— A. H. 286.
and water becometh blood—when he taketh revenge.

In Rabii' II of the year 289, al Mua'tadhid fell ill of a grievous sickness, for his constitution was injured by the excess of his sensuality, but after a little he recovered, and Ibn al Mua'tazz said—

“My heart fluttered with trembling wings
Bemoaning the mishaps of calamities,
And in fear lest they should wish thee evil
Who art the lion of the kingdom and the Sword of War.”

He, however, again relapsed and died on Monday the 22nd of the same month (5th April 902). Al Masa'údi relates that they doubted whether al Mua'tadhid was dead and the physician drew near and felt his pulse, whereupon he opened his eyes and kicked the physician with his foot, flinging him away several yards so that the physician died and al Mua'tadhid died immediately after. During his last moments he thus versified:

“Enjoy the world; for, verily, thou shalt not live,
And snatch its brightness while it is bright, and lay aside retirement,
And be not confident of fortune, for verily I trusted to it
And it hath not left me any place nor regarded my due.
I have slain heroes among men and have not left
An enemy and given none a respite, in his own conceit.*
I have cleared the habitations of the kingdom of every rival,
Scattered them in the west and dispersed them in the east.
And when I reached unto the stars in glory and power,
And the necks of all the people were abased before me in submission,
Death smote me with an arrow and extinguished the spark of my life.
And now am I fallen, hastening to the grave.
I have lost this world and the next through my folly.
Who is there more miserable than I am in his abasement?
Would that I knew whether after death I shall behold
The mercies of God or be cast into hell fire.”

Among the verses of al Mua'tadhid are the following:

“O thou who regardest me with a languishing dark eye
And slayest me with coyness and glances of love,
I complain to thee of what I have suffered
Through love: have I no relief to expect from thee?
By thy glance and thy beauty thou hast taken
Among men the place of their eyes and their souls.”

* Ibn Ath. has اد a better reading. See his variants on this poem.
A. H. 289. As Šulû' relates the following by him:

A. D. 902. "None hath ever suffered from the burning of separation
What I have undergone from it.
O thou who askest me regarding its taste!
I have found it bitter of flavour.
My body is dissolved and my eye
Weeps and my heart is aflame.
Since thou art gone I have no companion
But sadness and longing.
May God watch over you both
When I am with you and without you."

Ibn al Mua'tazz mourns him in these lines:

"O world—shame on thee—thou hast left me no one,
And thou art a parent of evil that devourest thy children.
I ask pardon of God—this all is destiny.
I resign myself to God, the Lord, One, Eternal.
O thou dweller in the tomb in the dark earth
Of Tähiriyah, alone, in a distant abode!
Where are the armies thou wert wont to lead?
Where the treasures whose number thou wert wont to count over?
Where is the throne thou wert wont to fill
With awe so that the eye of him who beheld it trembled?
Where are the enemies of old whose stubbornness thou didst abase?
Where the champions thou didst scatter abroad?
Where the swift steeds whose fetlocks thou didst die with blood,
And which bore in thee a raging lion?
Where the lances which thou didst feed on hearts?
Since thou hast died, they have reached neither heart nor liver!
Where are the gardens whose rivulets flow* murmuring
And answer to them the warbling birds?
Where are the handmaids wandering at pleasure like gazelles
Trailing coloured robes fresh from the loom?
Where the wanton pastimes and where the red wine thou didst deem
A ruby clothed in silver mail?
Where the assaults on thy enemies, seeking
The welfare of the kingdom of the sons of 'Abbás, when it had fallen into disorder?
Thou didst not fail to subdue every mighty one among them
And to overthrow the lofty and the powerful who were trusted in,
And now thou hast passed away, and neither trace nor vestige remains
So that thou art as if thou hadst never been."

* read تجيري تجيري.
Among the persons of note who died during the reign of al Mua'tadhid A. H. 289. were Ibn u'l Mawwáz al Maliki, Ibn Abi'd Dunya, the Khádhi Isma'il, al A. D. 902. Háríth-b-Abi Usámah, Abu'n U'ayna, al Mubarrad, Abu Sa'id the Cobbler the Sáfi Shaykh, al Buhturi the poet and others.  
Al Mua'tadhid left four male and eleven female children.

AL MUKTAFI BI'LLAH.

Al Muktafi bi'lláh Abú Muḥammad A'li the son of al Mua'tadhid was born in the beginning of the month of Rabía' II, in the year 264. His mother was a Turkish woman named Jijak. His comeliness was proverbial so that one author has said:—

"I compared her beauty and her deeds
But her beauty equals not her deceit,
By Allah, I never addressed her, though verily she
Is like the sun, the full moon or Muktafi."

His father made him his heir and he was acknowledged as Caliph during his father's sickness on Friday afternoon the 19th of Rabía' II, 289. As Šáli observes that none of the Caliphs had his name of A'li, save he and A'li b-Abi Tálib, and none the surname of Abu Muḥammad save al Ḥasan the son of A'li, al Hádi, and al Muktafi.

When he was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his father, he was absent at Rakḥāh, and the Wazír Abu'l Ḥasan al Khásim-b-U'baydulláh undertook the duties of receiving the oath of allegiance and wrote to him and he arrived in Baghdad on the 7th of Jumáda I, and passed down the Tigris in a ship and it was a great day. The Khádhi Abú Omar fell through the bridge by reason of the crowd but was taken out unhurt. Al Muktafi alighted at the palace and the poets spoke their poems, and he bestowed seven robes of honour upon the Wazír al Khásim, and destroyed the underground prisons which his father had established, turning them into mosques. He ordered the gardens and shops which his father had taken from the people whereon to build his palace, to be restored to their owners, and he showed an excellent disposition, and the people loved him and invoked blessings upon him. During this year Baghdad was convulsed by a great earthquake which lasted for days, and also in the same, a furious wind blew at Bagráh uprooting all its palm trees, the like of which had been never heard of.

In the same year rose Yahya-b-Zakariyyah the Carnathian, and engagements took place between him and the troops of the Caliph until he was killed in the year 290. His brother al Ḥusayn succeeded him and
A. H. 289. shewed the mole upon his face* and pretended that it was his token. He was joined by his cousin Isa-b-Mahrúyah† who asserted that al Ḥusayn was entitled "al Mudaththir," and that he it was who was intended in the Súra (LXXIV), and he surnamed a page of his "al Muṭawwak-bi'n Núr (Collared with Light). He overran Syria and destroyed and ravaged and assumed the titles of al Mahdi prince of the Faithful, and prayers were made for him in the pulpits. All the three were, however, killed in the year 291.

In this year Antaliyah‡ (with an I) was taken by storm, and the booty captured therefrom was beyond computation.

In the year 292 the Tigus rose so high that the like of it had never before been seen, for it did much injury in Baghdad, the rise reaching twenty-one cubits.

The following is by as Šúli eulogizing al Muktafi and mentioning the Carmathians—

"Al Muktafi the Caliph was made sufficient
For the emergency he was provident against."

And he goes on until he comes to

"Sons of A'bhás—ye
Are the chiefs and the first of men.
Allah ordained that ye
Should be rulers over the people,
And those among ye who hold rule
Are the brightest and best of God's creatures.
He who obeyeth you is a true believer,
And whoso rebelleth hath turned infidel.

* A mark of the Imámata: for an account of this sect of the Isma'ilites, their belief and mode of initiation, see Weil, Vol. II. p. 493. They are discussed at sufficient length in D'Herbelot, art. Carmath, and by Gibbon, cap LII.
† Ibn u'l Mahdi, according to Ibn Ath. who gave himself out as great-grandson of the Imám Isma'il. Al Mudaththir signifies "the Covered" and the 74th Sura of the Kurán is so entitled. Ibn al Mahdi himself gave al Ḥusayn the title of al Mudaththir and named him his heir. Ibn Ath.
‡ Ibn Ath. has I in one copy, k in another. In Yakút, Antalíyah is called one of the great Byzantine cities, and its position is marked by the words of al Balkhi who says that when you pass Kalamiyah (near Taurus) and Lamas you get to Antalíyah. Ibn Batútah fixes its position with precision. He travelled from Latakia to Alain, thence to Antalíyah (Adalia, in the gulf of that name) proceeding onwards inland to Buldar and Isbarta. The Greek writers mention the sack of Thessalonica at this time and the coincidence of their accounts with that of the Arabs in the number of prisoners and booty leads Weil to the conclusion that this place must be meant, but I believe it to be a coincidence and nothing more, as the difference of sites and names will not easily support the notion of mistaken identity.
Allah hath revealed that regarding ye
Before in the perspicuous chapters of the Kurán.

As Şüli says, "I heard al Muktafi saying during his illness, 'I
grieve not but for seven hundred thousand dinars which I
expended from the funds of the Muslims on buildings of which I had no need and which
I might have done without, and verily I ask pardon of this from God.'"

Al Muktafi died in the prime of life on Sunday night the 12th of Du’l
Kaa’dah in the year 295 (13th August 907) leaving eight male and eight
female children.

Among persons of note who died during his reign were: A’bdullâh-b-
Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal, Thaa’lab the great master of the Arabic language, Ḟun-
baḥal the Kurân reader, Abu A’bdullâh al Busanjî the jurisconsult, al Bazzâr
the author of the Musnad, Abu Muslim al Kajjî, the Kâdîh Abu Ḥâzîm,
Ṣâliḥ Jazarah.* Muḥammad-b-Nâṣr al Marwâzi, the Imâm Abu’l Ḥusayn
an Nârî the Sûfî Shaykh, Abû Ja’far At Tirmîdî, the Shâfîî Shaykh in Irâk.

I read in the History of Naysabûr by A’bdùl Ghafir regarding Ibn
Abi’d Dunya that he says as follows—"when the Caliphate fell to al
Muktafi I wrote to him these two couplets."

"The right of correction is a right of paternal authority
According to men of intelligence and honour.
And the most deserving of men to maintain this
And to regard it are those of the prophetic House."

The narrator adds "upon this he brought me ten thousand dirhams."
This is a proof that Ibn Abi’d Dunya lived till the reign of al Muktafi.

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AL MUKTADIR BI’LLAH.

Al Muktafîr bi’llâh, Abû’l Fadîl Ja’far the son of al Mu’aṭṭadîhid was
born in Ramadhân of the year 282. His mother was a Greek but some
say a Turkish woman, her name Shaa’b, and according to another account,
Gharîb. When the illness of al Muktafi became serious, he enquired about
him, and on being assured that he had reached the age of puberty, he
made him his heir. None ever governed the Caliphate at an earlier
age than he for he was thirteen years old when he assumed power. The
Wazîr Al A’bbâs-b-n’l Ḥusayn regarding him as a child, sought to depose
him and a party conspired with him to place A’bdullâh the son of al

* The MS. has incorrectly, “the son of Jazarah” whereas Jazarah was his sur-
name. The Munṭahâ’l Arab calls him—Ṣâliḥ Ḥafîdh-b-Muḥammad.
Mua'tazz upon the throne. The son of al Mua'tazz agreed to it on the condition that no blood should be spilt, but al Mukhtadr on hearing of this bettered the condition of Ab'bas and lavished wealth upon him that contented him, upon which he reverted from his design. The rest of the conspirators, however came upon al Mukhtadr on the 20th of Rabii' I, 206 when he was playing at ball.* He fled and the doors were locked, and the Wazir with a number of others were slain. The son of al Mua'tazz was sent for, and he came, and the generals assembled together with the Kadhisi and principal men, and they swore homage to him as Caliph, and gave him the title of Ghali bi'llah.† He appointed Muhammed-d-Dauud-b-i'l Jarrahi his Wazir and Abu'l Muthanna Ahmad-b-Yakub to the office of Kadhisi, and letters were despatched as issued under the Caliphate of the son of al Mua'tazz.

Al Mu'afa-b-Zakariya al Jariri‡ relates as follows: "When al Mukhtadr was deposed and allegiance was sworn to the son of al Mua'tazz, people went to visit my Shaykh Muhammed-b-Jarir at Tabari. He asked what the news was. He was told that the son of al Mua'tazz had been acknowledged Caliph. He asked who was appointed to the office of Wazir. They told him Muhammed-d-Dauud. He then enquired who was named to that of Kadhisi; he was told, Abu'l Muthanna. Thereupon he looked down in thought, and then said, 'this affair will not succeed.' He was asked why it should not. He replied, 'every one name that you have mentioned is eminent, in its meaning high in dignity, but fortune shifts and prosperity turns its back, and I behold in this but its decline, and I cannot think that its season will endure.'"

Ibn al Mua'tazz now sent to al Mukhtadr commanding him to depart to the house of Muhammed-d-Tahir in order that he himself might remove to the palace. He submitted, for there were with him only a few retainers but they said one to another, "shall we, O brethren, yield the government, and shall we not exert ourselves to avert what hath befallen us?" And they girded on their arms and made for the quarter of al Mukharrim in which resided Ibn u'l Mua'tazz. When he beheld them surrounding him, the Lord put fear into the hearts of those with him, and they retired in

* For بباَرَكَةٍ read بالكرةٍ as in Ibn Ath.
† According to Ibn Ath. "al Muradha bi'llah" and Weil gives also, "al Munsif bi'llah."
‡ The Kadhisi Ab'ul Faraj Muafa surnamed-b-Tabara al Jariri was a jurisconsult, a philologer, a poet, and a scholar versed in every branch of science. He held the post of Kadhisi in that quarter of Baghdad called Bab u't Takhir. He was considered also a faithful transmitter of tradition. He was born in A. H. 303 (916) and died at Nahrawan in 390 (A.D. 1,000). He was called al Jariri because he adopted the religious opinions of Ibn Jarir at Tabari, consult both names in Ibn Khall.
disorder without fighting. Ibn al Mua'tazz, together with his Wazir, and A. H. 296. his Kâdhi fled, and there was rape and slaughter in Baghdad. Al A. D. 908. Mukta'dir made prisoners of the jurisconsults and nobles that had deposed him, and made them over to Múnis* the treasurer who put them to death save four, among these being the Kâdhi Abu Omar, and they were saved from death. Ibn al Mua'tazz was placed in confinement from which he was shortly after taken out dead. The authority now reverted to al Mukta'dir who appointed Abu'l Hasan A'li-b-Muhammad al Furât his Wazir. He pursued a most praiseworthy course, brought abuses to light, and invited al Mukta'dir to justice. The Caliph, on account of his own inexperience, committed the administration to his care and devoted himself to amusement and frivolity and dissipated the public treasure. During this year al Mukta'dir ordered that Jews and Christians should be employed in menial service, and that they should ride only on packsaddles. During the same, the affairs of al Mahdi throve in Africa: he was saluted as Înám and the Caliphate was claimed as his right. He extended justice and beneficence to the people and they inclined to him. Africa fell under his power and his dominion increased, and the city of al Mahdiyah was founded.

Ziyâdat u'llah-b-Aghlab, the ruler of Africa, fled to Egypt,† but afterwards repaired to Írâk. From this date Africa passed from the sway of the children of A'bbás, the term of their rule over the whole of the dominions of Islám having been one hundred and sixty and odd years, and from this period dates their decline. Ad Ðahabi says that the administration became disorganised under al Mukta'dir by reason of his youth.

In the year 300‡ a mountain near Dinawar subsided into the earth and a large quantity of water issued from beneath it and overwhelmed villages. During the same year a mule gave birth to a colt—and God is powerful to do what He willeth.

In the year 301 A'li-b-'Isa became Wazir. He followed a course of virtue, justice and piety. He abolished the use of wine and diminished the taxation by the amount it had been increased in the year, viz., five hundred thousand dinârs. During the same the Kâdhi Abu Omar was restored to the judicial office and al Mukta'dir rode from his palace to al

* For مرنص read مرنص as in Ibn Aît.
† After his decisive defeat at Arbes in Jumada II, 296 (Feb. 909) by Ubaydu'llah's missionary and general Abu A'bdu'llah. This last prince of the Aghlabite dynasty died according to Ibn A'sákîr in A. H. 304 at Ramla. The duration of the power of his House was 212 years, 5 months and 14 days. Ibn Khall, see also Weil, p. 584.
‡ It was in this year also as well as in 290 that disturbances of the stars and the failure of the Nile were remarked in Egypt, as related by A'bdu'l Latîf, and troubles arose which in the latter year occasioned the fall of the House of Tûlûn. See his Hist. Egypt, Cap. I. Lib. II.
A. H. 301. Shamásiyáh,* and this was the first ride he had made and in which he showed himself to the people. During the same al Ḥusayn the weaver was brought to Baghdad exposed to the public gaze, on a camel. He was crucified alive;† and it was proclaimed over him—"This is one of the missionaries of the Carmathians, therefore recognize him." He was then kept in prison till he was put to death in the year 309. It was given out that he claimed divine power, and that he asserted the descent of the divinity upon eminent persons and that he wrote to his associates with long rays of light. He was questioned but found not to possess any knowledge of the Kurán, nor of the Traditions, nor of jurisprudence.

During the same year al Mahdi the Fatimite set out at the head of 40,000 Berbers to attack Cairo, but the Nile interposing as a barrier between him and the city, he turned towards Alexandria and ravaged and slaughtered and then returned. The troops of al Muktadir marched against him to Barkhah and several engagements took place. The Fatimite afterwards made himself master of Alexandria and Fayyum in this year.‡

In 302 al Muktadir caused five of his children to be circumcised, and expended on the festival of their circumcision six hundred thousand dinars, and he circumcised at the same time a number of orphans and treated them with great kindness. During the same al Muktadir read the prayers for the Eed in the principal mosque of Cairo, and before this time the prayers for the Eed had never been made in it. A'li-b-Abi Shaykhah read his discourse to the people from a book, and it happened that by an inaccuracy, he said, "Fear God with His true fear and die not unless ye be also infidels."§ (Kur III.

During this year also the Daylamites were converted to Islam by al Ḥasan-b-A'li|| al A'lawí al Utrush (the deaf) and before this they were Magians.

* A part of Baghdad.
† From early morning till midday for three days. According to Ibn Ath. this Ḥusayn-b-Mansūr denied that he pretended to the powers the vulgar accused him of claiming and he held himself to be a devout worshipper of God. Some believed in his sanctity and miraculous powers and asserted that he even raised the dead; others condemned him as an imposter. On examination he was found to maintain nothing opposed to the law of Islam, but the Wazir Hāmid was determined on his death, and catching at a hasty expression of Abu Omar's, the Kādhí, that the shedding of his blood was lawful, he was barbarously scourged with a thousand stripes, his hands and feet cut off and his body burnt and the ashes thrown into the Tigris. Ibn Ath.
‡ This account is confused and incorrect in order of time. Mahdi with his son, Abūl Kasim first marched and took Barkhah, next occupied Alexandria and Fayyūm and some other towns, and was then attacked by the Caliph's troops under Mūnis al Khādim and driven back to Africa. Ibn Ath.
§ Instead of infidels he should have said "true believers."
|| He was another partisan of the Alīide cause and received the surname of an Nāṣir al Utrush (the deaf conqueror). He won the Daylamites to his side, converted
In the year 304 Baghdad was in consternation regarding an animal called Zazbab. People said that they saw it at night upon the flat roofs of the houses, and that it eat children and tore off the breasts of women. They used to watch and beat upon their drinking vessels that it might be scared, and they set up covered pens for their children, and this continued for many nights.

In the year 305 the ambassadors arrived from the Roman Emperor with presents seeking to conclude a peace. Al Muktadir prepared a grand display, and assembled the army and set them in ranks under arms, 160,000 strong, extending from the Shamásiyah gate to the palace. Behind them came the royal retinue 7,000 in number, and after them the chamberlains who were 700. The coverings that were placed upon the walls of the palace were 38,000 and were of brocade, and there were 22,000 carpets, and in the courtyard were one hundred wild beasts in chains besides other things.

In this year there arrived presents from the prince of Omán, and among them a bird, black in colour, which spoke in the languages of Persia and of India more fluently than a parrot.

In the year 306, the mother of al Muktadir opened a hospital, and the sum expended on it yearly was seven thousand dinárs.* During the same the supreme authority fell into the hands of the Caliph's harem and his women through his imbecility, and things came to such a pass that the mother of al Muktadir governed like a queen-regent, holding audience to redress wrongs and looking into the petitions of the people every Friday. She held public audiences and used to summon the Kádhí and nobles and issue state edicts signed under her hand.

In the same year al Káim Muḥammad-b-al Mahdi the Fátimíte returned again towards Egypt, and made himself master of a great portion of Upper Egypt. In the year 308 prices rose exceedingly high in Baghdad, and the people were starving, through the Wazir Hámid-b-u'l A'bás having undertaken the administration of the royal domains in the Sawád†

many of them to Islám and took possession of Tabaristan from the Samanides, and his descendants ruled in parts of Daylam, Tabaristán and Ghilán to the middle of the 4th century.

* So the text and MS. The words of Ibn Athír are: In this year al Muktadir ordered the building of a hospital .......... and it was named the Muktadiri Hospital.

† The Sawád extends in length from Hadíthat u'l Mausil to 'Abbadán and in breadth from al U'dhayb to Hulwán. Hámid took their administration from 'Alí-b-l'Ísá whom he wished to ruin with the Caliph and who had been endeavouring to subvert Hámid's power, and in order to fill the Caliph's purse without ruining himself, he was obliged to purchase corn &c. at a high cost and instead of sending it to Baghdad, sold it in other places where he obtained a better price. This reacted on the Baghdad market and caused the popular tumult. See Weil, p. 552.
A. H. 308. and renewed wrongful exactions. The people fell to plundering and the A. D. 920. troops rode among the populace, but they dispersed them and the fighting continued some days. The mob set fire to the prison and opened the cells and plundered the citizens and stoned the Wazir and the affairs of the House of A'bbás fell into great disorder. During the same year the troops of al Káim took possession of the Delta from Fustát and the distress of the people of Cairo became grievous and they prepared for war and hostilities took place.

In the year 309 al Ḥusayn the weaver was put to death by the sentence of the Kádáhí Abu Omar and the jurisconsults and the doctors, who declared that it was lawful to shed his blood, and there are accounts of the extraordinary circumstances regarding him which authors have separately compiled.

In the year 311 al Muḳṭadír ordered the restoration of the inheritances inherited by those who are Dú u'l Arḥám, to the condition from which they had been altered by al Muṣṭadḥíd.

In the year 312, Farghánah was conquered by the ruler of Khurásán. In the year 314 the Byzantines captured Malatiyah by the sword. During the same, the Tigris was frozen over at Mosal and cattle crossed over and such a thing was never before heard of. In the year 315, the Byzantines entered Damietta and took the inhabitants prisoners with all the property therein, and sounded their bells for worship in the mosques of that town. During the same the Daylamites made their appearance in Rai and the mountainous districts, and people were slain and children slaughtered.

In the year 316, the Carmathian established a residence which he called the House of Pilgrimage. It was during these years that his evil doings increased, and his conquest of towns and attacks on the Muslims, and through him calamities multiplied, and fear of him fell upon all hearts. His followers became more numerous and he sent his bands in every direction, and the Caliphate was convulsed by him, and the troops of al Muḳṭadír were routed on several occasions. During these years the pilgrimage to Mecca was interrupted through fear of the Carmathians and the people of Mecca quitted the town. The Byzantines marched against Khalát, tore down the pulpit from the principal mosque and set up the cross.

* See note §, p. 388.
† It was in the Katamah country near the mountainous district of Ankiján in Barbary the head quarters of Abu A'bdu'llah the missionary of al Madi. The account is here incorrect. The House of Pilgrimage in the Valley of the Good was established in 280 or 88 (for Ibn Ath. has a variant in the date) by Abu A'bdu'llah who was put to death by al Mahdi in 298. The "Carmathian" in the year 316, refers to Abu Tahir. See Ibn Ath. under these years.
‡ In Armenia.
in its place. In the year 317 Múnis al Khádim surnamed al Mudhaffar A. H. 317. rebelled against al Mukhtadir because he heard that he purposed conferring A. D. 929. on Harún-b-Gharib the office of Amír u'l Umará, (chief of the Amirs) in place of Múnis himself. The whole of the military force and the nobles and the confederates advanced with him against the palace. The attendants of al Mukhtadir fled and al Mukhtadir was brought out from his palace after his evening repast on the night of the 14th of Mu'árram together with his mother, his maternal aunt and his women and 600,000 dinárs were taken from his mother. His abdication was testified to* and they sent for Muḥammad the son of al Mu'átdhid, and Múnis, and the nobles swore allegiance to him and surnamed him al Káhir bi'lláh (conquering through God). The office of Wazír was entrusted to Abu 'Alí-b-Muklah on the Saturday and al Káhir took his seat on Sunday and the Wazír wrote informing the provinces of this. On Monday the royal procession was to be held and the troops came demanding their largesse for their covenant of allegiance and their pay for the year, Múnis not being present. Voices were then loudly raised and they slew the chamberlain and made for the house of Múnis demanding al Mukhtadir to restore him to the Caliphate. They bore him on their shoulders from the house of Múnis to the palace and al Káhir was seized and he was brought out weeping and crying "Allah! Allah! protect me!" Al Mukhtadir desired him to approach and embraced him, and said, "O brother, by Allah thou art not in fault—by Allah, no harm shall ever befall thee from me—therefore be of good cheer." The people were silent and the Wazír returned and wrote to the provinces announcing the restoration of the Caliph to the Caliphate and al Mukhtadir lavished sums of money on the troops.

In this year al Mukhtadir sent the Mecca caravan in charge of Mansúr ad Daylami. They arrived safely at Mecca. But on the day of Tarwiyah,† Abu Táhir the Carmathian, the enemy of God, fell upon them and slew the pilgrims in the holy temple with a swift slaughter and threw the slain into the well of Zem Zem and smote the Black Stone with an iron mace and broke it and then they dug it up. They remained at Mecca eleven days when they departed, and the Black Stone remained in their possession for more than twenty years, (50,000 dinárs being offered to them for it which they refused) until it was restored in the Caliphate of al Mutúii. It is said that when they carried it away, forty strong‡ camels sunk under its weight from Mecca to Hajar and when it was brought back, it was borne by a lean young camel which grew fat on the road. Muḥammad-b-u'r Rabbi'-b-Sulaymán relates as follows: "I was at Mecca in the year of the Carmathians when a man of them ascended the temple to tear down

* By Abu Omar the Kádhi—أحضروا القاضي إبا عمريشيد عليه بالذخاع Ibn Ath.
† The first of the three days of pilgrimage, i.e., the 8th of Du'l Hijjah.
‡ Ibn Khall says three. Life of al Jannábi.
the water-spout, I was observing him and losing patience, I cried, ‘O God! what hath induced thee!’ and the man fell upon his head and died on the spot.” The Carmathian (Abu Ṭāhir) ascended to the door† of the Ka‘bah calling out.

“We, by Allah, and by Allah, we
Create creatures and destroy them, we.

Abu Ṭāhir did not prosper after this, and his body was eaten up with small-pox.

During this year a great tumult arose in Baghdad regarding the saying of the Most High, “Peradventure the Lord will raise thee to an honorable station.” (Kur. XVII). The Hanbalites asserted the meaning of it to be that God would place Muḥammad upon His throne beside Him, while others maintained that this meant only the power of intercession. The controversy continued, and they fell to blows until a great number were slain.

In the year 319 the Carmathians fell upon Kūfah and the people of Baghdad feared their entry into Baghdad itself. They implored aid and lifted up their Kurāns and reviled al Muqtabdir.

During the same, the Daylamites entered Dinawar and took prisoners and made great slaughter.

In the year 320 Mūnis marched against al Muqtabdir, the greater part of the troops of Mūnis, being composed of Berbers. When the contending armies met, a Berber struck al Muqtabdir with a javelin by which he fell to the ground. He then slew him with a sword and placed his head upon a spear. The body was stripped and remained naked until it was covered over with dry grass. A grave was dug for him on the spot, and he was there buried, and this on Wednesday the 27th of Shawwal (31st October 932).

It is said that his Wazīr took his horoscope on that day and al Muqtabdir said to him, “at what time was that?” He replied, “at the hour of sunset.” The Caliph took it as a bad omen and purposed turning back, but the horsemen of Mūnis approached and the battle began. As to the Berber who slew him, the people called out against him, and he rode on towards the palace to bring out al Kāhir when he encountered a stack of brambles which threw him violently over his bridle, a prong caught him and the horse passed from under him in his gallop and he was killed. The people pulled him down and burnt him with the bramble stack.

Al Muqtabdir had good sense and sound judgment, but was addicted to sensuality and drinking and profuse in his expenditure. His women

* This was of gold, a span in width and stands out about the distance of two cubits. Ibn Batoutah. De Fremery, Vol. I, 312.
† There is only one door according to Burton, that affords entrance to the Ka‘bah. It is opened only two or three times a year and is seven feet from the ground.
had entire influence over him, and he lavished upon them the whole of the A. H. 320.
crown jewels and precious objects and bestowed upon one of his concubines A. D. 932.
a matchless pearl, the weight of which was three mithkals,* and he gave
Zaydân the Comptroller of the Harem a string of jewels, the like of
which were never seen, and he wasted immense wealth. He had in his
palace eleven thousand eunuch boys, besides slaves and Greeks and negroes.
He left twelve male children, three of whom ruled the Caliphate, viz., ar
Rădhi, al Mutăkķi and al Muţii'. The same occurred with al Mutawakkil
and ar Rash̄id, but in the instance of A'bdūl Malik four of his children
held sway—and there is no parallel to this except among temporal sover-
eigns. Thus observes ad Dahabi. I note, however, that in my time, five
of the sons of al Mutawakkil held the Caliphate, al Musta'in al 'Abbās,
al Mu'atdhīd Dauûd, al Mustakffi Sulaymân, al Kâim Ḥamzah, and al
Mustanjid Yusuf, which is unparalleled.

In the Latṣiîf u'l Ma'ârîf of at Tha'âlabi is the strange fact that none
of the name of Jaa'fīr governed the Caliphate, save al Mutawakkil and al
Muţaddir, and they were both put to death—the former on the night†
preceding the fourth day of the week, the latter on the fourth day itself.

Among praiseworthy actions of al Muţaddir is the following related by
Ibn Shâhîn, namely, that his Wazîr A'lli-b-Īsâ desired to effect a recon-
ciliation between Ibn Sâî'd‡ and Abî Bakr-b-Abî Dauûd as Sijistâni and the
Wazîr said, “O Abu Bakr, Abu Muţammad (-b-Śāî'd) is older than thou,
wert thou then to make the advance to him, it would be fitting.” He
replied, “I will not.” The Wazîr said, “thou art a vain old man.” He
replied, “nay, the vain old man is he—the liar against the apostle of God.”
Saying this Ibn Abî Dauûd rose, and exclaimed, “thou thinkest that I am
inferior to thee because my stipend cometh to me from thy hand—by
Allah, I will never take anything at thy hands.” Al Muţaddir hearing of
this weighed out his daily allowance with his own hand and sent it on a
platter by his servant.

Of distinguished persons who died during the reign of al Muţaddir
were, Muţammad-b-Abî Dauûd ad Dâhīrī, Yusuf-b-Yâkūb the Kâdîhi,
Ibn Sârīf the Shâfi'i Shaykh, al Junayd the Sûfî Shaykh, Abu Ŭthmân
al Ḥīrī the devotee, Abu Bakr al Birîjī, Jaa'far al Kâriyâni,§ Ibn Bassâm
the poet, an Nasâî the author of the Sunan, al Ḥasan-b-Sûfyan author of

* A mithkâl is one dinâr's weight or 1½ of a dirham equal to about four and a
half drams.
† It must be remembered that the Muţammadan day begins at sunset.
‡ Yahya-b-Muţammad-b-Sâîd al Baghdâdî an eminent traditionist died in A. H.
318, at the age of 90. Ibn Ath.
§ Ibn u'l Ath. has two variants, al Faryâbi and al Gharyâni.
A.H 320. the Sunan, al Jubbáí the Mua'tazelite Shaykh, Yamút-b-Muzarra* the grammarian; Ibn u'l Jalá the Súfí Shaykh, Abu Ya'la al Mausili author of the Musnad, al Ashnáni the Qurán reader, Ibn Sayf one of the great Qurán readers of Cairo, Abu Bakr ar Ruyání author of the Musnad, Ibn u'l Mundir the Imám, Ibn Jarir at Tabari, az Zajjaj the grammarian, Ibn Khuzaymah, Ibn Zakariya the physician, al Akhftash the Less, Bannán al Jammál, Abú Bakr-b-Abí Dáuíd as Sijistání, Ibn u's Sarráj the grammarian, Abu A'úánah the author of the Saȟhīh,† Abú'l Kásim al Baghawi al Musnid,‡ Abu U'bayd-b-Harbúbah, al Kaa'bí the Mua'tazelite Shaykh, Abu Omar the Kádíhi, Kudámah the Secretary and others.

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**AL KÁHIR BI'LLAH.**

Al Káhir bi'lláh Abu Maňsúr Muňammad was the son of al Mua'tadhid-b-Talhá-b-Mutawakkil. His mother was a slave concubine called Fitnah. When al Muňtadír was slain, he was summoned together with Muňammad the son of al Muktafí, and they asked the son of al Muktafí whether he would accept the government. He replied, “I have no need of it, and my uncle here has a better right to it.” Al Káhir was then addressed and he accepted, and the oath of allegiance was sworn to him and he was surnamed al Káhir bi'lláh, as he had been thus surnamed in 317.

His first act was to despoil the family of al Muňtadír and to maltreat them, and he scourged the mother of al Muňtadír till she died under the punishment.

In the year 321 the army was unfavorable to him, and Múnis and Ibn Muňlah,§and others conspired to dethrone him in favour of the son of al Muktafí, but al Káhir intrigued with them till he seized their persons and put them to death and immured the son of al Muktafí between two walls. As for Ibn Muňlah, he concealed himself, but his house and the houses of the conspirators were burnt down. Al Káhir now discharged

* The text is here incorrect, the life of this grammarian will be found in Ibn Khall.

† More properly speaking author of a Musnad extracted from the Saȟhīh of Muslim. See Ibn Ath. anno. 312.

‡ I do not find this personage mentioned by Ibn Ath., but De Slane mentions a traditionist named, as in the text, who died in 317, the author of a Mu'jam or catalogue of the Companions of Muňammad. Musnid signifies a reader of isnáds or ascriptions. De Slane elsewhere makes it synonymous with Háfídh.

§ The life of this celebrated scribe and minister may be read in Ibn Khall whose narrative throws light on the events of this and the succeeding reign. He was the inventor (or his brother, for the question is in dispute) of the style of writing termed Sharkí or Oriental, derived from the characters used by the people of Kúfang.
the pay of the troops who were thus quieted, and his authority became A. H. 321. firmly established, and awe of him filled the minds of men. To his titles A. D. 933. was added that of "Chastiser of the enemies of God," which was engraved upon the coinage.

In this year he issued a prohibition against female musicians,* and the use of wine, and arrested all singers and forbade the employment of infamous persons, and he broke all instruments of idle diversion, but permitted the sale of female singers on the condition of their being of rustic and simple manners, yet withal he did not relinquish intemperance himself nor desist from listening to music.

In the year 322 the Daylamites grew in power and this because the followers of Mardawij† entered Ispahan, and among their leaders was A’li-b-Buwayh who gaining considerable resources, detached himself from his chief Mardawij. Subsequently he engaged Muḥammad-b-Yaḥṣūb the Caliph’s governor of Ispahan; Muḥammad was defeated and Ibn Buwayh occupied Fars. Buwayh himself had been in very poor circumstances and employed himself in catching fish. He saw himself in a dream, as it were a whale, and there came forth from his person a column of fire, and the column dispersed until it filled the earth. This was interpreted to mean that his posterity would rule the world, and that their dominion would reach to the limits embraced by the fire. Years passed by and events resulted in his becoming a general under Mardawij-Ziyād ad Daylam who despatched him to obtain resources from Karaj.‡ He wrung out of it five hundred thousand dirhams and marched to occupy Ḥamadān. The inhabitants closed the gates against him, but he attacked them and took it by storm, though some say, by treaty, and then set out for Shīrāz. Subsequently his resources ran short, and one day when he was lying asleep on his back, a serpent crept out of the roof of the hall where he was. He ordered it to be pulled down and there were taken from it chests of gold which he distributed amongst his troops. At another time he sent for a tailor to sew something for him: the man was deaf and imagined that information had been laid against him, whereupon he exclaimed, “by Allah, I have nothing but twelve chests and I know not what is in them.” They were sent for and there were found in them vast sums of money. On another occasion as he was riding, the legs of his horse sunk into the earth, which on dig-

* The MS. has "Ibn Ath. states that the Caliph’s object in all this was not to reform morals, but to purchase at a cheap rate for his own amusement, the singing girls whom he forbade his subjects to entertain. “Heaven preserve us,” he pathetically adds, “from such morals as these,”

† Of Ghilan, one of the soldiers of fortune who figured in the wars between the Alīids and the Samanides in Ṭabaristān. See Weil, pp. 651-2-3, and 657.

‡ Not Karik as in the text. The MS. is here correct. Karaj is between Ispahan and Ḥamadān.
A. H. 322. ging up they found to contain treasure. He made himself master of the provinces, and Kūrasān and Fars passed away from the rule of the Caliph. 

During this year al Kāhir put to death Ishāk-b-Isma'īl an Naubakhti. He who had counselled the elevation of al Kāhir to the Caliphate. He, cast him down head foremost into a well and filled it up. His crime was, that before the Caliphate of al Kāhir, he had outbid him for a female slave and bought her, for which reason he bore him a grudge. During the same the army was incited against him because Ibn Mūṭādīr during his concealment put them in dread of him, saying, “he has built dungeons for you to imprison you” and the like, and they assembled to assault him and forced an entrance upon him, sword in hand, but he fled. They, however, overtook him and seized him on the 6th of Jumādā I* (25th April 934) and swore allegiance to Abū’l ‘Abbās Muḥammad the son of al Muṭṭadīr and surnamed him ar Rādīḥi bi’llāh. Then they despatched to al Kāhir his Wazīr and the Kādīḥi Abū Ḥusayn the son of the Kādīḥi Abū Omar, and al Ḥasan-b-A’bdī’llāh-b-Abī’s Shawa’īb, and Abū Ṭālīb-b-u’l Bulhūl. They accordingly went and al Kāhir was asked what he had to say. He replied, “I am Abu Manṣūr Muḥammad the son of al Mu’aṭṭadīr and the coven- 
nant of allegiance to me is upon your necks and upon the necks of the people, and I will not release nor absolve ye from it—therefore depart.” They retired and the Wazīr said, “he must be deposed and there is no need of reflection† on his deeds which are notorious.” The Kādīḥi Abū’l Ḥusayn thus continues the narration. “I then went to ar Rādīḥi and recounted to him what had passed and informed him that I considered his assumption of the Caliphate as a bounden duty.” He replied, “depart and leave me and him.” He then directed Sīma the commander of the guards to blind him, who therefore seared his eyes with a red hot needle. Maḥmūd al Iṣpahānī says: “The cause of al Kāhir’s deposition was the depravity of his nature and his shedding of blood. He refused to abdicate, they there- 
fore branded his eyes till they came out upon his cheeks.” As Sūlī observes that he was violent and blood-thirsty, of a depraved disposition, volatile and inconstant, and addicted to intemperance, and that had it not been for the munificence of his chamberlain Salānah, the whole country ‡ would have been ruined. He had also made for him a javelin which he carried about, and he never cast it aside until he had slain a man with it. A’lī-b-

* The text and MS. have Jumādā II. but this is wrong. All the other authorities give Jumādā I. and the duration of al Kāhir’s reign which was 1 year 6 months and 8 days, proves it.

† I prefer the reading of the MS. here which is and which would run. “He should be deposed and do not reflect about it—his deeds are notorious.”

‡ Literally, the soil and its products.—See Kur II.
Muḥammad al Khurāsānī narrates as follows. “Al Ḫābir sent for me one A. H. 322.
day, and the javelin was before him, and he said, “I wish to ask you A. D. 934.
regarding the Caliphs of the House of Aḥbās—as to their qualities and
dispositions.” I replied, “with regard to as Saffāh—he was quick to
shed blood and his prefects imitated him in that respect, but he was
withal munificent and liberal with money.” He said, “and al Maššūr?”
I continued, “he was the first who threw dissension between the
descendants of al Aḥbās and the descendants of Abū Ṭālib who before
that were united, and he was the first Caliph who gave access to astro-
logers, and the first who had translated for him Syrian and Persian
works like the book of Kalīlah and Damnah and the book of Euclid
and other Greek works, and the people read them and took to them. And
when Muḥammad-b-Ishāk observed this, he compiled his work on battles
and military expeditions. Al Maššūr likewise was the first who employed
his slaves in service and preferred them over the Arabs.” He asked, “and
al Mahdī?” I replied, “he was generous, just and equitable. He restored
what his father had taken by violence from the people, and was zealous in
rooting out the Zīndīḳs. He also re-fashioned the sacred temple of Mecca
and the mosques of Medīna and Jerusalem.” He exclaimed “and what of
al Ḥādī?” I answered, “he was a proud tyrant, and his prefects walked
in his way during his short reign.” He went on, “and ar Rashīd?” I
said, “he was devoted to war and pilgrimage, and he established houses and
reservoirs of water on the road to Mecca and fortified the frontier positions
of Kādaṅah, Tarsus, Mašīṣah and Mara’sh. His bounty embraced the
people at large, and during his days flourished the Barmecides with their
renowned munificence. He was the first Caliph who played at polo and
who shot arrows at a target and who played at chess.” “And al Amīn?”
I said, “he was bountiful but absorbed in sensuality, and affairs fell into
disorder.”

“And al Mamun?”
I said, “astrology and philosophy had too much influence over him, but
he was forbearing and munificent.”

“And al Mu’aṭṭāṣim?”
I replied, “he followed in his footsteps, but the love of horseman-
ship and the imitation of foreign potentates unduly swayed him, and he
occupied himself in war and conquest.”

“And al Wāṭhīḳ?”
I replied, “he walked in the ways of his father.”

“And what of al Mutawakkil?”
I said, “he was opposed to the course of conduct of all Māmūn and
al Mu’aṭṭāṣim and al Wāṭhīḳ in the matter of religious belief, and prohibit-
ed contention and controversies and disputes and punished them, and he
commanded the reading and hearing of traditions, and forbade the doctrine
A. H. 322. of the creation of the Kurán, wherefore the people loved him." Then he asked concerning the rest of the Caliphs, and I answered him in what regarded them, and he said to me, "I have heard thy discourse, and it is as if I saw the actors themselves." Then he arose and departed.

Al Masa'údi says that al Kahir confiscated an immense amount of property from Múnis and his followers, and when he was deposed and blinded, he was asked for it, but he refused compliance, and he was tortured in various ways, but would not confess anything. Then al Radhi bi'lláh took him and caused him to approach and brought him close and said to him, "verily thou seest the demands of the army for money, and I possess nothing and what thou hast, doth not profit thee, therefore confess where it is." He replied—"well, if thou doest this,* why then the money is buried in the garden." For he had formerly laid out a garden in which were trees of various kinds brought to him from the provinces and he had embellished it and built therein a pavilion and ar Radhi was much attached to the garden and the pavilion, and he said, "in what part of it is the treasure?" He replied, "I am blind and cannot be a guide to the place but dig up the garden and you will find it." Ar Radhi dug up the garden, and the foundations of the pavilion, and rooted up the trees but found nothing, and he said to al Kahir " where is the treasure?" Al Kahir replied, "have I any treasure? my only regret was thy sitting in the garden and thy enjoyment of it, and I therefore wished to grieve thee through its loss."

Ar Radhi repented of what he had done and put him in prison where he remained till the year 333 when they released him and left him at liberty. He was standing one day in the mosque of al Mansúr among the ranks of the worshippers wearing a lined garment of white, when he exclaimed—"Give me alms for I am one whom ye know:" and this was in the reign of al Mustakfi and done in order to dishonour him. For this he was forbidden to appear in public till he died in the year 339 on the 3rd Jumáda I, (18th October 950) at the age of three and fifty. The sons he had were A'budu's Šamad, Abú'l Kasim, Abú'l Faqih and A'budu'l A'zíz.

Of persons of note who died in his reign were at Taháwi the Ḥanafíte Shaykh, Ibn Durayd, Abu Ḥáshim al Jubbáí and others.

AR RADHI-BI'LLÁH.

Ar Radhi-bi'lláh Abu'l A'bbás Muḥammad the son of al Muḳtadír was born in the year 297. His mother was a Greek slave concubine called Dhalám. He received the oath of allegiance on the day of the deposition

* I read with the MS. "\(\text{b}^\circ\) for \(\text{l}^\circ\).
of al Қāhir and he commanded Ibn Muklāḥ to draw up a document con-
taining the misdemeanour of al Қāhir and to read it to the people. A. H. 322.

During the year of his Caliphate, that is 322—died Mardawīj* the
Daylamite chief in Isphahān. His power had grown great, and they say that
he even purposed marching against Baghdad, and that he cultivated the
friendship of the chief of the Magians—and he used to declare that he
would restore the Persian monarchy and annihilate the Arab power.

In the same year A‘lī-b-Buwayh sent to ar Rādhī proposing the
retention of the provinces he had conquered as a fief of the Caliphate on
the yearly payment of 800,000† dirhams. The Caliph therefore sent him
a standard and a robe of honour. Ibn Buwayh subsequently put off inde-
finitely the payment of the money.

During the same year died al Mahdi the ruler of Africa. His reign
was twenty-five years in duration. He was the ancestor of the Egyptian
Caliphs whom the vulgar call the Faṭimites, because this al Mahdi claimed
to be a descendant of A‘lī, while in truth his ancestor was a Magian.

The Қādḥī Abū Bakr al Bākīlānī says—“the grandfather of U’bayd-
ullah surnamed al Mahdi was a Magian. U’baydu’llah entered Egypt and
gave out that he was a descendant of A‘lī, but none of the genealogists
would acknowledge him as such. He was a Bāṭinī—a reprobate, thir-
ting to extirpate the religion of Islām. He got rid of the learned and the
jurisconsults that he might be able to seduce the people and his posterity
followed his example. They made wine-bibbing and fornication lawful
and disseminated heresy. After his death his son al Қāim bi’amrīllāh
Abu’l Kāsim Muḥammad succeeded him. In this year appeared Muḥam-
mad-b-A‘lī al Shaimaghānī known as Ibn Abīl A’zākir.† It was reported
that he claimed divine power and raised the dead to life. He was put to

* According to Ibn Ath. he was murdered by the Turks in his service in 323.
He used to assert that the spirit of Solomon dwelt in him, and that the Turks were
devils who could be made submissive only by violent measures—which he consistently
resorted to. A little before his assassination, which was instigated by Tusūn who
became afterwards the commander-in-chief at Baghdad—he had made for himself a
golden throne on which he sat surrounded by his nobles on silver seats, and he wore a
crown of gold after the manner of the Khusroes. He purposed to rebuild Madāin and the
palace of the Persian kings, and to have himself saluted as king of kings. Ibn Athir’s
narrative will repay perusal.

† The MS. and text here have 800,000,000— but this sum would be equivalent to
about £20,000,000 sterling which is of course absurd. Ibn Ath. mentions that he
offered the Caliph a lump sum of a million dirhams (about £25,000) but says nothing
of an annual tribute. One (١٠٠٠٠) thousand—therefore omitted in the text would
bring the amount approximately to that mentioned by Ibn Ath.

† Ibn Khall. notices this individual in his Life of Ibn al Mukaffa, and says that
he was burnt by fire and his disciple Ibn Abi A’un crucified after being beheaded.
A. H. 322. death and crucified, and a number of his companions were put to death with him. In the same died Abu Ja'far as Sajzi one of the chamberlains. It is said that he reached the age of 140 and that all his senses were in sound condition. From this year the pilgrimage to Mecca from Baghdad was interrupted* until the year 327.

In the year 323 ar Rádihi billah ruled in paramount authority and conferred the east and west on his two sons Abu'l Fadhl and Abu Ja'far.

During the same occurred the well known affair of Ibn Shanabúd† and the recantation he was called upon to make regarding his unorthodox reading of the Kurán, and his declaration that was taken down and that in the presence of the Wazír Abu A'li-b-Mukláh.

In the same year in Jumáda I, a violent storm blew in Baghdad—the earth was darkened and the darkness continued from the afternoon till sunset.

During the month of Du'l Kaa'dah of the same, the stars kept falling all night with extraordinary frequency, the like of which has been never recorded.

In the year 324 Muhammammad-b-Ráik governor of Wásit and its dependencies obtained supreme predominance in the state. He issued orders to the provinces, and the offices of the minister of state and of the controllership of the public registers were abolished, and he and his scribes took charge of the whole, and all monies were taken to him and the state treasuries were abolished and ar Rádihi remained with him as a mere phantom, having nothing of the Caliphate but the name. In the year 325 affairs fell into great confusion. The provinces became a prey either to a rebel that seized them or to a prefect who would not pay the state revenues, and they became separate independent princes and nothing remained in the possession of ar Rádihi but Baghdad and the Sawád on account of the hand of Ibn Ráik being upon him.‡

* By the Carmathians.
† Abu'l Hasan Muhammammad a famous reader of the Kurán, but whose readings deviated from the received orthodox text. Ibn Khall gives various instances of his misreadings, and adds that he was reported to be a man of little knowledge. When he was being scourged by order of Ibn Mukláh, he cursed him and prayed that God would cause his hand to be cut off which actually took place. He died at Baghdad in 328 (939).
‡ Básrah appertained to Ibn Ráik, Khuástán was held by al Barúdí, Fars by Imád u'd Dawlah Ibn Buwayh, Kirmán by Abu A'li Muhammammad-b-u'l Yás, Rai, Isphán and the mountainous districts were fought for by Rukn u'd Dawlah another son of Buwayh's and Washmagír brother of Mardawíj; the Hamdánites ruled in Mesopotaamia, the Ikshides in Syria and Egypt, the Fatimites in Africa, the Umayyads in Spain, the Samanides in Khurásán and the trans Óxus country, the Daylamites in Tabaristán and Jurján and the Carmathians in Yemámah and Bahráyn. Such is the picture drawn by Ibn Ath. of the now distracted Caliphate.
When the power of the Caliphate in these times waxed feeble, and the A. H. 324. pillars of the Abbaside dominion tottered to their fall, and the Carmathians A. D. 936. and other heretics became supreme in the provinces, the spirit of the Amír A'bdúr Ráhímán, the descendant of Umayyah and Marwan, ruler of Spain, became emboldened, and he said, “I am the most worthy of men for the Caliphate.” He called himself prince of the Faithful, the Defender of the religion of God. He held rule over the greater part of Spain. He inspired great awe and carried on religious wars, and commanded military expeditions, and possessed many eminent qualities, and he overthrew all rivals, and captured seventy fortresses. There were thus three personages calling themselves princes of the Faithful, the Abbaside at Baghdad, this one in Spain, and al Mahdi at Cyrene.

In the year 326 Bahḵam* rose against Ibn Rání and prevailed over him and Ibn Rání concealed himself. Bahḵam entered Baghdad and ar Rádıḥí received him with honour, raised him in dignity and gave him the title of Amír u'l Úmará and invested him with the government of Baghdad and Khurasán.

In the year 327, Abu A'li Omar-b-Yahya, the descendant of A’li, wrote to the Carmathian leader with whom he was on friendly terms, soliciting him to open the road free to pilgrims, and that he would give him five dínárs for every camel. Permission was accorded and the people performed the pilgrimage, and this was the first year that mail was levied from pilgrims.

In the year 328, Baghdad was swamped by a terrible inundation, so that the rise of the water reached nineteen cubits and men and animals were drowned and houses destroyed.

In the year 329, ar Rádıḥí fell ill and died in the month of Rabí’ I,* at the age of thirty-one and a half. He was beneficent, liberal and accomplished, skilful in versifying, eloquent and a patron of men of learning, and a collection has been made of his poetry. He heard traditions from al Baghwí and others. Al Khatīb observes that some notable peculiarities distinguish him; among these—that he was the last of the Caliphs whose verses were collected together, and the last of the Caliphs who

* Or Bajkam. He was a Turk and originally a slave of the Daylamite Wazírs and afterwards of the Daylamite prince Mákán under whom he commanded a troop of horse. He afterwards served under Mardawíj, and eventually offered his services to the Caliph, and Ibn Rání called him with his Turkish and Daylamite following to Baghdad. See Weil, p. 664.

† A’bu’l Fida and Ibn Ath. have Rabí’ I. Weil gives one authority that writes Rabí’ II, but as he justly observes, this date does not coincide with the duration of ar Rádıḥí’s reign which was 6 years 10 months, and (according to Ibn Ath.) ten days. Abu’l Fida makes him 32 years old, Ibn Ath. 33 and some months. They both say that he died in the middle of the month which would be about (18th Dec. 940).
A. H. 329. undertook the sole direction of the army and the finances, the last who
A. D. 940. preached on Fridays, and the last who sat with boon companions. His
largesses and his state surroundings were after the manner of the former
Caliphs, and he was the last of the Caliphs who journeyed in the fashion of
his predecessors.

Among his verses are the following—

“All that is pure tends to defilement*  
And all things to decay.
And the march of youth towards  
Death—is in death or affliction.
May hoariness be abundant  
As a monitor to warn mortals.
O thou who entertainest hope and  
Art confounded in an ocean of deception,
Where are they that were before us?  
Their forms and traces have disappeared.
O God, pardon my sin,
Thou who art the best of those who pardon.”

Abu'l Hasan-b-Zarkúyah relates on the authority of Isma'il al Kha-
tabi,† that he said: “Ar Rádhi sent for me on the eve of the close of the
Ramadán fast. I went to him and he said, ‘O Isma'il, I purpose
to-morrow to pray before the people—what shall I say when I come to
the supplication for myself?’ I looked down in thought for a little
while, and I exclaimed, ‘say, O prince of the Faithful! “O Lord excite
me, that I may be thankful for thy favour wherewith thou hast favoured
me and my parents,”’ &c., (Kur. XXVII). He replied, ‘that will suffice.’
Afterwards a servant followed me and gave me four hundred dinárs.”

Of people of note who died in his reign were: Ništawayh, Ibn
Munjáhid the Qurán reader, Ibn Kás the Hanafite, Ibn Abí Hátim, Mabra-
mán, Ibn Abd Rabbih author of the Ikd† (necklace) al Istakharí, the
Shaфи́te Shaykh, Ibn Shanabúd, Abu Bakr al Anbári and others.

* Ibn Ath. and Abu'l Fida give these verses with variants.
† I cannot find this name in Ibn Khall: both the MS. and text have خاطبي, a form
I have not before met—it should be, perhaps خاطبي or خاطبي.
†† See his life in Ibn Khall. The I'kd contains much important information on
the manners of ancient Arabs of which some extracts have been given by M. Fresnel
in his letters.
AL MUTTAṬI LĪ'LĀḤ.

Al Muttaṭi lī'lāh Abu Ishāk Ibrahim was the son of al Muṭṭadīr. He was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his brother ar ṭāḍīr, being thirty-four years old. His mother was a slave girl called Khaṭūḥ or as some say, Zuhrāh. He never made any changes in his establishment nor secretly visited a female slave that he had. He used to fast and pray much, and he never drank wine, and he used to say, "I need no boon companion but the Kurān." He had nothing of authority but the name, and the administration was in the hands of Ibn* Aḥmad b-A'li al Kūfī the secretary of Baḥkam. In this year the green dome of the city of Mansūr† which was the crown of Baghdad and a memorial of the House of Aḥbās, fell in. It was one of the edifices erected by Mansūr. Its height was eighty cubits, and below it was a hall, its length twenty cubits by twenty cubits, and over it was the statue of a horseman with a spear in his hand, and when he turned facing towards any direction, it was known that a rebel had risen up in that quarter. The summit of this dome fell in during a night of rain and thunder.

In this year Baḥkam‡ the Turk was slain and Kurtāḵīn the Daylamite succeeded him in the office of Amīr u'l Umārā. Al Muttaṭī took possession of the treasures of Baḥkam that were in Baghdad and they were more than a million dinārs. Subsequently in this year Ibn Rašīd obtained predominance and fought Kūrtāḵīn at Baghdad.§ Kūrtāḵīn was routed and he concealed himself while Ibn Rašīd became Chief Amīr in his place.

In 330 there occurred a scarcity in Baghdad so that a "kur" of wheat fetched 316 dinārs. Distress was in consequence very severe and people fed on corpses, and it was a famine the like of which had never been seen in Baghdad.

During the same year Abu'l Ḫusayn A'li Ibn Muḥammad al Barīdī||

† Baghdad, because built by him. Yaḵūt, on the authority of al Khaṭīb, mentions the horseman that stood on it, and which pointed in the direction of any rebellion as it occurred,—but adds that he considers it a most preposterous falsehood. Neither the dome nor the horseman existed when Ibn Batutah visited it about 1330 A. D. Let the horseman with his spear be considered—what it may have been—a simple weather-cock, and the wonder vanishes, for from "a' the airts the wind can blaw" came daily tidings of disaster and rebellion.
‡ During a hunting excursion he came upon a troop of Kurds who had amased considerable plunder. He followed them up, and in the mêlée he was fallen upon from behind and transfixed with a spear. Ibn Ath.
§ This engagement took place according to Ibn Ath, at U'kbarah, a town on the Tigris ten parasangs from Baghdad.
|| Not Yazdī as in the text. The family of Barīdī were masters of Khuzistān during ar Raḍīhī's reign.
A. H. 330. raised the standard of revolt and the Caliph and Ibn Rāiḍ set out to A. D. 941-2. engage him, but they were defeated and fled to Mosal, and Baghdad and the royal palace were sacked.

When the Caliph arrived at Takrit he found there Sayf u'd Daulah Abu'l Ḥasan A'il-b-Abdi'llah-b-Ḥamdán and his brother al Ḥasan. Ibn Rāiḍ was treacherously assassinated, and the Caliph appointed al Ḥasan-b-Ḥamdán to his office and gave him the title of Nāṣir u'd Daulah (Defender of the State) and to his brother a robe of honour and surnamed him Sayf u'd Daulah, (The Sword of the State). He then returned to Baghdad accompanied by these two, upon which al Baridī fled to Wāsiṭ. Subsequently advices arrived in the month of Du'l Ḥaḍ'ah that al Baridī was marching on Baghdad, whereupon the people were alarmed and the principal men of Baghdad fled. The Caliph set forth in order to be with Nāṣir u'd Daulah, while Sayf u'd Daulah marched to meet al Baridī.* A desperate engagement took place between the two near Madāin. Al Baridī was defeated and returned in disheartened mood to Wāsiṭ. Sayf u'd Daulah pushed on to Wāsiṭ and al Baridī retreated to Başrab.

In the year 331 the Byzantines made a raid as far as Arzan, Mayyafārikīn and Niṣibīn and slaughtered and took prisoners, Then they demanded the handkerchief preserved in the church of Edessa with which they believe the Messiah to have wiped his face by which its image was impressed upon it, engaging in turn to release all those they had taken captive. It was sent to them and the prisoners were set free.

During the same, the nobles of Wāsiṭ rose against Sayf u'd Daulah who fled on relays of post horses making for Baghdad. His brother Nāṣir u'd Daulah then set out for Mosal in fear on account of the flight of his brother. Tūzūn† left Wāsiṭ and marched on Baghdad from which Sayf u'd Daulah had fled to Mosal. Tūzūn entered Baghdad in Ramadhān and al Muttaḳī presented him with a robe of honour and appointed him chief of the Amirīs. Soon afterwards there fell a mutual distrust between al Muttaḳī and Tūzūn. Tūzūn sent Abu Jaa'far-b-Shirzād from Wāsiṭ to Baghdad which he governed (in Tūzūn's absence) issuing his commands and prohibitions. Al Muttaḳī then wrote to Ibn Ḥamdān to come to him, who advanced at the head of a considerable force. Ibn Shīrzād concealed himself and al Muttaḳī and his family set out for Takrit and Nāṣir u'd Daulah moved forward with a large army consisting of Arabs and Kurds to engage Tūzūn. The two armies met at U'kbara‡ and Ibn Ḥamdān and

* Several consecutive engagements took place continuing for some days in one of which Sayf u'd Daulah was worsted. He was reinforced by his brother and succeeded in routing al Baridī.
† See note *, p. 409.
‡ Us Suyutī seems in error here and is confusing this engagement with that between Ibn Rāiḍ and Kūrtakin (p. 413). Ibn Ath. says that a series of actions between
the Caliph retreated in disorder to Mosal. A second engagement after A. H. 331.
wards took place and Ibn Ḥamdan and the Caliph fled to Niṣibin, upon A. D. 942-3.
which the Caliph wrote to al Ikhshid* the ruler of Egypt to come to him.

Subsequently he received at the hands of the House of Ḥamdān much annoyance and vexation upon which he proposed a reconciliation with Tūzūn who consented and confirmed his words by oath. Later al Ikhshid
repaired to al Muttaki who was at Raḵkāh and the news of the reconciliation with Tūzūn having already reached him, he said, “Prince of the Faithful, I am thy slave, and verily I know the Turks and their evil deeds and their treachery—then the Lord protect thee—come with me to Egypt for it is thine and be in safety for thy person.” He would not however
consent, and al Ikhshid returned to his dominions, and al Muttaki set out from Raḵkāh to Baghdad on the 4th of Muharram, 433. Tūzūn went forth to meet him and they met between Anbār and Hit. Tūzūn dismounted
and kissed the ground, and al Muttaki commanded him to remount, but he
would not do so and walked on foot before him to the camp he had pitched
for him. When the Caliph alighted, Tūzūn seized him together with Ibn
Muklah and those that were with him. Shortly after he blinded the
Caliph with a hot iron, and he was taken into Baghdad with his eyes seared,
his ring mantle and sceptre having been taken from him. Tūzūn then
sent for Aḥdū‘allāh the son of al Muktafi and swore allegiance to him as Caliph and he was surnamed al Mustakfī bi’llah (contenting
himself with God). Then the blinded Muttaki swore him allegiance and
thus testified to his own abdication on the 20th of Muharram, or as it is said
of Šafar,† (12th October, 944).

When he was blinded, al Kābir (the deposed Caliph) said—
“I and Ibrahim (al Muttaki) are two blind old men,
There must be to the two old men but one common end.
As long as Tūzūn holds sway
Which is implicitly obeyed, the blinding iron will be in the chafing
dish.”‡

Nāṣir u’d Daulah and Ibn Ḥamdān took place during three days at 2 parasangs below.
Takrit and Takrit is 30 parasangs from Baghdad and therefore 20 from U’kbāra.

* This family was descended from the princes of Farghānah. The Caliph al
Mua’tasim bi’llah drew into his service a number of soldiers from Farghānah among
whom was Juff, grandfather of Abu Bakr Muḥammad al Ikhshid father of Tughj. See
Ibn Khall, and Abul’ Mahasin Nujüm, Part I, page 261. Of Tūzūn and Ikhshid,
Gibbon says, “The founders of these two potent dynasties confessed either in words or
actions the vanity of ambition. The first on his death-bed implored the mercy of God
to a sinner ignorant of the limits of his own power: the second in the midst of 400,000
soldiers and 8,000 slaves concealed from every human eye the chamber where he
attempted to sleep.” Chap. LII. Ikhshid signifies according to Abul’ Mahasin, king of
kings in the Farghānian tongue.

† All the other authorities give the latter date.

‡ The MS. has جمجم for جمجمwhich is perhaps a better reading.
A. H. 333. But a year did not elapse before Tüzün died. As for al Muttaki, he was conveyed to an island opposite Sindiyah* where he was imprisoned. He remained in prison twenty-five years till his death in Shaa’bán 357. In the reign of al Muttaki lived Ḥamdi the robber to whom Ibn Shírzád when he governed Baghdad accorded the license of robbing therein on the payment to him of 25,000 dinárs a month.† He used to fall unawares upon the houses of the people with torches and lights and carry off their property. Iskúraj the Daylamite who held the post of chief of police in Baghdad, caught him and sawed him in half, and this in the year 332.

Of distinguished persons who died during the reign of al Muttaki‡ were Abu Yaḵúb an Nahrjúri one of the disciples of Junayd, the Kádıhí Abu A’bdí’lláh al Mámáli, Abu Bakr al Fárghání the Šúfí, the Ḥádíhí Abu’l ‘Abbás-b-A’kádah, Ibn Wallád the grammarian and others.

When al Káhir heard that al Muttaki was blinded, he said, “We are now two, needing a third,”—and so it turned out, for al Mustakfi was also blinded.

AL MUSTAKFI BI’LLAH.

Al Mustakfi bi’lláh Abu’l Kásim A’bdí’lláh was the son of al Muktaﬀi-bu’l Mu’tadhid. His mother was a slave concubine called Amláh u’n Nás (the most beautiful of mankind). He was acknowledged Caliph on the deposal of al Muttaki in the month of Safar 333 at the age of forty-one. During his reign Tüzün died. His secretary Abu Ja’far-b-Shírzád was with him at the time and thereupon sought the viceroyalty for himself and obtained the concurrence of the army, and the Caliph invested him with a robe of honour. Subsequently Ahmad-b-Buwayh entered Baghdad and Ibn Shírzád concealed himself, and Ibn Buwayh entered the palace. The Caliph stood before him and gave him a robe of honour and the title of Mui’zz u’d Dałlah and his brother A’li that of I’méd u’d Dałlah, and their brother al Ḥasan that of Rukn u’d Dałlah and engraved their

* Sindiyah was a village situated on the Isa Canal between Anbár and Baghdad. Yaḵút.
† Ibn Ḥamdi, according to Ibn Ath., who places the hush-money at 15,000 dinárs. The name of the prefect of police he gives as Abu’l A’bbás. The terrible scarcity then prevailing at Baghdad, and the heavy and incessant rains had half depopulated the city. Private houses and public edifices, mosques, baths and palaces had fallen into ruin, and were abandoned by the famishing people.
‡ During this reign the Russians made their first appearance in Arab history. They sailed down the Kur and attacked and took the town of Bardaah on the confines of Azarbiján in 333. They put to death a great number of the inhabitants, but were afterwards expelled by the Daylamite general.
titles on the coinage. Al Mustakfi took for himself the title of the Imâm A. H. 333.  
of the Truth, and caused this to be struck on the coinage. Mu'izz u'd A. D. 944.  
Daulah now waxed in power. He placed the Caliph under ward and appointed for him every day by way of maintenance five thousand dirhams and no more. He was the first of the Daylamites who was supreme in Prâk. He was the first who exhibited trials of speed between runners in Baghdad and unduly encouraged wrestlers and swimmers, wherefore the youth of Baghdad gave themselves up to learning to wrestle and to swim, so that a swimmer would swim holding in his hand a chafing dish upon which was a vessel, and he would swim until the meat in it was cooked. After a time Mu'izz u'd Daulah began to suspect al Mustakfi, and he visited him in Jumâda II of the year 334. He stood in waiting and the people were likewise standing according to their degrees when two of the Daylamites stepped forward towards the Caliph, who stretched forth his hand thinking that they wished to kiss it, but they pulled him from his throne and threw him on the ground and dragged him by his turban, and the Daylamites thronged through the palace into the Harem and plundered it until nothing was left therein. Mu'izz u'd Daulah repaired to his own residence and they drove al Mustakfi on foot to him and he was deposed and his eyes seared on the same day (22nd Jumâda, II 334 = 29th January, 946). His Caliphate lasted a year and four months, and they summoned al Fadhl the son of al Muktadir and swore allegiance to him. Then they brought forward his cousin al Mustakfi who acknowledged him as Caliph and testified to his own abdication. He was then imprisoned till he died in the year 338 at the age of forty-six. He professed the Shiite doctrines.

AL MUṬṬI' BILAH.

Al Muṭṭi' bi'lllah Abu'l Kâsim al Fadhl was the son of al Muktadir. His mother was a slave concubine called Mashghalah. He was born in the year 301 and was acknowledged Caliph on the abdication of al Mustakfi in Jumâda II, 334, and Mu'izz u'd Daulah appointed him a stipend of but one hundred dinârs a day. In this year of his Caliphate the scarcity in Baghdad became excessive, so that men ate corpses and ordure and died by the roadside and the dogs devoured their flesh. An estate was given in exchange for loaves of bread, and among the very destitute, children were found roasted for food. A "kur" of flour was purchased for Mu'izz u'd Daulah at 20,000 dirhams* and a "kur" is equivalent to seventeen kintârs of Damascus.

* This would be about £42 a bushel.
During this year a dissension arose between Mu'izz u'd Daulah and Mu'izz u'd Daulah marched to engage 'Nāṣir taking al Muṭṭi' with him. He afterwards returned accompanied by al Muṭṭi’ almost as a prisoner.

During the same, died al Ikshid, ruler of Egypt, Muḥammad-b-Tughj al Farghānī, and the meaning of al Ikshid is king of kings, and this was the title of each prince of Farghānāh, as al ɪṣḥahbād is the title of every prince of Ṭabaristān, and Ṣāl of the prince of Jurjān, and Khāḵān of the chief of the Turks, and Ifshin that of the prince of Ushrūsānah, and Sāmān of the prince of Samarkand. Al Ikshīd was brave and awe-inspiring. He governed Egypt on the part of al Kāhir (A. H. 321). He had eight thousand slaves and was the master of Kāfūr.§

During the same, died al Kāim al U'baydi, ruler of the West, and he was succeeded by his son and heir Isma'il al Manṣūr bi'llāh. Al Kāim was more wicked than his father, an accursed Zinḍīḵ who openly reviled the prophets. His criers used to call out—“Curse the Cave|| and what it contained” and he put to death many of the learned.

In the year 335 Mu'izz u'd Daulah renewed protestations of mutual confidence with al Muṭṭi’, freed him from close ward and lodged him in the palace once more.

In the year 338, Mu'izz u'd Daulah solicited permission to associate with him in his government his brother A'lī-b-Buwayh I'mād u'd Daulah in order that he might eventually succeed him, to which al Muṭṭi’ consented, but it so happened that I'mād u'd Daulah died the same year, upon which al Muṭṭi’ appointed Rukan u'd Daulah the father of Adḥud u'd Daulah.

In the year 339 the Black Stone was restored to its place and a silver band was fixed to it to secure it, its weight being 3777 dirhams and a half.

* Not Tufj as in the text. His life will be found in Ibn Khall.
† The text has Isbahand : Abū’l Mahāsīn from whom this information is probably taken, writes the word Isbahbad, and this is confirmed by the words of Yaḵūt.
‡ So Abū’l Mahāsīn : though the word in the Leyden edition is printed Afshin, the Muntaha’l Arab points it as I have done. The Ḳīshn of the text must be incorrect.
§ Abu’l Musk (father of Musk) Kāfūr (camphor) was a negro slave sold to Muḥammad al Ikshīd, by whom he was appointed guardian of his two sons, upon whose death he virtually succeeded to supreme power. Ibn Khall.
|| Meaning Muḥammad and Abū Bakr who took refuge in a cave on their flight to Medina.
¶ Ibn Baṭṭutah says that the Stone is in four pieces, having been broken by the Carnathians. According to Burton, it appears to be composed of a dozen small stones of different sizes joined together as if the whole had been broken to pieces by a violent blow and then reunited. The silver band was afterwards changed into a massive arch of gold or silver gilt. Consult Burton's Mecca.
Muḥammad-b-Nāfi' al Khuzā’i says, “I looked carefully at the Black A. H. 339. Stone when it was dug up, the blackness was only on the surface, the whole A. D. 950. of it being white beneath,* and its length was about the measure of a cubit.”

In the year 341 a sect of metempsychosists appeared, and among them a youth who asserted that the soul of A’li had passed into him, and his wife who pretended that the soul of Fāṭima had entered her, and another who gave out that he was Gabriel. They were scourged but they gloried in their kinship with the Prophetal House, wherefore Mu’izz u’d Daulah ordered them to be released through his partiality to the people of the House, and this was one of his accursed deeds.

In the same year died al Maṅsūr al U’baydi the ruler of the West at Maṅsūrīyah which he had founded. He was succeeded by his son and heir Saa’d in the government and surnamed Mu’izz li din’illāḥ (the glorifier of the religion of God). He it was who founded Cairo. Al Maṅsūr succeeding his father, displayed benevolence of disposition, for he put down oppressions and the people loved him. His son too was of an amiable character and the West acknowledged his undisputed sway.

In the year 343 the prince of Khurasān named al Muṭṭī’ in the khūṭbah, before which time the khūṭbah had not been read in his name. Upon this al Muṭṭī’ sent him a standard and a robe of honour.

In the year 344, old Cairo was convulsed by a dreadful earthquake which overthrew houses, lasting for three hours and the people called out to the Lord in supplication. In the year 346 the sea sunk eighty cubits, and there appeared within it hills and islands and things such as had never been beheld.

About Rai and its dependencies occurred a dreadful earthquake. The town of at Talikān sunk into the earth, and there escaped of its inhabitants only about thirty persons, and one hundred and fifty of the villages of Rai were swallowed up. The calamity extended as far as Ḥulwān, the greater part of which was engulfed and the earth vomited up the bones of the dead, and waters burst forth from it. A mountain in Rai was cleft asunder, and a village with its inhabitants was suspended between heaven and earth during the half of a day, then it was swallowed up. The earth was rent in a mighty chasm and fetid waters came forth from it and volumes of smoke. This is the narration of Ibn u’l Ḥauzī.

In the year 347, the earthquakes recurred at Kumm and Ḥulwān and in the mountainous districts, and great numbers of people perished, and locusts came and overspread the earth and settled upon all the crops and the trees.

In the year 350 Mu’izz u’d Daulah built in Baghdad a vast stupen-

* See Burton, p. 159, note.
During the same, he invested with the office of Kādhi, Abu'l A’bbás A’bbu’l-lah-b-Ḥasan-b-Abi’s Shawárib, who rode wearing the robe of honour from the palace of Mu’izz u’d Daulah preceded by drums and trumpets and accompanied by the troops, and he undertook to convey every year to the treasury of Mu’izz u’d Daulah two hundred thousand dirhams writing a judicial record to that effect, but al Muṭṣii’ refused to invest him and to allow him audience, and† he commanded that he should not be authorized on any occasion to have access to him.

During the same, Mu’izz u’d Daulah farmed the offices of market inspector and chief of police in Baghdad, and all this was after an indisposition from which he suffered and was restored to health—but may God not preserve him from punishment for his sins. During the same, the Byzantines took the island of Crete from the Muslims which had been conquered by the latter about the year 230.‡

In the same year died the ruler of Spain an Nāṣir li dīn Allāh (Defender of the religion of God) and was succeeded by his son al Ḥākim.

In the year 351, the Shiites wrote upon the doors of the mosques “Curse upon Mu’āwiyah and cursed be he who took from Fāṭima her right to Fadak§ and upon those who forbade al Ḥasan to be buried with his grandfather, and a curse upon him who banished Abu Ḥarr.”|| This was however rubbed out in the night. Mu’izz u’d Daulah wished to re-inscribe it, but his minister al Muhallabi suggested that he should write in place of what had been effaced, “May God curse the oppressors of the family of the apostle of God,” and they particularized Mu’āwiyah alone in the curse.

* The cost of this was 13,000,000 dirhams, about £3,25,000 a great part of which he extorted from his followers. He was at this time suffering from gravel and he supposed that a lofty house and purer air would benefit him. Ibn Ath.

† This word ‘and’ (و ) should be inserted in the text, as it stands in the MS.

‡ This would make it in the reign of al Wāthik, whereas it was taken by the Arabs under Abu Ḥaṣṣa Omar-b-Isa al Andalúsí surnamed the Cretan, in the Caliphate of al Mamun A. H. 210, and in the reign of Michael the Stammerer (A. D. 823). It was retaken by Nicephorus Phocas, according to Yakāṭ in the 13th of Muharram 350 (7th March 961). Ibn Ath. is incorrect in giving the year as 351.

§ She gave out that it had been granted to her as a marriage portion by Muḥammad, but the shrewd Abu Bakr needed some further testimony than her own word.

|| Othmán. Mu’āwiyah induced that Caliph to recall Abū Ḥar from Syria to Medina for inciting the people to give alms in larger proportion than was legally incumbent upon them. Othmán reproved him for this and Ka’ab al Abbār interfering in the discussion, the hasty Abū Ḥarr smote him for a meddlying Jew, and requested the Caliph’s leave to retire from men: he was permitted to select Rabadah three miles from Medina on the Hijaz road. See Ṭabarī, Zutenberg, Tom III, p. 567.
In the year 352 on the 10th day of the Muharram, Mu'izz u'd Daulah A. H. 352, forced the people to close the market-places and forbade the cooks from A. D. 963, cooking. They set up cupolas in the public squares and hung sackcloths over them, and they made the women come forth with dishevelled hair, beating their breasts and mourning for al Husayn. This was the first day in which lamentation had been made over him in Baghdad, and this innovation continued for some years. On the 12th of Du'l Hijjah of the same was held the festival of Ghadir Khumm* and drums were beaten.

During this year one of the Arman Chiefs sent to Nāṣir u'd Daulah-b-Ḥamdán, twins coupled together, their age being twenty-five. The junction was at the side and they had two bellies and two navels and two stomachs. Their times of hunger and thirst &c. were different. Each had two palms, two arms, two hands, two thighs, and two shanks. One of them died and so remained for days, while his brother was yet living and he began to putrefy. Nāṣir u'd Daulah assembled the physicians to decide if they were able to sever the dead from the living, which they could not do. Soon after he who was alive, sickened from the smell of the dead and died.

In the year 353 a vast tent was made for Sayf u'd Daulah, the height of its poles being fifty cubits. In the year 354 died the sister of Mu'izz u'd Daulah, and al Muṭṭii went down to his residence in a fast sailing boat, to condole with him. Mu'izz u'd Daulah went forth to meet him but would not put him to the inconvenience of leaving the boat, but kissed the earth several times before him and the Caliph returned to his palace.

During the same, Nicephorus† (Phocas) Emperor of Rome fortified‡ Cesarea near the frontier towns of the Muslims, and took up his abode in it that he might pursue his depredations at all seasons.

In the year 356, Mu'izz u'd Daulah died and his son Bakhtyār succeeded him in his government and al Muṭṭii' surnamed him I'zz u'd Daulah.

In the year 357, the Carmathians seized Damascus,§ and during it no one made the pilgrimage either from Syria or from Egypt. They

* Ghadir is a valley between Mecca and Medina wherein is a pool (Ghadir) where Muhammad once preached. See the various derivations of this name in Yaḳūṭ. The discourse of this occasion was in favour of A'li. According to Weil this festival was on the 18th and according to Abu'l Fida on the 8th of Du'l Hijjah.
† The text has 'Jacob'. Ibn Ath. Nāfṣūr, which is Nicephorus Arabecized. Reiske (Abu'l Fida) gives the name in full.
‡ The word is لب which cannot mean "founded" as Cesarea was one of the conquests of Omar, 19 A. H. The words of Ibn Ath. are بنا بقِيسارة مدينة "he built near or at Cesarea, a town," &c.
§ From the Fatimite General Jaa'far-b-Falāḥ who was acting under the orders of Jauhar the Commander-in-Chief of the African Caliph Mu'izz. The Carmathians pressed on against Cairo, but reinforcements sent to Jauhar enabled him to hold it and the alliance of the Carmathian was bought by the prudent policy of Mu'izz.
then determined to march to old Cairo and take possession of it; but the U'baydites came and mastered it, and the heretic rule was supreme in the countries of the West, and in Egypt and Syria. And this because when Káfúr al Ikshídī died, affairs fell into disorder and the largesses to the troops diminished, whereupon a faction wrote to al Mu'izz (the Fatimite Caliph) soliciting from him a force in order that they might surrender old Cairo to him. He sent his freedman Jauhar, al Kā'īd (the generallissimo) at the head of one hundred thousand horsemen, who took possession of it. He encamped at the spot which is now Cairo and traced out its position and built a palace for al Mu'izz now known as al Kāsrayn. He abolished the khutbah for the House of A'bbás, and the wearing of black, and caused the preachers to wear white, and he commanded that in the khutbah should be said, "O God, bless Muḥammad the chosen, and A'li the accepted, and Fāṭima the virgin, and al Ḥasan and al Ḥusayn the grandsons of the Apostle, and bless the Imāms the predecessors of the prince of the Faithful al Mu'izz billāh." All this took place in the month of Shā'bān 358.

Afterwards in Rabi‘ II of the year 359 they introduced into the call to prayers, at old Cairo—"Hasten to an excellent work,"† and they began the construction of the principal mosque of al Azhar (the splendid) and completed it in Ramadān 361. And in the year 359 a huge meteor fell in I'rák by which the whole country was illumined as though it were with the rays of the sun, and after its fall was heard a sound like a peal of thunder.

In the year 360 the callers to prayer in Damascus introduced into the call to prayers, "Hasten to an excellent work" by command of Jaa'far-b-Falāḥ the prefect of al Mu'izz billāh at Damascus and no one dared to oppose it.

In the year 362 Bakhtyár exacted money from al Muṭṭi', who said, "I have nothing of sovereignty left now but the khutbah in my name and if ye desire it, I will abdicate," but he pressed him so that he sold his own furniture and gave him 400,000 dirhams, and it was bruited about on men's tongues that the Caliph had been mulcted.

During the same, one of the attendants of the Police Magistrate‡ at

* Ibn Khall may be consulted for the life of this General.
† The words of the Ādān after the invocation of the Deity Muḥammad are—
حی علي الصلاة حی علي الغلام “hasten to prayers—hasten to the attainment of everlasting life," to which were added the words in the context, used by the Shi'ahs to this day.
‡ The text should have Wāli (والي) as in the MS. which term is equivalent to the Sāhib u'l Maṣnāt which Ibn Ath. employs. This conflagration according to the latter took place at Karkh and 30 mosques were burnt down.
Baghdad was killed, whereupon the Wāzīr Abū'l Fadhl as Shirāzī sent A. H. 362, people to throw inflammable materials from the quarter of the copper-smiths to that of the fish-mongers, and a huge conflagration occurred, the like of which had not been seen, and considerable property was burnt and many people perished in their houses and in the baths. The Wāzīr died in the same year—may God not have mercy upon him. In Ramadān of this year al Muʿizz entered old Cairo with the coffins of his ancestors.

In the year 263 al Muṭīʿ invested with the office of Ḥādi, Abūl Ḥasan Muḥammad-b-ʿUmm Shaybān al Ḥāshimi after his having declined the office, and he stipulated for himself certain conditions. Among them, that he should not receive any stipend for the judicial office, nor be invested with a robe of honour, nor be petitioned regarding things which were contrary to law. And he appointed for his secretary three hundred dirhams monthly, and for his chamberlain one hundred and fifty, and to the official at his gate, skilled in the division of inheritances, one hundred—and to the treasurers of the judicial court and the assistants six hundred, and he wrote him a charge which ran as follows: “This is what the servant of God al Fadhl al Muṭīʿ-liʿlāh prince of the Faithful, hath commissioned unto Muḥammad-b-Ṣāliḥ the Ḥāshimite what time he called him to those things appertaining to the judicial office over which he hath appointed him, among the dwellers in the city of peace, the city of al Manṣūr and the eastern city from the east side and the west side—and Kūfah—and the districts watered by the Euphrates—and Wāsiṭ—and Karkhī—and the course of the Euphrates and the Tigris—and the road to Khurāsān—and Hulwān,—and Karmisin,* and Diyār Muḍarat—and Diyār Rabiʿa—and Diyār Bakr—and Mosal—and the two sacred cities—and Yaman—and Damascus—and Emessa—and the district of Kīnāssrīn—and al Aʿwāṣim—and Cairo—and Alexandria—and the province of Palestine—and the Jordan and all their dependencies—and the supervision consequent therefrom over such as he may prefer of the Aʿbbasides in Kūfah and the districts watered by the Euphrates and their dependencies—and the duties of the chief judicial office with which he hath invested him—and inquiry into the condition of the judges—and the consideration of all that the course of judicial decisions involves—in all the provinces and countries which the empire comprehends and within which the Abbaside prerogative determines—and the maintaining of such whose method and conduct he approves, and the removal of those whose character and disposition he reprehends—watchful over private and public interests, embracing those of the faith

* Not Farmīšīn—as in the text. The MS. is correct.
† This is the plain country to the east of the Euphrates towards Harrān. The text and MS. have ₰ without the diacritical points. For the limits of these three Diyārs, consult Yākūṭ.
and those tolerated under its protection, from the Caliph's knowledge that he
is the chief of his house, of eminent continence of life, pure in his
faith and his trust—renowned for his virtue and stainless conduct—a
cynosure for his erudition and sagacity—acknowledged for his forbearance,
and intelligence—far removed from association with the base—clothed in
the most beauteous garment of virtue—the pure—the beloved—rejoicing
in supernatural serenity—learned in worldly affairs—cognizant of the things
which imperil the salvation to come. The Caliph hath enjoined him the
fear of God, for verily it is a covering shield—and that he should make the
Book of God his study in all that he does—and order his decisions and
decrees in accordance with it—his guide to which he should turn for aid,—
his prop upon which he must rely—and that he should take the law of
the apostle of God as the beacon to which he must advance—the exemplar
which he must follow—and that he should observe the consensus of teaching
and follow the orthodox Imáms—and use his own discretionar faculties
in cases which are not found in the Book, the Law and the general conncurrence of the faithful—and that he should summon to this Council those on
whose wisdom and judgment he can rely, and be the same in look and word
to two litigants when they come before him—and accord to both of them
of his justice and his equity, so that the weak shall be secure from his
tyranny and the powerful despair of his partiality. He hath further
enjoined him to regard with solicitous affection his assistants and coadjutors,
and those of his supervisors and instruments upon whom he relies,
withdrawing them from the evil adoption of reprehensible conduct and
checking any tendencies to unlawful gain,"—and he continued a long discourse to the same effect. I here remark that the Caliphs used to nominate
the Kadhi resident within their metropolis, over the judicial service through-
out the whole of the territories and provinces under their sovereignty, and
the Kadhi would appoint as deputy under his authority whomssoever he
pleased in every district and in every town, and for this reason he was
entitled the Kadhi of the Kadhis, and no one was so named save such as
were thus distinguished, and others besides him were Kadhi simply
or Kadhi of such a town. But now-a-days in a simple town there are four
conjointly, and each of them called Kadhi of the Kadhis—and perhaps a
single one of the subordinates of the former ones had a jurisdiction twice
as large as any of the chief Kadhis now possesses, and indeed the chief
Kadhis then held a more extensive authority than is enjoyed by sovereigns
of this our time.

In this year, namely 363, al Muṭṭi' was struck with paralysis and he
lost the power of speech. Sabuktagna, chamberlain of Izz ud Daulah
summoned him to abdicate and to resign the government to his son at
Ṭāii' li'llál (obedient to God). And this he did and made over the
government to him on Thursday the 13th* of Du’l Kaa’dah (5th August, A. H. 363, 974). The duration of the reign of al Muťii’ was twenty-nine years and A. D. 974. some months, and his abdication was attested by the Kādhi, Ibn Umm Shaybān. After his abdication he went by the name of the virtuous Shaykh.

Ad Ḫababi says that al Muťii’ and his son were powerless in the hands of the House of Buwayh, and the authority of the Caliphate continued to decline until the accession of al Muťtafī when it recovered a little, but the sway of the heretical House of U’bayd in Egypt was pre-eminent and their commands universally obeyed and their power contested the A’bbas-side sovereignty in their time.

Al Muťii’ went to Wāsīţ with his son and there died in the month of Muḥarram 364. Ibn Shāhīn remarks, “He voluntarily abdicated as far as I can ascertain.” Al Khāṭib relates a tradition on the authority of Muḥammad-b-Yusuf al Kattān through al Muťii’ lillāh that Aḥmad-b-Ḥanbal said, “when the friends of a man die, he becomes humbled.”

Of distinguished persons who died in the reign of Muťii’ were al Khirki the Ḥanbalite Shaykh, Abu Bakr as Shibli the Şufi, Ibn u’l Kādhi the Shafi’ite Imám, Abu’r Raja al Uswání, Abu Bakr as Şūlī, al Ḥaytham-b-Kulayb as Shaší, Abu’t Ṭayyib as Sa’lúki, Abu Ja’far the coppersmith and grammarian, Abu Naṣr al Fārābī, Abu Isḥāk al Marwazi the Shafi’ite Imám, Abu’l Kāsim az Zajjājī the grammarian, al Karkkī the Ḥanafite Shaykh, ad Dinawari author of the Majālisat (Conference), Abu Bakr al Ḥabba’i, the Kādhi Abu’l Kāsim at Tanūkhi, Ibn u’l Ḥaddād author of the Farū’ (development of Law), Abu A’li-b-Abi Ḥurayrah one of the most eminent of the Shafi’ite doctors, Abu Omar the devotee, al Masa’ūdī author of the Meadows of gold, Ibn Darastwayh, Abu A’li at Tabari the first who wrote on controversy in the abstract, al Fākīhi author of the history of Mecca, al Mutanabbī the poet, Ibn Ḥabbān author of the Şahīh, Ibn Shaa’bān one of the Malikite elders, Abu A’li al Kāli, and Abū’l Faraj author of the Aghānī.

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**AT ŢAI’I’ L’ILLĀH**

At Ţai’i’ lillāh Abu Bakr A’bdū’l Karīm was the son of al Muťii’. His mother was a slave concubine called Hazār. His father abdicated in his favour, he being forty-three years of age. He rode in procession wearing the royal mantle accompanied by the troops and preceded by

* The text has 23rd, but this is an error. The M.S. is in accordance with Ibn Aṭh. who makes it the 13th.
A. H. 363. Subuktagin. On the following day he invested Subuktagin with the
office of Sultán, fastened for him a banner to a spear and gave him the
title of Násir u’d Daulah (Defender of the State). Shortly after a mis-
understanding occurred between I’zz u’d Daulah and Subuktagin. The latter
invited the Turks to his aid who answered to his call, and hostilities took
place between him and I’zz u’d Daulah. In Du’l Hijjah of this year
i. e., 363, the khútbah and the prayer for al Mu’izz the U’baydite were
read in the sacred cities.

In the year 364 A’dhūd u’d Daulah marched on Baghdad to aid I’zz
u’d Daulah against Subuktagin. Baghdad and its possession excited his
euphony and he set about acquiring it. He won the favour of the troops
and they turned against I’zz u’d Daulah, who now retired from public
life.* A’dhūd u’d Daulah wrote to the provinces under the authority of
at Tá’iī announcing the nomination to supreme authority of A’dhūd u’d
Daulah. Upon this a quarrel arose between at Tá’iī and A’dhūd u’d
Daulah on which account the khútbah in the name of at Tá’iī was dis-
continued in Baghdad and other places from the 10th Jumáda I, until it
was restored on the 10th of Rajab.

In this year and subsequently, heresy became rampant and spread in
Egypt and Syria and in the East and the West, and the cessation of the
prayers called at Tarawih was proclaimed on the part of the U’baydite.
In the year 365 Rukn u’d Daulah-b-Buwayh renounced in favour of his
sons the dominions he held in his possession, conferring on A’dhūd u’d
Daulah, Fars and Kirmán, on Múayyid u’d Daulah, Rái and Ispahan, and
on Fákhūr u’d Daulah, Hammadán and Dinawar. In the month of Rajab a
judicial session was held in the palace of Sultán I’zz u’d Daulah and the
chief Kádhi-b-Ma’rúf took his seat and adjudicated cases, because I’zz u’d
Daulah had requested it, that he might witness how the procedure of his
court was conducted. During the same a breach occurred between I’zz u’d
Daulah and A’dhūd u’d Daulah during which a Turkish page belonging to
I’zz u’d Daulah was imprisoned. He longed to recover him and his sorrow
overpowered him, and he refused to eat and took to weeping, shunning
society and ceasing to hold audience in his court. He wrote to A’dhūd
u’d Daulah entreating him to restore the boy to him, and he demeaned
himself till he became the ridicule of the people. He was reproved for his
conduct, but would not forbear from it, and he proffered in ransom for the
boy two slave girls skilled in the lute for one of whom,† a hundred thou-
sand dinárs had been paid on his account, and he said to the messenger—
"if he is reluctant to restore him, add what thou thinkest fit and do not
hesitate, for verily I would be content to have him even if I had to go to

* اغلق باب داره ومرف كتبته وحجابه
† After the word read as in the MS.
the ends of the earth,"—and A'dhud u'd Daulah restored the youth to A. H. 365.

During the same, the khuṭbah in the name of I'zz u'd Daulah was discontinued in Káfah and was read for A'dhud u'd Daulah. In the same, died al Mu'izz li dīn i'llāh the U'bayḍi ruler of Egypt and the first of the U'baydites that conquered it. His son Nizār succeeded him in the government and was surnamed al A'zīz.

In the year 366 died al Mustaṣṣir bi'llāh al Ḥakam-b-Nāṣir li dīn i'llāh, the Umayyad ruler of Spain. His son al Muayyid bi'llāh Ḥishám succeeded him. In the year 367 an engagement took place between I'zz u'd Daulah and A'dhud u'd Daulah. The latter was victorious, and he took I'zz u'd Daulah prisoner and afterwards put him to death. At Tā'ī' then invested A'dhud u'd Daulah with the royal robe and crowned him with a jewelled crown and decked him with a collar and bracelet and girt a sword about him, and fastened for him two banners with his own hand, one ornamented with silver after the fashion of nobles, and the other with gold after the manner of regents designate, and the second banner had never been bound for any one before him. He also wrote him a diploma of investiture which was read in his presence, and there was none but was astonished, for this had never been the custom, the diploma being given only to the successors to the Sulṭānate in the presence of the prince of the Faithful, and when he received it the prince of the Faithful would say—"this is my diploma, act therefore according to it."

In the year 368 at Tā'ī' commanded that the drums should be sounded at the gate of A'dhud u'd Daulah, in the morning, at sunset and at night fall and that the khuṭbah should be read in his name in the pulpits of the metropolis. Ibn al Jauzi observes that these two orders were never issued before his time nor sanctioned for regents designate, for Mū'izz u'd Daulah desired that the drums should be sounded for him in Baghdad, and he solicited it of al Muṭṭī' who would not permit it, and A'dhud u'd Daulah would not have enjoyed this privilege except for the impotence of the Caliphate.

In the year 369 the ambassador of al A'zīz ruler of Egypt arrived in Baghdad, and A'dhud u'd Daulah solicited at Tā'ī' to add to his titles that of Tāj u'l Millat (Crown of the Faith) and to present him anew with a robe of honour and to crown him. At Tā'ī' consented and took his seat upon the throne, and around him stood a hundred men with swords and bravely apparelled, and before him was placed the Kurān of the Caliph Othmān, and upon his shoulders the Apostolic Mantle and in his hand the sceptre, and he was girt with the sword of the Apostle of God. A curtain, sent by A'dhud u'd Daulah had been set up, and he had requested that it might be placed as a veil before at Tā'ī', in order that the eyes of none
A. H. 369. The Turks and Daylamites then entered, but none of them in mail, and the nobles and officers of State stood ranged on either side. Then permission was given to A’dhud u’d Daulah to enter, and he entered, and the veil was raised and A’dhud u’d Daulah kissed the earth. The general Ziyád was struck with awe and he said to A’dhud u’d Daulah, “What is this? O king,* is he the Almighty?” He looked towards him, and replied, “This is the Viceroyalty of the Almighty upon earth”—and he continued moving onwards kissing the ground seven times. Then at Táii’ looked towards Kháliṣ the eunuch and said, “let him approach.” And A’dhud u’d Daulah ascended and kissed the ground twice, and the Caliph said to him—“come near to me,” and he approached and kissed his foot and at Táii’ stretched out his right hand to him and commanded him to sit down, and he sat down upon a seat after the Caliph had repeatedly requested him to be seated, and he excusing himself, till the Caliph said, “I adjure thee to be seated” whereupon he kissed the throne and sat down. Then at Táii’ said to him, “verily I think it meet to entrust to thy care what God hath committed to me of the affairs of my subjects in the east of the earth and the west thereof, together with their direction in all their aspects, with the exception of what appertains to my special and personal effects—wherefore assume charge of them.” He replied, “may God aid me in obedience to the prince of the Faithful and in his service.” Then the Caliph bestowed upon him a robe of honour and took his departure.

I remark that I look upon this fact as a proof that he was a Caliph so impotent that the Caliphate was never so feeble in the time of any other as it was in his, nor was the authority of any Sultán so powerful as that of A’dhud u’d Daulah, and things have come to such a pass in our time that the Caliph visits the Sultán to congratulate him, at the beginning of each month, and the utmost that the Sultán condescends in his favour, is to come down from his dais and the two sit down together beyond the dais; then the Caliph arises and departs like an ordinary person, and the Sultán seats himself in the Hall of State. Indeed, I have been told that Sultán al Ashraf Barsabá† when he marched to Amida to engage the enemy, the Caliph accompanied him, riding before him and acting as his chamberlain while all dignity and honour were reserved for

* A’dhud u’d Daulah was the first prince according to Ibn Khall. who since the promulgation of Iṣlamian, had received the title of Malik.

† Abá’r Naṣr Sayf u’d din surnamed Malik al Ashraf, eighth Sultán of Egypt of the second dynasty of the Mamelukes called Burjites—who began his reign in 825 A. H., (1421 A. D.) and died 841 after a reign of 7 years. D’Herbelot says that he was so modest that he would not force his subjects to kiss the earth or prostrate themselves before him. His life will be found in Weil’s Hist. of the Abbaside Caliphs in Egypt, Vol. II.
the Sultán, the Caliph appearing as one of the nobles in the suite of the A.H. 370 Sultán.

In the year 370, A’dhúd u’d Daulah left Hamadán and marched to Baghdad, and at Táí’i went out to meet him, though it had never been the custom for the Caliphs to go forth to meet any one, for when the daughter* of Mú’îzz u’d Daulah died, al Mu’tí’ went to visit and condole with him, and Mú’îzz u’d Daulah kissed the ground. On this occasion the messenger of A’dhúd u’d Daulah went to request at Táí’i to meet him who was unable to decline.

In the year 372, A’dhúd u’d Daulah died and at Táí’i appointed to the Sultánate in his place, his son Šamsám u’d Daulah, and he gave him the title of Shams u’d Millat (Sun of the Faith). He bestowed upon him seven robes of honour and crowned him and fastened for him two banners.

Subsequently in the year 373 died Muayyid u’d Daulah brother of A’dhúd u’d Daulah. In the year 375 Šamsám u’d Daulah proposed to put a tax upon stuffs of silk and cotton woven in Baghdad and its environs, the farming of which brought him a million dirhams a year, but the people assembled in the mosque of al Mansúr and determined to stop the Friday prayers and the city was almost in an uproar whereupon he remitted this monopoly.

In the year 376, Sharaf u’d Daulah marched against his brother Šamsám u’d Daulah. He was victorious over him and blinded him. The army now favoured Sharaf u’d Daulah who marched to Baghdad. At Táí’i rode out to meet him and to congratulate him on his conquest of the provinces and gave him a diploma of investiture in the dignity of the Sultánate, and crowned him. The diploma was read out while at Táí’i listened. In the year 378, Sharaf u’d Daulah ordered an observation of the seven heavenly bodies† and their orbits as al Mámún had done. During the same a great scarcity prevailed in Baghdad and deaths occurred therein, and the people of Basrah suffered from a violent heat and from a burning wind under which men dropped down. A strong wind blew at Fám u’s Silh‡ which dried up the Tigris so that it was said that the bottom appeared, and many ships were overwhelmed, and it carried down a boat full of cattle which it cast in the land of Júkha§ where it was seen after some time.

* He had before said “sister.” See page 421.
† The sun, moon, Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn.
‡ A large canal above Wásit.
§ The name of a stream in the Sawád of Baghdad upon which a large town was situated rich enough to yield a revenue of eight million dirhams. It was destroyed, says Yakút, by the Tigris altering its course and a plague completed its ruin. Yakút.
A. H. 379. In the year 379 died Sharaf u'd Daulah who bequeathed the succession to his brother Abu Naṣr, and at Tāiī' went to the palace to console with him, and the latter kissed the earth several times. Afterwards Abu Naṣr rode to visit at Tāiī'. The nobles were present and at Tāiī' bestowed seven robes of honour upon Abu Naṣr, the upper one being of black, and a black turban and placed a collar round his neck and two bracelets upon his arm, and the chamberlains preceded him with drawn swords. Then he kissed the ground before at Tāiī' and sat upon a chair of state. His diploma of investiture was read out, and at Tāiī' surnamed him Baha u'd Daulah wa Dhiyā u'l Millat. (The Glory of the State and the lustre of Faith.)

In the year 381 at Tāiī' was arrested. The cause of this was that he had imprisoned one of the suite of Baha u'd Daulah. Upon this, Baha u'd Daulah went to at Tāiī' who was seated in the pavilion girt with a sword, and as he approached he kissed the ground and seated himself on a chair. His myrmidons advanced and dragged at Tāiī' from his throne, and the Daylamites pressed upon him and enveloped him in a mantle and he was taken up to the Sulṭān’s palace. The city was in commotion and Baha u'd Daulah returned and dictated an oath to at Tāiī' that he would abdicate and resign the government to al Kādir bi'llāh, and the nobles and principal men testified to this. This took place on the 19th of Shā'ban (1st November, 991) and a despatch was sent to al Kādir bi'llāh who was at al Bati’hah* to summon him. At Tāiī’ dwelt in the palace of Kādir bi’llāh, respected and honoured in most comfortable circumstances—as an instance of which—a candle was one night taken to him the half of which had been burnt, and he refused it and they brought him another†—until he died on the night of the Eed u'l Fīr 393, (2nd August, 1002). Al Kādir, prayed over him and the nobles and attendants followed him and the Sharīf ar Rīdḥā‡ mourned in a poem. He was particularly hostile to the descendants of Abu Tālib. Reverence for his authority had so declined in his reign, that the poets satirized him.

* Between Wāṣiṭ and Baṣrah.
† On another occasion al Kādir sent him a dish of lentils. He asked the messenger if that was the kind of food the Caliph ate. On being answered in the affirmative, he desired the man to tell his master that if such fare contented him, he need not have aspired to the dignity of the Caliphate. From that time al Kādir appointed a girl from his own kitchen to cook whatever he asked for. Ibn Ath.
‡ Abu'l Ḥasan Muḥammad the son of at Tāhir Ḍū'l Manākīb directly descended from A'li-b-Abi Tālib. His poetical works fill a large diوان of four volumes and at Tha'lābī considers him the ablest poet of all the descendants of A'li-b-Abi Tālib. His life in Ibn Khall. will repay perusal. He was born at Baghdad 369 A. H., (969-70) and died there 406 A. H. (1016).
Of persons of note who died in the days of at Tāii' were Ibn Sunni A. H. 381. the Ḥāfidh, Ibn A'di, al Ḥaṭṭāl the elder, as Sirāfī the grammarian, Abu A. D. 991. Sahl as Sa'lūkī, Abu Bakr ar Rāzi' al Ḥanāfī, Ibn Khālawayh, al Azhari the great philologist, Abu Ibrahīm al Fārābī author of the Diwān u'l Adab, ar Raffā the poet, Abu Zayd al Marwazi as Shaf'i, ad Dārīkī, Abu Bakr al Abhari the Malikite Shaykh, and Abu'l Layth as Samarkandī, the Ḥanafīte Imām, Abū A'li al Fārisī the grammarian, and Ibn u'l Ḥallāb al Mālikī.

AL KĀDIR BI'LLAH.

Al Kādir bi'lláh Abu'l A'bbás Ahmad-b-Iṣḥāk-b-i'l Muktadīr was born in the year 336. His mother was a slave girl called Tāmanni and some say Damnah. He was acknowledged Caliph on the abdication of his brother, being then absent, but he arrived on the 10th of Ramadhān and gave public audience the next day and received congratulations and the poets recited their poems before him. Among these was the following by as Sharīf ar Riddā—

"Sons of A'bbás, the honour of the Caliphate,
This day Abu'l A'bbás hath renewed.
May fortune long preserve as a store for time of need, this rock
Of that mighty immovable mountain, *(the A'bbāside dynasty).*"

Al Khaṭīb says that al Kādir was distinguished for his rectitude and nobility of character, for long watching and much alms-giving, and an admirable course of conduct in accordance with the accounts reported of him. He studied the science of the law under the learned Abu Bishar al Harawi the Shafi'ite, and he composed a treatise on the fundamental principles of faith in which he introduced the merits of the Companions and accused of impiety the Mua'tazzalites and those who maintained the creation of the Kurān, and this work used to be read every Friday, in an assembly of Traditionists in the mosque of al Mahdi, and in presence of the people. *(Ibn u's Salah* records this in his Classes of the Shafi'ites.)*

Ad Dahabī states that in the month of Shawwāl of the year of his accession, a public audience was held at which al Kādir and Baha u'd

*Abū Omar Othmān as Shahrozi was a jurisconsult of the Shafi'i school. He was one of the most eminent of his time in Kurānic interpretation, traditions, jurisprudence, biographies of traditionists and other branches of knowledge. He was professor of the school for teaching traditions founded at Damascus by al Malik al Ashraf. He died in 643 A. H. (1245).*
A. H. 381. Daulah pledged their faith to each other and al Ḫādir invested him with authority wheresoever the Aḇbāside dominion was acknowledged outside his own gate. During the same Aḇu’l Futuḥ* al Ḥasan-b-Jaʿfar the A’līide, the governor of Mecca claimed sovereignty for himself, and assumed the surname of ar Rāšid billusḥ and he was saluted Caliph. The sovereign of Egypt was under much apprehension thereat, but after a little the authority of Aḇu’l Futuḥ declined, and he returned to his allegiance to al A’zīz the U’baydite.

In the year 382 the Wazir Abu Naṣr Sābūr Ardashīr purchased a house at Karḵ and fitted it up and named it the House of Learning devoting it to the use of the learned and he bequeathed it many volumes.

In the year 384 the pilgrims from Prāḵ returned, for the Bedouin (Chief) Usayyar† forbade their advance save under his pass, wherfore they returned and did not perform the pilgrimage, neither did the people of Syria or Yaman make it, but those of Egypt did so. In the year 387 Sulṭān Fākhr u’d Daulah died. He was succeeded by his son Rustam in the government of Rai and its dependencies at the age of forty, and al Ḫādir gave him the title of Majd u’d Daulah (Glory of the State).

Ad Ḫababi remarks among strange occurrences, the death of nine sovereigns in a series during the years 387 and 388—among them, Mansūr-b-Nūḥ lord of Trans-Oxiana, Fākhr u’d Daulah prince of Rai and the mountainous tracts and al A’zīz the U’baydite ruler of Egypt.

And regarding them Abu Mansūr A’bdūl Malik at Tha’ālabi says—

"Hast thou not seen the kings of our time in the past two years,
That a caller summoneth them to death and slaughter.
The hand of death hath grasped Nūḥ the son of Mansūr‡
With the regrets that his heart contained.
Alas! for the calamity of Mansūr (b.-Nūḥ) on the day of Sarkhas.
His kingdom was torn from him and he about to perish.
His repose was disturbed by this being blinded and he became
A sightless prince whom calamities had attacked.

* An account of the pretension of this person will be found in Ibn Khallakān’s Life of the Wazir al Maghrībi—but Ibn Khaldbūn places this rebellion in the time of al Ḥākim instead of al A’zīz who died in 386—and this is confirmed by Ibn Khallakān.
† The reason given by Ibn Ath. is that Usayyar complained of the debasement of the coin in which the mail he levied had been previously paid by the Sulṭān. During the correspondence that ensued on this, the time for the pilgrimage passed by.
‡ Nūḥ-b-Mansūr of the Samāni dynasty died in 387, and was succeeded by his son Aḇu’l Ḥarīth Mansūr-b-Nūḥ in the government of Buktūzūn. He was seized at Sarkha in Khurasān by two of his rebellious nobles, Buktūzūn and Fāḵ and blinded, Consult Ibn Ath., anno 389.
And the lord of Egypt hath gone his way,  
And the prince of the mountains whom the sepulchres have concealed,  
And the ruler of Jurján in his vain regret,  
Whom the regardant eye of death was watching,  
And the king of Khwarazm* the face of whose felicity hath become darkened,  
And to whom the day of his evil destiny hath appeared,  
And Abu A’li† was exalted upon earth seeking to gain it  
Until misfortunes destroyed him.  
And the lord of Bust,‡ that lion whose Claws were the keys of the East and West.  
A quick messenger from adversity alighted near him,  
And when fate presents itself it cannot be averted  
By armies though they exceed in number the pebbles  
And though the plains and level grounds are thronged with them.  
Upon Šamsám u’d Daulah the Buwide came  
Destroying calamities whose spoils are afflictions.  
And verily the prince of Juzján§ hath crossed  
The bridge of life, and the fates that had long regarded him, approached.”

Ad Ŭahabi says that al A’zíz the sovereign of Egypt died in 386 and the conquests made by him beyond those of his predecessors, were Emessa, Ḥamát and Aleppo. The khutbah was said for him in Mosal and Yaman. His name was impressed upon the coinage and the standards, and he was succeeded in the government by his son al Manšúr who was surnamed al Ḥákim bi-amri’Uah.

In the year 390 a gold mine was discovered in Sijistán and they extracted red gold from the soil.

In the year 393 the governor of Damascus al Aswad the Ťákímite|| gave an order regarding a certain Mauritanian, and he was paraded upon an ass, and it was cried out, “This is the retribution for him who loveth Abú Bakr and Omar.” Then they struck off his head—may God have mercy upon him, but not upon his slayer or his master al Ḥákim.

* Put to death by the ruler of Jurján Mámán-b-Muḥammad.
† Ruler of Khurasán succeeding his father Simjúr. He was imprisoned by Subuktagin and died in prison.
‡ Between the ancient Drangiana. (Sijistán) Ghazni and Herát. Subuktagín is probably meant here as he died in 387 A. H.
§ A city in Khurasán.
|| Because appointed by al Ḥákim bi’amri’Uah who gave him in addition the command of his troops in Syria.
In the year 394 Baha u'd Daulah invested the Sharif Abu Ahmad al A.D. 1003-4. Husayn-b-Musa al Músawi with the office of chief Kádhi and the superintendency of the pilgrimage and of the court for the redressal of abuses, and the chief jurisdiction over the descendants of Abú Talib,* and wrote him from Shiraz a commission to that effect, but he did not assume the office of Kádhi through the refusal of al Kádir to sanction it.

In the year 395, al Hákim put to death a number of the principal men of old Cairo by confining them till they died, and commanded that writings reviling the Companions should be placed on the doors of mosques and in the public roads, and he gave orders to his prefects to revile them. In the same he ordered that all dogs should be killed, and forbade the use of beer, of malúkhya,† and prohibited the sale of fish without scales, and he put to death a number of people who sold them after their prohibition.

In the year 396 he ordered the people in old Cairo and the Sacred Cities to rise and bow down in the streets and places of public assembly when the name of al Hákim was mentioned.

In the year 398, an open rupture occurred between the Shi'ias and Sunnis at Baghdad in which the Shaykh Abu Ahmad al Asfaráini was nearly killed, and the heretics (Shi'ias) in Baghdad called out, "O for Hákim, O for Mansúr." Al Kádir was enraged at this and sent mounted the horse-guards in attendance at his gate to the assistance of the Sunnis, and the heretics were dispersed. During the same, al Hákim demolished the church of the Resurrection‡ at Jerusalem and ordered the destruction of all the churches in Egypt. He also commanded that the Christians should place crosses upon their necks, the length of the cross to be a cubit and its weight five Egyptian ratls,§ and that the Jews should carry on their necks logs of wood equal in weight to the crosses and wear black turbans, whereupon a number of them embraced Islám. Shortly afterwards he permitted the restoration of the churches and temples and suffered those who had embraced Islám, since it had been forced upon them, to return to their faith.

* Ibn u'l Athir has طالب دين for طالب دين—but the latter expression is used by Ibn Khall. See his life of the Sharif ar Ridha son of Abu Ahmad al Husayn.
† A species of mallows. De Slane gives the botanical name as Corchorous olitorius. Al Hákim also forbade lupin pellets to be eaten with the malúkhya.
‡ Ibn Khall. places this event in 408. The word Kumámah (sweepings), says De Slane, is used by the Muslims contemptuously for Kiyámah (Resurrection). Yákút however, does not hear out this statement of its contemptuous application by the Muslims. He allows that it is called Kiyámah, but says that the proper word is Kumámah as the place used to be the refuse repository outside the city, where in the earliest times malefactors were executed. After the death of the Messiah, he continues, it became the place of reverence it now is.
§ De Slane makes this equal to ten pounds. Lane gives the Baghdad ratl at one pound.
In the year 399 Abu A'mar the Kâdî of Başrah was removed from A. H. 399. office and Abu'l Hasan-b-Abi's Shawarib assumed the post of Kâdî. The A. D. 1008. poet al U'sfari wrote as follows regarding this—

"I have a pleasant story
Such as those which are sung,
Of two Kâdhis one of whom is consoled with
And the other congratulated.
This one says, 'I was forced to accept it
The other says, 'I was well rid of it.'
And both of them lie.
Which of us will believe them?"

In the same year the supremacy of the House of Umayyah in Spain sunk into feebleness and their authority declined.*

In the year 400 the Tigris fell to an extent never before witnessed and agricultural leases were granted on account of the island that appeared in it, and this had never before happened.

In the year 402 al Ḥâkim forbade the sale of dates,† and caused them to be burnt, and also the sale of grapes and destroyed many vineyards.

In the year 404 he prohibited the women from going out on the roads night or day, and this continued till his death.

In the year 411 (27th Shawwal, 13th February) al Ḥâkim (may God curse him) was slain at Ḥulwán a village in Egypt and his son A'li succeeded him and was surnamed ad Dhâhir li'i'zâzi din i'llâh, (the aider in exalting the religion of God), but their supremacy declined in his reign, Aleppo and a great part of Syria being lost to them.

In the year 422 died al Kâdir b'ilâh on Sunday night, the 11th of Du'll Hijjah (29th November 1081) at the age of eighty-seven, and the duration of his Caliphate was forty-one years and three months.

Of persons of note who died during his reign were:—Abu Aḥmad al A'skarî the professor of general literature, ar Ṛummâni the grammarian, Abu'l Ḥasan al Mâṣarjîsi the Shafi'ite Shaykh, Abu U'baydi'llâh al Marzabâni, the Şâhib Ibn A'bbâd the minister of Muayyid u'd Daulah, the first of the ministers who was called the Şâhib, ad Dâraḳūtnî the well known Ḥâfîdh, Ibn Shaḥîn, Abu Bakr al Audani the Shafi'ite Imám, Yusuf-b-u's Şirâfî, Ibn Zâlâk‡ al Misri, Ibn Abi Zayd al Máliki, the Máli-

* An account of the deposition of Mahdi and the restoration of Hisham II, and the history of these troublous times will be found treated at length by M. Dozy (Hist. des. Musalm. D' Esp. Vol. III, p. 299) and more briefly by Ibn Aṭh. anno 400.
† Ibn Khall. says "raisins" (زئيب).
‡ The text should here be corrected.
A. H. 422. Ibn Salami, Bakilani, Halimi

A. D. 1031. Battah al Hanbali, Ibn Sama'un† the preacher, al Khattabi, al Hāti'īmi the philologist, al Uذdā'ī Abu Bakr, Zāhir al Sarkhāsī the Shafi'īte Shaykh, Ibn Ghaibān the Kurān reader, al Kūshmayhani the reciter of the Sāhihī, al Mu'āṣa-b-Zakariya and Nabrāwānī, Ibn Khuyayz Mandād, Ibn Jinni, al Jaubari author of the Arabic lexicon called as Sāhābī, Ibn Fāris author of the Majmūl fī'l Loghat (Collection of Philological Observations), Ibn Mandah the Ḥāfiḍh, al Ismā'īlī the Sāhīfīte Shaykh, Ashbāgh-b-u'l Faraj the Mālikite Shaykh, Badī' u'z Zamān the first who composed Makāmās (Discourses) Ibn Lāl, Ibn Abi Zumayn,‡ Abu Ḥayyān at Tāhūdī, al Wāwā,§ the poet, al Harawi author of the Kitāb u'l Gharibayn, Abu'l Fath al Bustī the poet, al Ḥalīmi the Shafi'īte Shaykh, Ibn u'l Fāridh, Abu'l Ḥasan al Kābisi, the Kādhi Abu Bakr al Bāqilānī, Abu't Tayyib as Ṣalūkī, Ibn u'l Aḵfānī, Ibn Nubātah author of the kluṭbahs (sermons), as Ṣaymari the Shafi'īte Shaykh, al Ḥākim author of the Mustadrak ḍalā's Sāhiḥayn (strictures on the two Sāhiḥs), Ibn Kajj, the Shaykh Abū Ḥāmid al Asfārānī, Ibn Fārāk, as Sharīf ar Rīḏā' Abu Bakr ar Rāzī author of the Alkāb (Titles),|| the Ḥāfīḍh Abu'l Ghasīn-b-Sa'id, Ibn Mardāwīh, Ḥībbat u'llāh-b-Sālmāh, the blind Commentator, Abū A bd'u'r Raḥmān as Salāmī the Ṣūfī Shaykh, Ibn u'l Bawwāb the Caligrafaist, Ashbāgh B awkīr al Mu'a'tazālī, al Maḥāmīlī the Shafi'īte Imām, Abu Bakr al Kaffāl the Shafi'īte Shaykh, the master Abu Išāq al Asfārānī,¶ al Lālakālī, Ibn u'l Fakhkhār the scholar of Spain, A'lī-b-I'sa ar Riba'i the grammarian and others. Ad Dāhābi says that in this age lived the principal doctor of the Ashā'ītes** Abū Išāq al Asfārānī, the head of the Mu'a'tazālītes the Kādhi A bd'u'l Jabbār, the head of the Rāfīḍahites (schismatics) the Shaykh al Mufīd, the head of the Kirāmites Muhammad-b-u'll Hāysām, the head of the Kurān readers Abu'l Ḥasan al Ḥammāmī, the head of the Traditionists the Ḥāfīḍh A bd'u'l Ghasīn-b-Sa'id, the head of the Sūfīs Abu A bd'u'r Raḥmān as Salāmī, the chief of the poets Abu Omar-b-Darrāj,

* Intended as a guide to novices entering the Sūfī or contemplative life. De Stange, I. K.
† The text has incorrectly Shama'un. See Ibn Ath. and Ibn Khall.
‡ I cannot find this name in any author I have consulted and am ignorant of its true pronunciation.
§ The text should have a second aliph.
|| This is an error. He died in 311. In Ibn Khall. the word is A'ktāb (اكتب) of which De Stange remarks that he knows neither the true pronunciation nor the meaning. Hāji Khalīfa does not mention it neither does Abu'l Mahāsin though he notes the death of this eminent physician.
¶ The text wrongly points this name.
** For the opinions of these various sects, consult Sale's preface to his translation of the Kurān.
the first of Caligraphists Ibn u'l Bawwáh, and the first among sovereigns A. H. 422. Mahmúd-b-Subuktágí. I observe that there may be added to these, al A. D. 1031. Hákim bi'amrí'lláh the chief among the impious, al Jauhari' the first of philologists, Ibn Janni the first of grammarians, al Bádí' the first of eloquent speakers, the first of Kháfíbí Ibn Núbátáh, the first of commentators Abu'l Khásim-b-Háhib an Naysábúrí, and the first of Caliphs al Kádir bi'lláh for he was one of the most learned of them, having studied law and composed treatises therein and let it suffice thee that the Shaykh Takkí u'd dín-b-i's Šaláh counts him among the Sháfí'íte doctors and has introduced him in the classes of them—further his reign was one of the longest in duration.

**AL KAIM-BI-AMRI'LLAH.**

Al Káim-bi-amrí'lláh, *(who stands by the order of God)* Abu Jaa'far Abdu'lláh the son of al Kádir was born about the middle of Dú'll Kaa'dah in the year 391. His mother was an Armenian slave concubine named Bádr u'd Duja *(the full moon of darkness)* and some say Katr u'd Náda *(dewdrop)*. He assumed the Caliphate on the death of his father in 422 having been his heir-presumptive during his lifetime and it was his father who surnamed him al Káim-bi-amrí'lláh.

Ibn u'l Athír states that he was comely, of an attractive countenance, austere in life, pious, devout, learned, full of confidence in God, charitable, patient. He was assiduous in the cultivation of literature and skilled in writing, prompt to justice and benevolence, attending to all claims and undesirous to refuse anything that might be asked of him. Al Kháfíbí observes that his authority continued firm until he was arrested in the year 450. The cause of this was that the Turk Arslán al Basárisí* came into power and in the absence of any rivals, his authority increased and the Emírs of the Arabs and other tribes stood in awe of him and prayers were offered for him upon the pulpits. He levied money and desolated whole villages, al Káim being unable to determine anything without him. At length he discovered his evil designs, for he heard that it was his intention to plunder the palace and to arrest the Caliph himself. Upon this the Caliph communicated with Abu Tálib Muḥammad Mikáyíl† the chief of the Ghuzz, known as Toghrul Bek who was at Rái, requesting him to march to his relief.

* Abú'l Háríth Arslán the general of the Turkish troops at Baghdad. He had been a Mamlúk to Baha u'd Daulah-b-Buwayh. His life may be found in I. K.
† Not Mikyál as in the text. Toghrul Bek was the first monarch of the Seljuk Dynasty. See I. K.
A. H. 447. Subsequently the palace of al Basāṣīrī was burnt down and in the year A. D. 1055. 447 Toghrul Bek arrived and al Basāṣīrī retired to Raḥbah where he was joined by a number of Turks and he wrote to the sovereign of Egypt (al Mustanṣir bi'llāh) who assisted him with money. He also corresponded with Īnāl* the brother of Toghrul Bek inciting him by the offer of his brother's dignities. Īnāl accordingly revolted and engaged the attention of Toghrul Bek. Afterwards al Basāṣīrī marched to Baghdad in the year 450 accompanied by the Egyptian standards and engagements took place between him and the Caliph. Public prayers were offered up for the Egyptian monarch al Mustanṣir in the great mosque of al Manṣūr and to the call to prayers was added “Haste to an excellent work.”† Subsequently he was prayed for in all the mosques except that of the Caliph, and hostilities continued for some months. At length al Basāṣīrī seized the Caliph in the month of Du‘l Hijjah and removed him to A‘ānah‡ and confined him there. Toghrul Bek in the meantime defeated his brother and put him to death. Then he wrote to the prefect of A‘ānah to send back the Caliph with honour to his palace, and the Caliph arrived at the royal palace on the 25th of Du‘l Ka‘dah in the year 451 entering with great pomp, the nobles and chamberlains preceding him. Toghrul Bek next despatched an army which encountered al Basāṣīrī and defeated him and he was slain and his head carried to Baghdad. After the Caliph returned to his palace, he never slept save upon his prayer-carpet and gave himself up to fasting and prayer. He forgave all who had injured him and he accepted the restoration of what had been plundered from him only on payment for the same, saying, “I count upon obtaining for these things, a reward from God,” and after this he never laid his head upon a pillow. When his palace was plundered there were not found in it any instruments of music. It is related that when al Basāṣīrī placed him in confinement, he wrote his own story and sent it to Mecca where it was hung up in the ḫa‘bah. It contained the following—“To the most High God from his lowly servant. O Lord, thou knowest all secrets and readest all hearts! O Lord, verily thou art self-sufficing in Thine own knowledge and understanding of Thy creatures, needing not my telling. This slave hath been ungrateful for Thy benefits and hath not given thanks for them and hath put aside the consequences thereof and hath not remembered them. Thy forbearance hath led him astray, so that he hath rebelled against us and hath done evil to us in insolence and malice. O

* The text has incorrectly translated 

† See note †, p. 423.
‡ Above Hf. on the Euphrates and near Hadithah. The text incorrectly points the word.
Lord, the Defender hath been humbled and the Tyrant exalted, but thou A. H. 451. art the All-knowing, the Wise, the Just, the Supreme Ruler. Through thee A. D. 1059. shall we overcome him and to Thee we fly from his hands. Verily he hath been exalted over us by means of creatures, but we shall overcome by Thy aid and verily we summon him, in judgment before Thee, and we trust to Thee for justice against him and we carry this oppression of us to Thy sanctuary and trust to Thy mercy to remove it—therefore judge between us for Thou art the best of judges.'

In the year 428, al Dhahir the U‘baydite Sovereign of Egypt died and was succeeded by his son al Musta‘nîr who was of the age of seven, and he reigned as Caliph sixty years and four months. Ad Dahabi says, “I know of no one in Islam, whether Caliph or Sultan, that reigned for this period. During his days there was a famine in Egypt, the like of which had not been known since the time of Joseph. It continued seven years so that people devoured each other, and it is said even that a small loaf was sold for fifty dinars.

In the year 443 al Mu’izz-b-Bâdîs* suppressed the khuṭba for the U‘baydite in Mauritania and established in the name of the House of A‘bbâs.

In the year 451, a peace was concluded between Sultan Ibrahim-b-Masa‘ûd-b-Maḥmûd-b-Snbuktâgîn prince of Ghazni and Sultan Jughrî Bek-b-Saljûk† the brother of Toghrul Bek ruler of Khurasân after long hostilities. Jughrî Bek died the same year and was succeeded by his son Alp Arslân.

In the year 454 the Caliph betrothed his daughter to Toghrul Bek after doing his utmost to avoid it. He was much perturbed and wished that it should be withdrawn but at last he yielded against his will. This was a concession never obtained by any of the Buwides princes with all their subjection of the Caliphs and their power over them. I observe that now the Caliph of our time hath married his daughter to one of the slaves of the Sultan—to say nothing of the Sultan—“Verily we belong to God and verily unto Him shall we return.” Subsequently in the year 455 Toghrul Bek arrived and visited the daughter of the Caliph‡ and he restored the

* Nâdîs in the text and MS. is incorrect. He was of the Sanhây, one of the oldest and purest Berber tribes claiming descent from Himyarite Arabs. He ruled Africa for the House of A‘bbâs, and the khuṭba was never again read in that country for any Egyptian sovereign. Ibn Khall.

† Not حفني as in the text. He was the son of Mikayîl and brother of Toghrul Bek. The word Toghrul signifies a kind of falcon and Bek a commander. Ibn Khall.

‡ This was a mere visit of ceremony and frequently repeated, she receiving him seated on a throne of gold and never lifting her veil or rising. Weil says that the marriage contract alone was celebrated and that Toghrul Bek died on the 8th Ramadân.
A. H. 455. * and the taxes and farmed the revenues of Baghdad for one hundred and fifty thousand dinárs. He then returned to Réâ and died in the month of Ramadhán—may the Lord not forgive him. He was succeeded by his nephew A’dhûd u’d Daulah Alp Arslán prince of Khurasán to whom al Káim sent a robe of honour and the investiture. Ad Dahabi says that he was the first called the Sultan on the pulpits of Baghdad. He reached an eminence which none other of the sovereigns attained and he conquered many of the cities of the Christians and appointed Nádám u’l Mulk his Wazír who abolished what his predecessor A’mid u’l Mulk had done regarding the reviling of the Asha’ris, and he gave his countenance to Shafi’ites, and honoured the Imám u’l Haramayn and Abu’l Kásim al Kusayri and founded the Nizamíyah College. It is said that this was the earliest College founded for jurisconsults.

In the year 458 a little girl was born at Bab u’l Azaj with two heads and two faces and two necks upon one body, and during the same, a heavenly body of great brilliancy appeared like a halo round the moon on a night when it was at its full, and it terrified the people, continuing during ten nights when its light waned and it disappeared.

In the year 459, the Nizamíyah College at Baghdad was completed and the Shaykh Ibn Ishák as Shirázi was appointed professor. The people assembled to hear him, but he did not appear and concealed himself

(18th according to I. K.) 455, (4th September, 1063) before the nuptials were completed, Ibn Ath. seems to bear out this view. The Caliph demanded as the price of his hand from 100 to 300,000 dinárs and the revenues of Wásiţ.

* The words of Ibn Ath. and Ibn Khaldún are here identical.

† Many Shafi’ite doctors were attached to the teaching of al Asha’ri (see Sale’s preface to the Kurán for their doctrines) which led them into controversy with the Hanbalites on points of faith. See I. K.’s life.

‡ Abu’l Músái A’bdul Malik surnamed Dhiya u’dîfîn (Splendour of Religion), called the Imám u’l Haramayn from his long residence in the two Sacred Cities. He was considered the most learned doctor of the Shafi’ites in later times. The list of many of his works will be found in his biography by Ibn Khall. He died in A. H. 478.

§ Likewise a Shafi’ite doctor of eminence and one of the most learned in Jurisprudence, Kuranic Exegesis and Traditions &c., he held the first rank as a preacher. Born A. H. 376 (986) and died 465 (1072). Ibn Khall.

|| The Nizamíyah College was founded for the express purpose of establishing him in it as a professor. This is controverted by ad Dahabi. See de Slane’s preface to Vol. I of his translation of Ibn Khall.

¶ A quarter in Baghdad.

** Another eminent Shafi’ite doctor whose life will be found in Ibn Khall. He was born at Firdzubâd A. H. 388 (1003) and died at Baghdad 476 (1083) and the Nizamíyah College was closed for a year as a token of mourning for his death.
and Ibn u's Šabbágh* the author of the Shámil lectured. Subsequently A. H. 459. they pressed Abu Isháḳ with friendly solicitations until he consented and opened a course of teaching.

In the year 460 a tremendous earthquake occurred at Ramlaḥ† which destroyed it, and even the water rose over the mouths of the wells and twenty-five thousand of its inhabitants perished. The sea retreated from the shore the space of one day's journey, and the people went down to its bed gathering the fish and the waters returned upon them and destroyed them.

In the year 461 the great mosque of Damascus caught fire and its beauties were effaced and its appearance rendered unsightly and its golden roofs destroyed. In the year 462 an envoy from the Emír of Mecca came to Alp Arslán informing him that he had established the khūţbah for the A'ḫbásides and discontinued it for the Egyptian al Mustansír and had omitted from the Aḏán "Hasten to an excellent work," whereupon the Súltán bestowed upon him thirty thousand dínárs and a robe of honour. This was caused by the fallen state of the Egyptians through severe famines in successive years so that people fed upon each other and an irdáb‡ of wheat fetched one hundred dínárs and a dog was sold for fifty dínárs and a cat for thirty.

* Abú Nasr A'bdul-Sayyid,—(the son of the dyer) was chief Shafl'í juristconsult, of Persian and Arabian Irák. His work the Shámil (comprehensive) is one of the best Shafl'íte treatises on their system of jurisprudence. He was reinstated as professor of the Nizamíyah College on the death of Abu Isháḳ as Shírází. Born at Baghdad 400 A. H., (1009-10) and died there 477 (1084). Ibn Khall.
† In Palestine. Ibn Ath. says that the shock was felt throughout Palestine and Egypt.
‡ An Egyptian measure equal, according to Kazimírski, to about five bushels. Lane fixes it at 24 Saá (صاع) this latter being about four times the quantity of corn that fills the two hands. Al Akhtal describing miserly people, says,

أغربز العينير البندعي عنهم
والتمع صبعون ارديبا بدينار

"Bread is like Indian amber to them
While wheat is seventy irdabs for a dinár."

"Since writing the above I have met with an account of the famine that desolated Darfur, Kordofan and other provinces of Central Africa, in 1877; by Dr. Daniel Comboni, Vicar Apostolic of that region. The Austrian Consul, he writes, paid £10-3 for an ardeb (so the word is commonly pronounced) of flour, the ordinary price being 16 shillings. Later on, at Khartoum, flour could not be obtained at any price and in the kingdom of Kordofan £20 could not purchase a single ardeb.” This measure he gives as equivalent to a sack containing about 2 cwt. 100 dínárs would be equal to about £45, double the price of the ardeb in the famine of 1877, which was terrible enough.
The author of the Mirát* relates that a woman went out of Cairo A. D. 1069. with a mudd (about two pounds) of jewels, crying out, “Who will take this for a mudd of wheat?”

One of the poets congratulating al Kâim says—

“Verily the Egyptian knew that within his armies
Were the famine years of Joseph and the plague of Emmaus.
They remained there till he was anxious for his safety
And he feared them with an exceeding fear.”

In the year 463 the khutbah was read for al Kâim and the Sultán Alp Arslán in Aleppo when the people there beheld the supremacy of their authority and the decline of the sway of al Mustaṣir.

During the same a great battle† was fought between the Muslims and the Byzantines, and the Muslims were victorious, praise be to God. They were led by Alp Arslán who took the Emperor prisoner but afterwards released him for a large sum and concluded a peace for fifty years. When he was released he said to Alp Arslán—“In what direction is the Caliph?” He pointed to it and the Emperor uncovered his head and bent in submission in that direction.

In the year 464, a great murrain in sheep broke out.

In 465, Alp Arslán was slain and was succeeded in the government by his son Malik Shâh who was surnamed Jalâl u’d Daulah. He restored the administration of the Empire to Nîdhâm u’l Mulk and gave him the title of Atábek. He was the first so called and it means “the Father‡ Emir.”

During the same the famine was so severe in Egypt that a woman ate a small loaf purchased for a thousand dinârs and the plague reached its height.

In the year 466 there was a great inundation in Baghdad. The Tigris rose thirty cubits, the like of which had never occurred and property...

* Probably the Mirât uz Zamân, the Mirror of the Age by the learned Professor Imám and historian Shams u’ddin Abu’l Muzaffar Yusuf-b-Kizaghli grandson of Abu’l Faraj-b-u’l Jauzi. He was born at Baghdad 697 A. H., (1200-1), died 654 A. H. (1257). His great historical work the Mirât extends to forty volumes and Abu’l Mahásein acknowledges his indebtedness to it when composing his annals. Do Slane, I. K.

† This was fought on 26th August, 1071 near Metázkerd, midway between Van and Erzeroum. Romanus Diogenes was taken prisoner and released on a ransom of 1,500,000 dinârs. The intrepidity of the captive and the courtesy of the conqueror may be read with pleasure and instruction in the picturesque and accurate narrative of Gibbon. Cap. LVII.

‡ In Ibn Khall’s life of Jaḵar Naṣrûddân, the meaning of Atábek is given as the educator of princes—from the Turkish Ata father and Bek Emîr.
and lives and cattle were destroyed. The people went about in boats and A.H. 466.
the Friday prayers were twice held on sailing vessels on the face of the A.D. 1073.
waters, and the Caliph arose supplicating the Lord. Baghdad was levelled
at a stroke, one hundred thousand houses or more being destroyed.

In the year 467, on Wednesday night the 13th of Shaa'ban (2nd April,
1075) the Caliph al Kâim-bi-amr'llâh died. This happened in consequence
of his having been bled. He went to sleep and the place where he was
bled became unbound. A great loss of blood ensued and he awoke, his
strength being much diminished. He sent therefore for his grandson and
heir A'bdullâh the son of Muhammadd and bequeathed the succession to
him and then died. The duration of his Caliphate was five and forty
years.

Of persons of note who died during his reign were Abu Bakr al Birkâni,
Abûl Fadhl al Falaki, at Thaa'labi the commentator, al Kudûrî the
Hanafîte Shaykh, Ibn Sîna (Avicena) the philosopher, Mahyâr the poet,
Abu Nuaym author of the Hûlyah, Abu Zayd ad Dâbûsi, al Barda'i the
Malikite, author of the Tahdîb, Abu'l Husayn al Başrî the Mua'tazalite, Makkî
author of the 'Irâb* (grammatical inflexions), the Shaykh Abu Muhammadd
al Juayni, al Mahdawi author of the commentary, al İflili, at Thamânînî,
Abu A'mr ad Duvânî, al Khalîl author of the Irshad fi maqârisat Ula-
má al Balâd (Directory of information respecting the learned of all
countries), Salîm ar Râzi, Abu'l A'la the Kurân reader, Abu O'thmân as Şabûnî,
Ibn Battâh the Expounder of al Bukhârî, the Kâdhi Abu Tâyyih at Tâbâri,
Ibn Shîta the Kurân reader, al Mâwardi the Shafi'ite, Ibn Bâbshâd, al
Kudhâa'i author of the Shiha (Flambeau on the merits of as Shafi'î),
Ibn Burhân the grammarian, Ibn Ḥazm ad Dhâhirî, al Bayha'î, Ibn Sîdâh
author of the Muhkam (fixed) Abu Ya'la-b-u'l Farrâ the Ḥanbalîte Shaykh,
al Hadhrâmî one of the Shafi'ite school, al Hazlî author of the Kâmil
(Perfect) on the reading of the Kurân, al Fârâni, al Khaṭîb al Baghdâdî
Ibn Râshîk author of the U'mdah (Column on the art of poetry and
poetical criticism) and Ibn A'bdî'l Barr.

AL MUKTADI BI-AMR'ILLAH.

Al Muktadi bi-amri'illa (Directing himself by the command of God) 
Abûl Kasim, A'bdullâh was the son of Muhammadd the son of al Kâim.

* This is probably the work entitled, "Kitâb u'z Zâhi fil Lamâ ad dallât a'la
Mustamalât i'll l'I'râb," "The blooming, a treatise on the lights which indicate the
grammatical inflexions in general use." This Kurân reader was the author of many
voluminous works, the list of which is given by Ibn Khalîl.
A. H. 467. His father died during the lifetime of al Kā'im while his mother was A. D. 1075. pregnant with him, and he was born six months after his father's death. His mother was a slave concubine called Arjawan. He was acknowledged Caliph on his grandfather’s death, he being nineteen years and three months old. The oath of allegiance was taken in the presence of the Shaykh Abu Ishāq as Shīrázī, Ibn u’s Šabbāgh and ad Dāmağhāni.* During his reign many good works and excellent deeds were done in the provinces, and the ordinances of the Caliphate during his days were noble and honorable in contradistinction to those of his predecessors. Among his good deeds, he proscribed female singers and evil doers in Baghdad, and ordered that no one should enter the baths without drawers, and he destroyed the towers of the baths with a view to securing public decorum. He was pious, virtuous, firm of purpose, magnanimous and one of the noblest of the House of A’bbās. In this year of the Caliphate the khūṭbah was restored in Mecca in the name of the House of U’bayd. During the same, Nidhām u’l Mulk assembled the astronomers and they made the New Year’s day the first point of the sun’s entry into Aries, and before this it was held at the meridian of his passage through Pisces, and this act of al Nidhām was the origin of the reformation of the Calendar.†

In the year 468 the khūṭbah was read for al Muṣṭadi at Damascus, and the words “Haste to an excellent work,” in the call to prayers were discontinued at which the people rejoiced. In 469, Abu Naṣr son of the Master Abu’l Kāsim al Kūshayri al Asha’ri arrived at Baghdad and preached at the Nizamīyah College. A great dissension arose with the Ḥanbalites because he discoursed in favour of the Asha’ri doctrine and disparaged them. His followers and partisans increased in number and a tumult ensuing, a number were killed. Fakhr u’d Daulah-b-Jahīr was removed from the office of Wazīr of al Muṣṭadi because he separated himself from the Ḥanbalites.

In the year 475 the Caliph sent Shaykh Abu Ishāq as Shīrázī as an envoy to the Sultān with a complaint against A’mid Abu’l Fath.‡

* Abu Ja’far Muḥammad a Ḥanafite juristconsult Ḳādhi of Ṭarkh (a suburb of Baghdad). He resigned that office and entered the Caliph’s service as chamberlain and proved an able statesman. De Slane, I. K., died 518 A. H.
† “In Persia” says Gibbon “since the age of Zoroaster the revolution of the sun has been known and celebrated as an annual festival, but after the fall of the Magian empire, the intercalation had been neglected: the fractions of minutes and hours were multiplied into days; and the date of the spring was removed from the sign of Aries to that of Pisces. The reign of Malak was illustrated by the Jelāean era (from Malak Shāh’s surname Jalīl u’d Daulah) and all errors either past or future were corrected by a computation of time which surpasses the Julian and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian style.”—Decline and Fall, Cap. LVII.
‡ The words of Abu’l Fida are: Tho Caliph sent Abu Ishāq to the Sultān Malak Shāh and to Nidhām u’l Mulk. He left Baghdad for Khurasan with a com-
In the year 476, prices fell in all the provinces and the scarcity ceased. A. H. 476. During the same, the Caliph nominated Abu Shujáa’ Muḥammad-b-u’l A. D. 1083. Hasan to the office of Wazir and gave him the title of D háhir u’d din (Defender of the Faith). I believe that this was the first introduction of surnames coupled with the word “dín.”

In the year 477, Sulayman the son of Kultumish the Saljúk prince of Konieh and Akserai,* set out with his troops for Syria and took Antioch which had fallen into the possession of the Byzantines in the year 358,† and he sent to Sultan Malak Sháh to communicate the good tidings.

Aḍ Dahabi says that the posterity of Saljúk were sovereigns of a portion of Byzantine territory. Their ascendancy continued for a considerable time and a remnant of them existed up to the reign of al Malik ad D háhir B ibars‡.

In the year 478 a dark storm swept over Baghdad—the thunder pealed and the lightning flashed luridly and sand and dust fell like rain and many thunderbolts fell, and the people thought that it was the day of resurrection, and it continued for three hours past the afternoon. This occurrence was witnessed by the Imám Abu Bakr at T úrt úshi§ who has related it in his Amáli (Dictations).

In the year 479 Yusuf-b-T áshiffín|| prince of Ceuta and Morocco sent to al Muktdad requesting that he would confirm his authority and invest him with the sovereignty of the provinces he possessed. The Caliph plaint against A’mid of Iráq Abu’l Fath-b-Abi’l Layth. He returned with the acceptance by the Sultán of the Caliph’s request and A’mid was forbidden to exert any authority over the Sultán’s private establishment. Reiske, takes A’mid (Column) to signify here not a proper name but metaphorically—procuratorum commissarium. An account of Abu Isháq’s mission is given by him in a note taken from the classes of the Sháfi’ites (Tabákát u’sh Sháf'i’ah) “auctore Sebekaco,”—and the Caliph’s charge to his envoy is to complain that the people of the city (Baghdad) suffer much annoyance at the hands of Abu’l Fath. See Abu’l Fida, anno 475. From Ibn Athír it appears that the mission was for the purpose of reinstating Abu Shujáa’ as minister who had succeeded Fákr u’d Daulah and had been displaced by the Sultán.

* I have spelt the names as they are marked in Keith Johnston’s Atlas.
† The text has by some mistake 358. In the MS. the unit is omitted. A masterly sketch of these events will be found at the close of Gibbon’s 57th chapter.
‡ This dynasty of the Saljúks of Rám dates from the year 480 and closes in 700 A. H., continuing 220 years under fifteen sovereigns whose names are recorded by the diligence of D’Herbelot. The Iranian and Kermanian branches will be found noticed by the same author.
§ He was a native of Tortosa in Spain and a Malikite doctor noted for his ascetic life. He studied at Seville, at Baghdad and at Baṣrah. He died in 520 A. H., (1126). Ibn Khall.
|| The text makes an N of the initial instead of T. The MS. is correct—the particulars of this event will be found in Ibn Khall. under Mua’tamid-b-A’bbád.
A. H. 479. accordingly sent him a robe of honour and standards and gave him the
A. D. 1086. title of prince of the Muslims at which he was much pleased, and the
jurisconsults of Mauritania rejoiced. It was he who founded the city of
Morocco.

During the same, Sulțán Malak Sháh entered Baghdad for the first
time and took up his residence at the palace and played at ball. He met
the Caliph with reciprocal civility and shortly after he returned to
Ispahan. During the same, the khuštah for the U’baydite sovereign (al
Mustanṣır bi’l-láh) was discontinued in the Sacred Cities and was read
for al Muktádi.

In the year 481 the sovereign of Ghaznah al Mu’ayyid Ibráhím-b-
Masa’úd-b-Máhmut-b-Subuktágín died and his son Jalál u’d dín Masa’úd
succeeded him.

In the year 488 a College was built at Baghdad by Táj u’l Mulk
Mustáwî† u’d Daulah at the gate of Abraz and Abu Bakr as Sháshî‡
lected there.

In the year 484 the Franks conquered the whole of the island of
Sicily which had been first conquered by the Muslims after the year 200§
A. H. The Aghlabites retained possession of it uninterruptedly till al
Mahdi the U’baydite conquered Africa. During the same, Sulțán Malak
Sháh arrived in Baghdad and ordered a large mosque to be built. The
nobles also erected mansions round about it, to dwell in when they visited
Baghdád. He then returned to Ispahan but again repaired to Baghdad
in 485 A. H. with evil intent. He sent to the Caliph informing him that
he must quit Baghdad and that he might go to any other city he pleased.
The Caliph was much perturbed and replied, “Give me a respite though
it be for a month.” He answered, “Not a single hour.” The Caliph
then sent to the Wazír of the Sulțán begging for a delay of ten days. At
this juncture occurred the illness and death of the Sulțán which was ascribed
to the miraculous powers of the Caliph. It is said that the Caliph fasted
and when he had broken his fast, he sat upon ashes and called down

* Or it may mean “He played against the Caliph.” The Sulțán and the Caliph
were on the most friendly terms and interchanged visits and presents. The MS. has
مَا لَا لَكَ مِنْ مَعَانِي for مَا لَا لَكَ مِنْ مَعَانِي of the text.
† Táj u’l Mulk Abú’l Ghanáím was the favourite of Türkán Khatán wife of
Malak Sháh. At her instigation Niýhat u’l Mulk was deposed. Táj al Mulk suc-
ceeded him and put him to death. See Weil, Ibn Ath. De Silane, I. K.
‡ The College was called the Tajıyah after its founder. Abu Bakr was summoned
the glory of Islâm, and was considered the first jurisconsult of the age of the Shaf’ite
school. He died 499 A. H., (1037). His life will be found in Ibn Khall.
§ 212 A. H., 827-3 A. D. See Gibbon’s 52nd chapter. The descent of the
Saracens of Africa was invited by the revengeful Euphemiuis who had been sentenced
by the Emperor to the loss of his tongue for the abduction of a nun. The Arabic
name of the island in the text should be spelt with a ؤ for a ى.
a curse upon Malak Sháh. The Lord heard his prayer and Malak Sháh departed to hell-fire.*

When he died, his wife Turkán concealed his death and sent to the nobles secretly, requesting their allegiance to his son Maḩmúd who was then five years old. They swore fealty to him whereupon she sent to al Muḵtadí to invest him with the dignity of the Sultánate. He assented and gave him the title of Násir u’d dunya wád dín (Defender of Spirituals and Temporals). His brother Barkyarúk son of Malak Sháh, however, opposed him and the Caliph invested him with authority and surnamed him Rukn u’d dín—and that in Muḥarram of the year 487. The Caliph signed the diploma of investiture and died suddenly the next day (15th Muḥarram, 4th February 1094). It was said that his female slave Shams u’n Nahár (the sun of day) poisoned him. His son al Mustadhir bi’lláh was acknowledged as his successor in the Caliphate. Of persons of note who died during his reign were A’bbás Aḥmád son of al Muḵtadí was born in Shawwal of the year 470. He was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his father, being sixteen years of age. Ibn u’l Athír says that he was of gentle manners, of generous disposition, zealous in good works, a fine penman, skilful in the despatch of the royal rescripts in which no one could approach† him, indicating considerable‡ merit and

AL MUSTADHIR BI’LLÁH.

Al Mustadhir bi’lláh (Imploring help of God) Abu’l A’bbás Aḥmád son of al Muḵtadí was born in Shawwal of the year 470. He was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his father, being sixteen years of age. Ibn u’l Athír says that he was of gentle manners, of generous disposition, zealous in good works, a fine penman, skilful in the despatch of the royal rescripts in which no one could approach† him, indicating considerable‡ merit and

* إلَي حِبْت الْقُط رَحْمَاهُ ۚ أَمْ تَقْشِيم

**ادنَى** is an Arabic proverb, said to be a saying of Zuhayr expressive of the meaning I have given. It is said that U’mm Kaša’m (Death) was the name of a camel that had fled from its owner and passing by a large fire, it shied and flung its saddle into the middle of it. The expression is now used as an imprecation. The text would therefore be literally rendered—“and Malak Sháh went to where her saddle was thrown by Umm Kaša’m.” See the Durrat al Yatimáh bi’il Amthal i’il Kašimáh (the matchless pearl on ancient proverbs) by Ibrahim Sarkis of Lebanon.

† Ibn u’l Athír has يقارةة. not يقارةة
‡ For غرير read عرير as in Ibn Ath.
A. H. 487. extensive knowledge. He was humane and liberal and a patron of the
A. D. 1094. learned and the virtuous. His tenure of the Caliphate was not free from
trouble for the times he lived in were turbulent and occupied with frequent
wars.

During this year of his reign died al Mustanṣir the U’baydite
sovereign of Egypt and was succeeded by his son al Mustaa’li Aḥmad.
During the same, the Byzantines took Valencia.

In the year 488, Aḥmād*K Khan prince of Samarkand was slain, as it
seemed that he held impious tenets. The nobles seized him and the
jurisconsults were summoned and pronounced sentence of death against
him and he was put to death—may God not have mercy upon him—and
they gave the government to his cousin Maa’ṣūd.

In the year 489 the seven planets with the exception of Saturn met
in the sign of Pisces and the astronomers predicted a deluge similar to the
deluge of Noah and it came to pass that the pilgrims encamped at Dar u‘l
Manākīb† when a flood overtook and drowned the greater number of
them.

In the year 490, the Sulṭān Arslān Arghbūn son of Alp Arslān the
Saljūk, ruler of Khurasān was assassinated. The country was seized by
Sulṭān Barkyārūk and its cities and people yielded obedience to him.
During the same the khūṭbah was read for the U’baydite (Mustaa’lī) in
Aleppo, Antioch and Maa‘rrah and Shayzar for the space of one month
and afterwards restored for the A’bbāsīdes. During the same the Franks
advanced and captured Nice which was the first city they took and they
reached Kafartāb‡ and devastated the adjacent country. This was the
first appearance of the Franks in Syria. They passed the Bosporus in vast
numbers, and princes and their subjects were in consternation and terrible
were their depredations. It is said that when the ruler of Egypt
beheld the supremacy of the Saljūks and their predominance in Syria, he
wrote to the Franks inviting them to enter and conquer Syria, and from
every quarter there was a general summons of the Frankish people.

In the year 492, the mission of the Bāṭiniṣ sectaries spread into
Ispahān. During the same the Franks took Jerusalem after a siege of a
month and a half, and slaughtered more than seventy thousand, among
them, many learned, devout, and pious men. They destroyed the places

* Not ٍاحد as in the text.
† Ibn u’l Aḥīr has مباوضَت and a variant مباوضَات—but none of these places are to
be found in Yaqūt. See the M. B. under مباوضَات.
‡ Between Maa‘rrah and Aleppo.
§ See note †, p. 4.
of religious visitation and collected the Jews together in a church and A. H. 492. burnt it over their heads. The refugees arrived at Baghdad and recounted A. D. 1099. tales that brought tears to the eyes. But the rival Sultans were at variance with each other, wherefore the Franks subdued all Syria.

Abu'l Mudhaffar al Abiwardi* says regarding this—

"I have mixed blood with flowing tears,
For none is left among us to be a mark for the catapults.
A poor weapon for a man is the tear that he sheds
When war kindles its flame with keen-edged swords.
O sons of Islam! behind ye
Are battles which will bring death upon your paths.
O thou fair sleeper in the shade of security and ease
And pleasure like the delicate flower of the grove!
How can the eye slumber whose lids are filled
With dust that awaketh every sleeper?
Your brethren in Syria take their midday rest
On the backs of well grown steeds or in the maws of vultures.
Rome beateth them with contumely, and ye
Trail the skirts of submission like those who seek peace.
How much blood has been shed with impunity,
And how many fair women veil with shame their beauty with their hands!
So that the glittering swords have their curved blades red with blood for their sakes,
And the tall lances bear their points† blood-dyed.
It may soon be that he who lies buried in Medîna
Will call out with a loud voice, "O sons of Hashim!
Do I see my people not speeding towards the foe
Their spears, while the pillars of the faith are tottering!
And choosing hell-fire for fear of death
And counting not the inevitable shame?
Are the chief of the Arabs content with ignominy
And submit they to the scorn of barbarian lords?
Would that if they fight not in defence
Of their faith, they would be jealous for the honour of their homes."

* He was a direct descendant from Musawriyah the less, and a poet of great celebrity and an eminent genealogist and was a native of Abiward. His collected works are classed under various heads, such as Irâkiyah, (pieces relative to Irâk) Najdiyah (relative to Najd) and Wajdiyah (amatory pieces). He died at Ispahan 507 A. H. Ibn Khalil.

† Ibn Ath. has this word with a j instead of a —thus making it an adjective, sharp, penetrating. See his variants of this poem.
A. H. 492. During the same, Muḥammad the son of Malak Sháh rose against his brother Barkyarúk and vanquished him, wherefore the Caliph invested him with the supreme authority and gave him the title of Ghiyáth u’d-dunya wa’d dín (Redresser of wrongs in spirituals and temporals) and his name was read in the khūṭbah at Baghdad. Many engagements subsequently took place between them. The Kūrán of Othmán was brought this year from Tiberiæ to Damascus for fear of an accident to it, and the people went out to meet it and they placed it in the treasury in the reserved space of the principal mosque.

In 494 the power of the Báṭinis in Irák increased and their assassination of the people, and the terrors they occasioned were such that the nobles wore armour under their garments and they slew many people, among them ar Ruyáni* author of the Bahr u’l Madḥab (ocean of doctrine). In this year the Franks took the town of Sarúj,† and Ḥayfa, Ursáf and Cesarea.

In 495 died al Mustaa’lī ruler of Egypt and was succeeded by his son a child of five years, Mansúr al Amir bi’ahkám alláh (Ruling according to the commands of God).

In the year 496 seditious occurred against the authority of the Sultán, and the preachers omitted the prayer for him, and restricted themselves to the prayer for the Caliph and no other.

In 497 a peace was concluded between the two Sultáns Muḥammad and Barkyarúk. The occasion of it was, that after hostilities had been protracted between them and dissensions had become universal, and property plundered and blood spilt and the provinces ravaged during which the Sultánate was the coveted prize, and princes after being victorious were in their turn subdued, men of understanding interfered in the interests of peace, and treaties and oaths and compacts were drawn up and the Caliph bestowed the viceregal robe of honour upon Barkyarúk and the khūṭbah was read for him in Baghdad.

In the year 498 Sultán Barkyarúk died and the nobles set up his son Jalál u’d Daulah Malak Sháh in succession to him. The Caliph invested him and his name was read in the khūṭbah in Baghdad. He was under five years of age. His uncle Muḥammad, however, opposed him and as the general voice was in his favour, the Caliph placed him in the dignity of the Sultánate and he returned to Ispahan, a powerful Sultán much feared and at the head of a numerous army.

* Abu’l Mahásín A’bdul Wáhid a Shafi’ite juristconsult of eminençe in great favour with Niddám u’l Mulk. His work, the Bahr, was a voluminous treatise on the jurisprudence of his school. He was killed at Amul and owed his death to sectarian intolerance. Ibn Khall. He was born 415 A. H. (1025) and slain 502 (1108).
† Sarúj is near Harrán N. E. of Aleppo. Ḥayfa is in the bay of Acro and Ursáf on the coast between Cesarea and Jaffa.
During the same year the small-pox broke out with great virulence in A. H. 498. Baghdad, and a countless number of children died and it was followed by A.D. 1104-5, a great plague.

In the year 499, a man arose in the neighbourhood of Nahawand claiming the gift of prophecy. The people followed him but he was taken and put to death. In the year 500, the fort of Shahdziz* in Isphahan of which the Ismailites had taken possession, was recaptured and destroyed and the defenders slain. Their leader (Ahmad-b-A’bd-Il Malik-b-Attash) was flayed alive and his skin stuffed with straw. This was done by Sultán Muḥammad after a close siege. Praise be to God.

In the year 501 the Sultán removed the imposts and taxes in Baghdad and many blessings were invoked on him and he increased in justice and beneficence.

In 502 the Ismailites returned and occupied Shayzar when its inhabitants were off their guard and took possession of it and captured the citadel and shut the gates. Its governor was at the time absent on a tour of pleasure, but he returned and quickly exterminated them.

During this year the Sháfi‘ite Shaykh ar Ruyání author of the Bahr was slain by the Ismailites as hath already gone before.

In the year 503, the Franks took Tripoli after a siege of some years.

In 504 the troubles of the Muslims increased by reason of the Franks, and being convinced of their ultimate conquest of the whole of Syria, the Muslims sought to conclude a peace which the Franks rejected, but proposed a truce on the condition of the payment of many thousand dínárs. A truce was therefore concluded which they afterwards broke—may the Lord confound them.†

During the same a dark storm swept over old Cairo which prevented people breathing and a man could not even see his hand, and sand fell upon the people and they believed their destruction was upon them. After a short time it cleared a little and then turned yellow and this went on from the afternoon till past sunset. A bloody battle also took place this year between the Franks‡ and Ibn Táshíffín ruler of Spain in which the Muslims were victorious, and they slew and made captive and plundered to an extent which cannot be described and the bravest of the Franks fell.

* Ibn Ath. Well writes the name incorrectly Shábdurr. See Yakút.
† This pious wish is not echoed by Ibn Athir who does not state in terms that the truce was broken. Its duration was limited to the harvest time. The Crusaders after this, plundered a fleet of merchant ships conveying a rich cargo from Egypt but it is not stated whether this was done during the truce. The silence of the Arab historian speaks in acquittal of the Frank. Aleppo purchased this truce at 32,000 dínárs besides horses and garments, Tyre contributed 7,000, Shayzar 4,000, and Ḥamášt 2,000.
‡ Under Alfonso of Toledo according to the Kamil.
A. H. 507. In the year 507, Maudúd governor of Mosal advanced with an army
A. D. 1113. against the Frankish king of Jerusalem* (Baldwin) and a terrible engagement took place between them. Shortly after Maudúd returned to Damascus, and one day while he was reading the Friday prayers, lo! a Báthini sprung upon him and stabbed him and he died on the spot. The Frankish king upon this wrote to the governor of Damascus,† a letter which runs as follows: "Verily a people that slays its chief, on a festival day in the temple of Him whom they worship, the Lord must necessarily destroy."

In the year 511 a great flood swept over Sinjár‡ and its fortifications and a great number of people were destroyed. The flood carried away the gate of the city several parasangs, and it lay hidden under the soil which the stream took with it, and it was discovered two years after. A little child escaped safely in its cot which the flood carried away. The cot lodged in an olive tree. The child afterwards lived and grew to manhood.

In the same year died the Sultán Muḥammad who was succeeded by his son Maḥmúd at the age of fourteen.

In the year 512 died the Caliph al Mustadhir bi'lláh on the 16th Rabü' II.§ He reigned 25 years. Ibn Uḵayl the Ḥanbalíte Shaykh washed his body and his son al Mustarshid read the prayers over him. Shortly after his death died his grandmother Arjawán the mother of al Muḳtadí. Ad Ḏahabi says that no other Caliph is known whose grandmother outlived him but this one. She saw her son a Caliph, her grandson and her great-grandson.

The following verses are by al Mustadhir—

"The warmth of love dissolved in my heart what was frozen
On the day thou didst stretch out thy hand in farewell.
How can I tread the path of patience while verily
I behold the way through the defiles of love are various?
If I break my plighted troth, O my delight!
In time to come, may I never behold thee again."

* Godfrey of Bouillon was succeeded in the government of Jerusalem by the two Baldwins, his brother and cousin. Baldwin was defeated in this battle (30th June 1113) which took place near Tiberias, with great loss.
† The Atábak Tughtakín, who it is conjectured instigated the deed, the fruits of which he enjoyed.
‡ Near Mosal.
§ The text has 23 Rabü' I, and so also the MS., but this must be an error as Snyūṭí himself admits that the Caliph's son al Mustáṣrīd succeeded on the death of his father in Rabü' II. Both Ibn u'l Ḳhifr and Ibn Khaldún give the date to be the middle of Rabü' II. The former specifies it with exactitude, namely, the 16th of that month (8th August 1118) and gives the duration of his reign at 24 years 3 months and 11 days, with which Abu'l Fida exactly accords.
The following is by Sārim al Baṭāḥi—

“... I dwelt with Mustadhir the son of Muktadi Bi’lláh, the son of al Káim, the son of al Kádir, Under his protection. I hope of the bounty of his hands That he will be a guardian to my family. May my abode be with him in my advancing years And may he obtain from my praise, verses of world-wide fame.”

Al Mustadhir wrote an order thereupon giving him the choice of receiving a present and departing, or remaining with him with a yearly stipend. As Silafī narrates that Abu’l Khatṭāb-b-i’l Jarrāḥ said to him, “I was praying with al Mustadhir in the Ramadhdn, and I read as follows: ‘Verily thy son hath been called a thief.’ (Kur. XII), a reading which I had from al Kasáî, and when I came to the concluding benediction, he said, ‘This reading is a good one because it clears the children of the prophets from having spoken falsely.’”

AL MUSTARSHID BI’LLĀH.

Al Mustarshid bi’lláh (Taking God for a Guide) Abu Maṣūr al Fadhîl-b-u’l Mustadhir was born in Rabí’ I, in the year 485 and was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his father in Rabí’ II, 512. He was a man of high resolves and great courage, spirit, intelligence and of awe-inspiring presence. He assumed the affairs of the Caliphate and administered them in an admirable manner. He revived its ancient customs, and put life into its bones, strengthening the pillars of the law and ornamenting its sleeves. He personally undertook the direction of hostilities and marched on several occasions to Ḥillah and Mosal and the road to Khurásán, until the last march he undertook when his army was defeated near Ḥamadán and he was taken prisoner to Aḏarbiján. He heard traditions from Abu’l Kásim-b-Bayyán, and A’bdu’l Waháb-b-Hibbat i’lláh as Sabtí. Muḥammad b-Omar-b-Makki al Ahwazí, and his Wazír A’li-b-Ṭirád az Zaynabí and Isma’il-b-Ṭáhir al Mansūl, related them on his authority. This is mentioned by Ibn u’s Sama’ānī.

* The ordinary reading is—‘thy son hath committed theft’ by a change of the diacritical points. The passage refers to the finding of the cup in Benjamin’s sack and Reuben addressing his brethren, refuses to return to Egypt without Benjamin and tells the rest the above words to Jacob.

† The Ḥafidh Abu Saa’d surnamed Táj u’l Islám a Shafi’ite doctor born 466, (1074) died 610 (1116). A list of his works is given by Ibn Khall.
A. H. 512. Ibn u’s Şalâh notices him in the classes of the Shâfi’ites and let that 
A D. 1118. be sufficient for thee as a testimony of his merit and he says that he it was 
for whom Abu Bakr as Şâshi composed his work the U’mdah fi Furún u’s 
Shâfiyâh (the Pillar on the derivative institutes of the Shafi‘i doctrine) on 
jurisprudence, the book being known by his surname, for al Mustarshid* 
had at that time the title of Umdat u’ddunya wa’d din (Pillar in spirituals 
and temporals). As Subki† also speaks of him in his classification of the 
Shafi’ite doctors and says that in the beginning of his reign, he was devout 
and wore hair-cloth and used to retire alone into a room to pray; that he 
was born on Wednesday the 18th of Sha‘bân in the year 486 and that 
his father included him in the khatbah as his heir and engraved his name 
on the coinage in Rabî‘ I, 488.

He wrote a beautiful hand which none of the Caliphs before him 
equalled. He used to correct his secretaries and rectify the errors in 
their documents. As for his nobility of mind, awe-inspiring presence, 
his courage and intrepidity, they were as clear as the sun. His reign 
continued to be troubled by many dissessions and enemies. He used to 
march in person to put them down until his final expedition to Irâk when 
he was defeated, taken prisoner and suffered martyrdom.

Ad Dahabi says that Sultan Maḥmûd son of Muḥammad Malak Shah 
died in 525 and was succeeded by his son Daûd. His uncle Masa’ûd son 
of Muḥammad opposed him and an engagement took place, but after a 
short time they made peace on the condition of an equal partition, each 
of them retaining sovereign authority. Masa’ûd was named Sultan in 
the khatbah at Baghdad and Daûd as his successor, and they both 
received robes of honour. Afterwards an estrangement occurred between 
the Caliph and Masa’ûd and the Caliph marched against him. The two 
armies met, but the greater part of the Caliph’s troops played false and 
Masa’ûd was victorious and took him and his suite prisoners and confined 
them in a fort near Ḥamadân. When the people of Baghdad heard this, 
they filled the streets in a state of commotion, having dust upon their 
heads, and wept and lamented and the women came forth with uncovered 
faces mourning the Caliph, and they abstained from public prayers and the 
reading of the khatbah.

Ibn u’l Jauzi says that Baghdad was convulsed by frequent earth-
quakes, continuing five or six times each day, and the people fell to sup-

* See Haji Khalîfah under ملک
† Abu Nasr A’bd’ul Wahâb surmanned the crown of religion, chief Kâdi of 
Damascus. His work on the Shafi’ite doctors was in three parts called at Tabaqât al 
Kubra (the greater) al Wusta (the medium) and al Sughra (the less). He was born at 
Cairo, A. H. 728 (1327-8), and died of the plague at Damascus, A. H. 771 (1369-70) 
De Slane, I. K.
plicating the Lord. Sultán Sinjar* thereupon wrote to his nephew Masa’íd, A. H. 525.

saying, “As soon as my son, the Redresser of Spirituals and Temporals, A. D. 1131.
is informed of this letter, let him present himself before the Caliph, and kiss the ground before him and ask his pardon and forgiveness and make the humblest supplications for his indulgence, for verily signs from the heavens and the earth have appeared to us, the like of which we are unable to listen to, much less witness, such as hurricanes, lightnings and earthquakes, and their continuance for twenty days, together with dissensions in the army and confusion in the provinces, for verily I fear for myself before the Lord. And the appearance of his signs and the abstention of the people from praying in the mosques and the discontinuance of the khutbah are things I am not able to bear, therefore I conjure thee by Allah to mend thy affairs and restore the Caliph to his residence of honour and carry before him the housings of State as hath been our custom and the custom of our ancestors.” And Masa’íd did all that was commanded him and kissed the ground before the Caliph and stood before him asking pardon. Sinjá­r subsequently sent another messenger accompanied by an armed force, urging Masa’íd to restore the Caliph to his capital. With this force were seventeen Isma’ilites and it is said that Masa’íd was ignorant of their presence, but others affirm that it was he who secretly introduced them. They attacked the Caliph in his tent and treacherously slew him and murdered with him a number of his attendants. The troops were not aware of their presence until they had effected their purpose, when they captured them and put them to death under the curse of God. The Sultán Masa’íd publicly mourned him and affected grief for this, and there was lamentation and weeping, and when the news reached Baghdad the people felt it sorely and they went forth bare foot rending their garments, the women with dishevelled hair, beating their breasts and lamenting over him, for al Mustarshid was much beloved among them for his bravery and justice and for his goodness towards them. The assassination of al Mustarshid took place at Marághah* on Thursday the 16th of Du’l Kaa’dah 529, (27th August 1134).

* Sixth Sultán of the elder branch of the Saljúks. He was son of Malak Sháh. He governed Khurásán for 20 years under his brothers Barkyarúk and Muḥammad, to whose possessions he succeeded, after forcing Sultán Masa’íd to acknowledge his paramount authority. He conquered Transoxiana and compelled tribute from the Ghaznevide kings. He was taken prisoner by the Ghuz a Turkish tribe and remained with them for five years. He effected his escape, but died in 552 when on the point of recovering his kingdom. See D. Herbelot art. Sangiar. Gibbon, Cap. LIX and Ibn Khall.

† In Aḏarbíján. Accounts vary as to the exact date of the Caliph’s death.
The following is by him—

"I am he, ruddy of visage, sought for in battle,
Who can conquer the world without opposition.
My horsemen shall sweep over the Roman empire
And my glittering sword shall be wielded in the furthest ends of China."

The following also are among his lines written during imprisonment—

"It is not strange that lions should be wounded
By dogs of enemies, human beings and brutes.
For the javelin of Wahshi made Ḥamzah drink of death
And A'li was slain by the sword of Ibn Muljam."

By him also are these verses when he was defeated and counselled to fly, but refused and held his ground till he was captured:

"They said, 'dost thou stand while
The enemy surround thee, and fly not?'
I answered them, 'the man who will not be counselled
By admonition, deceiveth himself;
May I never acquire good while I live
And may Fortune never avert evil from me,
If I have ever thought that other
Than God can profit or injure me.'"

Ad Ḍahabi says that he preached to the people on the festival of Adhha and said, "God is great while the stars move in their orbits and the light breaks in the East, and the sun rises and the heavens cover the earth. God is great, while the clouds shed rain, and the mirage gleams, and what is sought is successfully accomplished, and the returning wanderer is glad as he returns—" and he spoke a long discourse and then sat down. Again he rose and preached and said—O God, be beneficent to me in my posterity and aid me in what Thou hast given me to rule and inspire me with thanks for Thy benefits and give me Thy grace and help me." When he had pronounced this and was about to descend, Abu'l Mudhaffar the Hashimite advanced to him and recited as follows:

"The peace of God be upon thee thou best of those who have ascended
The pulpit and whose standards victory attends!
And most excellent of those who, bearing rule,
Art an Imám to thy people and benefitest them universally by thy virtuous conduct!
Best of men in the world in the east and west,
And he whose ancestor was he for whom the rain came upon earth!*
Verily, thy discourse and true eloquence which would soften a stone

* The Muḥammadans ascribe the creation of the earth and all its blessings, to their prophet's advent and that they were for his sake alone, brought into existence.
Hath bedecked our ears with ear-rings. A. H. 529.
Thou hast filled all hearts with dread, A. D. 1134.
And verily the whole city hath trembled with the fear of its threatening
Thou hast added by it to the glory and nobility of the descendants of Adán,*
And by it amongst men is renown for thee won.
Thou art the chief of the A’bhás
In whom the lowly and the wise glory.
Unto God we owe the age in which thou art our Imám,
And unto Him the faith of which thou art to us the chief.
Mayest thou continue reigning through time
While age succeeds to age possessing thee!
Mayest thou be present at this happy festival with our good wishes
And thy prayers and sacrifice exalt us in honor.”

His Wazír Jalálu’d-dín al Ḥasan-b-Ā’li-b-Ṣadakah thus praises him—
“I have found men as water in sweetness and delicacy,
But the prince of the Faithful is its perfect purity.
I figured to myself the personification of Wisdom,
And verily the prince of the Faithful is its likeness.
And were it not for religion and the divine law and a sense of piety
I would say in reference to him, may his glory he exalted.’’†

In the twenty-fourth year of his reign, a cloud ascended and rained
down fire upon the city of Mosal, through which many houses and places
in the city were burnt. In the same year the sovereign of Egypt al Amir bi Ḥākāmi’lláh Manṣúr was slain and left no issue. His nephew al Ḥāfídž, A’bud’l Majíd-b-Muhammad-b-’l Muntasír succeeded him. During the same also, flying scorpions with two stings made their appearance in Baghdad, and men were in fear of them for verily they killed a number of children.

Of persons of distinction who died during his reign were Shamsu’l A’mmat Abú’l Fadhl the Ḥanafite Imám, Abúr Raffá-b-Ukayl al Ḥanbali, the chief Ḵádží Abú’l Ḥasan al Ḥamagháni, Ibn Bulaymah‡ the Kuran reader, at Tughraí author of the Lámyat u’l A’jam,§ Abú Ali as Ṣadafi

* The Kuraísh.
† An expression applied to God alone.
‡ I can find no trace of such a name in any work I have consulted and do not know its true pronunciation.
§ This has been repeatedly published in Europe and has been edited by Pocock. This poet was Wazír to the Sultan Masa’dd and was put to death by Mahmúd’s Wazír (after the former Sultan had been defeated near Hamadan by his brother Mahmúd) on the suspicion or accusation of being an atheist (A. H. 613 or 14). Tughraí signifies a tughrá writer, the tughrá being a flourish at the beginning of official papers over the word B’ism’allah and containing the titles of the prince. See Ibn Khall.
AR RASHID BI’LLAH.

Ar Rashid bi’llah (Directed aright by God) Abu Jaa’far Mansur son of al Mustarshid was born in the year 502. His mother was a slave concubine. It was said that there was an obstruction at his birth. The physicians were consulted and they recommended the enlargement of the passage with a golden instrument which was done and proved beneficial. His father introduced his name in the khutbah as his heir in the year 513, and he was acknowledged Caliph on the assassination of his father in Du’l Kaa’dah 529. He was eloquent, versed in literature and a poet; brave, beneficent, generous, of a virtuous disposition, choosing justice and hating iniquity. When Sultan Masa’ud returned to Baghdad the Caliph departed for Mosal. The Kadhis, the principal men and the learned were then summoned by Masa’ud and they drew up an indictment containing the evidence of certain people on the tyranny of ar Rashid, his confiscation of property, shedding of blood and wine drinking and the jurists were asked whether the doer of these things was deserving of the supreme administration and whether, should his guilt be established, it were lawful for the Sultan for the time being, to depose him and substitute for him one more worthy. They gave sentence on the lawfulness of his deposition, and the Kadh of the city, Ibn u’l Karkhi pronounced his deposal. And they swore allegiance to his uncle Muhammad the son of al Mustadhir who was surnamed al Mukhtar il’amri’llah (Following the commands of God). This occurred on the 16th† Du’l Kaa’dah 530 (16th August 1133). When the news of his deposition reached ar Rashid, he set out from Mosal for the provinces of Aqbarijan with his adherents, and they levied a sum of money from Maraghah and acted there with great injustice and passed to HAMADAN where they committed violence and slew a number of people and crucified others and shaved off the beards of some of the learned.

* A Latin translation of which has been published by Professor Freytag of Bonn.
† 18th Ibn Ath.
Subsequently they advanced on Isphahan and laid siege to it and ravaged the A. H. 580, villages. Ar Ráshid fell ill of a grievous sickness* outside Ispahan and A. D. 1135. some Persians who were in his service as chamber attendants, went in to him and slew him with knives, but were afterwards themselves all put to death. This took place on the 16th† of Ramadhan 532. Al I'mád‡ Kátitb says that ar Ráshid possessed the beauty of Joseph and the liberality of Hátim.

Ibn u'l Jauzi observes—"according to as Šúli the general opinion is that every sixth Caliph was deposed. I have looked into this statement and observed it with wonder." I remark that I have continued the rest of his observations in the introduction. (Page 18).

The mantle and sceptre were not taken from ar Ráshid till he was assassinated when they were brought after his death to al Muktafi.

AL MUKTAFI LI'AMRI'LLAH.

Al Muktafi li'amri'lláh Abu A'bdu'lllah Muḥammad the son of al Mustadhir bi'lláh was born on the 22nd Rabí‘ 489. His mother was a Nubian. He was acknowledged Caliph on the deposition of his nephew, at the age of forty. The reason of his being surnamed al Muktafi was that, six days before his elevation to the Caliphate, he dreamt that he saw the Apostle of God saying to him, "This authority shall come to thee, therefore follow the commandments of God." He therefore received the title of "the follower of the commandments of God." Sultán Masa‘úd after he had dealt even-handed justice and set Baghdad in order, next took the

† Ibn Ath. and Abú'l Fida, have 26th Ibn Khalidún, 15th.
‡ Abú A'bdu'lllah Muḥammad Imám u'ddín (pillar of religion) Kátitb al Isphahani (the scribe of Isphahan) was a Sha'ī doctor and author of many poems and epistles. He was honoured with the friendship of Saladin and served him as Secretary of State till that monarch's death, (A. H., 589-1193) which reduced him to ruin and deprived him of all influence. He was born 519 (1125) and died at Damascus 597 (1201). A list of his works will be found in Ibn Kháll—the principal being the Kharfát u'l Kasr wa Jaridát u'l A'ṣr (virgin of the palace and volume or palm branch of the age) containing an account of the poets between the years 500 and 572, in 10 vols. of which De Slane speaks slightly and apparently with much reason. He has also written a history of the Saljuk dynasty, the conquest of Jerusalem and a historical and autobiographical work entitled the "Syrian Lightning."
A. H. 532. whole of the cattle and furniture and gold, and curtains and pavilions that
A. D. 1188. were in the palace of the Caliph and left in the stables of the Caliph but
four horses and eight mules* for the conveyance of water from the Tigris. It was therefore said that al Muktafi was acknowledged Caliph on the
condition of his possessing neither a horse nor travelling furniture.

In the year 581 Sultán Masa’úd seized all the possessions of the
Caliph and left him nothing but his personal estate and he sent his Wazír
to demand of the Caliph one hundred thousand dinárs. Al Muktafi
replied, “I have never known anything stranger than thy conduct. Thou
knowest that al Mustarshid went to thee with all his wealth and what follow-
ed, followed; next ar Ráshid ruled and acted as he acted and departed
and took what remained,† and nothing was left but the furniture, the
whole of which thou hast seized, and turned to thy use in the mint and
thou hast possessed thyself of inheritances and the proceeds of the poll
tax. For what reason then should I give thee this money? Nothing
remains but that I should quit the palace and deliver it up, for I have
vowed to God that I would not take a grain’s worth from the Muslims
unjustly.” The Sultán then abandoned his demands on the Caliph and
turned to taxing the property of the people and he imposed fines on the
merchants, and the people suffered severely through this. Subsequently in
Jumáda I the estates of the Caliph and his domains and inheritances were
restored to his control. During this year the new moon was looked for on
the night of the 30th Ramadhán, but it was not seen, and the people of
Baghdad entered upon morning, fasting in completion of the term. On the
following day they looked again for the new moon but did not see it
though the sky was bright and clear, the like of which has not been heard
of in history.

In the year 533 there was a great earthquake at Khubzab,‡ felt for
a distance of ten parasangs and multitudes perished, after which Khubzab
was swallowed up, and black water rose in the place where the town had
stood. During the same the nobles took possession of the revenues of the
provinces and Sultán Masa’úd was helpless, nothing being left him but the
name of power. The supremacy of Sultán Sinjar also declined for the
Lord is the humbler of tyrants, but the Caliph al Muktafi became powerful:

* The version of Ibn Ath. is very different. The Sultán sent to the Caliph
informing him of the settlement of certain personal estates for his maintenancce.
He replied that he had eighty mules in his palace for the conveyance of water from
the Tigris and that the Sultán should see to the necessities of the person who drank this
water. It was therefore agreed that he should receive the same allowance as al
Mustadhir.

† Road اورidente.

‡ This is a fort near Mecca according to Yakút, but Ibn Ath. and Abu’l Fida
speak only of the effects of this earthquake in Syria and especially at Aleppo.
his influence increased and his authority grew great, and this was the A. H. 533. beginning of the restoration of the A'bbaside power, for which, praise be to A.D.1138-9. God.

In the year 541 Sultán Masa'úd arrived at Baghdad and set up a mint, but the Caliph imprisoned the coiner who occasioned the establishment of the mint, whereupon Masa'úd arrested the chamberlain of the Caliph, who was greatly incensed and closed the principal mosque and the other mosques for three days. Upon this the chamberlain was released whereon the coiner was set free and the affair ended peaceably.

During the same Ibn u'l A'bbádi* held his discourses. On one occasion Masa'úd was present and the preacher addressed himself to the mention of the tax on sales, and what the people had undergone and he said, "O Lord of the world! thou givest in one night to a musician as much as this that thou takest from the Muslims, wherefore bestow on me that musician and give him to me and make of him a thank-offering to God for what He hath bestowed upon thee." And he consented and proclamation was made in the city of its remission, and placards were sent round, preceded by drums and trumpets, on which the remission of the tax was inscribed, and they were nailed up on the doors of the mosques and there remained until an Násirli dinílláh commanded the placards to be pulled down, saying, "we have no need of Persian memorials."

In the year 543 the Franks† besieged Damascus, but Nuru’ddín Mahmúd-b-Zinki governor of Aleppo and his brother Sayfu’ddin Gházi lord of Mosal advanced to its relief. The Muslims were victorious, praise be to God, and the Franks were routed. Nuru’ddín continued the war with the Franks and recovered what they had taken of the cities of the Muslims.

In the year 544 died the sovereign of Egypt al Ḥáfíd li dinílláh (Protector of the religion of God) and his son ad Dháfir Isma’il succeeded him. During the same a great earthquake occurred and Baghdad was convulsed about ten times, and a mountain in Ḥulwan was shattered by it. In the year 545 it rained blood in Yaman and the earth was sprinkled with blood and its traces were left upon the garments of the people.

* Ibn Ath. states that he was a preacher who came as an envoy from Sultán Sinjár. So great was the influence of his discourses that not only the court, but the common people left their occupations and went eagerly to hear him.
† So Ibn Ath. who places this in the year 533, and does not state that it was in consequence of al A’bbádi’s intervention.
‡ "Under the king of Germany"—writes Abu'l Fida. This was Conrad III. See Reiske’s note to this passage. Conrad marched with St. Louis of France and Baldwin "sed re infecta domum redierunt, seditione inter obssidentes exorta." "The fruitless siege of Damascus," says Gibbon, "was the final effort of the second crusade." See his LIX Chapter.
A. H. 547. In the year 547 Sultan Massa'ud died. Ibn Hubayrah who was the
A. D. 1152. Wazir of al Muktafi relates that when the followers of Massa'ud behaved
arrogantly towards al Muktafi and treated him with disrespect, and he was
not powerful enough to proceed from undisguised enmity into open war, it
was decided to pray for the curse of God upon Massa'ud for a whole month
as the prophet called down curses during a month upon Ri'l and داكوان. Whereupon he and the Caliph secretly, each one in his place, began to
pray at daybreak from the night of the 29th Jumada I and this continued
every night. And when the month was completed Massa'ud died upon his
throne,† not a day beyond the month and not a day under it. The army
agreed upon the elevation to the Sultanate of Malak Shah,‡ and خش-
 بك§ undertook the administration in his name, but he afterwards arrested
Malak Shah and sent for his brother Muhammad from Khuzistan who
arrived and the Sultanate was resigned to him. At this juncture the Caliph
assumed the supreme administration and his commands were univer-
sally obeyed, and he removed the professors whom the Sultan had
appointed to the Nidhamiyah College. It was reported to him, also that
the district of Wasiṭ was in a state of anarchy whereupon he marched at
the head of his army and set the provinces in order and entered Hillah
and كیف and returned to Baghdad confirmed in power and victorious
and the city was decorated for his entry. In the year 548 the Ghuzz|| rose
up against Sultan Sinjar and took him prisoner and treated him with
contumely and overran his dominions, but left the khutbah in his name.
He remained in their power a shadow without reality and he wept for him-
self over his nominal authority and his stipend was as much as that of one
of his own grooms.

* Ri' and داكوان were two tribes descended from Sulaym, who put to death
seventy of the Auxiliaries whom Muhammad had sent at their request to aid them
against one of the hostile tribes. These 70 were termed Kura and were apparently
in the service of Muhammad as catechists and expounders of the Koran; when they
reached بیر مذہب, they were met by the Banu Ri’ and داكوان and treacherously
slain. Two other tribes, that of Uṣayyah and Labyan were associated in this
murderous deed and in the curse of Muhammad. The story and ascriptions will be
found in the شاه of Bukhari, pp. 585-6.

† The more prosaic narrative of Ibn Ath. makes him die of a fever which carried
him off in a week. Ibn Khall, states the cause of his death to have been an attack of
vomiting and a flow of liquid from the mouth, apparently caused by the intemperate
life he led. In I. K.'s life of Ibn Hubayrah there is no mention of this circumstance.
‡ Nephew of Massa'ud.
§ Of Turkoman origin who as a boy entered the service of Massa'ud and rose to
pre-eminence over the other Emirs. He was afterwards put to death by Muhammad
for conspiring to obtain the Sultanate for himself. Abu'l Fida. Ibn Ath.
|| A Turkoman horde consisting of about 40,000 families, on the banks of the
Oxus between Balkh and Buhara. Weil; see also Abu'l Fida.
In the year 549 the sovereign of Egypt ad Dháfir billáh al U’baydi A. H. 549. was slain at Cairo and was succeeded by his son al Fáız Isá a little child, A. D. 1154. and the affairs of the Egyptians fell into a ruinous state. Upon this al Muktafi wrote a diploma of investiture for Nuru’d-dín-b-Zinki* and entrusted to him the government of Egypt, and ordered him to march thither. He was at the time engaged in hostilities with the Franks, pushing on vigorously the holy war, for he had captured Damascus in the month of Safar of this year, and had taken possession of a number of forts and strongholds of the Byzantines by the sword and by treaty. His dominions increased and his fame spread, and al Muktafi sent him the investiture of authority and commanded him to proceed to Egypt and gave him the title of al Malik al A’ádil (the Just King). The power of al Muktafi now reached its zenith: his authority was established, he was victorious over his foes and he determined to march for the provinces in rebellion against his government, and his affairs continued in prosperity and success till he died on Saturday night, the 2nd Rabí‘ I, 555 (12th March 1160).

Ad Dahabi days that al Muktafi was one of the most eminent of the Caliphs, learned, well-read, brave, forbearing, of easy disposition, supreme in the qualities of a prince, worthy of the Imámate, matchless among Imáms, no order however insignificant, being issued in his administration except under his transcript. He wrote out during his Caliphate three-fourths of the Kurán. He heard traditions from his master Abu’l Barakáh-b-Abí‘l Faraj-b-u’s Sunní.†

Ibn u’s Sama‘ání states that, with his brother al Mustarshid, he heard traditions from Jaz-b-A’rafah on the authority of Kásim-b-Bayyán. Traditions are related on his authority by Abu Manṣúr al Jawáliki‡ the philologist his Imám, Ibn Hubayrah his Wazír and others.

Al Muktafi gave a new gate to the ka‘bah and made a coffin of cornelian for his own burial.

He had a praiseworthy disposition, his reign was deserving of commendation, as he occupied himself with religion, learning, virtue, good counsel, and administration of the State. He restored the defaced memorials of the

* His character and conquests are sketched by Gibbon in his 59th chapter.
† This is apparently the same person as Abu’l Barakáh-b-u’l Anbári whose life is given by Ibn Khall. The dates and circumstances of both, accord, the surname is somewhat different, Ibn Khall writing Abu’l Wafa for Abu’l Faraj. He was a philologist and grammarian of repute and studied at the Nidhamiyah the Shi’a jurisprudence. He was born in 513 (1119) and died at Baghdad in 677 (1181).
‡ Born 466 (1073) died 525 (1134). Jawáliki signifies a maker and seller of mats. Relative adjectives of this form are rare being derived from the plural of the noun and not from the singular. The life of this great scholar may be consulted in Ibn Khall.
A. H. 555. Imámate and re-established the ancient customs of the Caliphate and ap-
A. D. 1160. plied himself personally to public affairs and more than once headed military
expeditions, and his reign was long protracted.

Abú Ṭálib A’bdúr Raḥmán-b-Muḥammad-b-A’bdī’s Samī’ al Háshimi
in his work on the excellencies of the A’bbasides, says that the reign of al
Muktafī was distinguished for justice and notable for good works. Before
his accession to the Caliphate, he was of pious conduct. In the beginning
of his reign he applied himself to religious exercises and the transcription of
scientific works, and reading the Qurán. And there was never seen since
al Mua’tasim, a Caliph who combined such beneficence, gentleness of
manner and kindness of heart as his, with his intrepidity, firmness and
bravery, together with the sobriety, piety and devotion that particularly
characterized him. His armies were likewise victorious wherever they
advanced. Ibn u’l Jauzi observes that from the days of al Muktafī,
Baghdad and Irák returned under the power of the Caliphs and no contending
rival was left to dispute them, while before that period from the reign
of al Muktafīr to his time the supreme authority was in the hands of royal
tyrants under whom nothing but the nominal direction of the Caliphs
remained to the Caliphs.

Among the Sulṭāns of his time were Sulṭān Sinjar lord of Khurasán,
and Sulṭān Nuru’ddin Maḥmūd sovereign of Syria.

He was liberal, munificent, a lover of traditions and of the hearing
of them, diligent in the acquisition of knowledge and revering its pro-
fessors.

Ibn u’s Sama’áni relates a tradition through al Muktafī with ascription
to the Apostle of God that he said,—“the nobles will increase but in
violence and the people in covetousness, and the day of resurrection will
come finding only the wicked among mankind, left.”

When al Muktafī sent for the Imám Abú Mansúr al Jawálíkī the
grammrian, in order to make him his chaplain to read the prayers before
him, the latter said nothing more to him on entering than—“To the prince
of the Faithful, greeting and the mercy of God.” Ibn u’t Talmíd* a Chris-

* His name was Hībat u’l-Lah-b-Abī Ghānām, and he was reputed the first physician
of the age. The Kátib I’mád u’d din calls him the Galen and Hippocrates of his day,
which in Oriental imagery may not mean much, but what is more to the purpose, the
sweetness of his disposition, his judgment, his elevated sentiments, his powerful
intellect, his modesty of deportment and his charity are praised by his enemies who
wonder that with his extraordinary intelligence, he should allow himself to be deprived
of the blessings of Islamism. This is disinterested and sincere eulogy. He died at
Baghdad in 560, (1164-5) at the age of nearly 100 and Ibn Khall relates that all the
inhabitants of Baghdad, whether dwelling on one side of the river or the other attended
his funeral to the church which sufficiently disposes of A’bdū’l Latif’s statement
(auto biography, see De Slane’s extract) that he died a Muslim.
tian physician was standing by, and said, "This is not the way of saluting A. H. 555. the prince of the Faithful, Shaykh!" Ibn u'l Jawālīki paid no attention to A. D. 1100. him, but said, "Prince of the Faithful, my salutation is, that enjoined by prophetic tradition," and he repeated the tradition and added, "Prince of the Faithful! if any one were to swear that no kind of knowledge can enter into the heart of a Christian or a Jew in a proper manner, he would not be obliged to make expiation for perjury, for God hath put a seal upon their hearts* and the seal of God is not broken but by faith." Al Muktafi answered, "thou hast spoken truly and done well." Ibn u'l Talmid with all his extensive erudition remained silent as if bridled with a stone.

Of distinguished persons who died during the reign of al Muktafi were Ibn u'l Islam Abrash the grammarian, Yánus-b-Mughith, Jamál u'l Islám-b-u'l Muslim as Sha'lli, Abú'l Kásim al Ispahání, author of the Targhib (Instigation), Ibn Barraján, al Mázari al Málíki author of the Mu'llim bi'jwāid kitáb Muslim (indicator of the instructive passages in the book of Muslim), az Zamakshari, ar Rusháí author of the Ansáb (Genealogies), al Jawalíki the Caliph's Imam, Ibn A'tiyah author of the Commentary, Abús Sa'ádat-b-u's Shajari, the Imam Abú Bakr-b-u'l A'rábi, Nási'n-d'din al Arrajání the poet, the Kádhi Iyádh, the Háfidh Abú'l Walíd-b-u'l Dabbágh, Abú'l Aáin'd Hibbat u'r Rahmán al Kushayri, Ibn A'lám al Furs the Kurán reader, ar Ráffá the poet, as Shahrastání author of the Milal wa'n Nihal (Sects and Religions), al Kaysarání the poet, Mu'ammad-b-Yahya the disciple of al Ghazzáli, Abú'l Fadhl-b-Nášír the Háfidh, Abú'l Karam as Shahrozúrí the Kurán reader, al Wáwá the poet,† Ibn u'l Khall the Sha'ítte Imam and others.

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AL MUSTANJID BI'LLAH.

Al Mustanjid bi'lláh (Seeking assistance in God) Abú'l Mudhaffar the son of al Muktafi was born in 518. His mother was a Georgian slave concubine called Táús (Peacock). His father caused his name to be read in the khuftbah as his heir in the year 547 and he was acknowledged Caliph on the day of his father's death. He was distinguished for justice and clemency. He remitted the taxes to a large extent, so that he left Irák without any taxation. He was severe upon all promoters of disorder. He imprisoned for a long time a man who used to bring calumnies against

* خَذَمُ اللَّهِ عَلَى قَلْبِهِمْ (Kur. II).

† Of Aleppo—another of the name, called ad Dimishkí (of Damasco) died in the reign of Kádir-b'iláh.

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people before the Magistrate. A person presented himself before the Caliph and offered him ten thousand dinārs for his release; he replied, “I will give thee ten thousand dinārs wouldst thou but show me another like him that I may imprision him and avert his mischief from the people.”

Ibn u’l Jauzi says that al Mustanjid was distinguished for his penetrating intellect, sound judgment, powerful understanding and eminent merit. He wrote excellent verse and eloquent prose, and was skilful in the use of astronomical instruments such as the astrolabe and the like. Of his verses are the following:

“She reproached me for my greyness which is venerable,
Would she had reproached me with what is dishonor.
If my forelocks are becoming white what then?
For the moons are the glory of the night.”

And on a miser—

“A miser lit in his house
A candle as a respect towards us on his part.
Not a tear fell from its eyes
But a tear fell also from his.”

And on Ibn Hubayrah his Wazir, whose administration of the affairs of the Muslims he had witnessed with admiration.

“Two merits are transparently clear that characterize and abound in thee,
By mention of which thou shalt be remembered to the day of resurrection,
Thy presence while the world is needing thy help,
And thy bounty, while beneficence is repudiated by men.
Abū Yahya,* if Jaa’far sought thy place
And Yahya, both Jaa’far and Yahya would refrain from taking it.
Nor have I seen any one purposing to do thee harm, O Abū Mudhaffar
But thou dost overcome him.”

He died on the 8th† of Rabī’ II 566 (22nd December 1170) and it was during the first year of his Caliphate that al Fāz sovereign of Egypt died and was succeeded by al A’dhdibu’d’din’illāh (Aider of the religion of God) the last of the U’baydite Caliphs.

In the year 562 Nuru’d’dún despatched the Emir Asadu’ddín Shīrkūh at the head of two thousand horse to Egypt. He encamped at al Jazirah‡

* Abū Yahya and Abū Mudhaffar are both surnames of Ibn Hubayrah. Yahya and Jaa’far are the two Barmecides, father and son, famed for their generosity and misfortunes in the time of Harūn ar Rashīd.
† All the other authorities agree in the date being the 9th.
‡ A quarter of Fustāṭ, so called because when the Nile is full, it is surrounded by water and cut off from the rest of the town.
and besieged Cairo for about two months. Its governor (\textit{Sháwar}) applied A. H. 562. to the Franks for assistance who marched from Damietta to his aid where, A.D.1166-7, on Asadu’ddín retired to Upper Egypt. Afterwards a battle took place (\textit{at Babayn}) between him and the Egyptians (\textit{and Franks}) where he gained the victory despite the fewness\(^*\) of his troops and the numerical superiority of the enemy and thousands of the Franks were slain. Asadu’ddín then collected the tribute of Upper Egypt while the Franks marched against Alexandria which had been taken by Šalāḫu’ddín (\textit{Saladin}) Yusuf-b-Ayúb nephew of Asadu’ddín, and besieged it for four months. Asadu’ddín set out against them whereon they raised the siege\(^†\) and he returned to Syria.

In the year 564 the Franks marched into Egypt with a large army, captured Bilbays and laid siege to Cairo, but its governor set fire to it in fear of them and wrote to Núru’ddín to solicit his aid, whereon Asadu’ddín arrived with his troops and the Franks abandoned Cairo on hearing of his approach,\(^‡\) and Asadu’ddín entered it. Al A’ádhid sovereign of Egypt appointed him to the office of Wazír and bestowed upon him a robe of honor. Asadu’ddín did not long survive, dying after sixty-five days. A’ádhid appointed his nephew Šalāḫu’ddín in his place and entrusted him with administration of affairs and gave him the title of al Malik an Násir and Šalāhu’ddín conducted his government in the ablest manner.

Among personal accounts of al Mustanjid, ad Dahabi relates that from the time he fell ill,\(^§\) an intense redness continued to appear in the sky and its reflection was observed upon the walls.

Of persons of note who died during his reign were ad Daylami author of the Musnad u’l Firdaus, al I’mráni of the Sháfi’ite school author of the Bayán ("\textit{Elucidation of the secondary points of law," in ten volumes}, Ibn u’l Bazri the Sháfi’ite doctor of the people of al Jazirat-š-Omar,\(\|\) the

\(^*\) Jacobus a Vitriaco gives the king of Jerusalem no more than 374 knights. Both the Franks and Moslems report superior numbers of the enemy, a difference which may be solved by counting or omitting the unwarlike Egyptians." \textit{Decline and Fall}, LIX. Gibbon praises the masterly evolutions of Shirkúh throughout the campaign.

\(^†\) A peace was concluded on the terms of a payment of money to be made to Shirkúh for the cost of the war, and that he in turn should surrender Alexandria to the Egyptians and evacuate Egypt with the Franks.

\(^‡\) This expedition was led by Amaury king of Jerusalem in violation of the treaty above mentioned. "Amaury, says," Gibbon, "retired with the shame and reproach that always adhere to unsuccessful injustice."

\(^§\) His prefect of the palace A’dhud u’ddín and the Emir Kaymáz concerted his death with his physician. He was ordered a hot bath and being carried into the room the doors were locked on him till he died.

\(\|\) A town three day’s journey above Mosal.
A. H. 566. Wazir-b-Hubayrāb, the Shaykh A’bdul’kādir al Jīlī, the Imām Abū Sa’īd A. D. 1170. as Sama’ānī, Abū’n Najīb as Suhrāwardi, Abū’l Ḥasan-b-Hudayl the Kuran reader and others.

AL MUSTADḤĪ BI’AMRILLĀH.

Al Mustadhī bi’amrillāh (Seeking light from the command of God) al Ḥasan Abū Muhammad son of al Mustanjīd bi’llāh was born in the year 536. His mother was an Armenian slave concubine named Gḥadḥḏā (Deicate). He was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his father.

Ibn u’l Jauzi says that he issued a proclamation remitting the taxation and removing tyrannical exactions, and he displayed a justice and generosity, the like of which we never before witnessed in our lives. He distributed large sums of money among the Hashimites and the descendants of Ali and the learned, and upon colleges and on Ribāṭs.* He was ever prodigal of wealth, holding it in no esteem; forbearing, sedate and compassionate. When he assumed the Caliphate, he bestowed robes of honor upon the officials of state and others and the Master Tailor of the Stores relates that he distributed 1300 tunics of silk. His name was read in the khuṭbah, in the pulpits of Baghdad and the usual largesses were bestowed. He named Rūḥ-b-u’l Ḥadīthi to the office of Kādīhi and bestowed commands upon seventeen Mamlūks.

The following is by Ḥāyṣ Bayṣ† on him—

"O Imām of good ‘guidance, thou art raised upon the summit of munificence
With wealth and silver and gold.
Thou grantest lives and security of person and dost lavish provinces
Within the space of an hour of a day.
For what then shall praise be given thee, who verily
Hath exceeded the beneficence of seas and showers;"

* The Ribāṭs says De Slane—(Life of Naṣr-us-dā’ulat) were fortified barracks along the frontiers. At an early period there were not less than 10,000 in Transoxiana alone. Travellers on arriving at a Ribāṭ found every accommodation gratis. These establishments were supported by the government and their revenues were increased by private gifts. Military service in a Ribāṭ was considered as an act of religion. For further particulars, reference is made to Ibn Haukal (extracts) in the Geography of Abū’l Fida, pp. 235-487, of the Arabic Text.

† Abu’l Fawārīs Saa’d a celebrated poet and member of the tribe of Tamīm. He was a Sha’ fi‘ī doctor, but his profession of jurisprudence was mastered by his passion for literature and poetry, and he was eminent for his knowledge of the various dialects of the desert Arabs. Seeing some people in a commotion, he asked what had caused the disturbance (hayṣ bayṣ) and he thus received the nickname. He died A. H. 574 (1179). Ibn Khall.
Verily thou art a standing miracle,  
Confounding intellects and imaginations.  
Thy noble nature has been fashioned of power and liberality,  
Of water and of fire!"

Ibn u'l Jauzi says, "al Mustadhi kept retired from the people at large and never rode save accompanied by his suite and none but Kaymaz* entered his presence. During his Caliphate the dynasty of the House of U'bayd passed away, and his name was read in the khutbah in Egypt and engraved on the coinage. On the arrival of the messenger of these good tidings, the markets were closed in Baghdad and triumphal cupolas were erected. I composed at the same time a work which I entitled the conquest of Egypt." These are the words of al Jauzi. Ad Dahabi states that during his reign, heresy declined in Baghdad and was subverted and the people lived in security, and great prosperity was enjoyed during his Caliphate. The khutbah was read for him in Yaman and Barqab and Tuzar† and Cairo as far as Uswan (Syene) and kings submitted to him, and that in the year 567. The katib al I'mad says that in 567 the Sultan Salah u'ddin-b-Ayub demanded the full submission of the people in the great mosque of old Cairo and that was by the establishment of the khutbah on the first Friday of the month of Muharram‡ for the House of Abbâs. Thus heresy was destroyed and orthodoxy flourished and the khutbah was read for the House of Abbâs on the second Friday in Cairo. This was followed by the death of al A'adhid on the 10th of Muharram. Salâh u'ddin took possession of the palace with all the valuables§ and which were so vast that the sale of them over and above what Salâh u'ddin had taken for himself, continued during ten years. Sultan Nur u'ddin despatched Shihâb u'ddin al Mudhahhar, son of the most learned Sharaf u'ddin||-Abi U'srûn to Baghdad with the good

* The Emir Kutbu'ddin Kaymaz who shared with Adhud u'ddin in the murder of al Mustanjid. Ibn u'l Athir says that they raised al Mustadhi to the Caliphate on the condition of his appointing Adhud u'ddin his Wazir and Kaymaz the general of his troops. His tyrannies and exactions caused a revolt of the people instigated by the Caliph and he fled from the city while the populace plundered his palace. He died before reaching Mosal from the hardships he had to undergo in his flight. A. H. 570. Ibn Ath.
† Tuzar is about ten parasangs from Neftah on the Shatt Kabir. North-western Africa.
‡ Among these, one curiosity, a drum, will provoke the incredulity or the envy of physicians. Its wonderful virtues are described in Reiske's Latin version of Abul-fida.
|| He was a learned Shafi'ite doctor who taught publicly at Aleppo and Mosal. He was much esteemed by Nuruddin Mahmud-b-Zinki by whom he was appointed professor of several colleges and finally Kâdi of Damascus. Born at Mosal 492 (1099), died at Damascus 555 (1189). Ibn Khali.
A. H. 567. news and ordered me to draw up a public announcement of it to be read A.D. 1171-2. in all the provinces of Islám. I accordingly indited a joyful proclamation beginning thus: “Praise be to God, the Exalter of Truth and its Revealer—
the Destroyer of Falsehood and its Disabler.” It contained also the following, “and there is not left in those provinces a pulpit but the khutbah is appointed to be read therein for our lord the Imám al Mustadíhhi hi'-
amr'il-lah, prince of the Faithful, and the mosques for the Friday prayers have been re-established and the temples of heresy destroyed”—and so the Kâtib goes on till he says: “Long have the past generations gone
over them, and they have remained two hundred and eight years* harassed by the pretentious claim of vain dissemblers, filled with a crowd of devils; but the Lord gave us possession of those countries and estab-
lished our authority in the land and placed in our power as we had hoped for, the extirpation of impiety and heresy and directed us unto one whom we have constituted our delegate in establishing the A'bbaside authority in
that place and bringing to destruction therein pretenders and heresiarchs.”

There is a poem by al 'I'mád on this in which are the following verses—

“Verily we have read the khutbah in Cairo for al Mustadíh,
The Vicegerent of the Chosen One, the Imám of the age
And by his victory we have brought down the arm of the Aider
(al A’ádhid)
And yet the Impotent who dwelt in the palace,
And we have left the pretender seeking his own destruction
In ignominy under the grave stone and its confining.

In answer to the joyful tidings the Caliph sent robes of honor and
presents to Nárú’d din and Šaláh u’d din, and standards and banners to the
preachers of Cairo. He bestowed upon the Kâtib al 'I'mád a robe of
honor and a hundred dinárs, upon which he wrote another poem in which
was the following:

They have given victory in Egypt unto the summoner of the
guides unto truth.
And taken revenge on the suspected son of the Jew.†

Ibn u'l Athír narrates that the occasion of the establishment of the
khutbah for the A'bbasides in Cairo was this, that when Šaláh u'd din was
firmly settled in power and the authority of al A’ádhid had declined, Núr

* The duration of the U'baydite dynasty according to Ibn Ath. from the time
of al Mahdi's first appearance at Sijílmásah in A. H. 296 (908-9) to the death of al
A’ádhid was about 272 years and a month. The text of the Kámil is here in error.
The Upsala edition gives 299, for A. H. 296. Abulf has rightly 296. Of this period,
208 years represent the term of their rule in Egypt.
† U'baydu'llah, see page 9.
u’ddin wrote to him commanding him to establish it, but he excused him. A. H. 567. self for fear of an insurrection of the Egyptians, but Núru’ddin would not A.D.1171-2. listen to his words and sent to him insisting upon it. And it came to pass that al A’ádhid fell sick whereon Saláh u’ddin took counsel of the nobles, some of whom approved while others among them were afraid. But it happened that a Persian known as al Amír al A’álím had just then arrived in Cairo and when he perceived their hesitation, he declared that he would be the first to begin it. When therefore the first Friday of Muḥarram came round, he mounted the pulpit before the preacher and offered up a prayer for al Mustadhí and no one showed any disapprobation. Wherefore when it was the second Friday, Saláh u’ddin commanded the preachers to discontinue the khútbah for al A’ádhid, and this was done without any opposition.* This occurred while al A’ádhid was dangerously ill. He died on the 10th of Muḥarram.

In the year 569, Núru’ddin sent presents and gifts to the Caliph, among them a striped wild ass, very savage and streaked as with rays and the people went forth to see the sight. And among them was a resident of the A’ttábi quarter of Baghdad of much pretension but thick-witted and without merit and some one called out, "If indeed we have been sent a wild ass streaked with rays (a’ttábi), we possess an ass of the Attábi quarter."

In the same year hail-stones fell in I’räk as big as oranges and destroyed houses and killed a great number of cattle, and the Tigris rose so high that Baghdad was flooded and the Friday prayers were held outside the walls. The Euphrates rose in the same way and villages and fields were laid waste and the people turned in supplication to the Lord. And it was extraordinary, that while this was the state of the flood, the fields adjacent to the Dujayl (a branch of the Tigris) were ruined by drought.

In this year died Sulṭán Núru’ddin sovereign of Damascus, and his son al Malik as Salíh Isma’il being but a child, the Franks took to ravaging the coasts but they were conciliated by sums of money and a peace was concluded with them. During this year a faction among the U’baydites and their partisans sought to establish and restore the pretensions of the family of al A’áhid, and some of Saláhu’ddin’s nobles approved their design, but Saláh u’ddin being informed of this, crucified them between the two palaces (al Kašrayn).

In the year 572, Saláh u’ddin ordered the building of the great wall surrounding the old town of Miṣr and Cairo and deputed the Emir Bahá u’ddín Karákúsh to superintend its erection. Ibn u’l Athír says that its circumference was 29,800 Háshimi cubits. During the same he gave

* Literally—"and two goats did not fight for it with their horns."
A. H. 572. orders for the erection of the fort on the hill Muḳṭatam,* the same that A. D. 1176. became afterwards the royal palace, but it was not finished until the reign of al Malik al Kāmil nephew of Ṣalāḥ u’ddīn, who was the first that resided in it. In the same year also, he built the mausoleum† of the Imām as Shāfi’ī.

In the year 574, a mighty wind swept over Baghdad at midnight and columns as of fire appeared in all quarters of the heavens, and the people prayed to God in exceeding supplication. In the year 575 died the Caliph al Mustadḥī at the end of Shawwal having covenanted for the succession of his son Aḥmad.‡

Of distinguished persons who died during the reign of al Mustadḥī were Ibn u’l Khashshāb the grammarian, Abū Nizār al Ḥasan-b-Ṣāfī the prince of grammarians (Malik u’n Nukhāt), the Ḥāfīḍh Abu’l A’lā al Ḥamadānī, Nāṣīḥ u’ddīn-b-u’d Dahhān the grammarian, the great Ḥāfīḍh Abū’l Kāsim-b-A’sākir of the Shafi’ī school, al Hayṣ Bays the poet, the Ḥāfīḍh Abū Bakr-b-Khayr and others.

AN NAṢIR LI DĪN I’LLĀH.

An Nāṣir li dīn i’llāh (Defender of the religion of God) Aḥmad Abu A’bbās the son of Mustadḥī was born on Monday the 10th Rajab 553. His mother being a Turkish woman named Zumurrad (Emerald). He was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his father in the beginning of Du’l Kaa’dah 575. A number of Traditionists among whom were Abūl Ḥusayn A’budu’l Haḳḳ al Yusufi, Abū’l Ḥasan A’li-b-A’sākir al Baṭālīḥ and Shuhdah.§ licensed him to declare traditions, and he granted licenses to others who used to relate traditions on his authority during his lifetime vying with each other therein, desiring vain-glory more than correctness of ascriptions.

* This citadel was also enclosed within the rampart. Ibn Ath. Abulf.
† This fact is not in accordance with Ibn Ath. and Abulf who state that he built a college for the Shafi’ite doctors over the burial place of the Shafi’ite Imām, at Karāfah—the Père la Chaise of Cairo.
‡ The other authorities—Ibn Ath. Abulf, Ibn Khaldūn, place his death in Du’l Kaa’dah—the two former naming the 2nd day of the month (31st March 1180).
§ Shuhdah-d of Abu Naṣr Aḥmad-b-I’l Faraj surnamed the “glory of women,” and al Kāṭibah (the female scribe). She ranked among the first scholars of the age and instructed a great number in traditions which she had received from the highest authorities. She died at Baghdad 574 (1178) and was interred outside the Abrāz gate. Her husband, whom she survived, was Abu’l Ḥasan A’li-b-Muṣṭaإجراء-b-Yahya ad Durayni, a man of rank and the favourite of the Caliph al Muḳṭatī. Ibn Khall.
Ad Dahabi says that no one ruled the Caliphate for a longer period than he, for he governed it forty-seven years, and the period of his life continued full of glory and splendour, occupied in the extirpation of enemies and the subjugation of princes. He found no oppression, nor did any rebel rise against him but he exterminated them, and no opponent but he overthrew him and whosoever thought to do him evil, the Lord confounded him with contumely. And with the prosperity of his undertakings, he was most vigilant in the good administration of his kingdom, nothing being concealed from him regarding his subjects, great or small. His spies kept him informed of both the public and private circumstances of monarchs, and he was a master of ingenious artifice and subtil cunning and device which none could fathom. He would bring about reconciliation between hostile princes without their perceiving his intervention, and sow discord between sovereigns in alliance, without their knowledge. When the envoy of the ruler of Mazandarán came to Baghdad, a letter reached him every morning mentioning what he had done the preceding night, and he used every effort at concealment, yet the letter regularly arrived. He made an assignation with a woman one night who introduced herself by a secret door. The letter reached him in the morning containing the following. “Over ye was a coverlet upon which was a design of elephants.” He was much astonished and quitted Baghdad not doubting but that the Caliph was acquainted with invisible things; for the Imámíyahs* believe that the Imám preserved inviolate from sin, knows what is in the pregnant womb and behind walls. And the ambassador of Khwarazm Shah once arrived with a secret message and a sealed letter, but he was told to return, as it was known what he had brought, and he returned, believing that they had a knowledge of the invisible. Ad Dahabi says that it was reported of an Násir that he was ministered to by the genii. When (Muhammad) Khwarazm Shah had conquered Khurasán and Transoxiana and behaved with great arrogance and haughtiness, and had led great monarchs captive, and destroyed many peoples and abolished the khutbah for the House of A'bbás throughout his dominions, and arrived at Hamadán on his march to Baghdad, a snow-storm continued to fall on them during twenty days, overtaking them out of its proper season. One of his confidants thereon suggested to him that this was occasioned by the anger of God for his march against the House of the Caliphate, and he heard at the same time that the Turkish tribes had gathered together against him and were eager to invade his dominions on account of his distance from them. This was

* “One of the exorbitant sects of the Shee'ah who asserted that Ali was expressly appointed by Muhammad to be his successor.” Lane, art. A. H. 575. A. D. 1180. I may add that they do not acknowledge the Imamate except in the posterity of 'Ali. For them a visible Imam no longer exists. See Sale's Prelim. Discourse.

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A. H. 575. the cause of his return and an Nāṣir was quit of his evil designs without a 
A. D. 1180. battle.*

An Nāṣir was one who when he furnished food, gave sufficient to 
satisfy, and when he struck, struck hard, and there were occasions when he 
gave as gives one who fears no poverty. And once there arrived a man 
with a parrot that could repeat, “Say God is one” (Kur. CXII), a present 
to the Caliph from India. In the morning it was found dead and the man 
arose early in great consternation, when there arrived a footman (from the 
Caliph) asking for the parrot. The man wept and said that it had died in 
the night. The other replied, “verily we know that—bring the dead bird,” 
and added, “How much didst thou think the Caliph would have given 
thee?” He answered, “Five hundred dīnārs.” The other said, “Here are 
five hundred dīnārs! Take them, for verily the Caliph hath sent them to 
thee, for he knew all about thee since thou didst set out from India.”

When Ṣadr Jahán† set out for Baghdad with a number of juriscons-
sults, his people said to one of them, as he departed from his house in 
Samarkand mounted upon a fine mare, “if thou wouldst leave it with us, it 
would be well lest it be taken from thee at Baghdad.” He replied “the 
Caliph himself could not take it from me.” The Caliph, however, gave 
orders to a certain sharp fellow to set on him when he entered Baghdad and 
take it from him and escape in the crowd, which he did. The jurisconsult 
made a complaint but received no redress. When they returned from 
the pilgrimage, the Caliph bestowed a robe of honor upon Ṣadr Jahán and 
his suite and presented a robe of honor likewise upon the jurisconsult and 
his mare was presented to him bearing a golden saddle and a collar, and he 
was told that the Caliph had not taken his mare, but that a furnace-heater 
had done so, upon which he fell down in a swoon. The Caliph lavished 
munificent gifts‡ upon them.

Al Muwaffak Ṣud din Aʾbdul Latīf§ says that an Nāṣir filled all hearts 
with dread and terror; and the people of India and Egypt feared him, as 
fears him the inhabitants of Baghdad. He gave new life to the majesty 
of the Caliphate which had perished at the death of al Muʿtaṣīm and 
which expired again at his death. The very princes and nobles of Egypt 
and Syria, when the conversation turned on him in their private conferences,

* This invasion of Muḥammad Khwarazm Shāh took place in 614 (1217). Well 
states that an Nāṣir sent an embassy to Changiz Khān and sought his aid against 
Muḥammad, p. 382, Vol. III. Ibn Athir alludes to the report and adds that any 
misdeed would pale beside the enormity of such a crime.
† This title is usually given to the Kāḥi fi al Kudāt or Chief Judge of any 
monarch. I cannot ascertain who is here referred to.
‡ The Arabic must here be corrupt. The text is unintelligible. The MS. has 

§ The author of the monograph on Egypt, translated by Do Sacy.
would lower their voices in fear and reverence. Once a merchant arrived A. H. 575. in Baghdad with some gold-embroidered goods* from Damietta and he A. D. 1180. was questioned about them, but he denied having them. He was then given particulars about them, as to their number, colours and kinds, but he continued denying the more until he was told among other tokens by which he was known, was that he had revenged himself upon a Turkish slave of his and had taken him secretly to the sea coast at Damietta and had there slain and buried him. Of this no one had known.

Ibn u‘n Najjár† says that Sultáns were abased before an Násir, and those who had opposed him submitted to him. The proud and the rebellious were cast down before him, and tyrants were subdued by his sword; his foes declined and his allies multiplied, and he overran many countries and conquered provinces as none of the Caliphs and sovereigns that preceded him had done, and his name was read in the khútábah in the provinces of Spain and in the cities of China. He was the sternest Caliph of the House of A’bbás and the very mountains were rent in awe of him. He was of a good disposition, well-proportioned, endowed with mental and bodily excellence, fluent of speech and eloquent in expression. His rescripts were incisive and his words carried weight. His reign was a beauty spot in the face of the age and a pearl in the crown of glory. Ibn Wásil says that an Násir was hardy, brave, of good judgment, and strong intellect, subtle and ingenious. He had spies in Irák and the whole of the adjacent countries, who kept him informed of circumstances the most trifling, even to mentioning that a man in Baghdad had given a feast and had washed his hands before his guests. This fact the spy reported to an Násir who wrote in reply thereto, “bad manners in the host and officiousness in the news writer.” He adds, “with all this, he was of vicious disposition towards his subjects, inclined to oppression and violence so that the people emigrated from their provinces and he seized their goods and property.

He would do things of a contradictory character. He was a Shi‘íte, favouring the sect of the Imámítes, opposing in this his ancestral traditions, so that one day Ibn u‘l Jauzi was asked in his presence who was the best of men after the apostle of God. He replied, “the best of them after him was he whose daughter married the other (or he who had married the daughter of the other),‡ for he dared not distinctly mention Abu Bakr.

* I read with the MS. گات. The word گات is in the singular and is therefore inadmissible.
† The Háfídih Abu Abdíllah Muḥammad surnamed Ibn u‘n Najjár was born at Baghdad 578 A. H., (1183). He was a master of tradition and of the seven manners of reading the Qurán. He spent 27 years in travelling, and noting down whatever information he could collect. He died in 643 (1245) at Baghdad. The best known of his works is the supplement in 16 Vols. to Abu Bakr al Baghdádí’s History of Baghdad. De Slane, I. K.
‡ The double meaning cannot be expressed in English by one phrase. This
A. H. 575. A. D. 1180. Ibn u’l Athîr observes that an Nâsîr was of wicked disposition and that Irâk was ruined during his reign by the taxes he levied and his seizure of goods and property. He would do a thing and then its contrary. He devoted himself to shooting with the cross-bow and in twirling pigeons.* Al Muwaffâk A’bdû’l Latîf says that in the midst of his administrative duties he occupied himself with the relation of traditions, and he appointed licentiates with sanction to repeat them on his authority and to spread them abroad, settling allowances on them. He also indited permissive letters to princes and learned men to the same effect, and he made a compilation of seventy traditions, and on arriving at Aleppo caused it to be heard by the people. Ad Daßabi states that an Nâsir licensed a number of the learned and they related traditions on his authority, among them being Ibn Sakkînah, Ibn u’l Akhîdar, Ibn u’l Damaghânî and others.

Abû’l Mudhaffâr grandson of Ibn u’l Jauzi and others relate that the eyesight of an Nâsîr began to grow weak towards the end of his life: others say that it went altogether, but none of his subjects were aware of this even to his Wazîr and his own household, for he had a slave girl whom he had himself taught to write and she used to write a hand like his and indite the royal rescripts. Shamsûddîn al Jauzi says that the water which an Nâsîr used to drink was brought on beasts of burden from a distance of seven parasangs above Baghdad. It was then boiled seven times, once each day, and afterwards kept in vessels for seven days more and then he would drink it; he died after having been given frequent soporifics to drink. He had been subjected to an operation and gravel was extracted from which he expired† on Sunday the last day of Ramadân in the year 622 (6th October 1225).

Among his pleasantries, it is related that a servant of his named Yumn (Felicity) wrote him a letter full of reproach whereon he penned the following—

"He who posseseth Yumn is fortunate,
He for whom a price has been paid, is of value."

reply satisfied both parties, for as Ibn Khall says in his life of Ibn u’l Jauzi, the Sunnis maintained that he meant Abu Bakr whose daughter married Muhammad, while the Shi’as insisted that ‘Alî was intended because Fâtîma, Muhammad’s daughter, was married to him.

* Ibn Ath. does not mention the words يجري المحض—but speaks of his fondness for carrier pigeons. The expression of Ibn Khaldûn is لعب بالمحض. The expression of Ibn Khaldûn is لعب بالمحض.
† According to Ibn Ath. he died of dysentery.
‡ I presume that I have misunderstood the sense, for I can make no pleasantry out of it.
When he assumed the Caliphate, he despatched to Sultán Šaláh u'ddín A. H. 575. a robe of honour and the investiture of his dignity and the Sultán wrote him a letter which ran as follows: "Thy servant, praise be to God, reckoneth for himself priority of merit in Islám, for the House of A’bbás was not so prospered by the early deeds of Abú Muslim, for he aided and then concealed, nor by the later services of Toghril Bek, for he defended but afterwards kept under restraint, whereas thy servant hath extirpated those who would contend for the mantle of the Caliphate and hath made the death-rattle to be swallowed, the water of which the Lord hath stored up for inpouring within his sword. And he brought down the lying names of pretenders to the Caliphate riding aloft on the pulpits, and was exalted by the assistance of Ibrahím and he demolished the concealed idols by his visible sword." Among events of his reign was a mandate which in 577 an Násir* sent rebuking Sultán Šaláh u’ddín for adopting the title of al Malik an Násir, knowing that the Caliph had chosen this name for himself.

In the year 530 the Caliph constituted the tomb of Músa al Kádlim† a sanctuary for those who took refuge therein, and many people fled to it and disturbances arose.

In the year 581 there was born at al A’th,† a child with a forehead a span and four fingers long and but one ear. During the same, news arrived that the khútbah was read for an Násir in the chief towns of Mauritania. In the year 582 six of the planets were in conjunction in Libra and the astronomers announced a general devastation in all the provinces through a hurricane of wind. The people began to dig caves in the boundaries and to make them secure, closing their entrances against the wind; and they carried thither water and provisions and took up their abode there in expectation of the night on which they had announced a hurricane to take place, like the hurricane which destroyed the tribe of A’ád,‡ which was to be the night of the 9th Jumáda II. Nothing, however, occurred therein, and not even a breeze blew, so that candles were lighted and the wind had not sufficient force to extinguish them. The poets commemorated this event. Among the verses written on it were the following by Abú’l Ghanám§ Muḥammad-b-u’l Mu‘a’llim—

* The text is in error. The words "al Malik" are not in the MS.

† A village on the Tigris between U’kbara and Samarra.
‡ See Sale’s Prelim. Discourse, p. 5.
§ He was a native of Wasít and known generally by the appellation of Ibn u’l Mu‘a’llim (son of the preceptor) He was born in 501 (1108) and died in 592 (1196) at
"Tell Abu'l Fadhl the words of one who confesseth:
Jumáda hath passed and Rajab hath come.
Yet no hurricane hath happened as they announced,
Nor hath a comet appeared.
No, indeed—nor hath the sun been darkened, nor
Hath a cone appeared bearing on its point flaming fires.
One hath announced this who knoweth not
What will happen to himself, and this is strange.
Verily the falsehood of the astronomers hath become apparent,
And in every assertion, they make—how they lie!"

In the year 583, it came to pass that the first day of the year happened to be the first of the days of the week* and the first day of the solar year and the first according to the years of the Persians, and the sun and moon were in the first of the signs of the Zodiac (Aries)—and this was one of the most extraordinary coincidences.

During the same, many conquests were made. Sultán Saláhu'ddín took many of the Syrian towns that had been in the hands of the Franks, the most important of which was Jerusalem, it having continued in the possession of the Franks ninety-one years. The Sultán effaced the memorials which the Franks had set up, and destroyed the churches they had introduced, and on the site of one of the churches he founded a college for the Sha'fiites—May the Lord reward him with blessings from Islám! But he did not destroy the church of the resurrection following the example of O'mar who did not injure it when he took Jerusalem. Muḥammad-b-Asa'īd an Nassábah (the genealogist) says regarding this—

"Hast thou seen in a dream what I behold with my eyes
Jerusalem captured and the Franks routed.
And Kumámah swept of the defilement
By the removal of which it has been purified and by its own decline,
And their kings bound with thongs,†
And never before was one of their kings seen captive.
The aid of the Lord hath come and victory,
Which the apostle promised—therefore glorify God and ask for pardon.
O Joseph‡ witness to the truth! thou by conquering it
Art its second O'mar, the glory of the most pure Imám"

the village of Hurth ten parasangs from Wásit. His poetry is chiefly amatory and were considered so touching that they were sung by the Rifa'i dervishes at their concerts for the purpose of exciting the soul to mystic rapture. Ibn Khall.

* Ibn Ath. says that it fall on a Saturday. He adds to the coincidences that the first day of the Christian year fell likewise at the same time.
† Guy of Lusignan.
‡ Saládh had the same name as the patriarch. Fárúk (the distinguisher between right and wrong) was the surname of 'Omar.
Among remarkable occurrences is to be noted that Ibn Barrajân* says A. H. 583. in his Commentary on “Alif, La’m, Mîm the Greeks have been overcome: A. D. 1187. (Kur. XXX) that Jerusalem will remain in the hands of the Greeks until the year 583: they will then be overcome and it will be captured and become the house of Islâm to the end of time” taken from a calculation of the verse—and so it came to pass.

Abu Shámah† observes that this prophecy of Ibn Barrajân is the one of the most remarkable that has occurred, for Ibn Barrajân died some time before the event, and the precise date of his death is known.

In the year 589 died Sultan Salâhu’ddin and the messenger announcing the news arrived in Baghdad with the Sultan’s coat of mail, his charger and one dinár and thirty-six dirhams,‡ which was all the property he left. Egypt fell to his son I’mádu’ddin Othmán al Malik al A’zîz, Damascus to his son al Malik al Afîhâl Nuru’ddîn A’li, and Aleppo to his son al Malik al Dhâbir Qhiyâthu’ddîn Ghâzi.

In the year 590 died Sultan Toghir Bek Shâh, son of Arslan, son of Toghir Bek, son of Muḥammad, son of Malak Shâh, the last of the Saljukian sovereigns.

Ad Dahabi says that they were twenty and odd princes in number, the first being Toghir Bek, the one who restored al Kâim to Baghdad, and the duration of their sovereignty was one hundred and sixty years.

In the year 592 a dark storm blew at Mecca and swept over the whole country, and a reddish sand fell upon the people and a portion of the Rukn al Yamâni§ (the south-eastern portion of the ka’ba’h) fell down. During the same|| Khwarazm Shâh fitted out an army, crossed the Oxus at the head of 50,000 men and sent to the Caliph demanding the Sultanate

* The author of a commentary on the Kurân which he explains after the mystic system of the Sûfa. He died in the city of Morocco A. H. 531 (1141-2). Ibn Khall, (art. Muhi u’dîn-b-in Zahi) adds that from the time he met with the verse, and learnt Ibn Barrajân’s account of it, he searched for the commentary and found the passage written marginally in a different hand from that of the text and is ignorant whether or no it be an interpolation. He also found a cabalistic calculation made from the words “a few years” in the verse of the Kurân—which runs: “The Greeks have been overcome in the nearest part of the land, but after their defeat they shall overcome within a few years.” See also Sale’s Kurân.
† Abu’l Kâim A’bdur Râjman, surnamed Shihâb u’dîn and called Abu Shámah from a mole on his left temple. He was born at Damascena A. H. 599 (1202). He was a jurisconsult, a grammarian, a traditionist and an historian. He has left two abridgments of the history of Damascus, one in 15, the other in 5 Vols. besides the biographies of Nur-u’dîn and Saladîn, and several other works on theology and grammar. De Slane, I. K.
‡ Ibn Ath. says forty. Ibn Khall on the authority of Ibn Shaddad, forty-seven.
§ See Burton’s Mecca, p. 162.
|| This is inaccurate. The invasion of Khwarazm Shâh occurred in 614 (1217).
A. H. 592. and the restoration of the Sultán's palace to its former state of splendour, A. D. 1196. and threatening that he himself would march to Bagdad, and that the Caliph would be subject to him as were the Saljukian princes. On this the Caliph demolished the Sultán's palace and sent back his envoy without a reply, after which the Lord sufficiently met his misdeeds as has already gone before.

In the year 593 a huge meteor fell and a terrible sound was heard at its fall, and houses and edifices were convulsed, and the people called to the Lord for help and burst into public supplications, conceiving that it was one of the signs of the day of resurrection.

In the year 595 al Malik al A'zíz died in Egypt, and his son al Maňsúr succeeded him, but al Malik al A'ádíl Sayfu'ddín Abu Bakr* the son of Ayùb attacked and made himself master of it and was eventually succeeded by his son al Malik al Kámil.

In the year 596, the Nile delayed its rise in Egypt, thus causing it great damage, it not reaching thirteen cubits in height,† and there was a great dearth so that people eat carrion and men, and this living on human beings became notorious and public, and the strangest stories are told regarding it. They proceeded to such an extent that they dug open the graves and eat the corpses and the people of Egypt "dispersed with a complete dispersion." (Kur. XXXIV). Death from starvation increased so enormously that no one could walk in the streets without his foot or his glance falling upon the dead or the dying. The people of the villages utterly perished, so that if a traveller passed through a village, he would not see a single soul† and would find all the houses open and the inhabitants dead. Indeed ad Ǧabábi recounts stories regarding this that make the flesh creep at hearing them. He says that the streets were strewn with dead bodies, and their flesh was the prey of carrion birds and wild beasts, and persons of good birth together with their children were sold for a few dirhams, and this state of things continued till the middle of the year 598.

* This prince conspired with al Malik al A'zíz whose name was Othmán and wrested Damascus from al Malik al Afḏhal whose name was A'Lí. The latter wrote to the Caliph a letter of complaint beginning, "My lord! Abu Bakr and his companion Othmán have forcibly taken possession of the right of A'Lí. Behold the fortune of this name, how it experiences in our day what it met with in the past." The Caliph's witty reply may be found in Abûl, and his translator.

† The fluctuations of the Nile's rise may be learnt from the 1st Chap. Book II, of A'bdullo'Latif's Monograph of Egypt: 18 cubits is the height it must reach to fully satisfy the requirements of the country. Any height less than 16 cubits must result in famine more or less severe according to the fall. The 2nd Chapter contains the horrible details of the picture but faintly sketched by as Suyúṭi. The Egyptian cubit is 22 inches and its measurement together with the normal height of the Nile's rise, has remained unaltered since the days of Herodotus. Gib. C. XXVIII.

‡ Literally, "one blowing fire into flame."
In the year 597 a great earthquake occurred in Egypt, Syria and A. H. 597. Mesopotamia, and many houses and forts were destroyed and a village in A. D. 1200. the dependency of Buṣra* was swallowed up. At the close of Muharram in the year 599, the stars were in great commotion and sped like a flight of locusts and this continued till morning. The people were panic-stricken and cried out to the Most High, and the like of this was never seen save at the birth of the Apostle of God.

In the year 600 the Franks made a raid from Rosetta up the Nile against Fuwwah, and plundered and ravaged and returned. In 601 the Franks† took Constantinople and expelled the Byzantines in whose possession it had been before the rise of Islam and it remained under the Franks until the year 660. (25th July, 1261) when the Byzantines‡ again recovered it from them.

In the same year, a woman in Kaṭuftā§ gave birth to child with two heads, two arms and four legs, but it did not live.

In the year 606 was the beginning of the Tartar ascendancy, and a narration of their history will presently follow.

In 615, the Franks captured the chain fort at Damietta. Abu Shāmah says that this fort was the key of Egypt. It was a lofty tower in the middle of the Nile and opposite to it on the east side was Damietta and on the west the mainland of the Delta; and on each side was a chain, one of them extending across the Nile to Damietta and the other across the Nile to the mainland, obstructing the passage of ships from the ocean. In the year 616, the Franks captured Damietta (5th November, 1219) after several engagements and a prolonged investment and al Malik al Kamil (Soevereign of Egypt) was too weak to offer them any resistance. They introduced their innovations therein and converted the principal mosque into a church. Al Malik al Kamil then laid the foundations of a city at the branching of the two waters,|| and named it Manṣūrah and strengthened it with ramparts and entered it with his army.

In this year the chief Ḫāḍhī Ruknu’d din ad Dhāhir entered into a

* There are two places of this name in Yaḵūṭ. One in Syria near Damascus, the other a village near Baghdad close to U’kbarat.
† Under Dandolo.
‡ In the reign of Michael Paleologus; see for the whole of this period the 40th, 41st and 42nd chapters of Gibbon.
§ So the MS. Yaḵūṭ gives the name and describes the locality—an extensive quarter on the western side of Baghdad. ُطقِم as written in the text is not to be found in Yaḵūṭ.
|| The Nile is joined to Lake Menzaleh by the canal of Ashmūn which terminates at Manṣūrah.
A. H. 616. correspondence with al Kâmil, and al Malik al Mua'dhdham* I'sa prince of Damascens had a personal ill-feeling against him, whereupon he sent him a parcel in which was a jacket and a halter and commanded him to wear it before the people in his judicial court. He dared not refuse, but after a short time, he rose and went to his house and kept to his room and died after a few months of rage, and cast forth a portion of his liver, and the people sorely grieved at this. It happened that al Malik al Mua'dhdham sent after this to as Sharafu'ddin-b-U'nayn† a present of wine and a striped garment, at a time when he affected an abstinent life, and said, "Praise God for this" upon which he wrote in reply, saying,

"O al Malik al Mua'dhdham the custom
That thou hast introduced shall continue for ages:
The princes after thee will follow thy way,
Giving robes of honor to Kâdhis and presents to the devout."

In the year 618, praise be to God, Damietta was recovered from the Franks, and in 621 the School of Tradition al Kâmilîyah, was founded at Cairo between the two palaces, and Abu'l Khaṭṭâb⁺-b-Diyah was appointed professor. The Kaa'bah had up to this time been covered with white brocade since the days of al Mâmûn, but an Nâṣir covered it with green brocade and subsequently with black, and so it has continued up to this day.

Of persons of note who died during the reign of an Nâṣir were, the

* Al Malik al A'âdîl during his lifetime partitioned his dominions among his sons. To al Malik al Kâmil Muḥammad he gave Egypt; al Mua'dhdham had Damascus, Jerusalem, Tiberias, and other places; part of Mesopotamia, Mayyafarîkîn, Khîlât, &c. were given to al Malik al Ashraf, and the remainder among two other sons Shihab-u'ddin Ghâzi and Arslân Shâh. These princes lived, says Ibn Ath., in great concord and were as if moved by one spirit, (p. 280) a statement difficult to reconcile with facts. See Ibn Ath., p. 274 and after.—Well, p. 448.—I do not feel assured that I have correctly apprehended the sense of this passage. Ad Dhâhir can scarcely be another surname of Ruknu'ddin, yet I can give it no other sense.

† "With him," says Ibn Khall, "closed the series of our great poets, his equal has never since appeared." His predilection for satires caused his expulsion from Damascus by Saladin, his poem "Scissors of reputations" having irritated the chief men at Damascus against whom it was directed. His travels extended to India and Transoxiana and he returned to Damascus when al Malik al A'âdîl took possession of it after Saladin's death, in 692 (1196) and he died there in A. H. 640 (1033).

⁺ He was a native of Valencia and surnamed Dû'n Nasabây (of the double pedi-
gree) being descended from Diyyah of the tribe of Kalb a companion of Muḥammad on one side, and from al Ḥusayn on the other. He was born in A. H. 544 (1150) and died at Cairo 633 (1236). The principal cities of Spain and of north Africa, as well Syria and Khurasân were visited by him for the sake of collecting traditions of which he was considered a perfect master and attained to the dignity of a Ḥâfîdh. Ibn Khall.
Ḥāfūd Abū Ṭāhir as Silaft, Abūʾl Ḥasan-b-uʾl Kašsār the philologist, al A. H. 622. Kāmil Abūʾl Barakāt al Anbārī, the Shaykh Aḥmad-b-uʾr Rifāʾaʾi, Ibn A. D. 1225. Bashkūld, Yunus, father of the Bani Yunus of the Shaʿfīite school, Abū Bakr-b-Ṭāhir al Aḥdab (Humpbacked) the grammarian, Abūʾl Ṭāhir father of ar Rāfaʾī, Ibn Malakūn, the grammarian, Aʾbdullā Ḥākik, Seville, author of the Aḥkām (Judgments), Abu Zayd as Suhayli author of the ar Raʿūdh al Unuf (Untrodden meadows), the Ḥāfūd Abū Mūsā al Madīnī, Ibn Barri the philologist, the Ḥāfūd Abū Bakr al Ḥārīmī, as Sharaf-b-Abī Uʾsrūn, Abūʾl Kāsim al Bukhārī al Othmānī,* author of the al Jāmīʾ al Kabīr (the great Compendium) one of the most eminent of the Ḥanafītes, an Nājm al Habūshānī known as as Ṣalāḥ, Abūʾl Kāsim-b-Fīrrah as Shāṭibī author of the Kasīdah,† Fakhrʾuddīn Abū Shujāʾaʾ Muḥammad-b-Aʾli-b-Shuʿāʾy-b-uʾd Dahhān, doctor of the law of Inheritance, the first who made a table of Inheritance after the diagram of a pulpit‡ Burhān al Marghīnānī author of the Hīdāyah, of the Ḥanafī School, Kāhdīkhānī author of the Fatāwa (decisions) of the same school. Aʾbdur Ṭaḥīm-b-Ḥajūn, the devotee of Upper Egypt, Abūʾl Wālid-b-Rašīd, author of the Philosophical Sciences, Abū Bakr-b-Zuhba the physician, al Jamāl-b-Fadhīlān of the Shaʿfīte school, al Kāhdī al Fāḍīl the master of Composition and epistolary style, Shiḥāb at Tūsī, Abūʾl Faraḥ-b-uʾl Jauzi, al Iʾmād the Secretary, Ibn Adḥīmah the Ḥurūb reader, the Ḥāfūd Abʾuddīn Ghānī al Muḍaddasī author of the Uʾmdah (Column), ar Ruknʾuddīn at Tūsī author of the Tūrikat uʾl Khilāf (System of Controversy), Shamīm al ʿHilli, Abū Ḥarr ʾal Khashīnī the grammarian, the Imām Fakhrʾuddīn ar Rāzī, Abūʾl Saʿādāt Ibn uʾl Athīr author of the Jāmīʾ uʾl Uṣūl fīahādīth ir Rasūl (Combiner of the fundamental Treatises on the Apostolic Traditions) and the Niḥāyah ʾilʾ Gharīb (The extreme or obscure terms in tradition), al Iʾmād-b-Yunus author of the Sharḥ al Wajīz (the Epitomized commentary), as Sharaf§ author of the Tanbīḥ (Admonition), the Ḥāfūd Abʾuddīn al Ḥasan-b-uʾl Muḥaddījhal, Abū Muhammad-b-Hawtīllah, and his brother Sulaymān, the Ḥāfūd Abʾuddīn Kādir ar Ruhāwī, the devotee Abʾuddīn Ḥasan-b iʾl Ṣabbāgh Bikna, al Wajīb-b-uʾl Dahhān the grammarian, Taḵkʾuddīn-b-uʾl Muṣṭāriʾ, Abʾu Yumn al Kindi the grammarian, al Maʿīn al Ḥājiri author of the

* Al Aʾtτābī. MS.
† On the Kurān readings called ʿIr Ṣah ʿul Amānī wa Wajī Ṣah ʿul Taḥānī (wishes accomplished and open congratulations).
‡ That is showing the family relations and their shares of inheritance by a diagram of steps, which would give it the appearance of a pulpit.
§ More correctly, author of the commentary on the Tanbīḥ a work on jurisprudence by Abʾu Ishāk as Shirāzī. His more famous father, Kamāluʾddīn Yunus died in the reign of al Mustansīr, 17 years later.

AD DHÁHIR BI‘AMRI‘LLAH.

Ad Dháhir bi‘amri‘llah (Pre-eminent by the decree of God) Abú Naṣr Muḥammad son of an Násir li dínílláh was born in the year 371. His father took the covenant for him as his heir and he succeeded to the Caliphate on his father’s death, at the age of fifty-two. They said to him on his accession—“dost thou not rejoice?” He replied, “Verily the harvest is blighted.” They said, “May God prosper thy days.” He answered, “What can a man earn who opens his shop only late in the afternoon.” He was beneficent towards his subjects, reduced taxation, checked abuses and distributed large sums of money. (Abu Shámah.)

Ibn u‘l Aţhír says in the Kámil, “When ad Dháhir acceded to power, he displayed such justice and benevolence as to recall the administration of the two ‘Omars, and if it were said that none like unto him, governed the Caliphate since ‘Omar-b-A‘bdí‘l A‘zíz, the speaker would say truly, for he restored an immense amount of property that had been unjustly taken, and goods confiscated in the time of his father and before it, and remitted all taxes in the towns and ordered a return to the former taxation throughout the whole of l‘Irák and the discontinuance of what his father had recently imposed; all this being an amount beyond computation.

As an instance of this, the town of Ba‘kúba was originally assessed at ten thousand dinárs, and when an Násir became Caliph, he levied from it during the year, eighty thousand dinárs, but ad Dháhir restored its original assessment on the appeal of the people. And when the old tax was again levied in the districts, a deputation obtained audience and represented that the greater number of the trees on their properties had withered and were ruined, whereupon he ordered that no tax should be levied except upon a sound (date) tree.”* As an illustration of his justice, the Treasury scales exceeded just measure by half a kirát (two grains) in a mithqal (twenty grains) and they accepted payments according to this standard but issued them according to the scale of weights in use in the Provinces.

* This quotation, is not exactly literal—portions of it are so, while the rest after the author’s fashion, is an abridgment of the original, in his own style. The sense is however fairly given.
Upon this a mandate was despatched to the prime minister, beginning “Woe A. H. 622. be unto those who give short measure” (Kur. LXXXIII) and it continued A. D. 1225.

“We have heard such and such reports: let the Treasury scales be re-altered to what is customary in the mercantile transactions of the people.” They wrote to him to the effect that a great disparity would result, which from the returns of the past year, they had calculated would amount to 35,000 dinárs. He returned a reply, rejecting the suggestions of his correspondent and adding, “let it be discontinued though the disparity be 350,000 dinárs.” As another instance of his justice, the Superintendent of the finance registers returned from Wáṣīṭ with more than 100,000 dinárs obtained by oppression; he restored it all to the owners thereof. He released those who were in prison and sent ten thousand dinárs to the Kádhi to pay it in satisfaction for those who were in distress.* and he distributed on the night of the festival of Sacrifice (10th Du‘l Hijjah) ten thousand dinárs among the learned and the devout. It was said to him on one occasion that no one had ever given scarce a portion of the sums that he had lavished, he replied, “I opened my shop late in the afternoon; suffer me then to do good,—for how much longer have I to live?” There were found in a room of his palace, thousands of letters all of which were sealed. He was asked why he did not open them, he answered, “I have no need of them; they are all accusations of informers.” The whole of this is taken from Ibn u’l Athír.

Sibt-b-u’l Jauzi relates that once when he entered the Treasury, an attendant said to him, “This used to be full in the time of thy father.” He replied, “the Treasury is not made to be kept full, but to be emptied and distributed for pious purposes, for verily to accumulate is the occupation of a trader.” Ibn Wáṣil says that he displayed justice and diminished taxation and appeared much in public which his father rarely did. He died on the 13th Rajab,† 623 (10th July, 1226); his reign having been nine months and some days in duration. He was licensed by his father to recite traditions. Abu Ṣalíḥ Naṣr-b-Abdî'r Razzâk-b-i'l Shaykh A’bdîl Kádîr al Jíli recited them on his authority. An eclipse of the moon occurred twice in the year in which he died. Naṣru’llah-b-’l Athír‡ arrived on an embassy from the governor of Mosal with a letter of condolence to his successor which began thus:

* That is, for those who were imprisoned for debt. Ibn Ath. expresses the sense with greater clearness.
† Ibn u’l Ath. 14.
‡ Better known as Dhiáu’ddin Ibn u’l Athír—born in 558 (1163) died at Baghdad 637 (1239-40). He entered the service of Saládîn whose prime minister, he became. He ended his days as a writer of despatches under Naṣru’ddin Maḥmúd, governor of Mosal. Ibn Khall.
A. H. 623. "Why should not day and night plead excuse when the calamity they have brought about is so great?—and why should not the sun and moon be eclipsed when the third luminary has disappeared?  "How desolate is the world, once so gladsome And what solitude for those in it through one scene of death."

And he is our lord and master the Imám ad Dháhir prince of the Faithful whose reign was a mercy unto both worlds.

AL MUSTANŞIR BİLLAH.

Al Mustanşir bülライ (Seeking assistance in God) Abu Jaa'far Manşür the son of ad Dháhir bi amr'illáh was born in the month of Safar 588, his mother being a Turkish slave. According to Ibn un Najjár, he was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his father in Rajab 623. He dealt justly with his subjects and was equitable in his decisions and sought the society of men of wisdom and piety, and founded mosques and Ribâts and colleges and hospitals. He set up the beacon of religion, extirpated the refractory, promulgated laws, restrained dissensions and brought his people under the most admirable regulations. He undertook religious wars with the utmost devotion and assembled armies for the defence of İslám, guarded the frontiers and captured many fortresses.

Al Muwaffâk A'bdu'l Latif says, "When Abú Jaa'far was acknowledged Caliph, he pursued an excellent course of conduct, re-established the ways of kindliness that had been effaced, set up the beacon of religion and the watch tower of İslám and won all hearts to the love of him, and all tongues to his praise, and the most captious found in him no reproach. His grandfather an Nâşir courted his society and used to call him the Kâdhi from his right judgment and intelligence, and repugnance to all vice that he met with." The Ḥâfîdîh Zakiu'ddin A'bdu'l Adhîm al Mundīrî observes that all Mustanşir was zealous in good works and earnest in the advancement of virtue of which many brilliant instances are recorded of him. He founded the Mustanşirîyah college and settled good stipends on men of learning.

Ibn Wâšil says that al Mustanşir built on the eastern bank of the Tigris a college than which none more beautiful or more extensively endowed was ever constructed upon the face of the earth. He appointed

* A renowned jurist and traditionist. He was born in Egypt in 581 (1185) and became Shaykh of the Kâmîlyah School of Tradition founded at Cairo by al Malik al Kamil in 622. Ibn Khallîkîn was one of his pupils. He died in 656 (1258). De Slane, İ. K.
four professors for the four orthodox doctrinal schools,* and built within A. H. 623. it a hospital and provided a kitchen for the use of the jurisconsults and A. D. 1226. large cooling jars for cool drinking water and furnished their apartments with mats and carpets, olive oil, paper, ink and the like and over and above, a monthly stipend of a dinár for each jurist. Further he provided for them a Hammám, the like of which had never been done before. He enlisted a large army such as his father and grandfather had never organized before him, and he was withal of a lofty spirit, brave and of great intrepidity. The Tartars invaded his dominions, but his forces encountered them and the Tartars suffered a complete rout. He had a brother called al Khafájí of great courage who used to say that were he in supreme authority, he would cross the Oxus at the head of an army, wrest the provinces from the Tartars and root them out. When al Mustanṣir died, the Chief Secretary and High Steward were averse to the investiture of al Khafájí through fear of him, wherefore they set up the son of al Mustanṣir Abu Ahmad on account of his mildness of character and weakness of understanding, in order that the government might remain in their hands, "that God might accomplish the thing which was decreed to be done" (Kur. VIII) regarding the destruction of the Muslims during his reign and the Tartar domination—for we belong to God and unto Him do we return.

Ad Ḍahabi says that the aggregate of the endowments of the Mustanṣiríyah college reached yearly over 70,000 mithkáls (dínár). The building was begun in the year 625 and completed in 631. Books were sent to it to the number of one hundred and sixty camel-loads of valuable works. The complement of its jurists of the four doctrinal schools was 248. There were four lecturers, and a professor of tradition, of grammar, of medicine, and of the law of inheritance. It was further provided with bread, cooked flesh-meat, sweetmeats and fruit. The Caliph also placed thirty orphans on the foundation and endowed it to an extent that surpasses description. Ad Ḍahabi here enumerates the villages and lands settled on it and adds that it was opened on the first Thursday of Rajab, the Kádhís, professors and nobles, and all the state officials being present, and it was a "day whereon men were assembled," (Kur. XI).

Among events in the reign of al Mustanṣir in 618, al Malik al Ashraf lord of Damascus ordered the building of a college of Traditions called al Ashrafiyáh which was completed in the year 630.

In the year 632 al Mustanṣir gave orders for the coinage of silver dirhams to be used instead of chips of gold. The Wazir held an audience and summoned the governors, merchants and money-changers: leather mats were spread out and the dirhams placed upon them and the Wazir

* Of Málík, as Sháf’í, Ḥanbal, and Abu Ḥanísah.
Al Muwaffak Abu’l Ma’āli al Ḫāsim-b-Abi’l Ḥadīd* said with regard to this—

"May we never lose thy excellent judgment among us. Thou hast removed us far from unjust standards of measure, Thou hast prescribed the use of silver so that we have become familiar with it Which was never familiar to us before. Not for hoarding wealth was thy prohibition against deviation† But for a right course and for positive certitude."

In the year 635 the office of Ḫāthi at Damascus was held by Shamsu’d din Aḥmad al Jūnī. He was the first Ḫāthi who established stations for witnesses in the city, for before that time, the people had to attend the houses of witnesses to obtain their testimony. During the same, died the two brothers, the Sultāns, al Asfraf prince of Damascus and two months after him al Kāmil sovereign of Egypt. Ḥulamah‡ the son of al Kāmil assumed the sovereignty of Egypt and was surnamed al A’ādil, but he was subsequently deposed and his brother al Malik as Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb Najmu’uddin usurped the government.

In the year 637 Shaykh I’zzu’ddin§-b-A’bdi’s Sallām held the office of public preacher at Damascus. He preached a discourse free from all heretical tendency. He abolished the use of the gilded standards and set up in their place black and white ones and only a single caller to prayer chanted before him. During the same Rasūl u’l Amin Nuru’ddin O’mar-b-A’lī-b-Rasūli’t Turkománi who had possessed himself of Yaman visited the

* He was a jurisconsult and a man of letters and ability; born at al Madain in 590 and died at Baghdad in 656 (1258) soon after the taking of that city by the Tartars. He was the brother of Abu Ḥāmid I’zzu’ddin al Madānī who wrote a refutation of Dhi’iuddin Ibn u’l Aṯīr’s work called the Current Proverb. See life of this latter in Ibn Khall.

† For the various meanings of صرف and عدل and صرف ولا عدل on the tradition لايقبل منه. See Lane, art.

‡ His name was Ṣayfu’d din Abu Bakr. I have nowhere met the name in the text.

§ He afterwards (638) repaired to Misr, fearing the revenge of al Malik as Ṣāliḥ Isma’il of Damascus whom he had reviled for surrendering two forts to the Franks on condition of their aiding him against his nephew as Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt. The latter made him Ḫāthi of Misr which, says Abu’l Fida, he reluctantly accepted. For an instance of his thaumaturgy, see Reiske’s note, p. 711.
Caliph to obtain the investiture of the Sultanate of Yaman after the death A.H. 637 of al Malik al Masa'ud* son of al Malik al Kamil, and this sovereignty A.D. 1239 continued in his house till the year 865.

In 639, al Malik as Salih sovereign of Egypt founded the college which is between the two palaces and the fort at Randah, but this fort was destroyed by his slaves in 651.

In the year 640, on Friday the 10th of Jumada II, (5th December, 1242) died al Mustanṣir. The poets composed elegies on him and among them Ŝafin'dīn A'bdlla'h-b-Jamīl. As an instance of the virtues of al Mustanṣir, al Wajīh al Kayrawānī praised him in a poem in which he said—

"Hadst thou been present on the day of Sakīfah†
Thou wouldst have been the foremost—the God-fearing Imām."

Whereupon some one in his presence exclaimed, "Thou hast erred for verily al A'bbās the ancestor of the prince of the Faithful was then present, and none but Abu Bakr could have been the foremost." Al Mustanṣir assented to this speech and rewarded the speaker thereof with a robe of honor and commanded al Wajīh to be banished who as ad Dhalabi relations, departed for Egypt. Of persons of note who died during the reign of al Mustanṣir were the Imām Abūl Kāsim ar Rafi'ī, al Jamāl al Miṣrī, Ibn Maghrūz the grammarian, Yaḵūt al Hamawi, as Sukāki author of the Miṭṭāb (key), the Ḥāfīd Abūl Ḥasan-b-u'll Katṭān, Yahya-b-Mu'ti' author of the grammatical treatise the Alīfīyah (consisting of 1000 verses) al Muwaffāk A'bdul Latīf al Baghdādī, the Ḥāfīd Abū Bakr-b-Nuṣṭah, the Ḥāfīd I'zzu'dīn A'li-b-u'll Athīr, author of the History (Kāmil), the Ansāb,‡ and the Asadu'l Ghābah (Lion of the forest)

* He had been sent to Yaman by his grandfather al Malik al A'adil I. in 611 (1225) and entered Mecca the same year where the khutbah was read in his name. He retained his government under his father al Kamil's supremacy and died at Mecca in 626 (1239). For the fortunes of the Rasul's dynasty in Yaman, consult Abulf, p. 624 Vol. 4 and 126, Vol. 5, Weil, 203. I am indebted to the courtesy and erudition of Mr. Stanley Lane Poole for the following note. "Rasūl was an envoy of the 'Abbāsi Caliph, who adopted the name of his office (Rasūl) and was Governor of Mecca about 620 A. H. His son Nūruddīn Omar-b-Rasūl is the founder of the dynasty of the Beni Rasūl who governed Yemen from the death of its last Ayyūbi ruler (al Malik al Masa'ud) to the subversion of the dynasty by the Beni Tāhir in 853 A. H. The dynasty ruled at Zobid in the Tehāmah and coins of two of the kings struck at Aden, are in the British Museum. There is a special history of the Rasūliyah at the India Office, by El Khazrajji, and an account of them in Ibn-Ed. Deyba (B. M. MS.) and Johanssen's Historia Yamanica."

† See page 42, note †.

‡ This was an abridgment in 3 Vols. of Abū Sa'ād as Samāni's Ansāb (explanation of patronymics and other relative adjectives). The Asad u'l Ghahāš fl Maa'rifat, is Siha-bāh contains notices of 7500 of the companions, supplementing the omissions of his predecessors and correcting their errors. Háji Khalīfah.
A. H. 640. Ibn U'tbi the poet, as Sayf al 'Amidi, Ibn Fadríhn, Omar b.-il Fáridh A. D. 1242. author of the Táifiyah* fít Tasawwuf, as Shiháb as Suhrawardí author of the A'waríf u'l Má'rif (the divine cognitions in degrees of spiritual knowledge) al Bahá-b-Shaddád, Abú'l A'bábas al 'A'uní author of the Maulid a'n Nabawí (the prophetic nativity), the learned Abú'l Khátháb-b-Dihyáh and his brother Abú Omar, the Háfídh Abú'r Rabá'í'h-b-Sálim† author of the Iktífa bi Magházi'l Muṣṭáfá wa'l Khuláfá al Thaláthah (a sufficient account of the Military expeditions of the Chosen and the three Caliphs), Ibn u'l Shahá the poet, the Háfídh Zakíu'ddin al Bazáli, al Jamáí al Haşíri‡ the Hanafiite Shaykh, as Shams al Júni, al Ḥarráni, the Háfídh Abú A'bdulláh az Zainí, Abú'l Barákát-b-u'l Mustawfi, ad Dhiaruddin-b-i'l Aţhir author of the Mathal al Sáir (the current Proverb) Ibn A'rabi§ author of the Fuṣūṣ u'l Hikam (the besets of words of wisdom), Kamál-u'ddin-b-Yunus the commentator§ on the Tanbíh (Admonition, of Abu Išákh as Shirázi) and others.

AL MUSTA'ŚIM BILLÁH.

Al Musta'śim billa'h (Seeking protection with God) Abú Ahmad Abú'ddu'lláh son of Musta'sír billa'h, last of the Caliphs of the two I'ráks was born in the year 609, his mother being a slave concubine called Hájír. He was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his father. Al Muwayyad|| at Túsí granted him authority as a licentiate of traditions through Ibn un Najjár, and so likewise did Abu Rúh al Harawi and a number of others. Traditions were repeated on his authority and license by an Najm al Bádaráí, as Sharf ad Dimyáți. Ad Dimyáți has taken from his special narration forty traditions which I have seen in his handwriting. He was generous, mild of temper, of good disposition, and exemplary virtue. The Shaykh Kúthu'ddín says, that he was orthodox in religion, conforming to its precepts like his father and grandfather, but not their

* This is a poem in the letter Tá on the doctrines of the Súfís. The text and MS are in error in writing the word ٰلاي.† Háji Khalífah states him to be the son of Músá.‡ So called from a quarter in Bukhára where mats (haşír) are made in which he must have resided. See Ibn Khall's life of al 'Amídi Rúk'uddín; the MS. writes the word correctly. The printed text is in error.§ The Commentator was rather his son Sharafuddín who died in the reign of an Násír. See note §.|| This traditionist's family originally came from Tús, but he fixed his residence at Náysábúr. He was considered the most authoritative traditionist of his time, and students flocked to him from all quarters. Ibn Khall himself was a licentiate of this master, born 524 (1130) died 617 (1220). Ibn Khall.
ṣir had a brother known as al Khafāji of great bravery and valour, who A. D. 1242. 
used to say that if God would put him in possession of supreme power, he 
would cross the Oxus at the head of an army, wrest the country from the 
Tartars and exterminate them. But when al Mustansir died, the Chief 
Secretary and High Steward and the principal nobility did not approve 
the assumption of the government by al Khafāji for they feared him, where-
fore they chose al Musta’sim on account of his lenity and meekness, in 
order that the real power might rest with them. They accordingly set 
him in authority. Al Musta’sim placed his dependence upon his Wazir 
Muwayyadu’d-dīn al A’lkami the heretic (Shiite) who ruined the country 
and played with the Caliphate as he willed. He carried on a secret cor-
respondence with the Tartars, counselled with them and urged them to 
march into Iraḳ, to take possession of Baghdad and put an end to the A’bbasid dynasty, in order that he might set up a Caliph of the posterity of A’li. Whatever information regarding them arrived, he concealed from 
the Caliph but kept the Tartars informed of the Caliph’s movements until 
events happened as they subsequently did.

In the year 647 of his reign the Franks* took Damietta. The Sultān 
al Malik as Šāliḥ (Ayyūb) was at the time ill, and he died on the night of 
the 15th of Shaa’bān. His wife Umm Khalīl, called Shajar u’d Durr 
(Spray of Pearl) concealed his death and summoned his son Turān Shāh 
al Malik al Muadhhdham who arrived, but it was not long before he was 
assassinated, in Muḥarram of the year 648. His father’s dependents 
aassaulted and slew him and they raised up his father’s wife Shajar u’d 
Durr and the Turks swore allegiance to her and to her chief minister 
I’zzu’d-dīn Aybak the Turkoman. She began by bestowing robes of honor 
and rich presents upon the principal nobles and appointed I’zzu’d-dīn to the 
Sultanate in Rabī’ II, and he received the title of al Mu’izz. Subsequently he 
withdrew from the dignity† and the troops swore allegiance to al 
Malik al Ashraf son of Salahu’d-dīn Yusuf-b-i’l Masa’ud-b-i’l Kāmil, a boy 
of eight and I’zzu’d-dīn remained as his guardian (atābek). They were both 
included in the khūṭbah and their names stamped upon the coinage.

In this year Damietta was recovered from the Franks. In the year 
652 a fire appeared in the land of Aden and its sparks at night flew 
out towards the sea and a vast column of smoke arose from it by 
day. During the same, al Mu’izz set aside the nominal authority of 
al Malik al Ashraf and assumed the Sultanate. In the year 654 appeared 
the fire in the prophetical city of Medina. Abu Shāmāh relates that

* Under St. Louis of France in the 6th Crusade, 1249.
† It was thought expedient that an Ayyūbite should, at least in name, hold the 
regal office.
A. H. 654. he received letters from Medina with the following. "On Tuesday A. D. 1256. night, the 3rd Jumáda II, a mighty rushing sound was heard followed by a great earthquake which continued at short intervals till the 5th of the month when a huge fire appeared in al Ḥarráh* near Ḫuraydáh; we saw it from our houses in Medina as if it were close upon us, and there flowed from it rivers of fire towards Wadi Ṣháta† like the rush of a flood. We ascended our houses to see it, when lo! the hills ran with torrents of flame and they continued thus, and in the same way flames appeared like unto mountains from which sparks flew like a vast edifice so that the light of them could be seen throughout both Mecca and the desert. And all the people assembled at the holy tomb, praying for mercy and repentant, and this continued for more than a month. Ad Ḫāhábi observes that the mention of this fire comes down in an uninterrupted tradition and it is this which the Chosen One predicted where he said, "the last day shall not be, until a fire riseth out of Ḥijáž which shall light up the necks of the camels in Buṣra;"‡ and verily more than one of those who were at Buṣra during that night have mentioned this fire and that the necks of the camels were visible by its light.

In the year 655, perished al Mu'izz Aybak Súlṭán of Egypt. He was murdered by his wife Ṣhájar u'd Durr and they raised to the Súlṭánate in succession to him, his son al Malik al Manṣúr and during this the Tartars were spreading over the provinces, their enormities increasing and their flame kindling; the Caliph and the people heedless of what was intended regarding them, and the Wazír al A'lkámi§ seeking the destruction of the A'bbáside dynasty and its transmission to the prosperity of A'li and corresponding secretly with the Tartars, while al Mustá'sim, absorbed in his pleasures had no knowledge of events nor interest in the public welfare. His father al Mustanṣír had largely increased his army and withal, had pacified the Tartars with gifts, made peace with and conciliated them, whereas al Mustá'sim when he came to power, being destitute of understanding and administrative ability, was counselled by his Wazír to disband the greater part of his troops, since his object would be attained by treating the Tartars with generosity and courtesy, and this he accordingly did. The Wazír subsequently entered into a correspondence with the Tartars, urged them to march upon the provinces and facilitated their

* The Banu Ḫuraydáh lived near Khaybar and al Ḥarráh is probably Ḥarráh u'n Nár, which is adjacent to Khaybar.
† This name is not given in Yaḵáṭ and I am uncertain as to the correctness of the text here. The MS. is manifestly corrupt. See a notice of this eruption in Burton's Mecca, page, 4.
‡ Near Harwán in Palestine.
§ Muwayyadu'ddin-b-u'l A'lkámi. Abulf.
purpose. He proposed himself as their governor to which they agreed A. H. 655. and made preparations for their march upon Baghdad.

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**A brief notice of the Tartars.**

Al Muwaffak A'hdu'l La'rif says in his account of the Tartars, that it is a narrative that absorbs all other narratives, a chronicle that supersedes all other chronicles, a history that causes all other histories to be forgotten, a misfortune that reduces to insignificance all other misfortunes, a calamity that involved the earth and filled it to its length and breadth. The language of this people is blended with that of India in the vicinity of which they dwell, and between them and Mecca is a distance of four months' journey. As compared with the Turks, they have broader faces, are fuller in the chest, leaner in the flanks, have smaller eyes, are tawny in colour, quick in movement both of body and mind. Accounts of other nations reach them, but no information respecting them penetrates to other countries, and it is scarcely possible that a spy can settle among them for a foreigner does not resemble them in appearance. When they purpose setting out in a certain direction, they conceal their design and execute it with sudden rapidity, so that the people of a city know nothing of them till they enter it, nor an army until they are in the midst of it: thus unto people the means of circumventing them are confounded and the ways of escape straitened. Their women fight as well as the men. Their principal weapons are arrows, and their food, any flesh-meat they can get, and there is no exception or quarter in their massacre, for they slay men, women and children. Their aim was the destruction of the human race and the ruin of the world, not the desire of dominion or plunder.

Another author observes that the country of the Tartars borders on the confines of China: that they dwell in deserts and are notorious for their malignity and perfidy. The occasion of their rise was as follows: The country of China is of vast extent, its circuit occupying a six months' journey. It is composed of six principalities and they have a sovereign chief who governs the whole six. He is the great Khan who resides at Tamghaj and is like the Caliph of the Muslims. The Sultan of one of these principalities was Dosh Khan who had married the paternal aunt of Jingiz Khan. After the death of her husband, Jingiz Khan went on a visit to her, and he was accompanied by Kashlu Khan and she informed them that the prince her husband had left no heir and suggested to her nephew that he should succeed him. Upon this Jingiz Khan assumed the government
A. H. 655. and was joined by the Moguls. He then despatched presents to the great
A. D. 1257. Kán, who foaming with rage, ordered the tails of the horses that had been
presented to him, to be cut off and that they should be driven away, and
he put to death the envoys, because the Tartars had no previous title to
possession, they being but nomad wanderers in China. When Jingiz
Khán and his friend Kashlú Khán heard this, they vowed revenge, declared
war against the Kán and a vast number of Tartars mustered round them.
The Kán, aware of their power and malice, sent to conciliate them, affecting
at the same to warn and threaten them. This, however, availed nothing,
whereon he marched to encounter them and they advanced to meet him.
A great battle took place and they defeated the Kán and took possession
of his dominions. Their excesses were prodigious and the country re-
mained subject to Jingiz Khán and Kashlú Khan in common. They next
marched against the country of Sháḵún on the confines of China and
took possession of it. Kashlú Khán soon after died and his son succeeded
him, but Jingiz Khán held him of no account and attacked and seized him
and assumed sole authority. The Tartars submitted to him and acknow-
ledged his sway. They paid him divine honours and carried their devotion
to the greatest extreme.

After this, their first irruption was in 606 from their own territories
towards Farghánah and the Turkish dominions. Upon this Khwarazm
Sháh Muḥammad-b-Tukush lord of Khurasán—he, who had overthrown
kings and conquered their territories and had marched against the Caliph
(an Násir) but unsuccessfully as has already gone before—ordered
the inhabitants of Farghánah and Shásh and Kásán and similar pro-
sporous and flourishing towns, to quit them and to pass into Samarkand
and other places. He then laid them all waste lest the Tartars should
take possession of them as he knew he was unable to stand against
them. The Tartars continued plundering and roving until the year 615
when Jingiz Khán sent an embassy and presents to Khwarazm Sháh and
the envoy spoke as follows: “The great Kán greets thee and says to thee
that the magnitude of thy power and the lofty dominion to which thou
hast attained and the extent of thy authority over the nations is not
unknown to him, and that he considers an alliance with thee among neces-
sary obligations and that thou art to him like the most honoured of his
children—further, that it is not hidden from thee that he has conquered
China and thou knowest his dominions, that they are rich in soldiers and
horses and mines of gold and of silver and a sufficiency of other things:
if therefore thou seest fit to unite in friendship with him and to suffer the
traders to proceed, in order that thou mayest learn the mutual interests of
both countries, thou wilt act accordingly.” And Khwarazm Sháh
answered him according to his desire and Jingiz Khán was glad, and things
remained on this peaceful footing until traders arrived from his dominions. A. H. 655. At that time the maternal uncle of Khawarázm Sháh was in the government of Transoxiana with twenty thousand horsemen, and he coveted the goods of the traders and wrote to Khawarázm Sháh, saying that these men had come in the disguise of traders, but that their design was no other than to spy, and he asked permission to act in their regard. Khawarázm Sháh gave him sanction to keep a watch on them, whereupon he seized them and confiscated their property. Upon this the envoys of Jingiz Khán arrived before Khawarázm Sháh, saying on the part of their master, "Verily thou didst give thy safe-conduct to the traders and hast played false, and perfidy is a base action and in a Muslim prince especially base; but if thou assertest that what thy uncle hath done, hath been done without thy permission, then deliver him up to us, otherwise thou wilt behold from me that which thou knowest of me in such a matter." The fear that seized upon Khawarázm Sháh was such as to disturb his judgment, and he affected harshness and ordered the envoys to be put to death and they were put to death. Alas! for a deed which causing the blood of Muslims to be shed unavenged, drew from every side a torrent of blood.

Then Jingiz Khán went forth against him and Khawarzm Sháh crossed the Oxus to Nisabûr and thence passed on to the castle of Hamadán in fear of the Tartars. But the enemy surrounded him and slew all that were with him and he escaped alone and betook himself to an island in the Caspian Sea. There he fell ill of a pleurisy and died alone and abandoned and his corpse was shrouded in the bedding* he had with him. This occurred in the year 617 and the Tartars took possession of the whole of the dominions of Khawarzm Sháh.

Sibṭ u‘l Jauzi says that the Tartars first appeared in Transoxiana in the year 615. They took Bukhára and Samarkand and slew the inhabitants and besieged Khawarzm Sháh. After this they crossed the river Oxus but Khawarzm Sháh had overthrown the princes of the cities of Khurasán, and the Tartars found none to oppose them. They therefore marched rapidly over the country slaying and taking prisoners and pressed onwards till they reached Hamadán and Kazwín in the same year.

Ibn u‘l Athir says in his Kámil that the invasion of the Tartars was one of the greatest of calamities and the most terrible of visitations which fell upon the world in general and the Muslims in particular, the like of which succeeding ages have failed to bring forth; for if one were to say that the world, since God created it to the present time, was never so afflicted, one would speak truly, for history has nothing which approaches it. The utmost that historians have to mention is the treatment of

* The MS. omits the word نرعاش
A. H. 655. Jerusalem and the children of Israel by Nabuchadnezzar, but what is
A. D. 1257. Jerusalem compared with what these accursed wretches destroyed of the
cities of Islán, and what are the children of Israel in comparison with
those whom the Tartars slew? This was a calamity of which the sparks
flew far and wide and its misery was universal, flying over the earth like a
cloud driven before the wind—for a horde issued forth from the confines of
China and attacked the cities of Turkistánsuch as Káshghar and the
territory of Shághrák,* from thence to Bukhára and Samarkánd which
they captured, exterminating their inhabitants. Then a body of them
pass on to Khurásán, finishing by destroying, plundering, slaying and devas-
tating it, and thence to Ráí and Ḥamadan and to the borders of Irák. Next
they march to Aḏarbijání and its dependencies ravaging and laying them
waste—all in less than the space of one year—an event the like of which
has never been heard. From Aḏarbiján they passed to Darband Sharwan,†
subjugated its territory and crossed over to Allán and al Lalkaz, slaughtering
and making prisoners. Thence they marched to the plains of ḊafjákJ the
people whereof were more numerous than the Turks and slew those
who opposed them; the rest fled and the Tartars took possession of the
country. Another band passed on to Ghazni and its dependencies and to
Síjistán (Drangiana) and to Kirman (Carmania) and did there what those
had done and indeed worse. Such as this has never before been heard of,
for Alexander who made himself master of the world did not do so with such
rapidity, for he conquered it in about ten years and moreover he did not
massacre and was content with submission. But these subjugated the
greater part of the habitable globe, its fairest and most fertile regions, in
about a year, and none remained in the provinces which they had not assault-
ed, save such as were tremulously awaiting their coming. Moreover they
were not dependent upon the transport of corn nor on supplies reaching
them for they had with them their sheep and oxen and horses, the flesh of
which they eat and nothing else. As for their horses, they dig up the
ground with their hoofs and eat the roots of plants and know nothing of
barley. As for their belief, they worship the sun at his rising and deem
nothing unlawful. They eat the flesh of all animals and even of men:
day do not recognize marriage, for a woman is visited by more than one
man.

* This name is not in Yaḵút. He, however, gives Ságharáj (جین) a place five
parasangs from Samarkánd.
† This is a town in the vicinity of Darband built by Anushirwán from whom it
takes the name. Allán and al Lalkaz are mentioned by Yaḵút as adjacent.
‡ “The Qasht-i-KipZak or plain of KipZak,” says Gibbon, “extends on either side
of the Volga in a boundless space towards the Saik and Burysthenes and is supposed
to contain the primitive name and nation of the Cossacks.” For the rise and progress
of the Tartars, see his LXIVth chapter.
In the beginning of the year 656, the Tartars, 200,000 in number led A. H. 656. by Huláku, reached Baghdad; the army of the Caliph advanced to meet them A. D. 1258. but was defeated, and they entered the city on the 10th of Muḥarram. The Wazir—may God confound him—counselled al Musta'sim to conciliate them, and said, "I will go forth to them myself to arrange the terms of peace;" and he set forth and secured from them the safety of his own person and returned to the Caliph, and said, "The monarch desires to marry his daughter to thy son the Emir Abu Bakr, and he will confirm thee in the office of Caliph as he has suffered the lord of ar Rūm* to retain his sovereignty, and he seeketh nothing but thy submission to him as thy ancestors submitted to the Saljuk princes, and he will then depart with his army. Let then, my lord, consent to this, for verily thus will the blood of the Muslims be spared, and afterwards thou canst do what thou wilt, but it is advisable that thou go forth to him." Then the Caliph set out at the head of all the nobles and he was made to alight at a tent. The Wazir entered the city and summoned the jurists and principal men to witness the negotiation and they all came forth from Baghdad and their heads were struck off, and thus company after company came out and were decapitated until all the learned and the nobles, the chamberlains and principal men were put to death. Then a bridge was thrown across and the sword was let loose in Baghdad, and the massacre continued for about forty days till the number of the slain was more than a million souls and none escaped but those who hid themselves in wells and subterraneous canals. The Caliph was trampled to death. Ad Ḏahabi says, "I do not think that he was buried and there were slain with him a number of his children and uncles, and some were imprisoned, and it was a calamity such as had never befallen Islám." What the Wazir sought, however, was not fulfilled, for he tasted of ignominy and contempt from the Tartars and he did not long survive this event. The poets wrote elegies on Baghdad and its inhabitants and the words of Sibṭ at Taʿāwīdī† are applicable to the Wazir——

* Sahib u'r Rūm. In Abulf, the expression is Sultān ur Rūm, which Reiske translates Romanic domino—I understand the Sultān of Iconium to be here meant. This dynasty opposed some resistance to the Mogul arms. The Byzantine capital escaped the universal destruction though Huláku threatened to march against it with 400,000 men, but he was diverted by the conquest of Baghdad and a long vicissitude of Syrian wars. See Gibbon, LXIVth Cap. Michael Paleologus was taken prisoner by the Tartars after the recovery of Constantinople by the Greeks, which the Oriental writers place in 655 (1257) and the European in 1261, and their general Noga married Maria his natural daughter and "guarded the dominions of his friend and father." Ibid.

† Abu'l Fath Muḥammad surnamed at Taʿāwīdī (a writer of amulets). He was
"It perished and the people with it, and their mansions
Are desolate through the continuance of our lord the Wazir."

And another of them says:

"People of Islám, weep and mourn,
For grief of what hath befallen al Musta'şim.
The ministerial authority before his time
Was in the hands of Ibn u'l Furát, and then passed to Ibn u'l A'l kami."

At the last khutbah preached at Baghdad the preacher opened it thus—"Praise be to God who hath overturned in death eminent lives and hath commanded the destruction of the people of this house. This—while the sword continues therein."

There is a well-known poem by Ta'kiu'ddin-b-A'li Yusr on Baghdad and it is as follows—

"Harrowing are the tales of Baghdad for him who weeps.
Why remainest thou when thy friends have departed?
Approach not Baghdad, ye pilgrims
For in this guarded enclosure and abode there are no dwellers.
The crown of the Caliphate, the sojourn of spring, where are honoured
Its memorials—verily desolation hath effaced it.
In this abode there are marks of the wasting that hath come upon it,
And traces of tears upon its ruins.
O fire of my heart, sprung of the fire from the tumult of war
That flamed over her—a whirlwind hath swept over this dwelling place.
The cross hath been raised high over her pulpits
And he whom the belt* girdeth rules over her.
How many a chaste matron have the Turks forcibly made captive
Fenced by other veils than that of modesty?
And how many moons of beauty were eclipsed in their full
From which to their fulness they shall never return?
And how many a treasure hath become dispersed
Through plunder, which the infidels have captured?

Born at Baghdad in 519 (1126) and died there in 584 (1188). He was a clerk in the fief office at Baghdad, and towards the close of his life became blind. His poetry which is much admired by Ibn Khall, he himself collected into a Diwán.

* The "Zunnár" was a waist-belt worn by the Eastern Christians and the non-Muslim subjects, introduced by an ordinance of the Caliph al Mutawakkil (A. D. 869) to distinguish them from the Muslims.
And how many penalties were laid by the sword
On the necks of men through which their sins are put away?
Nay, I say that the captive was dishonoured by their dragging
\( \text{Him to the shedding of his blood by the terrible foe.} \)

And when Hulâku had completed the massacre of the Caliph and the
inhabitants of Baghdad, and had appointed a governor over I'râk (and Ibn
u'll A'lkami had recommended them to set up a Caliph of the posterity of
A'li, to which they would not consent and cast him aside, and he remained
with them in the position of one of their slaves and died of grief—may
God not have mercy upon him nor pardon him), he sent a letter to an
Nâşir,* lord of Damascus, as follows: "The Sultân al Malik an Nâşir—
may his life be prolonged—is aware that when we set out for I'râk and
their forces opposed us, we slew them with the sword of God. Then the
chiefs of the city and its notables came forth to us, but the issue of their
speech was the cause of the destruction of lives meriting destruction.
But as to the governor of the city, verily he came forth to serve us and
entered under our obedience, and we asked him regarding certain things
wherein he deceived us and deserved death, for his falsehood was manifest
and they shall find that which they have wrought, present \text{before their}
\text{eyes}," (Kur. XVIII). Answer the lord of the earth and speak not of
thy impregnable fortresses and thy valiant armies: and verily we have
heard that a part of the army hath taken refuge with thee in flight and
sought an asylum at thy threshold—

\text{’Where is a place of refuge? there is no asylum for the fugitive,}
\text{For ours are the two plains, the earth and the sea.’}

Therefore on the instant of thy informing thyself of our letter, make
the summits of the Syrian fortresses \text{level with the earth and their length}
as their breadth, and peace \text{be to thee.’}

Then he sent him a second letter saying, "To al Malik an Nâşir—now, verily, we have taken Baghdad and
destroyed its kingdom and its monarch. He had indeed been avaricious
of his wealth and undesirous \text{of the maintenance of his troops hoping}
that his kingdom would continue in that manner, and verily his fame spread
and his power increased until his moon was eclipsed at its full.

\text{’When a thing reacheth its prime, its decline begins,}
\text{Expect decay when fulness is announced.’}

* Al Malik an Nâşir Abu'l Mudhaffar Yusuf surnamed Şala hu'ddin, son of al
Malik al A'zîs son of as Dhâhîr son of Saladin, born 627 (1230). He succeeded to
Damascus and Syria on the death of his father but expelled by the Tartars, he lost
his life at the hands of Hulâku in 1259. See Abulf, p. 621. The full text of this
letter which was written by the learned Na šîru'ddin and addressed to an Nâşir and
the princes of Syria will be found in Wassaf, p. 43, followed by their haughty and
insulting reply.
A. H. 656. But we seek for increase during the march of ages. 'Be not therefore as those who have forgotten God and whom he has caused to forget their own souls' (Kur. LIX), and show what is in thy mind, whether abstention from good offices or the furtherance of courtesy, and answer the summons of the lord of the earth, that thou mayest be secure from his wrath and enjoy his benefits, and be liberal with him of thy wealth and thy troops and delay not our messengers.' Again he sent him a third letter, saying, 'Now, we are the army of the Lord. By us He avengeth Himself of those who are insolent and vain, and who are rebellious and haughty and do not submit to the commands of God, and who if they are reprehended, become enraged, and if remonstrated with, continue stubborn. And, verily, we have overthrown cities and destroyed the inhabitants and have slain women and children. O ye who are left! ye are about to attain to those who have passed away. O ye who are heedless! ye are being driven towards them—for we are the army of destruction, not the army of dominion. Our purpose is vengeance and our kingdom is beyond the desire of men. Our guest is not injured and our justice throughout our dominions is known far and wide, and where is there an asylum from our swords?

'Where is there a place of refuge? there is no asylum to the fugitive, For ours are the two plains, the earth and the sea. Lions are submissive to our power and have fallen In my grasp, princes and Caliphs.'

We are about to set forth against ye and it is for ye to flee and for us to pursue:

'Laila shall soon know what debt is to be paid, And how importunate a creditor is her creditor.'

We have destroyed cities and made orphans of the children and extirpated the inhabitants, and have made them taste of affliction, and we have made their great ones little and their nobles captive. Ye think that ye can escape and be delivered from us, but ye shall shortly know to what ye are tending, and verily he is rendered excused who hath admonished.'

Thus began the year 657 and the world without a Caliph. During this the Tartars descended upon Amida. The sovereign of Egypt at this time was al Manṣūr A’li-b-i’l Mu’izz, (A’ybak) a boy, and his tutor was the Emir Sayfu’d-dīn Koṭūz* al Mu’izzī a slave of his father, and the Śāhīb Kamān’ūdīn al A’dīm† sent a messenger to them asking for aid against

* The text is in error in this name. The MS. is correct.
† Omar-b-Aḥmad Chief Kāḍī of Aleppo, born A. H. 588 (1192) and died at Cairo 660 (1261-2). He had been driven from Aleppo by the invasion of the Tartars. He wrote a biographical Dictionary mentioning the remarkable men who had been in
The Tartars. Upon this Koṭuz assembled the nobles and principal men A. H. 657, and there was present the Shaykh I'zzu'ddin-b-A'bdī's Sallām who was A. D. 1259, celebrated for his oratory, and the Shaykh said; "Since the enemy has overrun the provinces, it is incumbent upon the whole commonwealth to oppose them, and it is lawful to take from the people what they can afford of their substance on the condition that the public treasury be first exhausted, and that ye should sell what ye possess of girdles of price and furniture and content yourselves each of you, with horse and arms, so that ye and the commonalty be on an equal footing; for to take the substance of the people and to leave wealth and, costly furniture in the hands of the army, can never be." A few days after this, Koṭuz seized upon al Manṣūr, the son of his master, and said, "This is but a boy and the times are critical. It is necessary that a man of spirit should arise to carry on the war against the infidels." Koṭuz obtained the supreme authority and was surnamed al Mudhaffar.

The year 658 now began, and the age still without a Caliph. During this the Tartars crossed the Euphrates and reached Aleppo and put it to the sword and then arrived at Damascus. In the month of Shaa'bān the Egyptians marched into Syria to oppose the Tartars, and al Mudhaffar sent on with his forces and his picked troops* Ruknu'ddin Baybars al Bandukdārī. They and the Tartars met at A'in Jālūṭ† and a battle took place on Friday the 15th Ramadān. The Tartars were utterly routed and the Muslims were victorious, praise be to God.

The Tartars were slain with a great carnage and they fled precipitately and the people pursued them with eagerness, seizing and plundering them. A letter from al Mudhaffar with the news of the victory arrived at Damascus and the people were elate with joy. Shortly after, al Mudhaffar entered Damascus triumphant and victorious, and the people hailed him with great affection. Baybars pursued the Tartars to the territory of Aleppo and drove them from the provinces. The Sultan Koṭuz had promised him the government of Aleppo, but afterwards retracted it which Baybars took to heart, and this was the cause of their estrange-

that city. His life is given by De Sacy in the Biographie Universelle and by Freytag in his Selecta ex Historia Halebi. De Slane, I. K.

* I presume this to be the meaning of شالیش which I have not met elsewhere and am ignorant of its derivation. The word جالیش occurs in the Maurad u'l Latif, p. 89 (edition Cantab. Carlyle), translated by Carlyle "milites," but he confesses (note 70), that it is conjecture. He adds, "in vita Saladini a Boheddino, sape occurrerit verbum جالیش quod reddit Schultens per Sagittarios. The reading of the text is perhaps an error for جالیش though the MS. agrees. Were it not for the authority of Schultens, I should suspect Carlyle's reading, as his edition is extremely faulty.

† A town below Nazareth in Palestine.

The Sultan had intended to set out for Aleppo in order to sweep from the provinces all traces of the Tartars, but hearing that Baybars was alienated from him and was conspiring against him, he changed his mind and returned to Egypt. He had, however, resolved upon the overthrow of Baybars and he divulged it to one of his confidants and Baybars became acquainted with it. They set out for Egypt, each being on their guard against the other, till Baybars conspired with some of the nobles to slay al Mudhaffar, and they assassinated him on the way, on the 16th Du'rl Ka'a'dah, and Baybars assumed the government and received the title of al Malik al Kahir. He entered Cairo and removed from the people the tyrannous exactions imposed upon them by al Mudhaffar. The Wazir Zayn u'l Millat wa'ddin (Glory of the faith and of religion) Ibn u'z Zubayr counselled him to change his title and said that no one who had borne it had prospered, for al Kahir the son of al Mua'tadhid had been so named, and he was subsequently deposed and blinded, and al Kahir the son of the governor of Mosal had been poisoned. The Sultan therefore put away this surname and took the title of al Malik al Dhahir. Then began the year 659, and the age as before without a Caliph until the month of Rajab when the Caliphate was re-established in Egypt and al Mustansir was acknowledged as we shall hereafter relate. The period during which the Caliphate was in abeyance was three years and a half.

Of persons of note who died during the reign of al Musta'sim were the Ha'dh Ta'ikiu'ddin as Sarifin, the Ha'dh Abul Kasis-b-u'l Talisan,* Shams, u'l Aimmah al Kurdi one of the most eminent of the Hanafites, the Shaykh Ta'ikiu'ddin-b-u's Salah, al A'lam u'ddin as Sakhawi, the Ha'dh Mubibbu'ddin-b-u'n Najjär the historian of Bagdad, Muntakhabu'ddin the commentator of the Mufasal f'l Naho (Detailed exposition of the science of grammar by Zamakhshari), Ibn Ya'ish the grammarian, Abul Hajjaj al Aksari the devotee, Abu Al'i as Shalubini the grammarian, Ibn u'l Baytar author of the Jami Mufridát i'l Adwiyat wa'l Aghdiyat (comprehending materia medica and diet), the learned Jamalu'ddin-b-u'l Ha'ib the Maliki Imam, Abul Hasan-b-u'l Dabbaj the grammarian, al Kifri author of the Memoir of Grammaticus, Afdhalu'ddin al Khuni author of the Treatise on Logic, al Ardi author of (hikam in the MS.) the Ha'dh Yusuf-b-Khalil, al Bahá-b-Binu'l Hamiri, al Jamal-b-Umrün† the grammarian, ar Ridha as Bagháni author of the U'báb u'l Zákhir (the Surging Billow) and others works, al Kamal u'ddin Abdu'l Wáhid az Zamlakáni author of al Ma'ani wa'l bayán wa'Ijáj u'l Kurán (significations and exposition and the wondrous diction of the Kurán), as Shams al Khusrú

* More correctly I think Taylán.
† His life is given by Ibn Khall, who makes him the son of Omar son of Abu Bukr—I have not before met the name in the text with which the MS. agrees.
Sháhi, al Majd u’d din-b-Taymíyáh, Yusuf Sibt Ibn i’l Jauzi author of the A. H. 659. Miráti u’z Záman (mirror of the age), Ibn Batísuh one of the most eminent A. D. 1261. of the Sháfi’ítes, an Najm u’d din al Bádaráí, Ibn Abíl Fádhíl al Mursí (Murcia) author of the Commentary on the Kúrán and others.

Of those who died during the abeyance of the Caliphate were az Zaki A’bdul A’dhím al Munqíri, the Shaykh Abúl Hasan, as Shádilí the Shaykh of the Shádilítes, Sha’át the Kúrán reader, al Fási the commentator of the Kasidat us Shátibiyáh, Şaa’dú’d din-b-úl U’zza the poet, as Şa’ršari the poet, Ibn u’l Abbáí the historian of Spáin and others.

AL MUSTANŞIR بيلاه أحماد.

Al Mustanşir bi’lláh Aḥmad Abúl Kaṣim was the son of ad Dháhir bi’amri’lláh Abu Naṣir Muḥammad-b-ún Náṣir li dñi’lláh. Shaykh Kuṭb-u’d din says that he was kept in imprisonment in Baghída, but when the Tartars captured it, he was released and fled and proceeded to the west of Irák. When Baybars assumed the Sultáunate, he set out to visit him in the month of Rajab with ten of the Banu Muhárísh.† The Sultán went forth to meet him with the Kádžís and officers of State. He rode through Cairo and subsequently certified his family descent through the Chief Kaqíli Táju’d din-b-Bínt i’l A’azz and he was then acknowledged Caliph. The first who swore him allegiance was the Sultán; next the Chief Kádží Táju’uddín, then the Shaykh I’zzu’d din-b-’Abdí’s Sallám and lastly the nobles according to their degrees. This occurred on the 13th† Rajab, (12th May 1261) and his name was impressed on the coinage and read in the kuṭbáh, and he received the surname of his brother and the people rejoiced. He rode in procession on the Friday bearing the black mantle, to the mosque in the citadel. He then mounted the pulpit and preached a discourse in which he extolled the nobility of the House of A’báís, blessed the Caliph and the Muslims and prayed before the people. Next he proceeded to the ceremony of the bestowal on the Sultán of the robe of honor usually granted by the Caliph and the diploma of investiture. A pavilion was erected without the walls of Cairo and the Caliph and the Sultán rode to the pavilion on Monday, the 4th of Shaa’bán, and there were present the Kádžís, nobles and the prime minister. The Caliph with his own hand invested the Sultán with the dress of honor§ and collar. A

* Kasidat u’s Shaṭíbiyah. A poem on the Kúrán readings by Ibn Fírrih as Sháṣíbi (native of Xativa).
† According to Makrizi they were the Banu Míhna and to Nuwainí the Banu Kháṣíjah. Weil, A’báís Chal. in Eg. p. 24, Vol. I.
‡ 9th Rajab. Weil.
§ This consisted of a black gold embroidered turban, a violet mantle, a gold chain for the neck and golden buckles for the foot. Weil, p. 25.
A H. 659. pulp lit was erected and Fakhru’d din-b- Lu k m (the Secretary of State) A D. 1261. ascended it and read the diploma of investiture. Then the Sultan rode in his robe of honor and entered by the B ab u’n Na sr (Gate of succour). Cairo was gaily adorned and the High Marshal rode bearing before him the diploma while the nobles proceeded on foot.

The Sultan then appointed for the Caliph an Atabek and Comptrollers of the Household, a High Steward, a Treasurer, a Chamberlain and a Secretary and settled upon him a revenue, and a body of slaves, a hundred horses, thirty mules and ten full-grown camels and the like. Ad Dahabi says that no one ever ruled the Caliphate after his nephew save this Caliph and al Mu tafi. The prince of Aleppo the Amir Shamsu’d din A kush* set up another Caliph and gave him the title of al H akim bi’amri’llah and the khuftbah was read in his name which was also stamped on the coinage. Subsequently the Caliph al Mustansir set out for l’rajk accompanied by the Sultan who followed him until they arrived at Damascus.

The Sultan then furnished the Caliph and the three sons of the lord of Mosal† for the expedition against Baghdad and assigned him and them 1,000,000, dinars in gold and 66,000 dirhams. The Caliph then set out with the eastern princes, al Malik as Salih Isma’il lord of Mosal, al Malik al Mudhaffar A’li, lord of Syria, and al Malik al Mujahid lord of Jazirat-ibn. Omar. The Aleppo Caliph al H akim also joined him and submitted to him and entered under his obedience. He then advanced and took Hadithah and Hit. Here the Tartar army‡ encountered him and a great number of Muslims were slain and the Caliph al Mustansir was missing. According to some he was slain, which was apparently the case; according to others he escaped and fled and lay concealed in the provinces. This occurred on the 3rd Muharram 660 (28th November, 1261). His Caliphate lasted less than six months and he was succeeded a year later by al H akim, the same who was declared Caliph at Aleppo in al Mustansir’s lifetime.

* He came of the Turkish tribe of Burli to which Baybars also belonged. Reiske writes the name Berli, Quatemere Berki, see Weil, p. 17.
† Badru’ddin Lulu called al Malik ar Rahim. He submitted to Hulaku after the taking of Baghdad. He died according to Abu’l f in 657. The names of his three sons are mentioned below. Ibn Khall, says (Life of A salan Sh Gharm) that he had been Mamluk of al Malik al Khair son of A salan Sh G and was lieutenant-governor of Mosal and declared himself independent in 630 (July 1233).
‡ Under Karabogha the Tartar governor of Baghdad.
Al Ḥākim bi'amrillāh (Ruling by the Command of God) Abū'l ABBās Abūl Ḥānād, son of Abū A'li al Ḥasan al Ḥubbī, son of Abū Bakr, son of the Caliph al-Muṣtarṣhid, son of al-Muṣṭadhir bi'llāh, concealed himself at the time of the capture of Baghdad and escaped the massacre. He soon after left it accompanied by a retinue and sought the protection of Ḥusayn-b-Falāḥ Emir of the Banū Ḥaḍhājah and remained with him for some time. He then proceeded with the Arabs to Damascus and resided for a time with the Emir * I'sa-b-Muḥanna. Al Malik an Nāṣir lord of Damascus becoming informed of him, sent to invite him but the advance of the Tartars surprised him and disconcerted his plans. When, however, al Malik al Mudḥaffar came to Damascus he sent the Emir Ḵilīl al Baghdaḏī to summon him. He then joined him and swore allegiance to him and a number of the Arab chiefs set out to take service under him. With their aid he took A'ānāh, Ḥadīthah, Hit and Anbār and engaged the Tartars and overthrew them. Subsequently Al-a'lin ʿAdīn Taybars at that time lieutenant-governor of Damascus for† al Malik ad Dhāhir Baybars wrote inviting him, upon which he set out for Damascus in the month of Safar, and he sent him on to the Sultan, but al Muṣṭanṣir bi'llāh having preceded him to Cairo by three days, he did not think it prudent to enter it for fear of being seized. He therefore returned to Aleppo, the prince of which and the nobles, among them Aḥdūn Ḥalīm-b-Taymiyyah, swore allegiance to him and he gathered a considerable force and marched to A'ānāh. When al Muṣṭanṣir returned, he met him at A'ānāh and al Ḥākim acknowledged his authority and submitted to him. But when al Muṣṭanṣir was no more, after the battle mentioned in his biography, al Ḥākim set out for Ṣahbah and visited I'sa-b-Muḥanna. At this time al Malik ad Dhāhir Baybars wrote regarding him and summoned him and he went to Cairo with his son accompanied by a retinue. Al Malik ad Dhāhir received him with all honor and they swore him allegiance as Caliph. His

* The Emir of the Arabs under the Caliphs, according to De Slane, appears to have filled the same functions as the Ghassanide princes did under the Greeks of the Lower Empire and the princes of Hira under the Persians. They were phylarchs or comptrollers of the nomadic tribes. After the defeat of the Tartars at A'in Jalūt, Ḵeṭāz appointed al Malik al Ashraf Musa to Emessa, Palmyrah and Ṣahbah, gave the government of Ḥamāt, Bārīn and Maa'rārah to al Malik al Mansūr, and Salamiyyah to the Emir of the Arabs ʿIsa-b-Muḥanna. Abulf, p. 596, anno, 658. Weil, p. 17.

† The text has  which is here certainly an error. The MS. omits the  and is not more intelligible. Read  for  and the sense is as clear as the construction would be correct. In point of fact, Taybars held Damascus for Baybars. See Abulf, p. 632.
A.H. 660. reign was long for his Caliphate extended over forty years. Al Malik ad A.D.1261-2. Dháhir gave him as his residence the great Bastion in the Citadel and he preached frequently in the mosque of the Citadel. The Shaykh Kuţbu’d-din says that on Thursday the 8th Muḥarram of the year 661 (22nd Nov. 1262), the Sultan held a public audience and al Ḥákim bi’amri’lláh went on horseback to the Great Hall in the Citadel on the hill and sat with the Sultan; this being after the verification of his descent, and the Sultan received him and acknowledged his authority over the Faithful. Then he advanced to the Sultan and invested him with the administration of affairs, after which the people, according to their degrees did him homage. The next day being Friday, he preached a discourse in which he made mention of the religious war and the Imámate and represented what had occurred to the dishonor of the Caliphate and he proceeded thus,—“But this Sultan al Malik ad Dháhir stood up in defence of the Imámate with but few adherents and scattered the hordes of the infidels after they had penetrated into the centre of the empire.” The beginning of the discourse was, “Praise be to God who hath raised up a pillar and a defender for the House of A’bbás.” He then wrote to the provinces announcing his call.

In this year and subsequently occurred successive arrivals of bodies of Tartars who had become Muslims, demanding asylum. They were given bread and a daily allowance and this was the beginning of the stay of their misdeeds.

In the year 662 was completed the Dháhiriyah College between the two palaces and the Chair of Sháfilite theology was held by at Taḵi u’d din-b-Razín and the chair of Tradition by as Sharafu’d din ad Dimiátí. During the same, Egypt was convulsed by a great earthquake.

In the year 663 the Muslim Sultan of Spain, Abu A’bdulllah-b-u’l Aḥmar was victorious over the Franks and recovered from their hands thirty-two towns, among them Seville and Murcia. During the same, conflagrations were frequent in divers parts of Cairo and wrappers were found upon the roofs of the houses containing fire and sulphur. In the same, was excavated the Canal of Ashmán,* the Sultan himself and the nobles working at it. In the same, died Huláku the Tartar despot who was succeeded by his son Abagha. In this year the Sultan conferred the dignity of the Sultanate on his son al Malik as Sa’id who was four years of age, and paraded him in state through the Citadel on the hill and bore the housings himself before his son, from the Bab u’l Sirr (the Secret Gate) to the Bab u’s Silsilah (the Chain Gate) and then returned, while as Sa’id rode to Cairo, the nobles walking before him. In this year also were re-appointed for the Egyptian territory, four Kádhí, one for each school of doctrine, and this was owing to the delay of the Kádhí Táju’d din-b-

* Connecting lake Menzalah with the Nile at Damietta.
Bint u’l Aa’zz in giving effect to the numerous decisions, so that affairs A. H. 603. were at a stand still. To the care of the Shafi’ites was assigned the A. D. 1264. administration of the property of orphans and the department of the public treasury. Subsequently the same reform was carried out at Damascus. In the month of Ramadhan the Sultan placed a restraint upon the Caliph and forbade his intercourse with the people, as his followers were in the habit of entering the city and talking of affairs of State.

In the year 665, the Sultan commanded the erection of a mosque at Hasaniyah* which was completed in 667 and a Hanafite preacher was there installed.

In the year 674 the Sultan sent an army against Nubah and Dunkulah (Dongola) and was victorious. The king of Nubah was taken prisoner and sent to al Malik ad Dhahir and a tribute was laid on the people of Dunkulah, praise be to God. The first expedition against Nubah, says ad Dahabi, was in the year 31 A. H. when it was attacked by A’bud’lah-b-Abi Sarf at the head of 5000 horsemen; he did not conquer it but concluded a peace and returned. It was again invaded in the time of Hisham but unsuccessfully and again in the reign of al Mansur. Tikn† az Zinki next invaded it; then Kafur al Ikshidi; then Nasiru’d Daulah-b-Handan, and finally Turan Shah brother of Sultan Salahu’ddin in 563, but it was never conquered until this year. Regarding this Ibn ’Abdi’z Dhahir says:

“This is a victory, the like of which I have not heard
Neither from the testimony of an eye-witness nor from the deposits of others.”

In the year 676 died al Malik ad Dhahir at Damascus in the month of Mu’arram, and his son al Malik as Sa’id Muhammad assumed the sovereignty at the age of eighteen. During the same at Taki-b-Razin united the offices of Kadi of Misr (old Cairo) and Cairo, and before this time, the judicial office of Misr was separate from that of Cairo.

In 678 al Malik as Sa’id was deposed and was sent to al Kark as Sultan of that place, but died the same year, and they placed in authority over Egypt his brother Badr u’ddin Salamin who was seven years of age. He was surnamed al Malik al A’did and the Emir Sayfu’ddin Kilawun was appointed his Atabek, and the coinage was struck with his name on one side and the name of his Atabek on the reverse, and both were prayed for in the khutbah. In the month of Rajab, Salamin was deposed without resistance and Kilawun usurped the government under the title of al Malik al Manjur.

* A town to the east of Mosal between it and Jazirat-ibn Omar.
† I am doubtful about this pronunciation.
A. H. 679. In the year 679 on the day of A'rafah (9th Du'`l Hijjah) large hailstones fell in the Misr district and thunderbolts. In 680 the Tartar army reached Syria occasioning consternation. The Sultán marched out to engage them and a battle took place and great carnage ensued, but the victory remained with the Muslims—praise be to God.

In the year 688 the Sultán took Tripoli by the sword (26th April, 1289). It had been in the hands of the Christians from the year 503 up to this time, and had been first conquered in the reign of Mu'áwiyyah. At Táju'ddin Ibn u'l Athír wrote a letter to the governor of Yaman announcing the good news in which he says:

"Of the Caliphs and sovereigns of those days, there was none but thought only of himself, absorbed in his festivals of pleasure, looking upon personal safety as a great good fortune, and who when mention of war was made before him, would ask only regarding the roads of flight. His desire was attained in his dignity, and he was content with the mint and the khuṭbah. Though their wealth were plundered and their dominions passed away, they troubled themselves not regarding what was wrested from them, and they were such as is described in the verse—

'If they fought, they were slain; if they attacked, they were routed;
If they waged war, they were despoiled; if they contended for victory, they were overcome.

Until the Lord brought forth one who defended His faith
And abased infidelity and its demons.'"

Some say that the meaning of Tripoli in the Greek tongue is 'three forts united.'"

In the year 689 died Sultán Kiláwun in the month of Du'`l Ka'an'dah, and his son al Malik al Ashraf Shaláhu'ddin Khalil assumed the sovereignty. He made manifest the authority of the Caliph which had been of no account in his father's days, so much so, that his father had never solicited of him the investiture of the Sultánate. The Caliph then preached to the people on Friday and alluded in his discourse to his having appointed al Malik al Ashraf to the supreme authority in Islám. And when he had ended his discourse, the Chief Kádhi Badru'ddin-b-Jamá'a'h, prayed before the people. The Caliph then preached a second time, proclaiming a religious war and spoke of Baghdad and urged its re-conquest.

In the year 691, the Sultán set out and invested Ka'lat u'r Rúm.*

In 693, the Sultán was assassinated at Tarújah† (12th Muḥarram, 17th December, 1293), and his brother Muḥammad-b-u'l Maṣúr was placed

* A strong fortress to the west of the Euphrates opposite Bírah, between it and Sumayyá. It was taken after an investment of 33 days; the garrison consisting of Tartars and Armenians put to death, and the name of the fortress was changed to Ka'lat u'l Muslimím. Weil, p. 184.

† A village on the west bank of the Nile between Cairo and Alexandria.
upon the throne and surnamed al Malik an Nāṣir, being at the time seven years of age; but he was deposed in Muḥarram, 694 and Ketbogha al Manṣūrī was proclaimed Sultān and he assumed the title of al Malik al Aʿādil (1st December, 1294). In this year Kızán-b-Arg̣hūn-b-Abagha-b-Hulákū, the Tartar monarch embraced Islām, at which the people rejoiced and the Muslim faith spread among his troops. In 696 while the Sultān was at Damascus, Lājīn* usurped the government and the nobles swore allegiance to him, not two of them opposing him, and he was surnamed al Malik al Manṣūr, and this in the month of Şafar. The Caliph bestowed upon him the black dress of honour and drew out his diploma of investiture and Lājīn despatched al Aʿādil to Sarkhad as its governor. Lājīn was assassinated in Jumāda II, 698,† and al Malik an Nāṣir Muḥammad-b-iʾl Manṣūr Kılâwun who had been banished to Kirk was restored and invested with supreme authority by the Caliph. He transferred al Aʿādil to the government of Ḥamāt where he remained till he died in 702. In the year 701 the Caliph al Hākīm died on Thursday night, 18th of Jumāda I, (18th January 1302). The afternoon prayer was read for him at the Horse Market under the Citadel, and his bier was attended by the principal officers of State, all of them on foot and he was buried near the tomb of as Sayyidah Nafīsā.‡ He was the founder of the Caliphs there interred, but it continued henceforward to be their place of burial. He had covenanted for the succession of the Caliphate to his son Abūʾr Rabīʿ Sulaymān.

Of persons of note who died during the reign of al Hākīm were: As Shaykh Iʾzẓuʾddīn-b-Aʾbāʾiʾs Sallām, al Aʾlamuʾddīn al Lūrāki, Abuʾl Қāsim al Қabdārī the ascetic, az Zaynuʾddīn Khālid an Nābulusi, the Ḥāfīdh Abu Bakr-b- Suddī, the Imām Abu Shāmāh, at Tajuʾddīn-b-Bint iʾl Aaʾzz, Abu Ḥasan-b-ʾAḍlān, Majdūʾddīn-b- Dašīkuʾl Iʿd,§ Abuʾl Ḥasan-b-Uṣfūr the grammarian, al Kāmāluʾddīn Sallār al Irbīlī, Aʾbdūʾr Raḥīm-b

* Husāmudīn Lājīn originally a Mamlūk of Sultān al Malik al Manṣūr son of the first Mameluken Sultān Muʾizzuʾddīn Aybak. He was purchased by Kılâwun under whom he quickly rose to be governor of Syria. The vicissitudes of these ephemeral reigns may be read in Weil's Gesch. des Aʾbāʾs, Caliph in Eg.

† According to Abulf, 11th Rabīʿ II, (16th January 1299). So also Weil, on Makrizi's authority.

‡ She was the daughter of al Ḥāsān-b-Zayd-b-Ḥasan-b-Aʾli-b-Abi Tālib. Her father was governor of Medina in the time of al Manṣūr, by whom he was imprisoned. Al Mahdi restored him to liberty and returned him the goods that had been confiscated from him. Nafīsā was noted for her piety. When as Shāfīʾi died, his corpse was brought to her house, the sites of which is now occupied by her mausoleum between old and New Cairo. The place was called the Derb uʾs Sabāʾa, but the street fell into ruin and nothing remained in the time of Ibn Khall, save her funeral chapel and her tomb. Her husband was the son of Jaʿfar as Sādik. She died in 208, (824). Consult Ibn Khall and Abūʾl Mahāsin: annales.

§ Reiske writes the name "Aid" but it is not easy to digest his pronunciation.
A. H. 701. Yunas author of the Ta'jîz fi Mukhtasâr 'ilâ Wajîz. (Infestation, an epitome of the Wajîz, on the derivative doctrines of as Shâfi‘i), al Kûrtûbi Shamsu’d-dîn Mâhmûd author of the Commentary on the Kurân and the Ta’dkirat bi ‘ahwâl u’l-Mautâ wa Umûr u’l-Akhîrat (Note on the condition of the dead and what concerns the life to come), the Shaykh Jamâl-u’d-dîn-b-Mâlik, and his son Badru’d-dîn, an Naşîr at Ŕusi chief of the philosophers, Khâssah the Tartar, at Tâju’d-dîn-b-i’s Subá‘â’i, treasurer of the Mustansîriyâh College, al Burhân-b-Jamâ‘h, an Najmu’d-dîn al Kâtibî al Mantâkî, the Shaykh Muhyî’d-dîn an Nawawi, as Sadru’d-dîn Sulayman the Ḥanâfî Imâm, at Tâju’d-dîn-b-Muayyassir the historian, al Kawâshî the Commentator, at Ta’ju’d-dîn-b-Râzî, Ibn Khâllakân author of the Wafayâtul Aiyân (deaths of eminent men), Ibn Ayâz the grammarian, A’bud’l-Ḥâlim-b-Tâmîyâh, Ibn Ju’wân, Nâṣîru’d-dîn-b-Munîr, an Najm-b-u’l-Bârizi, al Burhân an Nasâ’i author of the compositions on Controversy and Rhetoric, ar Ridhâ as Shâtîbi the philologist, al Jamâl as Sharîshî,* an Nafîsî, the Shaykh of the phisicians, Abûl Ḥusayn-b-i’re Rabî‘ the grammarian, al Isphâhâni Shamsu’d-dîn Muhammâd the Commentator on the Mahsûl fi usûl i’l-Fikrî (Summa on the principles of jurisprudence by Fâkhru’d-dîn ar Râzî), al A’ff at Tîlîmîsîîni the poet imputed heterodox, at Tâj-b-u’l-Firkâh, az Zaynu’d-dîn-b-Murhîl as Shâms al Jûnî, al I’zz-al Fârûqî, al Muhiîb at Tabârî, at Ta’ju-b-Bint u’l Aâ’zz, ar Ridhâ al Kusîânî, al Baha’u’d-dîn-b-u’l Naḥhâs the grammarian, Yakût al Musta’a’îmî, master of the Khaṭṭ i Mansûb† and others.

AL MUSTAKFI BI’LLAH ABUR RABI’.

Al Mustakfi bi’lîllah Abû’r Rabî’ Sulayman son of al Ḥâkim bi’amri’lîllah was born about the middle of Muḥarram, 684. He occupied himself little about affairs. He succeeded to the Caliphate according to the covenant of his father in Jumada I, 701. His name was read in the khuṭbah in the chief towns of Egypt and Syria and the welcome news thereof penetrated to all the dependencies and dominions of Islâm. The Caliphs used to reside at Kabsh but the Sulṭân transferred them to the citadel and set apart a palace for them. In the year 702 the Tartars invaded Syria and the Sulṭân accompanied by the Caliph marched to engage them. They were victorious and made a great slaughter among the Tartars and the rest flied. During the same Egypt and Syria were convulsed by a great earthquake and many lost their lives in the destruction caused by it.

* Not Sharîbashi as in the text.
† See page 2, note †.
In the year 704 the Emir Baybars* al Jāshangīr al Manṣūrī, establish- A. H. 704.
ed stipends and lectures for the mosque of al Ḥākim and rebuilt it after A. D. 1304.
its demolition by the earthquake, and he made the four Kādīhīs professors of jurisprudence. The lecturer on tradition was Saa’dū’dīn al Ḥārithī,
and on grammar Abu Ḥayyān.

In the year 708, the Sultān al Malik an Nāṣir Muhammad-b-Kīlāwun
set out with the intention of making the pilgrimage to Mecca.† He
therefore left Cairo in the month of Ramadhan (24th) the venerable
(7th March 1309) and a number of the nobles accompanied him to take
leave of him whom he sent back. On passing Kark he turned aside
towards it and a bridge was erected for him. As he reached the middle of
it, it broke. Those who were in front of him escaped. His horse leaped
with him and he was saved but those who were behind to the number of
fifty, fell, and four were killed. The greater number were only bruised by
their fall in the most beneath. The Sultān remained at Kark. Sub-
sequently he wrote a letter to the Egyptian provinces containing his abdi-
cation. This was verified by the Kādīhīs of Egypt and then despatched
to the Kādīhīs of Syria, and the Emir Ruknu’dīn Baybars al Jāshangīr
was acknowledged Sultān on the 23rd Shawwāl (5th April 1309) and
surnamed al Malik al Mudhaffar. The Caliph invested him and clothed
him in the black mantle and circular turban, and the diploma of invest-
titure was sent to Syria in a black satin bag and there published. It
bore heading that it was from Sulaymān, and, in the name of God the
most Clement, the most Merciful.

In the month of Rajab 709 al Malik an Nāṣir returned, desirous of
recovering his power. A number of the nobles favoured his undertaking
and he entered Damascus in Shaa’bān and afterwards Cairo on the festival
of al Fiṭr and went up into the citadel. Al Mudhaffar Baybars had
already fled with some of his followers some days before his arrival, but
he was subsequently captured and put to death in the same year. Al
A’lā al Widā’i’i says regarding the return of an Nāṣir to power—

"Verily the fortune of al Malik an Nāṣir
Hath basked in the sunshine.
He hath returned to the throne,
As Solomon returned into his."

During this year the Wazir recommended that the non-Muslim sub-
jects should return to the wearing of white turbans as they were subjected
to a payment to the revenue of 700,000 dīnārs yearly, over and above the

* Comptroller of the Household to the Sultān and afterward raised to the throne
under the title of al Malik al Mudhaffar.
† This was but an excuse to escape from the control of his minister Sayfu’dīn
Sallār and that of Baybars. Weil, p. 276, Abulf, 208.
A. H. 709.  poll tax, but the Shaykh Ta'kıu'd-dín-b. Ta'ımıyah* rose up in strenuous A. D. 1309. opposition and it was rejected—praise be to God. During the same, the Tartar monarch Khúḥband,† spread heresy throughout his dominions and commanded the preachers to mention no one in the khutbah but A'lí-b-Abi Ṭálib and his two sons and the family of the prophet, and this continued until his death in the year 716. His son Abu Sa'íd succeeded him who reigned with justice and established the orthodox faith and the approval of the rightful succession of the two Shaykhs (Abu Bāḵr and Omar) followed by Othman and A'lí in the khutbah, and many discords were thus appeased, praise be to God. He was one of the best of the Tartar monarchs and the most praiseworthy in his conduct. He continued to reign till he died in the year 736, and after this there was no union in the nation, and they were scattered far and wide. In the year 717 the Nile rose to a great height such as was before unheard of and many towns were submerged by it and a great number of people. In the year 724 the Nile rose similarly and remained covering the earth for three months and a half, and the damage caused by it was greater than its benefits. In the year 728 were repaired the roofs of the Holy mosque at Mecca, and the gates and such of the outer portion as is contiguous to the gate of the Banu Shuybāh.‡ In 730 the Friday prayers were held in the hall of the Sháfī'ites in the Sáhīhia College between the two palaces and this was the first time they were held there. During the same the mosque begun by the Emīr Kauṣhān§ outside the Zuwaylah Gate was completed and the khutbah preached therein in the presence of the Sultān and the nobles and the Chief Kāğībī Jalā'īuddīn al Kāzwynī preached the discourse on that day. Fakhru'd-dīn-Shukar was subsequently confirmed in that post.

In the year 733 the Sultān prohibited shooting with bullets and ordered that the crossbows for it should not be sold, and forbade astrologers to practice their profession. During the same the Sultān caused to be made for the kaš'āb a door of ebony covered with silver plates the weight whereof was 35,300 dirham|| and a fraction. He had the old taken up

* He persecuted the Christians with relentless hatred, perhaps in revenge for his own persecution by his co-religionists. Abulf. states that he was summoned from Damascns to Cairo in 705 and imprisoned for his unorthodox opinions in maintaining the corporeal form of the Godhead—a doctrine imputed to Ibn Ḥanbal. He was the author of a work entitled Masalat fi'l Kanzās (The question of the Churches) in which he asserts the right of the Muslims to demolish all Christian Churches and that they were justified in closing them in Cairo. See D'Herb., p. 576.

† Abulf. Kharbanda (خُرَبَنَدَة).

‡ Now called the Báb u's Salam. Burton III, p. 178.

§ He married the daughter of Sultān an Nāšr Muḥammad and became prime minister and virtually the ruler of the kingdom under the nominal sovereignty of al Malik al Ashraf A'lá'uddin Kujuk.

|| The weight is omitted in the Text and MS. it may possibly be ounces.
and the Banú Shaybah took possession of it with its plates. It bore upon A. H. 733.
a. d. 1332.

In the year 730, a misunderstanding occurred between the Caliph and the Sultan, and the latter arrested the Caliph and imprisoned him in a tower and forbade him intercourse with the people. Subsequently he banished him to Kús* in the month of Du‘l Hijjah, him and his children and household and allowed them what was sufficient for their maintenance, they being about one hundred souls—for we belong to God and unto Him do we return. Al Mustafá remained at Kús till he died there in Shaz‘bán in the year 740, (5th February, 1340) and was there buried, being upwards of fifty years of age.

Ibn Ḥajr al A‘ṣkalání in his Durar u‘l Káminah† (Hidden Pearls) says that he was accomplished, and generous, wrote an extremely fine hand, was brave, skilled at polo and at shooting with bullets. He conversed with learned and literary men and was munificent to them and affected their society. During the whole of his reign, he was prayed for upon the pulpits in the khuṭbah, even during his incarceration and the period of his residence at Kús. There was considerable goodwill at first between him and the Sultan, for he used to accompany the Sultan to the fields and play at ball with him, and they were like brothers. The reason of the misunderstanding between them was that a plain was taken to him in which was the handwriting of the Caliph to the effect that the Sultan should attend the sessions of the holy law,‡ at which the Sultan was angry and the affair come to this pass that he banished him to Kús and appointed for him a continuance of his favours greater than he had enjoyed at Cairo.

Ibn Fadhli‘llah in his biography from the Masálik ul Absár says that he was bold in action, and gentle in speech.

Of persons of note who died during the reign of al Mustafá were the chief Kadži Ta‘kín ‘d-dán b-Da‘ik u‘l ‘Id, the Shaykh Zaynu‘ddin al Fárikí the Sháí‘íte Shaykh, and the head of the School of Tradition over which he presided from the death of an Nawawi up to this time, Šadru‘ddin-b-n‘l Wakil presiding over it after him, as Sharf al Fazáří, as Šadr-b-u‘z Zarír-b-il Ťáisí, the Ťáidh Sharfu‘ddín ad Dimiásti, ad Ťhiyá§

* In Upper Egypt.
† Durar u‘l Káminah fi Al‘yán i‘l miat it Tháminah (Hidden Pearls or Worthies of the 8th Century) a work alphabetically arranged in one large volume—which the author completed in 830 (1426). A compendium of it was written by As Suyúťí and al Mubarrad—Ibn Ḥajr died in 852, (1448). Haj. Khall.
‡ According to Weil the Sultan learnt that the Caliph was frequently visited by a Mamlúk and a jurisconsult, and fearing a conspiracy he arrested the Caliph, imprisoned the Mamlúk and beat the other to death, p. 405.
§ The word dín must be understood after all these titles. Ťhiyá‘üddín, Light of religion. Šamsu‘ddín, Sun of religion, &c.
A. H. 740. at Tusi, Commentator on the Hâwi al Šaghîr (the Lesser Collector on the derivative principles of Shâfi’ite jurisprudence by Kazwînî), as Shams as Sarûji of the Ḥanafite School, Commentator of the Hidayah fi’l Furû’u’ (Guide to the derivative principles of Ḥanafite jurisprudence by Burhân u’d-dîn A’lî al Marghînânî), the Imâm Najmu’d-dîn-i’r Rifaa’h the Shâfi’ite Imâm of his time, the Hâdîdh Saa’du’d-dîn al Hârîthi, al Fâhîr an Nârî the Traditionist of Mecca, ar Rashîd-u’l Mun’allim one of the most eminent of the Ḥanafites, as Sadr-u’l Wakîl the Shâfi’ite Shaykh, al Kamâl-b-u’l Sha’rîshî, at Tâj at Tabrîzî, al Fâhîr-b-Bint. Abi Saa’d, as Shams-b-Abî’l 1’zz the Ḥanafite Shaykh, ar Ridha at Tabârî the Imâm of Mecca, as Sâfi Abû’u Thânâ, Mâhmûd al Urmwî, the Shaykh Nûru’d-dîn al Bakî, al A’lâ bu’l A’ttâr the disciple of the Imâm an Nawawî, as Shams al Ispahânî author of the Commentary on the Kurân and the Commentary on the Muqhtâsar (Epitome) of Ibn u’l Hâjîb and the Commentary on the Tajrîd u’l Kalâm (Exposition of Metaphysics by Nasîru’d-dîn Abî Taa’far at Tusi,*) and the like, at Taki the goldsmith the Kurân reader, the last of the Kurân reading Shaykhs, as Shihâb Mâhmûd the professor of the Art of Composition, al Jamal-b-Mu’talhall the Shi’ite Shaykh, al Kamâl-b-Kâdhi Shubbâb, an Najm al Kûmûlî* author of the Jowahir u’l Bahr (Pearls of the Sea an epitome of his Bahr u’l Muhîf), al Kamâl-b-u’l Zamlakâni the Shaykh Ta’ki u’d-dîn-b-Taymiyâh, Ibn Jihârah the Shâfi’ite Shaykh, an Najm al Bâlîsi, Commentator on the Tanbîh fi’l Furû’u’ s Shâfi’i’yah (The Summons, on the derivative principles of Shâfi’ite jurisprudence by Abû Ishâq Ibrâhîm as Shir ’âzi), al Burhân al Fazârî the Shâfi’ite Shaykh, al A’lâ al Kûnuwî Commentator on the Hâwi u’l Sâghîr, al Fâhîr al Turkömâni of the Ḥanafite School, Commentator of the Jâmi’ Kabîr of as Shaybânî, al Malik al Muwayyad lord of Ḥamât author of several works, among them the metrical version of the Hâwi, the Shaykh Yâkût al A’rshi disciple of the Shaykh Abû’l A’bbâs al Mursâ, al Burhân al Ja’barî, al Badr-b-Jamâ’a’bi, at Taj-b-Fâkâhâni, al Fâth-b-Sayyîdî’n Nâs, al Kuṭb al Halabi, az Zayn al Kinânî the Kâdhi Muhyi’d-dîn-b-Fâdhîlî’l, ar Rukn-b-u’l Kawâi’,† az Zayn-b-Murhîl, as Sharâf-b-u’l Bârizî al Jalâl al Kazwînî and others.

* Haj. Khall, writes this word تامي and pronounces it Kamali. The town Kûmûlâh (جمال) is in Upper Egypt to the west of the Nile. The text and MS. give the title of the work Jawahir Wa’l Bahr which is inexact.
† MS. كوب (Kawbah.)
AL WÂThIK BI'LLAH IBRAHîM.

Al Wâthik bi'llah Ibrâhîm was the son of the heir to the Caliphate al Mustamsik bi'llah Abu A'bul'lah Muhammed son of al Hâkim bi'amri'llah Abu A'bbás Aḥmad. His grandfather al Hâkim had covenanted for the succession for his son Muhammed and gave him the title of al Mustamsik bi'llâh, but he died during his lifetime, whereupon he took the covenant for al Mustamsik's son, this Ibrâhîm, believing him to be worthy of the Caliphate, but he afterwards discovered him to be unfit for it, through his pursuit of pleasure and his association with low company. He therefore turned from him and named his own son—that is, the son of al Hâkim—al Mustâkî, the uncle of Ibrâhîm. It was Ibrâhîm who was the cause of the misunderstanding between the Caliph al Mustâkî and the Sultan after they had been like brothers, by his having carried to him a slanderous tale regarding him, after which happened what followed.

Thus it came to pass that when al Mustâkî died at Kûs, he named his own son Aḥmad for the succession but the Sultan disregarded this and acknowledged* this Ibrâhîm who was surnamed al Wâthik until when the Sultan was at the point of death he repented of what he had done, and deposed this Ibrâhîm, and acknowledged the heir Aḥmad who received the surname of al Hâkim. This took place on the 1st† of Muḥarram 742. Ibn Ḥajr says that the people petitioned the Sultan regarding Ibrâhîm and described his evil life, but he paid no heed to this and desisted not until the people acknowledged him. The populace nicknamed him al Musta’ta bi’llâh.‡

Ibn Fadlîllah in the Masâlik in the biographical notice of al Wâthîk says: “His grandfather named him for the succession, believing him to be virtuous and that he would respond loudly to him who called him to the Caliphate—but he grew up in dishonour, and inclined to nought, but the neglect of piety. He was led astray by sensualities, and did what he was not induced to do by his necessities. He associated with the mean and the base. His extravagance brought his reputation low—the evil of his conduct was disguised to him so that he thought it good—he was so blinded

* According to some authorities on the 6th, according to others the 14th Du’l Kaa’dah. Well, p. 406.
† This must be the date of his assuming the surname, for the Sultan died 9 days earlier, viz., the 21st Du’l Hijjah, 741 which is given by as Suyutî as the date on which al Hâkim was acknowledged. See his life, later.
‡ “Begging of the Lord.” He received this nickname on account of the small stipend granted him—Makrizi places the allowance of al Hâkim bi'amri'llah at 3560 dirhams a month and 19 Ardabbs of wheat and 10 of barley. Well, p. 406.
A. H. 740. as to think praiseworthy what was wicked. Pigeon-flying and the pursuit of rams for butting, and fighting-cocks seduced him—and his emulation in possessing fine-haired goats with long ears and the like of such things that degrade manliness and impair dignity,† this all led him into evil dealings, and purchasing goods not worth their price, and renting houses the hire of which he could not defray, and scheming for money wherewith to fill his hands, and abominations wherewith to fill his mouth, and things forbidden of which he eat and caused his family to partake, so that he became a mark for contempt and a prey to men of his time. And when al Mustakfi died at a time when the Sultán was in the height of his anger against him, and of his wrath which pressed upon him by reason of its excessive vehemence, he sent for this al Wáthík the improvident, the witless, (save that he was not thereto compelled,—and he was one of those who had secretly defamed his uncle to the Sultán, and had fastened treacherous machinations round his brow like the binding of an amulet) and he presented himself before the Sultán and brought with him the covenant of his grandfather. The Sultán therefore undertook the covenant of allegiance to him notwithstanding its ambiguity and turned towards him the face of the Caliphate. And indeed the cancelling of this covenant and the annulling of this compact had already taken place. Then the Chief Kádhi Abu 'Omar-b-Jamáš' sought to turn the mind of the Sultán from introducing the name of al Wáthík in the khutbah, but he would not do so. An agreement at length was effected by omitting both claimants from the khutbah and being content therein with the name of the Sultán alone—so he went his way. Thus on the death of al Mustakfi the name of the Caliphate passed from the pulpits as if it had never risen over their summit, and the prayer for the Caliphs vacated the vaulted recesses of the mosques as if it had never reverberated at their gates or their flinty stones (Marwah.†) It was as though he were the last of the Caliphs of the House of A'bbás and its symbols upon him were as garments of mourning, and were sheathed those swords of steel. This state of things continued until the Sultán was near his end, and death had knocked at his rock (Safá†). Among his last injunctions was the restoration of authority to those to whom it belonged, and the carrying out of the covenant of al Mustakfi in favour of his son, and he said, “how hath the truth become

* The MS. has هدى for هديه of the printed edition, which is, I think, inadmissible in the sense of guiding to evil. The grammatical construction any way appears faulty.

† Safá and Marwah are two small hills near Mecca, between which the Sa'i or Course of the U'mrah or Lesser Pilgrimage is made. One of the gates of the Prophet's mosque is termed the Safá gate. The word signifies a rock or smooth stones. Marwah means a hard white flint. It is a small line in the lower slope of the Abu Kubays, Prayer are recited from these mounts by the pilgrims during the Sa'i; see Burton, p. 344.—et seq.
manifest" (Kur. XII). And he was moved towards those who were re- A. H. 740, maining behind him and felt compassion, and Ibrāhīm was deposed* and A. D. 1340, grew lean—for verily he had fed as flocks feed and covered his dishonour with the raiment of men of worth, till he grew fat and his body became swollen and he assumed the surname of al Wāthīk (Firm in God), and what was he to be the bearer of such a name, the fear of which had long penetrated into the hearts of men and the dread of it stretched to bursting, the places where the sides lie in sleep?† Go to! The eagles are not counted as their painted effigies, nor is the gnat, however long its proboscis, like an elephant; but verily the march of time brings to currency what is worthless and the cat by puffing itself out simulates the lion. Now verily he hath returned to the biting of his own hands and he who is despicable falls easily under contempt." This is the end of Ibn Fadhīllah's words.

AL ḤĀKIM BI'AMRI'LLAH ABU’L A'BĀS.

Al Ḥākim bi'amri'llah Abu’l A’bbás Aḥmad was the son of al Mustakīf. His father when he died at Kūs covenanted for his succession to the Caliphate but al Malik an Nāṣir preferred to him his cousin Ibrāhīm on account of his personal feeling against al Mustakīf. Now the character of Ibrāhīm was depraved and the Chief Kādhi I’zzu’d-dīn b-Jama’ā’h exerted himself to the utmost to turn the Sultān from appointing him, but he would not yield. At length when he was at the point of death, he commenced to the Emirs the restoration of the authority to the heir of al Mustakīf—his son Aḥmad, therefore when al Maulū s Abu Bakr the son of an Nāṣir assumed the supreme power, he convened an assembly on the 21st Dū’l Hijjah 741 (7th June, 1341) and summoned the Caliph Ibrāhīm and the heir Aḥmad and the Kādhis and said, "Who by law is entitled to the Caliphate?" Ibn Jamāa‘ā’h replied, "Verily the Caliph al Mustakīf who died in the city of Kūs bequeathed the Caliphate after him to his son Aḥmad and had it attested by forty witnesses in the city of Kūs, and this was proved before me after its confirmation before my deputy in the city of Kūs." The Caliph therefore deposed Ibrāhīm, and swore allegiance to Aḥmad and he was surnamed al Ḥākim bi'amri'llah after the title of his grandfather.

* I prefer taking this verb in the passive and would amend the pointing of the text.
† إمتى هيبته العيوب MS.
A H. 741. Ibn Faḍḥi'llah says in his biography in the Masālik. "He was
A. D. 1341. the Imām of our age and the white cloud of our land of Egypt. He
arose in wrath against his enemies and submerged his well wishers with
the overflow of his munificence: through him affairs attained to their
proper issue, and their intelligent apprehension was referred to him.
He revived the usages of the Caliphate, and enjoined what was not in
the power of any to disobey. He trod the ways of his ancestors that had
been obliterated, and restored them by the glad aspects of his children,
for verily they had been effaced. And he gathered together the sons of
his father who had been long scattered; and he extended his assistance
to them for fortune had been adverse, and he elevated his name upon the
summits of the pulpits and verily a long time had elapsed and no such stars
had arisen except in his firmament, and no such mists and streaming rain had
gone forth save from his clouds. He was summoned after the death of
the Sultan, and his authority and renown travelled abroad in universal
allegiance and imperative submission. His father had appointed him by a
prior covenant and committed its deposit unto men of trust. Subsequent-
ly al Malik al Mansūr Abu Bakr the son of the late Sultan succeeded to
power, and residences were assigned to him under the authority of the
monarch."

Ibn Faḍḥi'llah continues, "verily I drew up for him the form of the
covenant of allegiance which was as follows:

"In the name of God the most merciful. 'Verily they who swear
fealty unto thee, swear fealty unto God' (Kur. XLVIII) &c. as far as
His word 'great.' This is a covenant of acceptance and a covenant of
benefit and a voluntary agreement to which the congregation of the
faithful testify and testifies to it the Most Merciful—a covenant the
conditions of which are obligatory on the necks of men,† and which circles
in its fulness and the entirety of its import, deserts and seas covered with
highways—a covenant by which may God improve the condition of the
people, and through its means grant them prosperity, and thus mutual
harmony be promoted and gladness pass through the land, till the stars of
the constellations press thronging upon the multitudinous commingling
of the Galaxy. A covenant fortunate and of happy augury, glorious,
comprising within it security both in spiritual and temporal matters; a
covenant just and lawful, to be observed and guarded; a covenant to

* "The rest of the verse is: 'The hand of God is over their hands. Whoever
shall violate his oath, will violate it to the hurt of his own soul, but whoever shall
perform that which he hath covenanted with God, He will surely give him a reward
that is great.'"

† This sentence is slightly modified from the following in the Kurān XVII,
كل إنسان الزمالة مَعَهُ في عنقه The fate or actions of every man have we bound about
his neck.
which all desires vie in attaining, and all hearts strive to gain, and upon A. H. 741. which the scattered nations are agreed. A covenant over which the A. D. 1341. clouds pour their plenteous rain and the full moon is resplendent. A covenant consented to by the church and the concourse of the faithful, and to stretch their hands towards which the church hath assembled. They therefore who hear God and obey, have acknowledged its legality and every man hath done his utmost towards its fulfilment. It hath obtained the consent of eyes and ears, and by its means Truth hath reached him who meriteth it, which the adversary hath acknowledged and thus dissension hath ceased. It is contained in ‘a book distinctly written: those who approach near unto God are witnesses thereto.’ (Kur. LXXXIII) and the most approximate unto God of the Imáms accept it. Praise be to God who hath rightly guided us unto this, for we should not have been so directed, were it not that the Lord led us thereto on account of His mercy upon us and upon the people.

And praise be to God, there have agreed upon this covenant unto us and unto the House of A’bbás, those who bind and loose, and the doctors of theological law in what relateth both unto matters of small and of great moment, the rulers in authority and governors, and those in places of dignity and power, the bearers of knowledge and of standards, the guardians of the sword and the pen, the chiefs of the sons of A’bd Manáf, the low in dignity and the high, the chiefs of the Kuraysh, the rulers of the sons of Háshim and the stainless remnant of the House of A’bbás, the chosen among the Imáms and the commonality. A covenant, the pavilions of which are seen in the two Sacred Cities and whose standards float over the Two Straits.* Its blessings are known at A’rafát and confessed at Mina, and acknowledged on the day† of the Great Pilgrimage. It is sought between the Yamáni Corner‡ and Abraham’s station of prayer and the Black Stone, and nought is desired through it save the glory of God. A covenant, the bond of which shall not be loosed nor its obligation rejected, compulsory and absolute, continuous‡

* Mázmayn.” One between Mecca and Mina; the other between Muzdalif and Mount A’rafát.
† When the day of A’rafát (9th Du’l Hijjah) falls on a Friday. See Burton, p. 226, III.
‡ The Rukmu’l Yamani is the corner of the ka’bah facing south—where there is a stone called Mustajábud Du’á “where prayer is granted” which pilgrims touch and ask pardon for their sins. The place of Abraham is a building south of the kaabah said to contain the stone upon which Abraham stood when he built the ka’bah and which is believed to preserve the impression of his foot—but no pilgrim sees it as the frame holding it is always covered with red brocade. Burton’s finances did not allow of his paying 5 dollars to enter the Makám Ibrahim and no European has ever entered it. See Vol. III, p. 177.
‡ For ١٥ / ٣ read as in the MS. ١٥ / ٣
A. H. 741. and everlasting, complete and universal, comprehensive and perfect, just
A. D. 1341. and clear, ardours and yet rest giving.

And there is none distinguished in science or judicial decision, nor one
to whom men turn for bounty or the ordering of decrees, nor the Imám
of a mosque nor a preacher, nor one of authority in judgment who is
consulted and who answereth, nor those who fill the mosques, and none
whom their vaulted recesses gather together; nor one who laboureth in the
solution of a point and faileth or hitteth it, nor a narrator of tradition
nor a discoursor on the ancient and the modern, nor one known for piety
and virtue, nor the horsemen of war and strife, nor one who killeth
with an arrow, pierceth with a spear, or striketh with a sword, nor who
moveth on foot, or flieth on wings, mixeth with the people or sitteth in
retirement, nor a concourse great or small, nor one the hoisting of whose
standard riseth to Orion, nor whose contention in glory soareth above the
stars of the Lesser Bear, nor the dweller in the desert or cultivated
land, nor one who abideth, nor one who departeth, nor the first nor the
last, nor who concealeth within, nor who divulgeth without, nor Arab
nor barbarian, nor a pastor of camels or of sheep, nor one who is sedate,
nor he who is hasty, nor the dweller in an abode in town or desert, nor
the lord of columns, or of a wall, nor one who plungeth into stormy
seas, deserts and barren wastes, nor one who betaketh himself frequently
to the backs of steeds, nor who letteth his skirt trail in the dust, nor one
upon whom the sun of day shineth and the stars of night, nor whom the
sky covereth and the earth bearth up, and none whose names in their
diversities distinguish, and who are raised in station, one above, another
but he hath put his trust in this covenant, and hath assented to it and is
secure by reason thereof, for God hath been gracious to him and guided
him unto it, and hath acknowledged and attested it and cast down his
eyes and dropped them abashed before it and extended his hands towards
it in homage and his belief in submission, and acquiesced in it and
approved it and gathered its commands upon himself and executed them,
and entered under its obedience and acted according to its requirements.
And justice hath been done among them in truth, and men say—Praise be
to God, Lord of the genii and of mankind.

Now verily when the Lord made choice of His servant Sulayman
Abu'r Rabii' the Imám al Mustakfi bi'lláh prince of the Faithful, the
Lord received him with honor and gave him in exchange for the Abode
of Peace (Baghdád) the mansion of salvation, and transferred him with
cleansed hands from testifying to the orthodox religion, to the vision of
perfect peace, where He made him near unto Him and confirmed him at
His side and preferred him on account of what he had sent before him of
his desired works and fruits, and chose for him a company to be nigh him,
and placed him "with those unto whom God hath been gracious of the prophets and the sincere, and the martyrs and the righteous; and these are the most excellent company" (Kur. IV). Great God for a day such as this! and were he to have no successor, "the earth would become too straight notwithstanding it is spacious" (Kur. IX). Every man shall be rewarded according to what he hath earned, and to every heart shall it be announced what it hath hoarded and gathered, for verily a flame hath been kindled, though it is within the ribs of the breast, and verily pulpit and throne will be in danger if there be not a virtuous successor to him, and of a truth, the governed and he who governs will be thrown into perplexity if thought doth not forecast the issue of affairs. And now there remaineth not of the family of A'bbás, nor in the House of al Mustarshid, nor in any other of the pontifical Houses, of the remnants of their sires and grandsires, and not one whom the latter times hath brought forth, for they are barren and without progeny, any to whom the people of Muhammad may confide the bond of their designs and the secret of their purposes save one, and where is this one? By Allah! it is he who comprehendeth within himself the claims to the heritage of his stainless sires, the inheritance of his ancestors, and he is none other than one who hath wrapped about him the mantle of night and day, the heir of one who hath been borne to his Lord, the son of the Imám, proceeding from his loins, one whom all agree to be in these days, the wonder of mankind, the Incomparable, and thus the great exemplar in creation: and verily he is excellent in dignity, since are looped upon him the garments of the East and the West, who hath the mastery of the empire between the rising and the setting sun, who ascendeth to the level of the sky of this sublime eminence, the sole remnant of Imáms that have departed, a most excellent Caliph, in whom are centred the conditions of the Caliphate, conducting himself virtuously for the sake of God, while he is the heir of a House which shall retain the sovereignty till the day of doom, whose munificence puts the clouds to shame, whom his rival cannot withstand, nor his censurer deceive, who mounteth not the floor of a pulpit in the presence of the Sultan of his time, but he proclaims it to be by his order and riseth as there placed by him, who sitteth not upon the throne of the Caliphate but the Sultan knoweth that his Mustakfi* was not disappointed and his Hákım is not absent, the viceroy of the Lord upon the earth and the successor of His apostle, his lieutenant and his descendant, the follower of his virtuous deeds and the heir to his knowledge, our lord and master, the servant of God and His friend, Abú'l A'bbás the Imám al Hákím bi'amr'Iláh prince of the Faith.

* These names of course include plays upon their meanings, which may be substituted for them.

66
ful, may God strengthen the faith by his abiding, and make of his sword a collar for the necks of the impious, and humble transgressors beneath his standards, and grant him assistance until the Day of Requital, and by his warring for the faith throw prostrate upon their faces* the troops of the rebellious, and make the earth seek his protection from those who follow not religion, and cause to return through his justice the days of his ancestors the orthodox Caliphs and the rightly guided Imáms, who judged with truth and by it were equitable, and acted in accordance with it,—and aid his allies, and ordain his power, and establish in all hearts the awe of his presence, and his majesty, and confirm him in life, and gather unto him his dominions. Wherefore when that prince passed to his Lord and beheld those who had gone before him, and was borne to the throne of Paradise from the chair of the Caliphate, and the age was without an Imám who might take up what remained of his lustrous day, and a Caliph who might overcome the increase of night by his splendours, and a successor of the prophet like unto him and to his fathers, (for the world, after the death of his ancestor, the seal of the Prophets, needed no other prophet to follow his footsteps, and he departed and left no successor, and nothing remained, since no text of the Kurán was found opposite to such an emergency but the assembly of the Faithful, and upon it rested the election to the Caliphate after the Apostle of God without dispute),—the public welfare demanded the gathering of an assembly firmly knit together on every side, and the bond of a covenant testified to by God and the angels, and the people gathered to it and “that was a day whereon all men were assembled and a day whereon witness was borne,” (Kur. XI).

But there was present thereat one that need ed not who should succeed to the Caliphate after him, and did not consider who covenanted with him, and had stretched out his hand covetously for more beside it and had disassembled. But the people were unanimous in their voice and asked the blessing of God upon it and He bestowed it, and an oath was taken, strengthened by religious conviction and fortified by oaths, and compacts were made upon it and their faithful keeping proposed to all parties, so that every one present placed the collar of this charge upon his neck, and laid his hand upon the holy book and swore by the Lord and perfected his assent.

And none discarded it or made a reservation regarding it nor hesitated; and he who rejected it thoughtlessly, returned and renewed it. Verily every man who swore, purposed that the intention of his oath was the intention of one whom this allegiance bound, and the intention of one who pledged it his oath, and took upon himself the obligation of fidelity to it, by his responsibility and guarantee as is the custom in the oath of fealty, and

* Lit. "chins."
to its reiterated conditions and commands and its binding asseverations, A. H. 741.

that he would render obedience to this Imám to whom obedience is obligatory A. D. 1341,

and would not separate himself from the commonwealth, nor appeal from the

council of the Faithful to another assembly,* and the like which are contained

in the records of oaths in which are written the names of those who swear,

set down in the writing of those who can write among them and the

signatures of trustworthy witnesses for those who cannot write and who

allow them to sign for them, according as they testify to it one for the

other and the dwellers on earth and in heaven acting in concert therein.

A covenant, the accomplishment of which hath been perfected by the

will of God, and whose clouds are surcharged with abundant rain, and the

people cried out, praise be to God who hath caused sorrow to depart from

us, and hath given us good. And praise unto God who sufficeth His

servant, and is abounding unto him who joineth His praise to His every
gift. Again praise unto God for a blessing, the increase of which the

prince of the Faithful desireth, and cautiously feareth, unless he combat the

enemies of the Lord by its assistance, and by it discipline those who ascend

the pulpits in his dominions throughout what interveneth between the

divergence of their opposite extremes. We praise him and praise be to

God and again praise unto God, a sentence which one wearieth not in

repeating, and which doth not so descend that arrows can surpass the just

directness of its course, and which cannot be discontinued save after

observance of what compelleth the frequency of its repetitions, increase of
genity to those that love it, and the diminution of irreverence not of

affection to what resembleth it.

And we testify that there is no God but one, who hath no copartner,
a confession of which the replenishing of its ink-flow resembles the blood

drops of the martyrs, and the dark locks of youths and shining clouds contend

for its favour, whose broidered letters are like unto that which the House

of A'bbás wearcth of its symbols, the nights of their covering, and enemies

of their mourning vesture. And we testify that Muhammad is His

servant and His apostle, upon whom be the blessing of God, and upon the

congregation of his family and those who succeed him of his posterity and

who have gone before him of his ancestors. And may the Lord be well

pleased with his companions and those that immediately followed them,

and be merciful unto them till the Day of Requital.

Now since the Lord hath granted to the prince of the Faithful what

had belonged to his grandsire, of the prophetical heritage, and bestowed

upon him of the sovereignty of Solomon what is not meet for any one after

• I am not sure that the reduplication of ١١ is not a copyist's error, though

the text and MS. are in accord. If it be so, the translation would run "nor quit the

congregation."
A. H. 741. him, and taught him the language of birds, in what is borne to him of
A. D. 1341. remarkable events, by carrier pigeons, and subjected to him couriers upon
the backs of steeds, as He subjected the wind to Solomon, and recompensed
him through Muḥammad the Seal of the prophets, with what his father
Sulaymān acquired and possessed, and bestowed upon him a greatness
which brought all creation under his obedience without contention, and
appointed for him in the robes of the House of Āʾbbās that which fulfilleth
in him its sable symbols and its lordliness of ancestry, and scattereth of
its swarthiness upon the shade of eyelashes what rendereth superfluous the
dark profundity of the heart and the blackness of the eye, and extendeth
his shadow over the earth and every part of the capital and the whole
city of Baghdad, (he being one who worshippeth at night, and by day is
like Āʾskārī and in liberality like Jaaʿfar the most munificent), he is
therefore in perpetual supplication to the Lord for his grace, and in joy,
forasmuch as he hath choked every enemy in his own spittle. And he
hath begun this day of fealty with what is most important among the
interests of Islām, and with such virtuous works as adorn mankind, and
he maketh the fear of God his guide, and baseth his commands upon it,
and followeth the holy law and abideth by it and maketh the people to abide
thereby, and whoso will not receive his commands with voluntary obedience
must submit to them by compulsion. And the prince of the Faithful
batesth to set about what will pacify all minds, by which he may repel
the machinations of the devil who is verily in despair, and captivate the
hearts of his subjects though he be independent of it, yet because he
ruleth them. And the prince of the Faithful calleth God and his
people to witness that he hath confirmed every holder of an office among
the administrators of affairs, in his present position, that he may
continue to repose under the protection of his shadow, according to the
various classes of the rulers, and the courses of the provinces and
and marches, on land and sea, plain and mountainous country, east
and west, far and near, gentle and simple, few and many, little and great,
lord and slave and governor, and the soldier before whom glanceth his
glorious sword and his trusty spear, together with those whether ministers,
judges or secretaries, or such as possess judgment in composition, and
knowledge of accounts, and are conversant with affairs of postal service or
collection of revenue, and such as are necessary and unnecessary, engaged
in teaching, and in the colleges, in Ribāts, cells and convents, those who
have weighty engagements or whose attachments to the world are but
slight, and all possessors of offices and holders of stipends, and such as
have of the Lord’s bounty a determinate portion, and a claim whether
unknown or recognized. And everything shall remain in its present state,
so that he may ask the blessing of God, and it may be made clear to him
what is before him, for he who increaseth his worthiness, his merit is
augmented. For the prince of the Faithful seeketh but the glory of A. H. 741. God, and maketh no distinction of persons in the religion of the Lord, A. D. 1341. nor favoureth one right in preference to another, for partiality in the administration of justice is a deception towards the Muslims. Everything that hath continued up to the present, shall remain established according to the commands of God, as God hath taught him, and his father Sulaymán hath instructed him. Nor shall the prince of the Faithful make in this nor in any portion of it, any alteration, in gratitude to God for His bounty, and thus shall be rewarded he who giveth thanks. Nor shall he disturb unto any one his watering place, and may God purify His clear bounty to him free from all defilement. And no expositor can affect to comment upon this save one who disowneth favours and is ungrateful, nor an objector find an evasion, for the prince of the Faithful seeketh protection from God and let us fly to his reign for defence against all change. The prince of the Faithful, may the Lord exalt his power—hath commanded the preachers to proclaim the mention of him and that of the present Sultan, from the pulpits throughout the provinces, and that the coinage shall be stamped with the impress of their names and become freely current, and the robes of night and day be girdled with a prayer for them both, and that there shall be made manifest therewith that which shall illumine the face of the dirham and the dinár.

And verily the prince of the Faithful hath proclaimed in this full assembly what every preacher hath to announce and what will be repeated by all that are far and near, the purport of which is, that the Lord hath issued commands and prohibitions, and He is the Watcher from whom nothing is hidden, and the intelligent should apply their faculties to them, and the preachers deduce therefrom the courses of their precepts, and excellencies will be perfected by them, and the hidden thoughts of the holy in their retirements will be elicited through them, and those who hold discourse at night shall speak of them, and the camel driver and the mariner shall chant them, and their magic shall be sweet in the moonlit night and be inscribed upon the brow of the morn. The stony vallies of Mecca shall hear them in exhortation, and by their vehement urging shall Kafáh* be revived, and every father shall instruct his son therein, and every generous son shall question his father. And it is for you, O ye people on the part of the prince of the Faithful who hath furnished† you with an evident demonstration, and upon you is obligatory that by which he hath called you to the way of the Lord in wisdom and excellent admonition, and obedience to the prince of the Faithful is your duty, and were it

* I cannot explain this name if it be a name. Yağút does not give it. The MS. appears to have Fanáh which Yağút places in Nejd.

† MS.

H.
A. H. 741. not for the sake of the preservation of the people, the Lord would not have
A. D. 1341. accepted the works of those commandments—nor restrained the waters by
them, nor spread out the earth nor rivetted the mountains thereof, nor
would voices have been unanimous upon one who is worthy—nor the
Caliphate have advanced towards him trailing its robes. He hath there-
fore possessed himself of it to the exclusion of the other descendants of
his father, and it hath been found meet for him alone, and he only is meet
for it.

And verily the prince of the Faithful hath sufficed you against any
occasion of solicitation, through what the Lord hath opened unto you of
the gates of provision and means of maintenance, and he hath rewarded
you according to your merit and taught you commendable virtues, and
maintained you in the benefits you possess, and hath not been niggardly
through fear of expense. And you have now no claim left against the
prince of the Faithful, but that he should cause to pass freely among you
the book of God and the traditions of His apostle, and act according to
what He hath sent, who hath gratuitously bestowed. May the Lord vouch-
safe unto the prince of the Faithful a long reign, and augment His mercies
upon those who have gone before and preserve the obligations of the
pilgrimage and warring for the faith, and cause the people to slumber
peacefully in their beds by reason of His all-comprehensive justice.

The prince of the Faithful will establish the pilgrimage every year
according to the custom of his fathers, and his favour will include the
dwellers in the Sacred Cities and the ministers of the holy house of God,
and he will show the right path unto him who is astray, hoping that he will
return to the state that was his in past times, and his swelling waters shall
be poured forth upon those two temples, and he will send unto the third
of them in Jerusalem, a streaming cloud, and by his justice he will set up
the sepulchres of the prophets—upon whom be peace—wherever they may
be, and the greater number whereof are in Syria. And the Friday prayers
and congregations, these shall continue with you according to their
ancient traditions and right course, and in the reign of the prince of the
Faithful, whose joineth him shall receive increase from what may be
received of the provinces of the infidels and be delivered of them into his
hands. As regardeth fighting for the faith, let the warring of him suffice
who is so appointed by the prince of the Faithful in his behalf, invested
by him with authority over all that is beyond his throne. And the prince
of the Faithful hath appointed in him—may the Lord cause his kingdom
and sovereignty to endure—an eye that slumbereth not, and hath girded a
sword, of which were the lightnings to sleep on any night, heedless of enemies,
the dreams of these would unsheathe its image against them. The prince
of the Faithful will presently arrange for the restoration of all that hath
been captured by the enemy and indeed the order hath already gone forth A. H. 741, for the continuance of hostilities by land and sea against the prostrate foe. A. D. 1341. And he will not abstain from either slaying or making prisoners those whom he subdueth, nor will he free them from fetters and bonds, and he will not cease from sending against them by land his eagle steeds and by sea his raven ships, bearing each of them in its rider, a bird of prey. And he will guard his dominions from such as venture to disturb its confines or traverse its borders with their footsteps. And he will look to the welfare of the forts and fastnesses and the frontiers, and what is needful for them of implements of war, and the principal cities which are the stations of the troops and the lairs of the lions, and the nobles, the forces and legions, and their disposition on the right and the left and on the extended wings. And he will inspect their condition in review as to their horses closely compacted between heaven and earth, and their wealth of twisted mail, and swords covered with liquid gold as though they were beautiful maidens hidden from view, and cutting blades, and lances dyed by reason of being long bathed in blood, and arrows cleaving to the bows and leaving them yearning with the yearning of she camels* that have lost their young, and bows resounding with the clamour of the wrathful.

All this the prince of the Faithful desireth to cheer your hearts and to extend a lengthened train over your desires. Your lives and property and honor shall be preserved from exposure to danger, save in what the holy law permitteth. And an increase of bounty shall be given to you in the measure of what is kept hidden by you or manifested. To proceed to particulars of affairs, verily ye know that he who separates himself from the prince of the Faithful excludes himself from remembrance such as this, and according to the difference of your degrees, you are all a charge from God committed to the prince of the Faithful, and all of you are equal in truth before him, and upon you rests the fulfilment of his precepts and showing obedience with a sincere heart. For verily every one of you hath entered under the protection of the prince of the Faithful and under his obedience, and the obligations of the oath of fealty are incumbent upon him and its conditions binding upon his neck. And each one of you will be known by his fulfilment of that which he hath learnt, "but whoever shall perform that which he covenanted with God, He will surely give him a reward that is great," (Kur. XLVIII). These are the words of the prince of the Faithful.

The writer goes on to say, "He will so act in all this, that the issue of his deeds may merit praise, and on this condition the covenant is made with him and for it he covenanth. And over and above this, as to

* The word مغارف which should be more properly written مغارف which is the true plural of مفرق See Lane, art. مفرقا.
A. H. 741. injustice, the witness of it hath not been borne against him, now will it
A. D. 1341. be borne. And the prince of the Faithful supplicateth the Lord for His
mercy under every condition, and seeketh His protection against remissness,
and He prayeth Him to help him to the attainment of the hopes that he
desireth, and not to extend to him the cord of delay. And the prince of the
Faithful will seal his words with the justice and benevolence that the Lord
hath commended: and praise be to God that he is one of most to be
commended* of his creatures, for the Lord hath bestowed upon him the
kingdom of Sulaymân. May the Lord permit him freely to enjoy what
he hath bestowed, and give him to rule over the ends of the earth and
after a long life, cause his posterity to succeed him. May his seat never
cease to be on the threshold of eminence, and the splendour of majesty
through him, be united to the supreme rule of the Caliphate, as though
its Mansûr had never died nor its Mahdi or its Rashîd passed away."

Ibn Hâjr says in his Durar that he was first surnamed al Mustansir
and afterwards al Hâkim. The Shaykh Zaynu'ddîn al Itrâqi states that
the Caliph heard traditions from some of the later traditionists and that
he himself related them. He died of the plague about the middle of
the year 758. Among events of his days, Sultân al Mansûr was deposed
in the first year of his reign on account of the depravity of his life and
his drinking of wine;—it was even said that he did not hold inviolate his
father's wives. He was banished to Kûs and there assassinated. This was
a chastisement from God for what his father had done to the Caliph,
and such is the way of the Lord with those who set themselves to do evil
unto one of the posterity of A'bbas. He was succeeded by his brother al
Malik al Ashraf Kujuk (?1st Safar—6th August, 1341) who was deposed
the same year and his brother Aḥmad elected and surnamed an Nâsir
(3rd Shaa'bân—11th January, 1342) and Shaykh Tâkiu'ddîn as Subki Kâdîhî
of Syria who had accompanied him, arranged the covenant of allegiance
between him and the Caliph.

In the year 743 an Nâsir Aḥmad was deposed and his brother
Iṣma'il was raised to power and surnamed as Šâlih (22nd Muharram,—27th
June 1342). In 746 as Šâlih died (4th Rabî' II—3rd August, 1345),
and the Caliph invested his brother Shaa'bân who was surnamed al Kâmil.
In 747 (3rd Jamâda II—20th September, 1346) al Kâmil was put to death
and his brother Amîr Hájî† was elected and surnamed al Mudhaﬀar. In
748, al Mudhaﬀar was deposed and succeeded in power (14th Ramadân—
18th December, 1347) by his brother Ḥasan who was surnamed an Nâsir.

* Aḥmad "worthiest of praise" was one of the names of the Caliph.
† Well names him Zaynu'ddîn Hájî. He received the name of Hájî or Háj
(pilgrim) as he was born in 732 while his father Sultân Muḥammad an Nâsir was on
the pilgrimage. Well, p. 470.
In 749 occurred the universal plague* the like of which was never A. H. 749. 
A. D. 1348.

In the year 752 an Nāsir Ḥasan was deposed and his brother Šāliḥ elected (28th Jum. II—22nd August 1351), and surnamed al Malik as Šāliḥ, who was the eighth who reigned of the descendants of an Nāsir Muḥammad-b-Kīlāwun, and Shaykhū was made his Atābek. He was the first, as Ibn Fadhl ʻillah adds in the supplement of the Masālik, who was named in Egypt the Great Emīr.

Of personages of note who died during the reign of al Ḥākim were the Ḥāfidh Abū’l Ḥajjāj al Mīzī, at Tāj Abū’dūl Bākī al Yamani, as Shams Abū’dūl Hádī, Abū Ḥayyān, Ibn u’l Wardī, Ibn u’l Labān, Ibn A’dlān, ad Ḥahabī, Ibn Faḍlūl‘illah, Ibn Ḥayyīm al Jauzīyah, al Ḥakhr al Mīsīr, the Shādī‘ite Shaykh in Syria, at Tāj al Marākashi and others.

AL MUA’TAĐHID BI’LLAH ABU’L FATH.

Al Mua’taḍhid bi’llāh Abū’l Fatḥ Abū Bakr the son of al Mustakfi was acknowledged Caliph after the death of his brother in the year 753 according to his covenant. He was virtuous and complaisant and a friend to men of letters. He died in Jumada 1, 763. Among the events of his reign occurred the deposition in 755 of al Malik as Šāliḥ (2nd Shawwal,—20th October, 1254) and an Nāsir Ḥasan was reinstated. In the year 756 orders were issued for the coining of new copper pieces of the size and weight of a dīnār and four and twenty of these were made equivalent to a dirham. Before this the old copper pieces were a ratl and a half to the dirham, and from this may be known the value of the silver dirhams struck by Shaykhū and the Emir Surghītmīsh for the salaries of their colleges, for their dirhams signified two-thirds of a ratl in copper pieces.

In the year 762 an Nāsir Ḥasan was put to death and Muḥammad the son of his brother al Mudhaffar was raised to the throne (9th Jum. I—17th March 1361) and surnamed al Manṣūr.

Of persons of note who died in the reign of al Mua’taḍhid were Shaykh Taḵi’uddin as Subkī, as Samīn (Shihāb u’ddūn Abīmad-b-Yusuf al

* This was the great plague or black death which spread over Europe in 1348 and desolated Florence. According to Arabic sources it took its rise in China in A. H. 742 and spread over Tartary; thence to Constantinople, Asia Minor and Syria on one side, and Greece, Italy, Spain, France and the north of Europe on the other. In old and new Cairo in the months of Shaa’ban and Ramdhan 900,000 beings perished. In Aleppo the deaths were 600 a day and in Gaza 22,000 died in 33 days. For its further details, consult Weil, p. 479, from Makrizī, and Abū’l Mah.
Al Mutawakkil A'la'llah Abu A'bdullâh.

Al Mutawakkil a'la'llah Muhammad the son of al Mu'attadhid, the father of the Caliphs of the present age, assumed the Caliphate by the covenant of his father, after his death in Junáda I, 763. His reign extended over forty-five years throughout the depositions and imprisonments that disturbed it, as we shall presently relate, and he left many children. It is said that he had one hundred children including those still-born, of whom many, male and female, died. Five among them held the Caliphate which is unprecedented, viz., al Musta'in al A'bbâs, al Mu'attadhid Datûd, al Mustâfî Sulaymân, al Kâim Hamzah, and al Mustanjid Yusuf. Of his children at the present time but one is left called Mûsa, much resembling Ibrâhîm the son of al Mustâfî, and of the posterity of A'bbâs now remaining, all are of the stock of this al Mutawakkil—may the Lord increase their number and give them increase of His aid. The following were among the events of his reign. In the year 764 al Mašûr was deposed (14th Shaa'bân—29th May, 1363) and Shaa'bân-b-Ḥusayn-b-Nâsîr-b-Ḳilawun succeeded to power and was surnamed al Ṭabar.

In 773 the green badge on the turbans of the descendants of the prophet was introduced by command of the Sultan that they might be thus distinguished and this was its first introduction. Abu A'bdullâh-b-Ṭabar* the blind grammarian, author of the commentary on the Alfiyah of Ibn Mâlik, known as al ʿA'mâ wa'll Ḫâṣîr (the blind and the discerning) says regarding this—

"They have given the descendants of the apostle a badge,
But a badge is a distinction for one who is unknown.
The light of prophecy is on their noble features,
The nobly born needeth no green decoration."

In this year began the irruption of the tyrant Tamarlan (Tamarlane) who devastated the provinces and destroyed the inhabitants and continued his depredations on the earth until he perished under the curse of God in the year 807.† And it has been said regarding him:

* The text has Jabiz erroneously. Ibn Ṣâbir died in 780 (1378). His commentary though a work of great merit, did not escape the criticism of as Suyûṭî whose indefatigable pen was employed in exposing its errors. See Hâj Khal.
† The text has here a gross error, giving the year as 873. The MS. has a blank for the unit. Timur died according to Ibn Arab Shâh on Wednesday the 17th Shaa'bân 807, (17th February, 1406). D'Herb, places his death on the 10th Shaa'bân.
make according what Ashraf his
The Musta'gim received D'Herb. robe -A-. Bukhari the al reached. The Al I'rak declined. ^'
of The power Al he
to this latter years.
concurrence Samarkand the same was to Caliph concluded him March), to Caliph summoned They to the Caliph transplantation al the Caliph Malik the surnamed Caliph for and al the Caliph died and al the Caliph
and for the Caliph in. the Caliph son§ of Ibrahim, son of al Mustamsik, son§ of the Caliph al Hakim and bestowed on him a robe of honour and made him Caliph without the formality of the oath of allegiance and without the concurrence of the Faithful, and surnamed him al Musta'şim bi'lläh. He

* Al Malik Husayn of Herát.

† The beginning of his rise and power is fixed by most historians in 771 when he received from Sultan Surghatmish Chaghtai the succession to the satrapy of Samarkand and Transoxiana, and as he died in 807, this would make his reign 36 years. He was born in 736. D'Herb.

‡ The MS. has here a marginal note عشورون إيضه بدينار (20 eggs for a dinár).
§ The word بن is inadvertently omitted both in the MS. and Text, and in the latter إيضه is written by a misprint for إيضه.
A. H. 779 further ordered al Mutawakkil to be banished to Kús for certain things. A. D. 1377. which he resented as having been done by him at the time of the assassination of al Ashraf. The Caliph set out but returned the next day to his house and to the Caliphate on the 20th of the month, and al Musta'sim was deposed, the duration of his Caliphate having been fifteen days. Al Mutawakkil was the sixth of the Caliphs residing in Egypt who were reinstated after some interruption of their Caliphate. This deposition therefore was in accordance with custom.

In the year 782 a letter came from Aleppo stating that an Imám was reading public prayers when a person made sport of him during his praying, but he did not interrupt the prayers until he came to the end and when he pronounced the benediction, the face of the jester was turned into that of a hog and he fled to a forest in the neighbourhood. The people were in wonder at this affair and a deposition was taken of it.

In the month of Safar (23rd) 783 al Manṣūr died and his brother Háji son of al Ashraf succeeded him and was surnamed as Sālih. In Ramadān (19th) 784 (26th November, 1382) as Sālih was deposed and Barkūk assumed the government and was surnamed ad Dhāhir, and he was the first Sulṭān of the Circassian race. In Rajab of 785, Barkūk arrested the Caliph, deposed him and imprisoned him in the fortress on the hill. Muhammad son of Ibrāhīm, son of al Mustamik son of al Hākim was then acknowledged Caliph and surnamed al Wāthik bi'llāh and he continued in the Caliphate till he died on Wednesday the 17th Shawwāl, 788. The people then petitioned Barkūk to reinstate al Mutawakkil, but he refused and summoned the brother of Muḥammad Zakariya, he who had been appointed for a short period,—and swore fealty to him and he was surnamed al Mu'taṣīm† bii'llāh. He continued in office until the year 791. Barkūk then repeated of what he had done to al Mutawakkil, and brought him out of confinement, restored him to the Caliphate and deposed Zakariya. Zakariya continued to dwell in his private residence till he died while under deposition; and al Mutawakkil remained Caliph till his death.

In the month of Jumada II, of the same year as Sālih Háji was restored to the dignity of Sulṭān and his surname was changed to al Manṣūr. Barkūk was imprisoned at Kark.

* 'Ivbak desired the Caliph to pronounce the deposition of the Sulṭān in whose place he sought to elect his own step son Ahmad. To justify this course he asserted that Ahmad's mother was with child by the Sulṭān Hasan an Nāsir before her second marriage with Yelboga al Chaski. The Caliph's refusal resulted in his deposition. Weil, p. 533.

† Weil says that according to the best MS. he was surnamed al Mu'taṣīm (having recourse to God) not al Musta'sim, (p. 122, Vol. II). The MS. has this reading but the text, Musta'sim, which is therefore incorrect.
In the month of Shaa'bán of this year the Muazzins after the summons A. H. 791.
to prayer, introduced the prayer and the salutation upon the prophet, and A. D. 1389.
this was the first time it was introduced. It was done at the instance of
the market inspector Najmu'ddín at Tumbuḏi. In the month of Safar 792
Barkûk was taken out of confinement and restored to power in which he
continued till his death (14th) Shawwal 801, (19th June, 1399). He was
succeeded (15th) by his son Faraj who was surnamed an Náṣir and he
remained in power till the 6th* Rabí’ I. 808 (1st September, 1405) when
he was deposed from office and succeeded by his brother A'būn'l A'zîz
surnamed an Mansûr. He was subsequently deposed on the 4th† Jumada
II, of the same year and an Náṣir Faraj reinstated. In this year died
the Caliph al Mutawakkil on Tuesday night the 28th of Rajab, 808, (18th
January, 1406.)

Of persons of note who died during the reign of al Mutawakkil were
as Shams-b-Muṣṭîfî the doctor of the Ḥanbalites, as Salāh as Ṣafadî, as
Sihâb b-u'n Naḳîb, al Muḥīb the Commissary of the Forces, as Sharîf
al Ḥusayni the Ḥâfîd, al Ḥūţb at Takhtânî, the chief Ḫāḍîr ʿuzzu'ddin-
Jamâ'ah, at Tâj-b-u's Subki and his brother Shaykh Bahâ'ud,dîn, al Jamâl
al Asnawi, Ibn u's Šâigh al Ḥanâfî, al Jamâl-b-Nubâtah, al A'ffî al
Yâfî, al Jamâl as Ṣharîshî, as Shâraff-ḥāḍî i'zzu'ddîn-
Jamaa'h, al Sâhîb at Talâbi, the chief Ḫâfîd âdîn-
Jamâ'ah, at Tâj-b-u's Subki and his brother Shaykh Bahâ'ud,dîn,
al Jamâl al Asnawi, Ibn u's Šâigh al Ḥanâfî, al Jamâl-b-Nubâtah, al A'ffî al
Yâfî, al Jamâl as Ṣharîshî, as Shâraff-ḥāḍî i'zzu'ddîn-
Jamaa'h, al Sâhîb at Talâbi, the chief Ḫâfîd âdîn-
Jamâ'ah, at Tâj-b-u's Subki and his brother Shaykh Bahâ'ud,dîn,
In this period of the reign, the State was restored to the Sahâb's
descendants and it was Tâj-b-u's Subki who was the chief Muḥīb, as\n\nAL WATHIK BI'LLAH OMAR.

Al Wâthik bi'lláh Omar-b-Ibráhîm son of the heir al Mustamsîk son
of al Ḥâkîm, was acknowledged Caliph on the deposition of al Mutawak-
kil in the month of Rajab, 785, (September, 1889), and continued in the
Caliphate till he died on Wednesday the 19th‡ Shawwal 788, (11th No-
\n* According to Weil, the 25th.
† 8th, Weil.
‡ The date has already been given (see page 532) as the 17th. The MS. and
Text both have the discrepancy. Weil does not give the date and I am unable to
determine which of the two is the correct one. According to the Calendric scales
for verifying dates published by the Asiatic Society, the 19th of Shawwâl 788 fell on
a Tuesday.
A. H. 788.
A. D. 1386.

AL MU'TA'SIM BI'LLAH ZAKARIYA.

Al Mu'tasim bi'llah Zakariya. The son of Ibráihim the son of al Mustamsik was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his brother al Wáthik. He was deposed in 791 (10th Jumada I—5th June, 1389) and remained at his residence in deposition until his death, and al Mutawakkil was restored as has been previously mentioned.

AL MUSTA'IN BI'LLAH ABU'L FADHL.

Al Musta'in bi'llah Abu'l Fadhl al A'bbás son of al Mutawakkil whose mother was a Turkish slave named Bái Khátún, was acknowledged Caliph according to his father's covenant in the month of Rajab, 808. The Sultán at the time was al Malik an Násir Faraj.

When an Násir set out to engage the Shaykh* in battle and was defeated and fled, the Caliph was acknowledged as Sultán in addition to the Caliphate. This took place on (25th) Muḥarram 815, (7th May, 1412). He did not, however, assent to this, save after opposition and continuous protest and receiving the engagement of the Emirs on oath.† He then returned to Egypt accompanied by the Emirs and occupied himself in appointing and removing ministers. The coinage was struck in his name but his title remained unaltered.

The Shaykh u'l Islam Ibn Ḥajr wrote his famous poem on him which is as follows—

"The kingdom is on a sure foundation among us,
Through al Musta'in the Just the A'bbásid,
The dignity of the descendants of the uncle of Muḥammad
Hath returned to its place after a long oblivion.
On the 2nd of the second Rabī' the auspicious,
On Tuesday, rejoicings were made,
For the coming of the people's guide, their trusted one,
Preserved from defect, pure in his utterances.
The lord of a house round which men circle. Hath it been ever known
That he who sought it, hath been turned back disappointed?"

* Shaykh Mahmádí named by Faraj to the government of Damascus. He afterwards became Sultán under the title of al Malik al Muayyad.
† He bound them in the event of his deposition from the Sultánate to maintain him as Caliph. Weil, p. 126.
A branch sprung from Hashim, in a garden
Of holy plantations and goodly shoots
Of the approved and selected of God,—the purchasers
Of praise, ornamented by and robed in it,
Among chiefs who have led calamities captive and purified
Themselves from contamination with the base.
Lions when present in fight, and when retired
In their social gatherings are as deer in their coverts.
And his star-like radiance amongst them
Is like the full moon that riseth in darkness.
And in his hand when attaching the sign manual,
A pen that irradiates like the flash of a spark.
And in his countenance, for such as approach, are smiles
That are sought, and for the honour of al A’bbás.
Then praise be to God who hath exalted His religion
After it had been in desolation,
By noble chiefs the pillars of greatness,
Between seekers of retaliation and the beneficent.
They rise with the burdens of noble qualities and ascend
To lofty dignities, the lordly, the steadfast.
They have left their enemies prostrate on the field of ruin,
And may God guard them from the temptations of the evil one.
And their Imam through his greatness precedeth them,
Like the precedence of the name of God upon a document.
And were not the ordering of the kingdom under his guidance,
The condition of men in the kingdom would not endure.
And how many a prince before him hath sought eminence,
Which, notwithstanding his exertions, cast him back in poverty.
Until he alone attained dignities, being meet for them,
Which have yielded to him after much refractoriness.
The hands of princes are submissive to him and are obedient
The fingers of the Meter of the Egyptian Nile.
For it is he who hath repelled evil from us,
In the world would evil abound were it not for him.
He hath effaced tyranny which embraced all princes
In every part and of all kinds.
By the deposition of the recreant* called, in opposition to his deeds,
The Defender, (an Nāsir) insecure of foundation.
How many gifts of God were his
Which were as though remote or in oblivion.
The mystery of evil never ceaseth to be within his sides

* The Sultan Faraj al Malik an Nāsir.
As fire, or his companionship with the sepulchres.
What wickedness hath he not done, the sins of which are upon him
Till the day of resurrection? He shall have none to mourn for
him.
He built its pillars in deceit, yet
In fraud were they built without foundation.
Every man is forgotten or remembered but once,
But he shall not be forgotten for evil.
The God of nations prolonged his days, so that
When they seized him, the bitterness of the cup of death did not
pass him by.
And the Lord hath given us instead of him, a prince
Whose days are exalted beyond computation.
Mecca and the earth have heard the good tidings,
From the East unto the West, from U'dayb* to Fez.
The signs of his glory none shall seek to disown
Among men, but the wicked fool.
The virtues of al A'bbás have never been united
Save in his descendant, the A'bbaside, king of men.
And the sway of al Musta'ín, shall renounce
No more in his kingdom, the thankless, the forgetful.
For after the sons of Umayya
In past times, came the sons of A'bbás.
And he of the Scar† of the sons of Umayya came raising up
Justice, after the destroyer,‡ the base.
My prince, thy servant hath come to thee, hoping
For thy acceptance, let it not be accounted ill.
And were it not for awe of thee, his praises would be longer,
Wherefore hath he brought them in a balance.
May the God of mankind cause thy glory to endure
Guarded in justice by the God of mankind.
And mayest thou live to hear praises from thy servant,
For were it not for thee he would endure sorrow.
A servant, pure in affection who chants as he drives his camel
And runs from zeal upon his eyes before his head.§
His praises of the posterity of the house of Muḥammad
Are words of fragrant musk among men."

* Sweet waters belonging to the Banú Tamím, four miles from Kádisiyah,
which is 15 parasangs from Kufah.
† Omar-b-A'bdí'l A'zíz.
‡ A'bdú'l Malik-b-Marwán.
§ The words in this line have nearly all double meanings, being plays upon the
Meccan pilgrimage.
When al Musta’in reached Egypt he took up his residence in the A. H. 815, fort, and the Shaykh (Mahmūdi) in the stables, and al Musta’in consigned A. D. 1412, to his care the administration of the sovereignty throughout the land of Egypt and surnamed him Nidhām u’l Mulk. The nobles when they were released from duty at the palace, used to attend the Shaykh at the stables and their respects were next paid to him, and in his presence the business of administration was carried on. Then his Chancellor waited on al Musta’in where the signature was attached to royal mandates and letters. It was then represented that the Caliph was not empowered to attach the sign manual to a document except after it had been shown to the Shaykh. The Caliph was now in trepidation and his heart was straitened and his disquietude increased. Now when it was the month of Sha’bān, the Shaykh demanded of the Caliph that he should resign the Sultanate into his hands according to custom. The Caliph assented on the condition that he might come down from the citadel into his own residence (1st Sha’bān, 815—6th November, 1412) but to that the Shaykh would not consent, and usurped the Sultanate and assumed the title of al Muayyad, and he publicly proclaimed the deposition of al Musta’in and acknowledged as Caliph his brother Danūd (16th Dul Hijjah, 816—7th March, 1414). Al Musta’in was transferred from the palace to one of the houses of the citadel, and his people with him, and guards were appointed to prevent his access to the people. When this reached Nauruz, governor of Syria, he assembled the judges and the doctors and asked their judicial decision regarding what al Muayyad had done in deposing the Caliph and imprisoning him. They gave sentence that it was unlawful, and it was agreed to give battle to al Muayyad. The latter set out against Nauruz in the year 717 A. H. and despatched al Musta’in to Alexandria. He remained there imprisoned until the reign of Tātar* when he was released and permitted to proceed to Cairo, but he preferred to reside in Alexandria which place was agreeable to him and where he received considerable sums from the merchants and he continued to reside there until he died, in the cause of God,† of the plague in Jumāda II, 813. The following were among the remarkable events of his reign. In the year 712, the Nile began its rise on the first day of the month of Masuri,‡ and it reached a maximum of twenty-two

* According to Weil, until the reign of Barsabai (825).
† The term of a martyr, is applied by the Prophet to such Muslims who die of colic, or who are drowned, or killed by a falling building, or die of pleurisy, or pestilence, and to a woman dying in pregnancy.
‡ The Coptic month, answering to August, beginning on the 26th July. The rise of the Nile begins in the month of Abīb or July and continues till September. At that period, Egypt, as its historian Abu’l Mahāsin says, glitters like a white pearl. The following three months it appears like black musk, as the waters disappear. The next three months, it is like a rich emerald from the sprouting of the vegetation, and during the
A. H. 815. cubits.*
A. D. 1412. In the year 714, Ghiyathu'ddin (Mahmud Tughlak) Az'am Shah-b-Sikandar emperor of Hindustan sent to the Caliph for his investiture of sovereignty and sent him a large sum and a present to the Sultan.

Among the remarkable personages who died during his Caliphate were al Muwaffik an Nāshiri the poet of Yaman, Nasru'llah of Baghdad a doctor of the Hanbalites, Shams u'l Mu'id the grammarian of Mecca, Shiháb u'l Husbáni, Shiháb u'n Náshiri the jurisconsult of Yaman, Ibn u'l Háim author of the law of Inheritances and their computation, Ibn u'l A'if, the poet of Yaman, and al Muhibb Ibn al Sháhnah the Hanafi jurisconsult, father of the Kādi of the troops.

AL MUA'TADHID BI'LLAH ABU'U FATİ.

Al Mua' tadhid bi'lláh Abu'l Fatih Dáuíd-b-u'l Mutawakkil, whose mother was a Turkish slave named Kazal, was acknowledged Caliph on the death of his brother in the year 815† A. H.: the Sultan being al Muayyad who continued such till his death in Mu'harram 824.‡ His son Aḥmad was then invested with the Sultanate and surnamed al Mudhaffar who appointed Tatar§ his first minister. In the month of Shaa'ban (29th August, 1421) Taṭar arrested him, whereupon the Caliph invested Taṭar with the Sultanate and he was surnamed ad Diháir. In Dūl Ḥijjah (4th) of the same year Taṭar died, and his son Muḥammad was invested and surnamed as Şāliḥ who appointed Barsabai‖ his first minister. Subsequently Barsabai fell upon as Şāliḥ and deposed him, and the Caliph

last three months from the ripening of the crops it is like molten gold. Abu'1 Malah: Tom I, p. 32, The names of the Coptic months and the Syrian that correspond with them will be found here.

* A'bdullá Latif in his account of Egypt gives 13 cubits as the minimum height requisite for the wants of Egypt, 19 cubits is rarely reached, and 20 is an excessive rise. Lib. II, Cap. I.
† According to Weil, 16th Dūl Ḥijjah, 816, 7th March, 1414.
‡ 8th Mu'harram, 823, 13th January, 1421, Weil.
§ A Circassian, educated in theology and jurisprudence by a slave dealer. He was purchased by the Sultan Barkük for 12,000 dirhams, He was given his freedom by Sultan Faraj and thus gradually rose to power. See Weil, Gesch. A'bb. Khal. Egypt, Vol. II, p. 161.
‖ Also a slave originally of the Emir Dokmak governor of Malatya who made a present of him to Sultan Barkük. All the Sultans since the last, with the exception of al Muṣṭafa'in had been Circassians. Weil writes the name, I think incorrectly, Bursbāy. It is of Chaldaic origin signifying the son (Bar) of Sabai.
invested him with the Sultanate in (8th) Rabii' II, 825 in which he A. H. 841, continued till his death (16th) in Du'1 Hijjah, 841 (7th June, 1438), where- A. D. 1438, on his son Yusuf received the investiture and the title of al A'ziz who named as his first minister Jakmak; the latter then fell upon al A'ziz and arrested him in Rabii' I. (19th) 842 and the Caliph gave him the investiture and he was surnamed ad Dhahir in whose reign the Caliph died.

Al Mu'atadhid was one of the first of the Caliphs in merit, acuteness and sagacity. He courted the society of men of letters and genius, and profited much by them and associated himself with them in their works. He was extremely liberal and munificent. He died on Sunday the 4th of Rabii' I, 845 (22nd July, 1441), being according to Ibn Hajr, nearly seventy years of age, but his brother's daughter informed me that he lived 63 years.

The following are among the remarkable events of his reign.

In 816 Sadruddin-b-al Admi held the inspectorship of markets in addition to the office of Kadhii and he was the first who held the two together. In the year 819 Mankali Bugha assumed it and he was the first among the Turks in the world who held the post of inspector. In the same year a man appeared in Egypt who pretended that he had ascended into heaven and had seen the Most High and spoken with him, and many of the common people believed in him. A meeting was therefore convened regarding him, and he was asked to retract but he refused to retract: then the Malikii jurisconsult posted an order for his death on the testimony of two persons that he was of sane mind, but a number of doctors of medicine asserted that he was of unsound mind; he was therefore confined in the hospital.

In the year 821 a buffalo at Bilbays gave birth to a young one with two heads and two necks and four forefeet, and the two connecting portions of the back and quarters in one, and two legs only, and the tail divided in two which was a wonder of creation. In the year 822 a great earthquake occurred at Arzankant in which a number of people perished. During the same, was completed the Muayyadiyah College and Shams-b-al Mudiri was appointed head professor; the Sultan attended his lectures and Ibrähim the son of the Sultan arranged the spreading of the Shaykh's praying carpet with his own hand. In the year 823 a camel was killed at Ghazzah and its flesh shone as shines a candle, and a piece of it was thrown to a dog but it would not eat it. In the year 824 the Nile continued at its full till the end of the month Hāfur and thus many of the sown fields were submerged. In the year 825 Fatimah daughter of the Kadhi Jalal-
A. H. 825. u'ddīn al Balkīnī gave birth to a child with two extra hands to his palms
A. D. 1422. and horns on its head like the horns of a bull, but it died after a little
while. During the same, Cairo was shaken by a slight earthquake, and
also the Nile began its rise on the 28th of Abīb.*

Among the remarkable personages who died during his reign were,
as Shihāb-b-Hāji the jurisconsult of Syria, Burhān-b-Rifā‘āh the scholar,
az Zayn Abu Bakr al Marāghī the jurisconsult of Medina and its professor of
tradition, al Ḥusām al Abiwardi, al Jamāl-b-Dhahīrāḥ Ḥāfīd of
Mecca, al Majd as Shirāzī author of the Kāmūs, Khalaf an Naṣrī one
of the greatest of the Mālikī doctors, as Shams-b-al Rabbānī one of
the greatest of the Ḥanafītes, Abu Hurayrah-b-u’n Naṣkāsh, al Wānūghī,
‘Īzzu’d-dīn-b Jamās’āh the preceptor, Ibn u’l-Hishām al A’jamī, as Ṣalāḥ
al Aqfashi,† as Shihāb al Ghazzī one of the doctors of the Shāfi’ītes,
as Jalāl al Balkīnī, al Burhān al Bījūrī, al Wālī al Ḥrāfī, as Shams-b-al
Mudīrī, as Sharaf al Rabbānī, al A’la-bu’l Mua’dīla, Badr b-u’d Damamānī,
at Taķī al Ḥaṣīnī the commentator of Abu Shujā’, al Harawi, as Sirāj
reader of the Hidayah, an Najm-b-Hāji, al Badr al Bushtaksi, as Shams
al Barmāwī, As Shams as Shatanūfī, at Taķī al Fāsī, as Zayn al Kimānī,
an Nīdhām Yahya as Sirāfī, Kara† Yakūb ar Rumi, as Sharaf-b-Muṭfīh
the Ḥanbalītes, as Shams-b-al Ḥusbayrī, Ibn al Jazrī, a teacher
of reading of the Kurān, Ibn u’l-Khaṭīb ad Dahashah, as Shihāb al Abshīṭī,
az Zayn at Taflīnī, al Badr al Muḫaddasi, as Sharaf-b-u’l Muʿkhrī the
scholar of Yaman, author of the U’nwān u’s Sharaf,§ at Taķī-b-Ḥijjah
the post, al Jalāl al Murshīdī the grammarian of Mecca, al Humām
as Shirāzī the pupil of as Sharīf, al Jamāl-b-u’l Khayyāṭ the scholar
of Yaman, al Buṣrī the traditionist, as Shihāb-b-al Muḥammīrāh, al
A’la al Bukhārī, as Shams al Bīsāṭī’, al Jamāl al Kāzrūnī, the scholar
of Medina, al Muṭḥibb al Baghdādī al Ḥanbālī, as Shams-b-A’mmār
and others.

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AL MUSTAKFI BI’LLĀH ABU’R RABI’I.

Al Mustakfi bi’llāh Abu’r Rabī’i Sulaymān-b-u’l Mutawakkil assumed
the Caliphate by the covenant of his brother al Mu’atadhīd, who was his
uterine brother. My father, may God have mercy upon him, drafted the

* De Sacy writes this word Ḳibb Epiph. See his L’ Egypte. A’bdū’l Latīf.
† The text has Aqfsahi which is incorrect. Aqafsah is a town in Upper Egypt.
‡ Not Ḳāf as in the text.
§ U’nwān us Sharaf al Wāfī (a title of ample nobility) a work on jurisprudence,
grammar, history and prosody. Hājī Khalīfah has a short notice of this work.
original covenant which was in this form. "This is the deed whereby A. H. 845. testifyeth upon his noble person, which may God preserve, defend and A. D. 1441. protect and guard from afflictions, our lord and prince, in whom are centred dignities, princely, pure, stainless, pontifical, sublime, of the line of A'bbas, the prophetical, the God strengthened, the prince of the Faithful, the descendant of the Chief of the Apostles, and the heir of the orthodox Caliphs, al Mua'tadhid bi'llâh Abu'l Fath Da'ud, may the Lord exalt the faith through him and prosper Islám and the Muslims by his long life,—that he hath made this covenant in favour of his uterine brother, the sublime seat of dignity, the learned doctor, the noble, the princely, high in rank and birth, of royal descent, my lord Abu'r Rabî' Sulaymân al Mustakî bi'llâh, may God increase his dignity, for the sublime Caliphate and hath appointed him Caliph after him, and placed him as an Imám over the Muslims, according to covenant, legally, with full trust and approval, to counsel the faithful, and for the fulfilment of what is obligatory upon him for the due government of the affairs of those who believe in one God, and to follow the traditions of the orthodox Caliphs and rightly-guided Imâms; and this, because of what he knoweth of his faith, and goodness, and rectitude and sufficiency and fitness, and capability, forasmuch as he hath tested his condition, and become acquainted with his heart and verily he is one through whom one serveth God* for he is the most God-fearing† of any he hath seen and verily he knoweth of nothing that hath emanated from him which impaireth his claim thereunto: and verily were he to leave the State uncontrolled without commiting it to the care of the above referred to, he would thereby bring trouble upon those who have authority to loose and bind in the choice of whom they should appoint to the Imâmate and approve for that office: he hath, therefore, hastened to the execution of this covenant out of compassion to them and for the purpose of freeing them from this charge and that the supreme authority might fall to one worthy of it, because of his knowledge that this covenant is not in need of the approval of the whole of the people concerned in it: but it is incumbent upon him who heareth it and it is a charge upon him, that he should become acquainted with it and enjoin obedience to it at such time as it may be required, and summon the people to submit to it. Those, therefore, that have been present at it by his gracious permission, have ratified this respecting it, and previous to this, my lord al Mustakî Abu'r Rabî' Sulaymân who is mentioned in it—may God increase his dignity—hath written his full acquiescence according to law, at his command."

* Compare the tradition of Ali: The love of the learned is a religion through which God is served.

† The MS. has a better reading than the text.
A. H. 845. He was one of the most virtuous of the Caliphs, pious, devout, religious, constant in worship and prayer and reading the Kurán given to silence, shunning the society of men, of excellent disposition. His brother Al Mua'ta'dhid said of him "I have never known a serious fault in my brother Sulaymán since he grew up;" and al Malik ad Dháhir had full confidence in him and recognised his worth. My father was his Imám and held a distinguished position in his regard, intimate with him and extremely honoured by him. As for us, we were brought up in his house and under his bounty, and his family are excellent in faith, devotion and virtue, and I do not think that there will be found on the face of the earth a Caliph, after the descendants of Omar-b-A'bdíl A'zíz, more virtuous than those of the house of this Caliph.

He died on Friday the close of Du'l Hijjah* 854, being sixty-three years old: my father outlived him by forty days, and the Sultan attended the funeral to the grave and carried the bier in person.

Among the distinguished persons who died during his reign were at Ta'ki al Makrizi, as Shaykh I'bádah, Ibn Kamil, the poet, al Wafái, al Káyání, and the Shaykh u'l Islám Ibn Hajr.

AL KÁIM BI'AMR'İLLAH ABU'L BAKÁ.

Al Káim bi'amri'lláh Abu'l Baká, Hamzah-b-ul Mutawakkil, was acknowledged Caliph in succession to his brother, who had not however, bequeathed it to him or to any other. He was hardy and intrepid, and restored somewhat of the pomp of the Caliphate, and he possessed a haughtiness of manner unlike his brothers. During his time, died al Malik al Dháhir Ja'ňma' in the beginning of the year 857, and his son Othmán was invested and surnamed al Mansúr, and he so continued for a month and a half. Then Iná† fell upon al Mansúr and seized his person, whereupon the Caliph invested him in Rabí' I (3rd—14th March 1453) and he was surnamed al Ashra'f. Shortly after a rupture occurred between the Caliph and al Ashra'f on account of a rising‡ of the troops against him, he therefore deposed him from the Caliphate in the month of Jumáda II, 859 (June 1455) and sent him to Alexandria and there imprisoned him till his death

* Muḥarram 855. Well.
† The text has إيلانل which is incorrect. The MS. has إينانل and Weil's authority confirms it.
‡ An outbreak of the Mamelukes on account of a sufficient number of camels of transport not being allowed them for the expedition to the Delta, which was favoured by the Caliph, occasioned the rupture.
in 863,* and he was buried near the tomb of the sister of al Musta'ín. A. H. 859.
What is strange regarding these uterine brothers, is that they were both A. D. 1455.
deposed from the Caliphate, both imprisoned at Alexandria, and both there buried.

My father and al A'la al Kálakshandi were the only ones of note who
died during the reign of al Káim.

AL MUSTANJID BI'LLÁH, THE REIGNING CALIPH.
ABUL MAHÁSIN.

Al Mustanjid bi'lláh Abul Maḥásin Yusuf-b-u'l Mutawakkil succeeded to
the Caliphate on the deposition of his brother, the Sultán at the time
being al Ashraf Ínáł. The Sultán died in the year 865 (15th Jumada I—26th February 1461) and his son Aḥmad was invested and surnamed al Muwayyad. Subsequently Khushkádam† set upon al Muwayyad and seized him and the Caliph invested him and he was surnamed ad Dháhir, and con-
tinued in power till his death in Rabí‘i’ 872 (10th—9th October, 1467),
Balbá‡ was next invested with office and surnamed ad Dháhir, but the
army rebelled against him after two months and seized him, whereupon
Timurbúgha was raised to power and surnamed ad Dháhir, and they set
upon him likewise after two months when the present Sultán Káltbai was
invested (6th Rajab—31st January 1468) and surnamed al Ashraf and
his authority became established and his administration has attained
a vigour and firmness equalled by no Sultan before him since the
time of an Náṣir Muḥammad-b-Kiláwan, for he journeyed from Egypt
to the Euphrates with a very slender escort of the troops, there not being
among them a single one among his trusty commanders. As an instance
of his excellent conduct, he never appointed a holder of a religious office,
such as the judges and elders and professors except from the most worthy
at the time, after long thought and deliberation, so that an office remained
vacant for many months, and he never appointed a Ḫádi or a Shaykh
on any occasion, for a bribe. When Khushkádam first assumed power,
Jáním§ governor of Syria advanced to Egypt under a private understand-
ing between him and the troops regarding his assumption of the Sultanate
When news of his approach reached ad Dháhir, he ordered the Caliph and

* 17th Shawwál 862—28th August 1458. Weil.
† He was first of the Mameluke Sultáns, among whom he was the thirty-eighth,
whose origin is known to be undoubtedly Greek.
‡ Weil has Jélba, but the MS. is in accordance with the text.
§ The text has inaccurately.
the four Kādhīs and the troops to mount to the citadel, and he sent to
the governor of Syria insisting on his departure, who departed after mak-
ing certain conditions.* The Kādhīs and the troops returned to their
quarters, but the Caliph remained a resident in the citadel, and the Sultān
would not permit his return to his accustomed residence. He therefore
remained there till he died on Saturday the 24th of Muḥarram, 884 (21st
April, 1479) after suffering for about two years from paralysis. Prayers
were read over him in the citadel, and he was then borne to the sepulchre
of the Caliphs in the vicinity of the Nafisi shrine.† He had reached the
age of ninety and perhaps passed it.

AL MUTAWAKKIL A'LĀ'LLĀH ABU'L ʿIZZ.

Al Mutawakkil aʿlaʾllāh Abuʾl ʿIzz Aʾbudʾullāh Yaḥyā b. Iʿizz Abūʾl ʿIzz Muta-
wkil aʾlaʾllāḥ was born in the year 819. His mother, whose name was
Ḥāj Malik, was the daughter of a soldier. His father never succeeded
to the Caliphate. He grew up, reverenced, popular, beloved by gentle and
simple, for his admirable qualities, and commendable virtues, and meekness
and kind behaviour and geniality to every one, and for his manifold accom-
plishments. He also employed himself in acquiring knowledge and read
with my father and others. His uncle al Mustakfī married him to his
daughter, and he had by her, a virtuous son, a Hashmite son among the
descendants of Ḥāshim. Now when the sickness of his uncle al Mustanjīd
had continued some time, he bequeathed the Caliphate to him, and when al
Mustanjīd died, he was sworn fealty to on Monday the 26th of Muḥarram
(23rd April) in the presence of the Sultān and the judges and the nobles.
He first desired the title of al Mustaʾīn biʾllāḥ; then he hesitated
between al Mustaʾīn and al Mutawakkil, and al Mutawakkil was finally
decided upon. He then rode from the citadel to his accustomed residence,
preceded by the judges and administrative officials and nobles, and it was a
“day upon which witness was borne” (Kur. XI). Then he returned
at the end of the day to the citadel where al Mustanjīd used to dwell.
In this year the Sultān al Malik al Ashraf journeyed to Ḥijāz to
perform the pilgrimage, which was a function that had not been witnessed
in a Sultān for more than one hundred years. He began by visiting
Medina the noble, and spent there six thousand dinārs; he then proceeded
to Mecca, and there spent five thousand dinārs, and appointed for the

* These were that the Sultān should support Jānim against a religious faction
of the Emirs at Damascus which the Sultān promised and performed, p. 293, Weil.
† See note ‡ p. 609.
the pilgrimage and returned, and the city was decked out for some days in A. D. 1480. honor of his arrival.

In the year 885,* an army, at the head of which was the Chancellor Yeshbek, left Egypt for I’rák, and there encountered the troops of Yakúb Sháh b-Hasan† near Ruha; the Egyptians were defeated and there were slain of them, those that were slain, and the rest were taken prisoners: the Chancellor was captured and his head struck off. This occurred in the latter half of the month of Ramadhán.

It is a strange coincidence that a great rupture had taken place between him and the Hanafite Kádhi Shamsu’d-dín al Amsháti in Egypt, and each of them desired the fall of the other, and the beheading of the Chancellor on the banks of the Euphrates and the death of al Amsháti in Egypt occurred on the same day.

In the year 886, the earth was convulsed on Sunday the 17th of Muḥarram late in the afternoon with a severe shock, and the earth and the mountains and the edifices rose and fell, and it continued for a short time and then ceased, praise be to God for its ceasing. From this cause, a pinnacle of the Sáliḥiyah College fell upon the chief Hanafite Kádhi Sharafu’d-dín-b-A’bd, and he was killed. “Verily we belong to God and verily to Him shall we return.” In Rabí’ I of this year, a man arrived in Egypt from India called Kháki who asserted that his age was two hundred and fifty years. I went to see him and lo! he was a robust man, his beard all black; reasonable conjecture would not admit that his age was seventy, far less anything beyond it, and he could bring no proof in support of what he asserted, and what I concluded was that he was a liar.

As to what I heard from him it was this: he said that he had made the pilgrimage when he was eighteen years old; he then returned to India and there heard of the advance of the Tartars on Baghdád to capture it; and then he travelled to Egypt in the reign of Sultán Hasan, before he had founded his college, but he never brought forward anything which satisfactorily explained his statement.

During the same year came the news of the death of Sultán Muḥammad-b-Othmán, the lord of Asia Minor, and that his two sons disputed

* According to Weil, 887.
† He was one of the sons of Umm Ḥasan, first ruler of Diarbekir and who subsequently extended his authority over a great part of Persia. He was of the dynasty of the White Sheep, defeated and slew Sháh Jahán the chief of the Black Sheep, took Azarbiján and the western portion of Khurasán and measured swords even with Muḥammad II. He sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the Turkish Sultán in the spring of 1473, the victory being mainly due to the Turkish artillery. Weil Tom. II, p. 340.
Ibn after Rhodes. One* of them was victorious and A. D. 1481. established himself in the kingdom and the other set out for Egypt. The Sultan received him with great honor and entertained him. He afterwards proceeded from Syria to Hijaz, making the pilgrimage.

In the month of Shawwal letters arrived from Medina the noble, stating that on the night of the 13th of Ramadhan, a thunderbolt fell from heaven upon the city and set it on fire, and burnt the roof of the holy mosque and all the treasures and books in it and nothing was left of it but the walls, and it was a terrible calamity.†

The Caliph died on Wednesday the last day of Muharram 903, (29th September 1497) and bequeathed the Caliphate to his son Yākūb and gave him the title of al Mustamsik bi'llah. This is the conclusion of what has been obtainable for compilation in this history, and verily for the events thereof, I have relied on the history of ad Ḍahabi which ends with the year 700: after that date, on the history of Ibn Kathīr, which ends with the year 738: then on the Masālik and its supplement, to the year 773: then on the Inbá u'l Ghumur (teaching of the unlearned) of Ibn Ḥajr to the year 850: but for other matters than these events, I purred the history of Baghdād by al Ḥaṭīb in ten volumes, and the history of Damascus by Ibn A'sākir in fifty-seven volumes, and the Awrāk of as Sūli in seven volumes, and the Tayyūriyát in three volumes, and the Ḥulyah of Abu Nuaym in nine volumes, and the Mufjālasat of ad Dinawari, and the Kámil of al Mubarrad in two volumes, and the Amáli of Thaā'lāb in one volume and others. A former author has written a poem in the metre called Rajaz, containing the names of the Caliphs and the dates of their deaths up to the reign of al Mua'tamid, but I have composed a poem still better than it, and I think it advisable to conclude the book with it.

Note.
I have not thought it necessary to translate this rhythmical memoria technica, which is a bald repetition of names and dates with here and there an incident recalling an event in the life of a Caliph. As a piece of doggerel by which to recollect the

* Bajazet II, who succeeded to the sovereignty in 1481, his elder brother Mustafa having died. Jam, the third son, was twice defeated by Bajazet and forced to fly to the Sultan of Egypt for succour on the pretence of pilgrimage. Assisted by his new ally, he again tempted fortune, was again routed and took refuge with Pierre D'Aubusson, Grand Master of the Knights of Malta at Rhodes. Bajazet concluded a treaty with the latter, paying him an annual sum of 40,000 crowns of gold on condition of his safe custody of his brother. See D'Herbelot, Art. Gem.

† Kaitbai, though of a fierce and brutal disposition, who had no hesitation in mangling and flaying the objects of his anger, burst into tears when he heard of this conflagration. See his character in Weil, Vol. II, p. 357.
succession of the Caliphs, it might be of some use to a Muhammadan student, but no English reader would care to learn by heart what an Index will readily supply him with, in a form which no poetry could render tolerable to the ear and which must be tedious in the most poetical of prose.

The Umayyad Dynasty in Spain.

The first of these monarchs was A'bdu'r Rahmán-b-Mu'awiyah-b-Hísháhm-b-A'bdí'l Malik-b-Marwán. Allegiance was sworn to him as Caliph when he fled to Andalusia in the year 138 A. H. (755 A. D.) He was a man of learning and justice. He died in Rabíí' II, 170 (786). His son Hísháhm Abú'l Wálid succeeded him and died in the month of Şáfár 180. (796). He was succeeded by his son al Ťákám Abú'l Mudhaffar, surnamed al Murtadáh who died in Du'l Hijjah 206, (821). After him came his son A'bdu'r Rahmán, and he was the first of the Umayyads who exalted the monarchy, and clothed it with the splendour of the Caliphate. During his reign the wearing of embroidered garments was first introduced in Spain, and the coinage of dirhams, for no mint existed in it since it was conquered by the Arabs, and they used to employ the dirhams that were brought to them from the East. He resembled Wálid-b-A'bdu'l Malik in his haughtiness, and al Mámán the A'bbasside in his search for books on philosophy. He was the first who introduced the study of philosophy into Spain. He died in the year 283, (893). His son Muhammad succeeded him, and died in Şafar 273 (886). His son al Munqír followed him, dying in Şafar 275. Then arose his brother A'bdu'llah, who was the most eminent of the Caliphs of Spain for his wisdom and virtue. He died in Rabíí' I, 300 (912). He was succeeded by his grandson A'bdu'r Rahmán-b-Muhammad, surnamed an Náṣír and he was the first who assumed the Caliphate in Spain and the title of prince of the Faithful. This took place when the A'bbasside power in the reign of al Mu'tadhír was on the wane; those before his time calling themselves prince (Amír) only. He died in Ramadhán 350 (961). He was succeeded by his son al Ťákám al Mustánṣír who died in Şafar 366 (976). Then came his son Hísháhm al Muayyad, who was deposed and imprisoned in 399 (1008-9). Next followed Muhammad-b-Hísháhm-b-A'bdí'l Jabbár-b-i'n Náṣír A'bdu'r Rahmán and he was surnamed al Mahdî, continuing in power sixteen months, when the son of his brother, Hísháhm-b-Sulamán-b-i'n Náṣír A'bdu'r Rahmán rebelled against him and was acknowledged Caliph and assumed the title of ar Rashíd. His uncle, however, defeated and slew him, but the people conspired to depose his uncle who concealed himself, but was afterwards put to death. They then swore allegiance to the son of the brother of the murdered Hísháhm, Sulamán-b-u'l Ťákám al Mustánṣír, who was surnamed al Musta'ín. Subsequently they rose up against him,
and he was imprisoned in the year 406 (1015). Then A'bdur Rahmân-b-A'bdîl Malik-b-i'n Nâsir succeeded and was surnamed al Murtadha, but he was put to death at the close of the year. At this period the Umayyad power began to wane and the A'liide family of Hasan arose, and an Nâsir A'li*-b-Hamûd assumed the sovereignty in Muharram of the year 407, (1016). He was slain in Dûl Kââdâh 408. Then followed his brother al Mamân al Kâsin: he was deposed in the year 411. Next arose his nephew Yahya-b-u'n Nâsir A'li-b-Hamûd, who was surnamed al Mustas'îl and he was put to death after a year and seven months.

After this the Umayyad dynasty was restored and al Mustadhir A'bdur Rahmân-b-Hîshâm-b-A'bdîl Jabbâr assumed the sovereignty: he was slain after fifty days, and Muhammed-b-A'bdîr Rahmân-b-U'baydi'llahlâh-b-i'n Nâsir A'bdur Rahmân rose to power, and was surnamed al Muta'tamîd, (A. D. 1027). He continued in power for some time, but was afterwards deposed and imprisoned till he died in Safar of the year 400 and (here a blank in the MS.)—(428). At his death perished the Umayyad dynasty in Spain.

The impious dynasty of the House of U'bayd.

The first of them that arose in Africa was al Madhi U'baydu'llâh in the year 296 (908-9): he died in 322. Then came his son al Kâsim b'i'amri'llâh Muhammed : he died in the year 333 (944). Then arose his son Isma'il who died in the year 341 (952). Next came his son al M'uizzli'dîn'îllâh Saa'd, who entered Cairo in the 362 and died in 365 (975-6). Then succeeded his son al A'zîz Nizâr, who died in the year 382 (992), he was followed by his son al Hâkim b'i'amri'llâh Mansûr who was slain in 411 (1020). Then came his son ad Dhâhir li' T'zâz-i-dîn i'llâh A'li: he died in 428 (1036). His son al Mustansir Maa'd succeeded him and he died in 487 (1094). He was thus Caliph for sixty years and four months. Aâl Dahabi says that

* The founder of the short-lived Hâmûdîte dynasty. He was a descendant of Hasan son of A'li-b-Abî Ta'llib but his family had been settled in Africa for 260 years and had become "berberized," and he himself spoke Arabic extremely ill. Our author here is not quite in accordance with M. Dozy who makes A'li succeed directly after Sulaymân, after having put him, his father and brother to death. To the reader who cares to follow the fortunes of the Caliphs in Spain, I recommend the perusal of M. Dozy's interesting volumes.

† December 1936. With his death also closes the history of M. Dozy.

‡ So the MS. The printed text has Bazar which is an error; see his life in Ibn Khall.
he knows of no Caliph or Sultan in Islam who reigned for this period. After him reigned his son al Mustas'ii bi'llah Ahmad and he died in 495 (1101-2). After him was elected his son al Amir bi al-kami'llah Mansur, a boy of five years of age and he was put to death in 524 (1130), leaving no children to succeed him. Next followed his cousin al Ha'dh li din i'llah A'bdull Majid-b-Muhammad-b-i'l Mustansir, who died in 544 (1149). Then came his son ad Dhahir bi'llah Isma'il and he was assassinated in 549, and he was succeeded by his son al Faiiz bi Na'siri'llah Isha, who died in 555 (1160). Then followed al A'adhib li din i'llah A'budullah-b-Yusuf-b-i'l Ha'dh li din i'llah, who was deposed in 567 (1171-2) and died the same year, when the A'bbaside claim was set up in Egypt and the dynasty of the house of U'bayd became extinct. A'd Dahabi says "Thus there were fourteen violaters of covenants not successors* to the vicegerency."

The Dynasty of Tabataba,† descendants of Hasan and Ali.

Among them, Abu Abdullah Muhammad-b-Ibráhim Tabataba assumed the Caliphate in Jumada I, 199 A. H. (814); and about this period, there arose in Yaman, al Ha'di Yahya-b-u'll Husayn-b-i'l Kásim-b-Tabatava for whom dominion over the Muslims was claimed: he died in Du'l Hijjah 208 (823). His son Murtazha Muhammad succeeded him and died in 820 (932). Then came his brother an Násir Ahmad who died in Safar 823. Al Muntakhab,‡ al Husayn his son followed and died 329 (940-1). Then his brother al Mukhtar al Kásim who was slain in Shawwal 344 (955). Then his brother al Hadi Muhammad: then ar Rashid al Aabbás, and the dynasty became extinct.

THE TABARISTANI DYNASTY.

Six persons governed in succession: three of them, the descendants of al Hasan, and three, from among the descendants of al Husayn. Hisham al Dáa'i ila'i Ha'kk al Hasán-b-Zayd-b-Muhammad-b-Isma'il-b-ili Husayn-b-Zayd ill Jawwád-b-il Hasan-b-il Hasan,§ b-Ali-b-Abi Talib, in the year 250 (664) in Rai and Daylam. Then arose his brother al Káim bi'll Ha'kk, Muhammad, who was slain in 288, (901). Then came his grand-

* The MS. has لان ثا١ instead of لان ثا١.
† Ibráhim 6th in descent from Ali was surnamed Tabataba from his pronouncing the guttural K like a T. Calling for his waistcoat one day wishing to say Kaba, Kaba he said Tabá, Tabá, and was so nicknamed. According to Abu'l Mahásin it was in Jumada II, 199 the rebellion took place.
‡ Not Muntajab, as in the text.
§ Incorrectly ج. in the text.
son al Mahdi al Hasan-b-Zayd-b-i’l Kāim bi’l Ḥaḳḵ; and after him*—(the MS. is here a blank).

Observation.—Ibn Abī Ḥātim in his commentary, says, that he heard a tradition on the authority of A’bdullāh-b-A’mar-b-i’l A’āṣ who said, “Since the world has been, a century has never closed, but a great event occurred at the close of it.” I observe that at the end of the first century, of the history of this nation, there was the calamity of al Ḥajjaj,† and what shall make thee understand what al Ḥajjaj was? In the second century, were the troubles of al Mumān and his wars with his brother, when the beautiful places of Baghdād were demolished and its people destroyed: then his assassination of his brother; then the inquisition of the people concerning the creation of the Kurān, and this was one of the greatest calamities on this nation, and the earliest, relative to a distinct call to heresy, for no Caliph before him ever invited the people to any thing approaching heresy. In the third century occurred the irruption of the Carmathians, and that will suffice for thee: then the revolution against al Muḳṭadīr, when he was deposed and Ibn u’l Mu’a’tazz acknowledged and al Muḳṭadīr restored next day, and the assassination of the Kāḏhi and a number of the learned, for a Kāḏhi had never been put to death before him in Islām. Then the disorganization of the empire and the predominance of the conquerors over the provinces which had continued up to this time. Among which also is to be counted the beginning of the sovereignty of the U’baydites and enough for thee is their wickedness and infidelity and slaughter of the learned and the pious. In the fourth century was the calamitous reign of al Ḥākim bi’amrī’ Iblīs not bi’amrī’lāhī,‡ and let what he hath done suffice thee. In the fifth century the Franks took Syria and Jerusalem. In the sixth century was the famine, the like of which had never been heard of since the time of Joseph and then it was that the Tartar ascendancy began. In the seventh century occurred the great Tartar disaster, the like of which was unheard of and which caused seas of Muslim blood to flow. In the eighth century was the irruption of Timurlang before the tremendous nature of which the Tartar misfortune was comparatively insignificant, and I implore of the Almighty that He will take us into His mercy before the occurrence of the calamity to come in the ninth century, through the glory of Muḥammad, may God bless and preserve him, and his posterity and all his Companions. Amen.

* For the Arabian dynasties consult the al Kāmil of Ibn u’l Athīr under the proper year.
† See the life of A’bdul Malik-b-Marwān.
‡ The ruler by the command of the devil not by the command of God. See his deeds under “al Kādir bi’lāh.”
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House of Umayyah.

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ERRATA.

Page 44 line 22 place a comma after "said."
"  45 note * for "al A'kabah" read "at al A'kabah."
"  76 line 8 for "Akhir" read "Akhirah."
"  76 note * after "70" read "thousand."
"  78 " * for "Iqani" read "Iqani."
"  113 " * for "words" read "word."
"  170 line 18 for "As" read "Aus."
"  191 "  9 semicolon after "prophet;"
"  191 "  10 comma, not full stop, after "Shaybán."
"  194 "  33 for "Awwal" read "Ula."
"  220 "  18 for "Caliph" read "Caliphate."
"  417 "  27 & 27 for "Mu'ti'ilillah" read "Mu'ti'ilillah."
"  304 "  7 for "enjoyed" read "enjoined."
"  363 "  13 for "ratis" read "ratis."
"  431 "  11 for "Tamanni" read "Tamanni."
"  445 "  13 for "Bibars" read "Baybars."
"  537 "  33 for "712" read "812."
"  538 "  2 for "714" read "814."