

'Obaid Allāh, son of the famous Ziyād, and then governor of Basra, to give up his post there to his brother 'Othmān, and to repair in person to Cufa, in order to watch the partisans of 'Alī in that city. 'Obaid Allāh obeyed, entered Cufa, and, ascending the pulpit the very day after his arrival, publicly announced his firm intention of putting to death any one who should rebel. Moslim b. 'Aqil was given up by a traitor and executed. Meanwhile Ḥosain, on receiving his cousin's despatches, had already set out from Mecca with all his family, and had reached Kādīsiya (a place situated only fifteen parasangs¹ from Cufa, and noted for the defeat sustained there by the Persians during the Caliphate of 'Omar), when he received the news of these vexatious occurrences. He wished to retrace his steps immediately, but the friends of Moslim dissuaded him from doing so, crying out for revenge, and representing to him that doubtless he had only to show himself under the walls of Cufa to be received with enthusiasm by its inhabitants. Ḥosain accordingly pursued his journey towards Cufa. But 'Obaid Allāh, who was watching all his movements, sent four thousand horsemen, devoted to the Omayyad cause, to meet him, with orders to bring Ḥosain before him either alive or dead. The commander of these horsemen was 'Omar b. Sa'd,² to whom 'Obaid Allāh had promised the government of Media as a reward, if his expedition should succeed. The Omayyads met Ḥosain in the plain of Kerbelā, opposite to Cufa, before he had reached the Euphrates, and surrounded him. 'Omar b. Sa'd himself sought out Ḥosain and summoned him to surrender. Ḥosain declared himself ready to renounce his pretensions, provided he were allowed to return to Mecca with his followers, or were even sent to Damascus. When 'Obaid Allāh was informed of this proposal, he simply repeated his former order to bring Ḥosain to Cufa, dead or alive; and, fearing the defection of 'Omar b. Sa'd, he sent out another troop of horsemen under the orders of a certain Shimr. On the 9th of Moharram in the year 61 (9th October A.D. 680), Shimr reached Kerbelā, and summoned Ḥosain afresh to surrender at discretion. Ḥosain preferred to die sword in hand, and on the following day, after a desperate struggle, he was cut down with all his followers. His head was cut off and carried to Cufa, and then sent to Damascus. His body was not buried till the following day. Only the women of his family were spared, and one of his sons; these were taken by Yazīd's order to Medina, where the sight of their mourning and the tale of their sufferings caused a profound sensation. The horror and grief of the partisans of 'Alī's family were great. Hence the names of Yazīd, 'Obaid Allāh, and Shimr, have been held accursed ever since by the Shī'ites.³ They observe the 10th of Moharram as a day of public mourning. Among the Persians, stages are erected in public places on that day, and plays are acted, representing the misfortunes of the family of 'Alī.⁴ The Omayyads themselves were loud in their reprobation of this impious massacre, and all Moslems, without distinction of party, considered it a monstrous act.

At Mecca the news was received with a degree of indignation of which 'Abdallāh b. Zobair took advantage to assume the title of Caliph. As early as A.H. 60, the new prefect of Medina had tried to secure his person. He had sent against him a force of two thousand men, at whose

¹ The parasang is nearly equivalent to an English mile.

² Son of the famous Sa'd b. Abī Wakkās, conqueror of Persia under 'Omar, and founder of Cufa.

³ Shī'ites comes from *Shī'a*, a word which in Arabic signifies "sectary." It is the name given to the partisans of the family of 'Alī, who acknowledge no legitimate Caliphate outside of that family. Shī'ism is the religion of Persia.

⁴ See Chodzko, *Théâtre persan*. Paris, 1878.

head was placed a brother of the pseudo-Caliph himself, called 'Amr, who, having been accused by 'Abdallāh of maintaining a guilty intercourse with one of his wives, had become his bitter enemy. 'Abdallāh collected an army, and placed it under the orders of 'Abdallāh b. Šafwān, who completely defeated the Omayyad troops. The brother of the pseudo-Caliph was taken and put to death. At the news of this defeat, Yazīd swore that Ibn Zobair should never appear before him but as a prisoner in chains. He dismissed the new prefect of Medina, and reinstated Walīd b. 'Oṭba, who, in the year 61, went to Mecca to try to seize 'Abdallāh b. Zobair. The latter, in derision, wrote to Yazīd: "Walīd is a madman, who will ruin everything by his folly; send in his place another governor to repair the wrongs he has done." Yazīd thought that 'Abdallāh meant these words as a step towards reconciliation; hastened to deprive Walīd of his office; appointed 'Othmān b. Mohammed in his place; and even sent envoys to Ibn Zobair. He, however, would not listen to them; he thought he could reckon upon the devotion of the people of Mecca, and further hoped that Medina itself would declare against Yazīd. This, in fact, took place in the year 63 (A.D. 682-683). The people of Medina, stirred up by a certain 'Abdallāh b. Hanzala, who had had a near view of Yazīd at the court of Damascus, and had been scandalized by the profligacy of his life, revolted, drove the governor and all the Omayyads out of Medina, and proclaimed the dethronement of Yazīd. The Caliphate was even offered by some to 'Alī, that one of the sons of Ḥosain who had escaped the massacre of Kerbelā; but 'Alī wisely refused it. At the news of this revolt, Yazīd first sent an ambassador to Medina. This step proving fruitless, he next collected an army of from ten to twelve thousand Syrians, and entrusted their command to Moslim b. 'Oḳba, who passed, and with good reason, for a man who would recoil from nothing. This general, though weighed down by age and sickness, marched against Medina, took it, after a battle known as the day of Harra⁵ (26th Dhū 'l-Hijja 63, 26th August 683), and gave up the city for three days to massacre and pillage. Torrents of blood flowed, and hence Moslim b. 'Oḳba received the surname of *Mosrif* (the Prodigal). On the fourth day, Moslim repaired to the mosque, and received the oath of allegiance from all those of the citizens of Medina who had not been able to make their escape. The news reached Mecca a few days later, and fell like a thunder-stroke on Ibn Zobair and his adherents, who prepared for war, expecting from day to day to see Moslim appear before the walls of their city. He had, in fact, started for Mecca immediately after the conquest of Medina; but he died on the road, and the command was taken by Ḥosain b. Nomair. The Omayyad army arrived before Mecca a month after the capture of Medina, and found Ibn Zobair ready to defend it. A number of the citizens of Medina had come to the aid of the Holy City, as well as many Khārijites and Shī'ites, at the head of whom was a certain Mokhtār b. Abī 'Obaid, who subsequently played a very important part in Irāk. In spite of the sorties of the Meccans, the Syrian army invested the city. Ḥosain b. Nomair had caused balistas to be placed on the neighbouring heights; and these, under the management of an Abyssinian soldier, hurled against the Ka'ba enormous stones and vessels full of blazing bitumen, with such effect that the temple took fire and was consumed. After a siege of two months, Ibn Zobair was beginning to despair, when he received, through an Arab of the desert, news of the death of Yazīd. The Caliph had in fact died on the 15th of Rabī 'I. (11th November 683).

⁵ Harra is the volcanic district outside of Medina. One of the gates of the city is called the Gate of Harra.

Ḥosain b. Nomair immediately offered the Caliphate to Ibn Zobair, on condition that he should grant a complete amnesty to all those who had taken part in the battle of Harra and in the siege of Mecca. 'Abdallāh had the folly to refuse, and Ḥosain then returned to Damascus.

Thus rid of his enemy, 'Abdallāh caused the title of Prince of the True Believers (Amīr al-mo'minin) to be conferred on him—a title which 'Omar had already received, and which was afterwards adopted by all the Caliphs. He sent one of his brothers, 'Obaid Allāh, to Medina, and chose as governor of Egypt 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jahdam, who repaired to that province, and caused the authority of Ibn Zobair to be acknowledged there. At Basra and at Cufa, many of the inhabitants did not hesitate to acknowledge him, and received a Zobairite governor, while the Khārijites and the Shī'ites rose in revolt—the former at Basra under the leadership of Nāfi' b. Azrak, the latter at Cufa under that of Solaimān b. Šorad—and expelled the Omayyad governor, 'Obaid Allāh b. Ziyād, who took refuge at Damascus. Mesopotamia soon followed the example of Irāk. Even in Syria, the population seemed disposed to forsake the cause of the Omayyads. The Khārijites and Mokhtār b. Abī 'Obaid, who had supported Ibn Zobair, now repented of having laboured for the elevation of this pretender, and quitted Mecca. The son of Zobair, remaining thenceforth sole master of Mecca, occupied himself tranquilly in rebuilding the Ka'ba, which he restored on its ancient foundations.

3. It was in the midst of this break-up of his party that, immediately after the death of Yazīd, his eldest son, Mo'āwiya II., was elected Caliph at Damascus at the age of only seventeen or twenty. He was a young man of weak character, and imbued, it is said, with Shī'ite opinions. He felt himself incapable of ruling, and was contemplating abdication, when he died, after a reign of but forty days, by poison, as some say; of the plague, as others assert. The Caliphate was immediately offered to 'Othmān b. 'Oṭba b. Abī Sofyān, cousin of Mo'āwiya II.; for Khālid, the second son of Yazīd, was only sixteen years old. 'Othmān b. 'Oṭba, however, having made it a condition of his election that he should not be compelled to enter on any war, or to condemn any one to death, the choice fell at Damascus on Merwān b. al-Hakam, a descendant of Omayya through his grandfather Abū 'l-'Ās, but on condition that he should marry Ma'īn, the widow of Yazīd, and should appoint Khālid, her son, as his successor.

4. Merwān b. al-Hakam had been secretary to the Caliph 'Othmān, and governor of Medina under Mo'āwiya I. Yazīd, on his accession to power, had dismissed him and put Walīd b. 'Oṭba in his place; but Merwān had continued to live at Medina, and had been driven from it during the revolt of the year 63, and again in the following year, when 'Obaid Allāh b. Zobair had taken possession of that city in the name of his brother. It might have been thought that Merwān would cherish a deep hatred of 'Abdallāh Ibn Zobair; but he was an old man of sixty-two at the time of his election, and, dreading an unequal struggle, he was on the point of making his submission to the Meccan Caliph. The drooping courage of Merwān was revived by his son 'Abd al-Melik and by 'Obaid Allāh b. Ziyād, and he resolved to try the chances of war.

Dahhāk b. Kais, governor of Damascus, had declared himself on the side of Ibn Zobair, and had raised an army, principally from among the tribe of Kais. This tribe had taken offence because Mo'āwiya I. and Yazīd had chosen their wives from the Yemenite tribe of Kalb, and, continuing to resent their conduct, now refused to acknowledge Khālid as the heir-presumptive of Merwān. It was therefore on the Yemenites that Merwān had to depend for the suppression of Dahhāk's rebellion. The latter had an

army of nearly sixty thousand horsemen, while Merwān could bring together only thirteen thousand infantry. The two armies met at Marj Rāhiṭ, a few miles from Damascus, and, after a series of combats which lasted for twenty days, Merwān's troops gained a complete victory, and Dahhāk was among the killed. The Syrian provinces hastened to acknowledge the conqueror, and Merwān was able to turn his attention to Egypt, which, as will be remembered, had submitted to the Meccan. 'Abd al-'Azīz, a son of Merwān, had already marched to Aila on the Red Sea, and was preparing to enter Egypt; Merwān joined him, and the Zobairite governor of Egypt, beaten by their united forces, was obliged to seek safety in flight. Merwān made 'Abd al-'Azīz governor of the province. At the beginning of the year 65 (A.D. 684-685) Merwān returned in haste to Syria; for, during his absence, a brother of Ibn Zobair, named Moš'ab, had invaded that province. Merwān triumphed over Moš'ab; but an army of four thousand men, which he had sent to the Hijāz, and in which was Hajjāj b. Yūsuf—then quite a young man, but who afterwards played so important a part under 'Abd al-Melik—was cut to pieces. This defeat was redeemed by a victory gained by his generals, 'Obaid Allāh b. Ziyād and Ḥosain b. Nomair, at 'Ain al-Warda over a small army of Shī'ites led by Solaimān b. Šorad. But while the battle was being fought in Ramaḍan 65 (April-May 685), Merwān died; suffocated, it is said, by his wife Ma'īn, because he had insulted her son Khālid, and had broken his word by nominating his own son 'Abd al-Melik as his successor. The accession of 'Abd al-Melik was attended with no difficulty, as he was acknowledged by the whole of Syria and Egypt. The Kaisites naturally rallied round him, because he had not a drop of Yemenite blood in his veins.

5. When 'Abd al-Melik ascended the throne, there still remained much to be done before the unity of the empire could be re-established. Ibn Zobair was still master of Arabia and of Irāk, though in the latter province his authority was very much shaken by the permanent rebellion of the Shī'ites at Cufa, and of the Khārijites at Basra. The Zobairite general Mohallab had, it is true, succeeded in forcing back the Khārijites into Susiana and Persia; but at Cufa the Shī'ites, at the instigation of Mokhtār, continued their agitation. Mokhtār, as we have seen, had withdrawn from Mecca after the raising of the siege by Ḥosain b. Nomair. He returned to Cufa, and there fomented serious disturbances. Many of the inhabitants of that city repented bitterly of having allowed Ḥosain, the grandson of the Prophet, to be massacred. Amid the general disorder of the Moslem empire, Mokhtār hoped to make his own authority acknowledged in Irāk and Mesopotamia. He put himself forward as the avenger of the family of 'Alī, and pretended to have been commissioned by a son of 'Alī, Mohammed b. Hanafiya,¹ who was living at Medina, to give effect to his rights to the Caliphate. Many Shī'ites believed him, and, detesting their chief Solaimān b. Šorad, joined Mokhtār. On learning these intrigues, the Zobairite governor threw him into prison. Soon after the defeat of Solaimān at 'Ain al-Warda, at the request of Mokhtār's brother-in-law, who was no other than 'Abdallāh the son of 'Omar, the governor consented to set him at liberty, on his swearing to make no further attempts against him. As Solaimān had fallen on the

¹ That is to say, the son of the Hanafite woman. The mother of Mohammed was of the tribe of Hanifa. Even before Mokhtār, Mohammed had partisans who looked on him as destined to be Caliph. These sectaries received the name of Kaisānites, from a freedman of 'Alī, called Kaisān, who was the most ardent advocate of Mohammed's pretensions. After Mokhtār had declared in favour of Mohammed, his supporters received the name of Mokhtārītes.

field of battle at 'Ain al-Warda, all the Sh'ites now acknowledged Mokhtár as their chief. He, however, considering himself bound by his oath, remained inactive until the governor who had imposed it was replaced by 'Abdalláh b. Motí'. The new Zobairite governor, suspecting with reason that Mokhtár was about to recommence his intrigues, thought it advisable to invite him to his house, with the intention of having him arrested. Mokhtár called his partisans together, and plotted with them to take Ibn Motí by surprise. As, however, Sa'd, one of the Sh'ite chiefs, asked for a delay of a week, for the purpose of collecting troops, Mokhtár was obliged to feign illness in order to evade the governor's invitation, and took care to surround himself with a numerous body of guards. Meanwhile Sa'd, who had only demanded this delay in order to ascertain the real wishes of Mohammed b. Hanafiya, sent off four confidential messengers to Medina, to ask Mohammed whether he had really confided the care of his interests to Mokhtár. Mohammed contented himself with replying vaguely that it was the bounden duty of every good Moslem to take part with the family of the Prophet. These words were interpreted in favour of Mokhtár, and thenceforward all the Sh'ites followed him blindly as their chief. Mokhtár fixed the middle of the month Rabí I, A.H. 66, for the commencement of hostilities. During the night of the 13th to the 14th, the conspirators intended to gain possession of the city by a *coup de main*; but the governor was on his guard, and Mokhtár and his Sh'ites took the course of leaving Cufa. They numbered sixteen thousand resolute men. All the armies which Abdalláh b. Motí sent against them were successively beaten, and Mokhtár soon re-entered Cufa in triumph, compelling the Zobairite governor to flee to Basra. Once master of Cufa, Mokhtár thought himself already in possession of the empire. He sent emissaries to Medina, to Mosul, to Madáin, and even into Azerbaijan, with orders to induce the people to take the oath of allegiance to him. He then sent his generals, Yazíd b. Anas and Zofar, against the Omayyad army, which had entered Mesopotamia after the battle of 'Ain al-Warda, and these prevented the advance of the Syrians into Irák. Another of Mokhtár's generals, Ibráhm b. Málik, inflicted a serious defeat on the Syrians near Mosul, and 'Obaid Alláh b. Ziyád, who commanded them, fell in the battle. Ibráhm was rewarded by Mokhtár with the government of Mosul. Mokhtár himself next took the title of "lieutenant of the Mahdí" and inserted in the *Khotba*, on Friday's preaching, a prayer on behalf of Mohammed b. Hanafiya; which was equivalent to declaring him Caliph. After this, urged on by his adherents, he caused all those who had taken part in the massacre of Hösain, the grandson of the Prophet, like 'Omar b. Sa'd and Shimr, to be sought out and put to death.

While these events were occurring, the Caliph at Damascus, 'Abd al-Melik, sent an army of observation to the frontiers of Arabia. Mokhtár, having been informed of this, feigned an intention to help Ibn Zobair, and despatched a body of three thousand men from Cufa, under the command of a certain Sharáhlí. His real object was to concentrate forces at Medina, with a view to attacking Ibn Zobair. But the latter penetrated his design, and two thousand Meccans marched by his orders to meet Sharáhlí, who was defeated.

In the same year (A.H. 66) Mohammed b. Hanafiya had gone to Mecca to perform the ceremonies of the pilgrimage.

¹ Mahdí, or "the well-guided," is the name given by the Sh'ites to that member of the family of 'Alí who, according to their belief, is one day to gain possession of the whole world, and set up the reign of righteousness in it. In Mokhtár's time, Mohammed b. Hanafiya was looked upon as the Mahdí.

Revolt of
Mokhtár
at Cufa.

Ibn Zobair took advantage of this to seize his person, and confined him in a small house adjoining the well of Zamzam, within the precincts of the Ka'ba. Mohammed succeeded in conveying intelligence of his detention to Mokhtár; and he, delighted to find his aid implored by the very man whose follower he called himself, swore to effect his rescue. He despatched a thousand chosen horsemen, who managed to conceal their march so well, that they were under the walls of Mecca before the son of Zobair had been able to make the slightest preparations for defence. They made their way into the Holy City; but, being unwilling to draw the sword on that sacred ground, they armed themselves with sticks, broke in the doors of the house in which Mohammed b. Hanafiya was imprisoned, rescued him, and escorted him out of the city. A son of Mohammed, called 'Alí, who had also been thrown into prison, likewise succeeded in escaping, and rejoined his father at some distance from Mecca.

In the following year, Ibn Zobair, who was determined to get rid, at all costs, of so dangerous an adversary as Mokhtár, ordered his brother Mos'ab to effect a junction with Mohallab, the conqueror of the Khárijites, and to march against Cufa. Mos'ab and Mohallab invested that city, and Mokhtár, making a sortie against them, was beaten, taken prisoner, and beheaded. Irák thus, for the second time, fell under the rule of Ibn Zobair. Ibráhm b. Málik, who held Mosul in the name of Mokhtár, submitted to the conquerors, on condition of retaining his government; but Mos'ab deprived him of his office, and put Mohallab in his place. He himself was appointed governor of Irák by his brother, and, having installed himself at Basra, placed Cufa under the orders of his lieutenant Hárith. The year after, the Khárijites of Susiana raised a fresh insurrection, and invaded Irák. Mohallab had to be recalled from Mosul, and during his absence it was Ibráhm b. Málik whom Mos'ab chose to supply his place. The period of the pilgrimage caused a momentary truce to all these struggles, and in that year was seen the curious spectacle of four different standards planted near Mecca, belonging respectively to four party chiefs, each of whom was a pretender to the empire: the standard of 'Abdalláh b. Zobair, Caliph of Mecca; that of the Caliph of Damascus, 'Abd al-Melik; that of the son of 'Alí, Mohammed b. Hanafiya; and that of the Khárijites, who were at that time under the command of Najda b. 'Amir. Such, however, was the respect inspired by the holy places, that no disorders resulted from the presence of so many inveterate rivals.

The Omayyad Caliph, whose troops had been beaten in Mesopotamia, and who had been hitherto content to watch the frontiers of Arabia, was again prevented from pushing on military operations more actively by the breaking out of troubles in Syria. At the beginning of A.H. 69 (A.D. 688-689), 'Abd al-Melik having left Damascus at the head of a numerous army, with the purpose of marching against Irák, the Omayyad 'Amr b. Sa'id, whom he had appointed governor of Damascus, took advantage of his absence to lay claim to the supreme power, and to have himself proclaimed Caliph by his partisans. 'Abd al-Melik was obliged to retrace his steps, and to lay siege to his own capital. The garrison of Damascus took fright, and deserted their posts; so that 'Amr b. Sa'id, abandoned by his followers, was compelled to surrender at discretion. 'Abd al-Melik at first meant to spare him, but he afterwards changed his mind, and struck off his head with his own hand. Scarcely had he suppressed this revolt, when the Emperor of Constantinople, Justinian II., in violation of the thirty years' truce formerly concluded between Mo'áwiya I. and Constantine IV., sent a Greek army to invade Syria. 'Abd al-Melik was obliged to buy peace

Death of
Mokhtár.

Defeat
and
death of
Mos'ab.

Second
siege of
Mecca.

'Amr b.
Sa'id.

for the time, for he required all his forces to dispute the empire with the son of Zobair. He consented, it is asserted, to pay the Greeks an indemnity of one thousand pieces of gold weekly. He then gave his attention to the renewal of the projected expedition against Irák. Mos'ab the Zobairite had rendered himself odious to the inhabitants of Basra and Cufa by his exactions, and a party favourable to 'Abd al-Melik was already forming in those cities. The Omayyad Caliph marched forth at the head of an army composed of Syrians and Egyptians, and encamped three parasangs from the plain of Dair al-Játhalik, not far from the site of Baghdád, where Mos'ab had established his army. Before joining battle, 'Abd al-Melik had written secretly to all the chiefs of Mos'ab's army, making them the most seductive promises if they would agree to desert the cause of Mos'ab. This step was crowned with success, and on the eve of the battle, which took place on the 13th Jomádf II., A.H. 71 (23d November 690), several of these generals passed into the camp of 'Abd al-Melik with arms and baggage. Mos'ab nevertheless attacked his enemy, but during the battle he found himself deserted by his troops, and, not choosing to survive his defeat, he caused himself to be slain. This victory opened the gates of Cufa to 'Abd al-Melik, and all Irák received him with acclamations. He remained forty days at Cufa, and then, having given the government to his brother Bishr, while Khálid b. 'Abdalláh received that of Basra, he returned in triumph to Damascus. Soon after, the Omayyad arms having sustained a check from the Khárijites in Fársistán, the Caliph gave Khálid orders to march against those sectaries with the support of Mohallab, who was their terror, and of the governor of Bey. Khálid succeeded completely in this expedition, and drove the Khárijites out of Ahwáz, Fársistán, and Kirmán. On his side, the Omayyad Caliph stirred up a revolt in Khorásán, a province which still remained faithful to the Zobairite cause. Its governor was treacherously assassinated by his lieutenant Bokair, who received, as the price of this service, the governorship of the province.

Only Arabia now remained to Ibn Zobair. In A.H. 72 'Abd al-Melik made preparations for depriving him of it. Accordingly he raised an army; but when his generals found that another siege of Mecca was in contemplation, not one of them was willing to accept such a mission. An obscure officer, Hajjáj b. Yúsuf, boldly offered to lead the expedition. 'Abd al-Melik had little confidence in him, and therefore at first placed only two or three thousand horsemen under his command. Hajjáj set out, traversed the Hijáz without resistance, and pitched his camp at Táif, not far from Mecca. Ibn Zobair tried to dislodge him; but in the frequent encounters between his troops and those of Hajjáj, the latter always had the advantage. 'Abd al-Melik then decided on sending him a reinforcement of five thousand men, on receiving which Hajjáj invested Mecca. The blockade lasted several months, during which the city was a prey to all the horrors of siege and famine. Hajjáj had set up balistas on the neighbouring heights, and poured a hail of stones on the city and the Ka'ba. Famine at length triumphed over the last adherents of the son of Zobair. Ten thousand fighting men, and even several of the sons of the pretender, left the city and surrendered. Mecca being thus left without defenders, Hajjáj took possession of it and invested the Ka'ba. Then the son of Zobair, seeing that ruin was inevitable, went to his mother Asmá, who had reached the age of a hundred, and asked her counsel. She answered that he must die sword in hand; and when, in embracing him for the last time, she felt the cuirass which he wore, she exclaimed that such a precaution was unworthy of a man resolved to perish. 'Abdalláh took off his cuirass, and taking refuge in

the Ka'ba, passed the night there in prayer. At daybreak of the 14th of Jomádf I. in the year 73 (1st October 692), the Omayyad troops made their way into the mosque. 'Abdalláh attacked them furiously, notwithstanding his advanced age, but at last fell, overwhelmed by numbers. His head was cut off, carried to Hajjáj, and sent by the victorious general to Damascus.¹

With Ibn Zobair perished the influence which the early companions of Mohammed had hitherto exercised over Islam. Medina and Mecca, though they continued to be the Holy Cities, had no longer the political importance which had enabled them to maintain a struggle with Damascus. Temporal interests, represented by Damascus, will henceforth have precedence over those of religion; policy will outweigh fanaticism;² and the centre of Islam, now permanently removed beyond the limits of Arabia, will be more easily affected by foreign influences, and assimilate more readily their civilizing elements. Damascus, Cufa, and Basra will attract the flower of all the Moslem provinces; and thus that great intellectual, literary, and scientific movement which is to reach its apogee under the 'Abbásid Caliphs at Baghdád, will become daily more marked.

By the death of the son of Zobair, 'Abd al-Melik remained sole Caliph; for Mohammed b. Hanafiya reckoned for nothing since the death of Mokhtár, whose creature he had been. The only remaining danger was from the Khárijites, who, though incessantly repulsed, as incessantly returned to the charge. Hajjáj had remained after his victory at Mecca, where he was occupied in rebuilding the Ka'ba, ruined for the second time by his engines of war. In the year 75, 'Abd al-Melik, alarmed at the news which reached him from Persia and Irák, named Hajjáj governor of that province, and gave him the most extensive powers for the re-establishment of order. The troops of Irák, who accompanied Mohallab in an expedition against the Khárijites, had abandoned their general and dispersed to their homes, and nothing could induce them to return to their duty. Hajjáj, arriving unexpectedly at Cufa, ascended the pulpit at the moment when the people were assembled for morning prayers, and delivered an energetic address to them, which depicts his character so well, that some passages from it may be cited:—

"Men of Cufa, I see before me heads ripe for the harvest, and the reaper—I am he! I seem to myself already to see blood between turbans and shoulders. I am not one of those who can be frightened by an inflated bag of skin, nor need any one think to squeeze me like dried figs. I have been chosen on good grounds; and it is because I have been seen at work that I have been picked out from among others. The Prince of the Believers has spread before him the arrows of his quiver, and has tried every one of them by biting its wood. It is my wood that he has found the hardest and the bitterest, and I am the arrow which he shoots against you."

Thereupon Hajjáj ordered that every man capable of bearing arms should immediately join Mohallab in Susiana, and swore that all who made any delay should have their heads struck off. This threat produced its effect, and Hajjáj proceeded to Basra, where his presence was followed by the same result. Mohallab, reinforced by the army of Irák, at last succeeded, after a struggle of eighteen months, in subjugating the Khárijites, and was able, at the beginning of A.H. 78, to return to Hajjáj at Basra. The latter loaded him with honours and made him

¹ On these events, see Quatremère, *Mémoire historique sur la vie d'Abd-Allah b. Zobair*. Paris, 1832.

² It is said that the Caliph 'Abd al-Melik affected great piety before his elevation. At the moment when he was first saluted with the title of Caliph, he closed a copy of the Koran which was in his hands, saying: "We must now part."

'Abd al-
Melik
sole
Caliph.

Hajjáj in
Irák.

governor of Khorásán,¹ whence he directed several expeditions against Transoxiana.

While Mohallab was fighting against the Khárijites in Persia, Hajjáj himself had had to struggle against rebellion. Three Khárijites, Šálih, Shabīb, and Moṭarrif, had succeeded in creating a party in Mesopotamia and Irák. The second had even pushed his audacity so far as to march upon Cufa, and for a moment had occupied that city. Hajjáj overcame the rebels; and through his vigilance, Kaṭarī b. al-Foǵá'a, another Khárijite chief, after being pursued as far as Ṭabaristán, on the Caspian Sea, was taken and killed by two Omayyad generals.

When he gave the government of Khorásán to Mohallab, Hajjáj had committed that of Sijistán to 'Obaid Alláh b. Abí Bakra. At the beginning of A.H. 79, 'Obaid Alláh's troops were beaten by the king of Kábúl. Hajjáj thought it advisable to remove 'Obaid Alláh and to replace him by the captain of his guards, 'Abd al-Rahmán b. al-Ash'ath. This was a bad choice, for Ibn al-Ash'ath had often given proofs of an insubordinate temper, and Hajjáj soon had occasion to repent of it. In fact, soon after his arrival in Sijistán, 'Abd al-Rahmán, whose army was composed of contingents from Cufa and Basra, always ready for revolt, conceived the design of an insurrection against the authority of Hajjáj. Popular movements often go beyond the object first proposed; and not only did the troops welcome joyfully the idea of marching against the hated governor of Irák, but they even proclaimed the dethronement of 'Abd al-Melik, and saluted Ibn al-Ash'ath as Caliph. The new pretender entered Fársistán and Ahwáz, and it was in this last province, near Shuster, that Hajjáj came up with him, after receiving from Syria the reinforcements which he had demanded in all haste from the Caliph. Hajjáj was beaten and obliged to retreat. Ibn al-Ash'ath pursued him as far as Basra, which opened its gates to him; but fortune soon changed, and he was again driven out by his adversary. Ibn al-Ash'ath then turned his arms against Cufa, and with aid from within, obtained possession of it; thus cutting the communications of Hajjáj with Syria. The latter, thus compelled to leave Basra, took the field, and pitched his camp at Dair al-Jamájim, two days' journey from Basra. Ibn al-Ash'ath marched against him at the head of his army. The condition of Irák caused the greatest uneasiness at Damascus, and 'Abd al-Melik hoped to stifle the revolt by proposing to the insurgents the dismissal of Hajjáj from his post. The insurgents rejected this offer, and hostilities recommenced. At the end of three months, in Jomádf II, A.H. 83 (July 702), a decisive action took place. Victory declared for Hajjáj. Ibn al-Ash'ath fled to Basra, where he managed to collect fresh troops; but, having been again beaten, he took refuge in Susiana, from which he was driven by a son of Hajjáj. The rebel then retired into Sijistán, and afterwards sought an asylum with the king of Kábúl. As soon as his partisans had rejoined him, he penetrated into Khorásán, in order to raise an insurrection there. The governor of this province was at that time Yazíd, son of the celebrated Mohallab, who had died in the year 82. Yazíd marched against Ibn al-Ash'ath, and cut his army to pieces. From that time the pretender disappeared; and it is thought that, having again taken refuge with the king of Kábúl, he was betrayed by him and put to death.² It was during

¹ In A.H. 78, 'Abd al-Melik had made Khorásán and Sijistán dependent on the governor of Irák, so that Hajjáj had the right of directly nominating the governors of those provinces.

² This king of Kábúl is called Ratbil or Rotbil by some historians, and Zenbil by others. See Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, I. 449; Tabari, transl. by Zotenberg, iv. 127; and Mas'údf, transl. by Barbier de Meynard, index, s. v. Rotbil. According to Abulfeda's *Geography*,

this long struggle that, in the year 83, Hajjáj laid the foundations of the city of Wásit (the Intermediate); so called because it is situated midway between Cufa and Basra. Some time after the suppression of this revolt, in the year 84, Hajjáj deprived Yazíd b. Mohallab of the government of Khorásán, accusing him of partiality towards the rebels, and appointed in his stead first his brother Mofaddal b. Mohallab, and nine months after Kotaiba b. Moslim, who was destined at a later period to extend the sway of the Moslems in the East as far as China.

While these events were taking place, 'Abd al-Melik was engaged in the West in a struggle against the Greeks. We have seen that in the year 69 the Caliph, compelled as he then was to direct all his efforts towards Irák and Arabia, had concluded a disgraceful peace with Justinian II. It was not till A.H. 73 (A.D. 692-693) that he resumed hostilities in Armenia, Asia Minor, and Africa. The operations in Asia Minor and in Armenia were entrusted to Mohammed b. Merwán, brother of the Caliph, and to 'Othmán b. Walíd. They beat the Greeks at first; but, in consequence of subsequent reverses, the Moslems were compelled to accept peace, which was broken anew by the Greeks about the year 75 or 76, the Caliph in one of his letters to Justinian II. having used expressions which displeased the Christian monarch. In retaliation, Justinian threatened to have legends offensive to Islam struck on his coins. As, up to that time, the Moslems had no special coinage of their own, and principally used Byzantine and Persian money, this menace led 'Abd al-Melik to institute a purely Arabic coinage. It was a Jew of Taimá, named Somair, who commenced its fabrication. Justinian II. refused to receive these coins in payment of the tribute, and declared the treaty at an end. The incensed Moslems fought valiantly, and succeeded in extending their frontiers to Mar'ash, on the side of Asia Minor, and to Ámid, on the side of Armenia. From this time forth the Moslems made yearly expeditions against the Greeks; but they were only razzias, for which the Greeks often avenged themselves by incursions into the territory of Islam.

In Africa we have seen that 'Okba b. Náfí had been slain by the Berbers, who had taken Kairawán. In the year 73 'Abd al-Melik sent Hassán b. No'mán into Africa, at the head of a numerous army. He retook Kairawán, swept the coast as far as Carthage, expelling the Greek garrisons from all the fortified places, and then, turning his arms against the Berbers, beat them so completely that they submitted for a long time to the tribute and the conscription. But when Hassán left Africa, the Greeks, under the successor of Justinian, retook the coast-line. Hassán prepared to return to Africa, but he previously demanded from the governor of Egypt, 'Abd al-'Azíz, the recall of a freedman, whom he had appointed governor of a part of the province of Africa. 'Abd al-'Azíz refused, and Hassán went to Damascus to complain to the Caliph. Soon after his arrival at the capital he died, and the governor of Egypt placed Músá b. Nošair at the head of the expedition. This general reconquered the seaboard as far as Carthage, and drove the Greeks permanently from it. The daring Músá continued his triumphant march, and took possession of the whole of the coast to Tlemcen. One of his lieutenants, in the year 82, carried a reconnaissance by sea as far as Sicily. The Moslem fleet having been destroyed by a storm, Músá equipped another, and entrusted its command to his brother 'Abdalláh, who returned to Sicily and effected a

p. 343, Ibn al-Ash'ath was killed in the province of Arrokhaj (Akkhoshia), and his head was sent to Damascus and Egypt.

razzia there. Merwán, the father of 'Abd al-Melik, had designated as successor to the latter his other son, 'Abd al-'Azíz, governor of Egypt. 'Abd al-'Azíz having died in the year 84, 'Abd al-Melik chose as heirs of the empire, first his son Walíd, and after him his second son Solaimán.¹ He himself survived 'Abd al-'Azíz only two years, and died 14th Shawwál 86 (8th October 705), at the age of about sixty. His reign was one of the most unquiet in the annals of Islam, but also one of the most glorious. 'Abd al-Melik not only brought triumph to the cause of the Omayyads, but extended and strengthened the Moslem power externally. Amid so many grave anxieties, he yet found time for his pleasures. He was passionately fond of poetry, and his court was crowded with poets, whom he loaded with favours, even if they were Christians, like Akhtal. In his reign flourished also the two celebrated rivals of Akhtal, Jarír and Farazdak.²

6. Immediately on his accession Walíd confirmed Hajjáj in the government of Irák, and appointed as governor of Medina his cousin 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azíz, who was received there with joy, his piety and gentle character being well known. Under his government important works were undertaken at Medina and Mecca by order of Walíd, who, having no rivals to struggle against, was able to give his attention to pacific occupations. The mosque of Medina was enlarged, wells were sunk, the streets widened, and hospitals established. At Mecca many improvements were introduced. The reputation of 'Omar attracted to the two Holy Cities a great number of the inhabitants of Irák, who were groaning under the iron hand of Hajjáj. The latter, who was not a man to let his prey escape from his grasp, was so urged by Walíd that he obtained the dismissal of 'Omar b. 'Abd al-'Azíz in the year 93, and the appointment of 'Othmán b. Hayyán at Medina, and of Khálid b. 'Abdalláh at Mecca. These two prefects compelled the refugees at Mecca and Medina to return to Irák, where many of them were cruelly treated and even put to death by Hajjáj. It was probably his cruelty which drove so many men of Irák to enlist in the armies of the East and the South; and this may in some degree account for the unheard-of successes of Kotaiba b. Moslim in Transoxiana, and of Mohammed b. Kásim in India. They may also be explained by the ambition of Hajjáj, who, it is said, cherished the project of creating a vast empire for himself to the east and south of the Moslem realm, and had secretly promised the government of China to the first of his generals who should reach that country. Be this as it may, in the course of a very few years Kotaiba conquered the whole of Bokharia, Khárizm, and Transoxiana or Má wará-annahr, as far as the frontiers of China. Meanwhile Mohammed b. Kásim invaded Mokrán, Sind, and Múltán, carried off an immense booty, and reduced the women and children to slavery. In Armenia and Asia Minor, Maslama, brother of the Caliph Walíd, and his lieutenants, also obtained numerous successes against the Greeks. In Armenia, Maslama even advanced as far as the Caucasus.

The most important achievement, however, of Walíd's reign was the conquest of Spain. The narrative of this conquest belongs specially to the history of Spain; and we shall therefore only touch briefly on it here. We have seen that, even in the Caliphate of 'Abd al-Melik, Músá b. Nošair had penetrated as far as Tlemcen in Africa. Under Walíd, Músá, who had been appointed governor of Africa, entered Morocco, occupied Fez and Tangier, and then

¹ 'Abd al-Melik had several other sons, two of whom, Yazíd and Hishám, also reigned.

² See Caussin de Perceval, *Journal asiatique*, 2^e série, vols. xiii. and xiv.

returned to Kairawán, having made his lieutenant Tárik governor of Tangier and of all the West of Africa. The town of Ceuta still held out under its governor Julian, who held it in the name of Witiza, King of Spain. Witiza having been dethroned by Roderic, Julian thought he might find the Arabs useful allies in the struggle which he proposed to carry on against the usurper³ and entered into negotiations with Tárik. The latter, foreseeing the possibility of conquering for the advantage of the Arabs a country which had been represented to him as a paradise, requested instructions from Músá, who referred the matter to the Caliph. Walíd gave Músá *carte blanche*, and Tárik hastened to make alliance with Julian. He first, however, sent four ships, with five hundred men under the command of Tarif, to reconnoitre the country. This expedition was successful, and Tárik, now certain of meeting no serious opposition to his landing, passed into Spain himself, at the head of twelve thousand men, in the year 92 (A.D. 710-711), and landed at the spot which thence received the name of Jabal-Tárik, or "Mountain of Tárik," a name which was afterwards corrupted by the Westerns into Gibraltar. At the news of this invasion, Roderic led a numerous army against the Arabs, but was completely routed near Cadiz, and perished in the conflict. Músá, jealous of the success of his lieutenant, hastened to Spain with eighteen thousand men, and his first step on arriving was to send Tárik orders to suspend his march. But Tárik, far from obeying, divided his little army into three corps, and obtained possession successively of Eciija, Malaga, Elvira, Cordova, and Toledo. Músá, hopeless of arresting the victorious march of Tárik, determined to play the part of a conqueror himself, and took Seville, Carmona, and Merida. On rejoining Tárik at Toledo, the first step he took was to throw him into prison. The Caliph, however, gave orders that he should be set at liberty and restored to his command. The two conquerors then shared the country between them, and, in less than three years, all Spain was subdued, to the very foot of the Pyrenees. Meanwhile Walíd, fearing to see Músá declare his independence, recalled him to Damascus. He obeyed after appointing his son 'Abd al-'Azíz governor of Spain, and assigning Seville as his residence. Músá left Spain in the month of Šafar, A.H. 95 (October-November 713), in company with Tárik, bringing an immense booty to Damascus, and leading in his train a great number of prisoners. His journey from Ceuta to Damascus was one long triumph. He reached Egypt in the month of Rabí I. in the following year (Nov.-Dec. 714), and then moved on by short marches towards Damascus, where he did not arrive till two months and a half later, at the very moment when Walíd had just breathed his last, and his brother Solaimán had been saluted as Caliph. The renowned Hajjáj had preceded his sovereign, and had expired five days before the end of Ramaḍan, A.H. 95. Músá did not receive the reward due to his distinguished services. Accused of peculation by the new Caliph, he was beaten with rods, and condemned to a fine of 100,000 pieces of gold; and all his goods were confiscated. Solaimán did not stop here: he caused 'Abd al-'Azíz, the son of Músá, to be put to death in Spain, and carried his cruelty so far as to show his severed head to Músá, asking him whether he recognised it. He replied that it was the head of a man a thousand times superior to him who had ordered his death. Músá died soon after. As for Tárik, there is no further mention of him after the beginning of the reign of Solaimán, and we must therefore suppose that he retired into private life.

³ According to Eastern chronicles, Julian's hatred of Roderic arose from the latter's having dishonoured his daughter.