



HAMADĀN VI. HISTORY, ISLAMIC PERIOD

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Hamadān was captured by the Arabs after their victory at the battle of Nehāvand, which took place in 19/640, or 21/642 (Ṭabari, I, p. 2647; Ṭabari, tr. XIV, p. 17), or 23/643 (Balāḏori, *Fotuhā*, p. 309). The date varies according to different sources (see further Frye, p. 105; Ṭabari, tr. XIV, p. 17, note 90). A Persian general, Kōsrow-Šonum, (Ṭabari, tr. XIII, p. 210, note 717) confronted the Arabs at Qaṣr-e Širin, and subsequently withdrew to his base and gave sanctuary to the Persian soldiers fleeing from the battlefield. When the Arabs arrived at the gates of Hamadān, one of the important local rulers (*šahriārs*; see Ṭabari, tr. XIII, p. 211, note 725) by the name of Dinār made peace with the commander of the Arab forces, Ḥoḏayfa b. Yamān, and agreed to the payment of tribute (*jezya*). The proposed document offering peace and protection was signed by the Arab generals No‘aym b. Moqarren Mozani and Qa‘qā’ b. ‘Amr Tamimi, who had reached Hamadān in pursuit of the defeated army. The name Māh Dinār used in Arabic sources referring to the district of Nehāvand was, according to Ṭabari, coined after the name of this ruler (Ṭabari, I, pp. 2628, 2635; Ṭabari, tr. XIII, p. 212; Bal‘ami, ed. Rowšan, p. 515).

Despite the decisive defeat at Nehāvand, the resistance against the Arab



invasion persisted in various parts of the country, and the people of Hamadān revoked their treaty of peace. The Caliph ‘Omar b. al-Ḳaṭṭāb (d. 23/643) dispatched four armies to Persia to crush the resistance. The already mentioned No‘aym b. Moqarren was sent to Hamadān at the head of an army of 12,000. The governor of Hamadān, a certain Ḳiṣ (Bal‘ami, ed. Rowšan, p. 522), or Koṣṭār (Ebn al-A‘ṭam, II, p. 64) who claimed descent from Bahrām Čōbin (q.v.; Mostawfi, p. 180) prepared to defend the city. The Arab army besieged the town and eventually conquered it for the second time in 22/642. When No‘aym b. Moqarren learned that Ḳoṣnum and other leaders had joined forces in Daštābi (the present-day Bu‘in Zahrā) near Qazvin, he renewed the peace treaty with the city, appointed Yazid b. Qays al-Hamadāni as its governor, and moved with his army to meet Ḳoṣnum and his allies. Along the way he conquered towns and villages as far as Jarimidān (the present day township of Āb-e Garm). He met the Persian forces on the banks of the Vājrud river, the present-day Āvaj river, in the northern valley of the Ḳaraqān range. In the large-scale battle that followed, the Persians suffered a heavy defeat and left behind many casualties (22/624). The Arabs hailed this as signaling an end to Persian resistance and No‘aym himself celebrated the victory in a poem (Ṭabari, I, p. 2652; Ṭabari, tr. XIV, p. 23).

It seems, however, that Hamadān did not give up resisting Arab rule even after the decisive defeat at Vājrud. It is reported in the events of 23/643 that once No‘aym left for the conquest of Ray and Khorasan following his victory at Vājrud, Moğira b. Šo‘ba, who had replaced ‘Ammār b. Yāser as governor of Kufa, sent Jarir b. ‘Abd-Allāh Bajali (d. 54/674) to Hamadān. The people of Hamadān rose up against him and in the course of the battle Jarir was injured in the eye by an arrow. He is said to have remarked that the loss of an eye was his offering to the Almighty, who had thus adorned his face (Ebn Qotayba, pp. 294-95; Ebn A‘ṭam, II, p. 68). At the end of the same year (23/643) Jarir conquered Hamadān and its surroundings again by force, and made peace with the populace on terms similar to those of the Nehāvand settlement. According to some sources, Moğira himself led the expedition against Hamadān, with Jarir in command of his vanguard. According to yet another tradition, when the third Caliph ‘Oṭmān (d. 35/635) appointed Sa‘d b. Abi Waqqās as the governor of Kufa, he appointed ‘Alā’ b. Wahb ‘Āmeri as governor of Hamadān, but the people of Hamadān once again broke the peace agreement and had to be forcefully subdued by ‘Alā’ b. Wahb (26/644). They agreed to pay tax on their land (*ḵarāj*) as well as the poll tax (*jezya*), in addition to 100,000 dirhams in cash to safeguard the security of their property,



women, and children (Balāḍori, p. 309; Ebn al-Aṭir, III, p. 23). During the remaining years of 'Oṭmān's caliphate (23-35/643-55), Jarir continued to rule in Hamadān, while 'Oṭmān's viceroys in Māh were Wahb b. 'Abd-Allāh of Banu Qays, followed by Mālek b. Ḥabīb Yarbu'i, and Nosayr b. Ṭur 'Ejli, who was succeeded by his son Serri (Balāḍori, p. 309; Kalbi, I, p. 165; Ṭabari, I, p. 3058; Ya'qubi, *Ta'rik* I, p. 176). The next Caliph, 'Ali b. Abi Ṭāleb (35-40/655-60), came to Basra in 36/656 and dismissed the governors appointed by 'Oṭmān, including Jarir. This drove Jarir to join Mo'āwīa in his campaign against 'Ali (Ya'qubi, *Ta'rik* II, p. 214; Mas'udi, *Moruj* III, p. 117). After the battle of Ṣeffīn, 'Ali made 'Amr b. Salema his representative and governor of Hamadān (Abu'l-Šayk, I pp. 87-88; Monqori, pp. 15-20, 105). He was most likely the eponym of the Banu Salema Arabs of Hamadān, who appear in the sources on Hamadān until the 9th century. Historical sources also indicate that two other Arab tribes, the Banu Ḥanẓala and Banu Johayna, also settled in the Hamadān area (Aḍkā'i, 1989, p. 20), while, according to a report from the year 77/969, some of the Banu 'Ejl and Rabi'a tribes were also settled in Hamadān (Ṭabari, II, p. 994).

The conquest of Persia continued under the Omayyads and contingents of Arab tribes moved from their two centers of Baṣra and Kufa towards Persia, eventually settling in its cities and their surroundings. Occasionally they would execute the local Zoroastrian landowners (*dehqān*, q.v.) and divide their property among themselves (Zarrinkub, pp. 431-32), and at other times they would make peace with the local population by designating them as their own clients (*mawālī*) in return for a share of their wealth. Starting in the early years of the conquest in the 7th century, Hamadān, like Isfahan, Qom, and Kāšān, was on the migration route of the Arab tribes, a place of settlement and a seat of government. The *karāj* (property tax) of Jebāl (Māhayn) and Hamadān and their dependencies at the time of Mo'āwīa amounted to about 40 million dirhams (Ya'qubi, *Ta'rik* II, p. 233).

A faction of the Banu 'Ejl, having joined the revolution that began in Khorasan and ended with the fall of the Omayyads, moved to the Jebāl in the early 8th century. They settled there and acquired landas *eqṭā's* (q.v.) in the area between Hamadān and Isfahan, which was referred to as the Karaj of Banu Dolaf (the present-day Arāk, q.v.). The caliph eventually assigned to them the government of Jebāl. Abu Moslem Kōrāsāni (q.v.), the leader of the revolution against the Omayyads, was raised among these Banu 'Ejl, who were known, as implied above, as Banu Dolaf. The Abbasids rewarded the Banu 'Ejl for their services by granting them a number of eqṭā's in the area. They reached the



height of their power under Ḥārūn al-Rašīd and al-Ma'mūn, when Abu Dolaf Qāsem b. 'Isā 'Ejli Karajī (185-226/801-41) ruled over the entire Jebāl province (Aḍkā'i, 1988, pp. 27-38). After the murder of Abu Moslem, Jebāl became a hotbed of nationalistic movements of the Kōrramis and Mazdakites, and its populace was actively involved in the uprising of Sonbād. The Caliph al-Manṣūr sent one of the same 'Ejli amirs at the head of an army of 10,000 (136-37/754-55), to quell the uprising, which he did in a battle that took place between Ray and Hamadān (Mas'udi, *Moruj* IV, p. 145).

The office of the tax-collector in Hamadān belonged to the already-mentioned Banu Salema tribe. The government in the city had been hereditary in this tribe since its migration to the city in the middle of the 7th century. They were charged with the levying of taxes (*karaj*) on all estates and villages in the area as far as the borders of Qom and Qazvin. Complaints against them were so frequent that when Ḥārūn al-Rašīd reached Hamadān (189/804) on his way to Khorasan, he issued orders for reforms concerning the measurement of lands, the administrative divisions of provinces (*welāyāt*), and the assessment and levying of taxes (Qomi, pp. 29, 189-90, 204; Mostawfi, p. 777). The *karāj* levied on Hamadān and Daštābi at that time amounted to 11,800,000 dirhams (Hamadān's share of 6,000,000 dirhams was cut by half) in cash in addition to 1,000 *mans* of pomegranate and rhubarb concentrated juice and 20,000 *raṭls* (both *man* and *raṭl* are units of measurement which vary in quantity according to locality) of honey of the Alvand piedmont (Jahšīārī, p. 360) in kind. After Ḥārūn al-Rašīd, Hamadān became the main zone of warfare between the army of Khorasan supporting al-Ma'mūn and that of his brother, al-Amin, coming from Iraq (190/810). At first 'Eṣma b. Ḥammād Hamadānī was in charge of the forces of al-Amin in Hamadān, but later al-Amin sent 'Isā b. Māhān as the commander of a military force of 40,000 and the governor of Jebāl, and he also instructed Abu Dolaf 'Ejli to join 'Isā at the head of 5,000 men. Ṭāher b. Ḥosayn, known as Ḍu'l-Yaminayn, led the army sent by al-Ma'mūn. 'Isā b. Māhān was defeated in a battle near Ray, in which he also lost his son (Šawwāl 190/September 806). Al-Amin sent another army of 20,000 under 'Abd-al-Raḥmān b. Jabala, who met Ṭāher near Hamadān. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān was defeated and withdrew into the city. Ṭāher cut the city's water supply, and 'Abd-al-Raḥmān, under siege and doubtful of the loyalty of the local population, had to sue for peace (Ḍu'l-qa'da 190/October 806). These events paved the way for the eventual victory of al-Ma'mūn (Ya'qubi, *Ta'rik* II, p. 438; Ebn al-Aṭam, VIII, pp. 225-300; Ṭabari, I, pp. 798, 827, 855).



Disturbances and movements seeking independence continued during the caliphate of al-Ma'mun with the uprising of the Ḳorramis, Mazdakites, Deylamites, and the Bāteniya, and they were often met by forces led by the above-mentioned Abu Dolaf 'Ejli (Aḍkā'i, 1988, pp. 42-43). According to one tradition, Ma'mun gave the government of Dinavar and Hamadān to Abu Ja'far Moḥammad b. Jahm Barmaki, an astronomer and author of Persian descent, who is also known as a translator of Pahlavi books (Ebn Qotayba, *'Oyun al-akbār* IV, p. 36; Qazvini, V, pp. 57-59).

With the death of Ma'mun and the caliphate of al-Mo'taṣem (218-27/833-41), the people of Hamadān and Jebāl began to turn to Zoroastrian, Ḳorrami, and Bāteni religions, and the movement spread over an extensive area from Azarbaijan to Fārs and Isfahan. People rose up in rebellion in the whole area at a pre-arranged date, killed government functionaries (*'ommāl*), and then set up camp in the Hamadān plain in preparation to join Bābak (q.v.), the leader of the Ḳorrami movement. The caliph dispatched an army of 40,000 men against them under Eshāq b. Ebrāhim (Dū'l-ḥejja 218/833), who routed them. They dispersed, leaving behind 60,000 dead; some evidently reached Azarbaijan and Armenia (Ebn al-'Aybi, pp. 138-39; Bal'ami, ed. Rowšan, p. 1254; Neẓām-al-Molk, pp. 291-93; Ḍahabi, p. 103). Then the Caliph al-Mo'taṣem sent Afšin (q.v.) against the Ḳorramis. Abu Dolaf 'Ejli (d. 226/840), who harbored strong resentments against Afšin, was at this time the governor of Jebāl and in charge of the military operations against the Deylamites.

The 'Ejlis ruled over part of Jebāl for one hundred years from 185/801 to 285/898, producing a number of famous amirs. At times Hamadān and Isfahan fell within the area ruled by them (Aḍkā'i, 1988, pp. 43, 104). The administration of Hamadān up to the middle of the 3rd/9th century was in the hands of the Banu Salema tribe. From among them Abu'l-Wafā' Moḥammad b. 'Abd-al-'Aziz b. Salema has been mentioned as a poet and an erudite man of letters. In the mid-9th century C.E., a branch of Ḥasani *sayyeds* (the 'Alawis of Hamadān) moved to Hamadān, where they rose increasingly in prestige and power, and eventually the honorific title of the headship of the town, a kind of elected mayor, became hereditary in their family up to the 13th century (Aḍkā'i, 1988, pp. 159 ff.; idem, 1989, pp. 20-28).

With the weakening of the 'Abbasid Caliphate (9th-11th cent.), the northern and western parts of Persia became virtually independent under Deylami, Kurdish, and Lor rulers. Asfār b. Širuya Deylami conquered the entire Jebāl, including Hamadān and Karaj in 317/929, after the fall of the Banu 'Ejl dynasty



in the 10th century, and called forth the Samanids of Khorasan. After him, one of his generals the Ziyarid Mardāvij (316-26/928-38), who rallied the Deylamites around him, emerged as the dominant figure. However, Mardāvij himself did not have sufficient resources to pay his men, and was obliged to consign various cities of Jebāl to his generals. He captured Hamadān in 319/931 and inflicted a four-day massacre on the city for its resistance against him (Mas'udi, *Moruj* V, pp. 262, 266-67). After Mardāvij, the Buyid 'Emād-al-Dawla 'Alī (320-38/932-49; q.v.) was able to bring the entire area under his control with the assistance of the Korrāmi, Shi'ite, and Zoroastrian factions. He agreed to pay the caliph in Baghdad an annual sum of 200,000 dinars for taxes levied on Hamadān and Dinavar (Adkā'i, 1988, pp. 113-14; Eqbāl, p. 130).

Hamadān suffered damages in an earthquake of 345/956, and six years later it was the scene of sectarian conflicts, in which many people lost their lives (Frye, p. 105). In 366/976, the Buyid Rokn-al-Dawla Ḥasan divided his realm among his sons, giving Hamadān, Ray, and Qazvin, along with their dependencies, to Amir Fakr-al-Dawla (r. 373-87/983-97). Fakr-al-Dawla's territory became the foundation of the Deylamite and Kakuid principality of Jebāl. After him, his sons Majd-al-Dawla (r. 387-420/997-1029) and Šams-al-Dawla (r. 387-412/997-1021) ruled over Ray and Hamadān respectively. Later, 'Ala'-al-Dawla Kākuya, a cousin of their mother, ruled in Isfahan, and for a while brought Hamadān under his sway, after defeating its last Deylamite ruler Samā'-al-Dawla (r. 412-14/1021-23), son of Šams-al-Dawla. But 'Ala'-al-Dawla Kākuya was himself driven out of Hamadān in 421/1030, when the Ghaznavid Sultan Mas'ud I led an expedition against him (Eqbāl, pp. 163, 178, 181-84, 246). It must be noted in this connection that the same period witnessed the emergence of the power of some chieftains of the Barzekāni Kurds. Their leader, Abu'l-Fawāres Ḥasanuya/Ḥasanwayh b. Ḥasan Barzekāni (r. 348-69/958-79), captured a large part of Kurdistan (including Dinavar, Nehāvand, Šāpur-ḵvāst, Yazdegard, and Asadābād) in about 348/958 and made Sarmāj, a fortress to the south of Bisotun, his capital. The Ḥasanuya amirs ruled in parts of western Persia for about sixty years (345-405). The most celebrated among them was Abu Najm Badr b. Ḥasanuya (r. 369-405/981-1014), renowned for his sagacity and largesse. He was a stalwart supporter of the Deylamites of Jebāl against the Samanids of Khorasan (Adkā'i, 1988, pp. 119-25).

Plate I. Distant view of Hamadān and Mount Alvand in early 20th century.

Hamadān fell to the Saljuqs in the first half of the 5th/11th century, and in the



6th/12th century, following the disintegration of the Saljuq empire, it became the capital of the branch that ruled over 'Erāq-e 'Ajam. Hamadān flourished significantly under these Saljuqs; a number of monuments dating from this period, such as Gonbad-e 'Alawiān, are still standing. It was under the same Saljuqs that the aforementioned 'Alawi/Šarīf clan of Hamadān, who traditionally held the city's mayoral position from the mid-9th century to the mid-13th century, reached the zenith of their power. Two distinct periods can be recognized concerning the internal politics of Hamadān: first, From about 250-450/864-1058, when the 'Alawi clan was predominant, and second, from about 450-650/1058-1252, when the 'Ala'-al-Dawla family, whose members have been called the mountain kings (*šahriārān-e kuhestān*) in some panegyrics, were in control (Adkā'i, 1988, pp. 159-236, 282).

Like most Persian cities, Hamadān had its share of the ravages of the Mongol invasion. It was laid waste and a large number of its people lost their lives during the two Mongol onslaughts on the city in 618/1221 and 621/1224. Later a township arose on the north side of the city and was dubbed "New Hamadān" (*Hamadān-e Now*) until the city itself began to regain some degree of prosperity and significance under the Ilkhanids. Hulāgu Khan used it as a camping ground (*āmādgāh*) in 655/1257 and Abāqā (q.v.) died there (680/1281).

Plate II. Bridge over the river at Hamadān, Alvand in the background.

The political history of 'Erāq-e 'Ajam and Hamadān in the 8th/14th century, more specifically from the ascension of Ġāzān Khan to the Ilkhanid throne in 694/1295 to 795/1392, when Timur (Tamerlane) started his second five-year campaign, is linked to the history of the Il-khanids, Chobanids (q.v.), and Jalayerids, as well as to that of a few (contemporaneous) members of the Mozaffarid dynasty. From 738/1337 to 787/1385, 'Erāq-e 'Ajam was ruled for the first twenty years by two Chobanid rulers, Shaikh Ḥasan-e Kuček (738-44/1337-43; q.v.) and Malek Ašraf (744-58/1343-57), then by the Jalayerids, Sultan Oways (757-76/1356-74) and Sultan Ḥosayn (776-84/1356-82; see Adkā'i, 1988, pp. 244-50; idem, 1994, pp. 4607-4661). Hamadān also lay on the path of Timur during his three campaigns in the period from 788/1386 to 807/1404. After Timur, and even during his lifetime, the control of Hamadān and other cities of 'Erāq-e 'Ajam often changed hands among the Timurid princes. After the death of Šāhroḡ b. Timur (r. 807-51/1405-48), the Qara Qoyunlu Turkmen captured Hamadān, and it became part of the domain of 'Alīšakar Bahārlu (Bārāni), an amir in the service of Jahānšāh Mirzā Turkamān (841-72/1437-67); 'Alīšakar's sons ruled over their father's realm after him. Hamadān for a time



regained its former prosperity with the rise of the Safavids (908/1503), under whom the so-called 'Ali-šakar's domain (*qalamrow-e 'Ališakar*), or Hamadān, was the administrative center of 'Erāq-e 'Ajam (*Taḏkerat al-moluk*, ed. Minorsky, pp. 44, 104, 163, 171).

During the 17th and 18th centuries when western Persia was often devastated by the Ottoman army, Hamadān suffered a great deal of damage and loss of life. In 1136/1724, the city was ravaged and occupied by Aḥmad Pasha, the governor of Baghdad, and most of its population were killed. Eight years later, Nāder Shah Afšār recaptured the city, chasing the Ottomans as far as Baghdad. During the Zand period (1751-89), Hamadān (still referred to as Qalamrow by the chroniclers) was under their sway. It was during this same period that the Qaraguzlu tribe emerged as an influential element in the politics and military affairs of the city. Hamadān fell to Āgā Moḥammad Khan, the founder of the Qajar dynasty, in 1205/1789, and he had the old fortress situated on MosĀallā Hill demolished.

Thanks to its favorable strategic location, Hamadān regained some of its prosperity as a commercial center in the course of the 18th century, but the local population was continuously oppressed and mistreated by the Qaraguzlu chieftains, leading to frequent popular protests and disturbances.

Hamadān joined the Constitutional Movement (q.v.) at the outset, and this led to the early establishment of modern institutions of local government, such as a city council and departments of education, justice, etc. During World War I, Hamadān was frequently occupied by the Ottoman, British, and Russian forces in turn, and it went through a period of severe famine. However, there was a revival of the city after the war, particularly in the cultural and educational spheres (Aḏkā'i, 1992, pp. 10-11).

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