



KHORASAN IV. THE ARAB CONQUEST AND OMAYYAD PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

After the Arabs conquered and colonized Iraq in the early Islamic era, the two garrison towns of Basra and Kufa were established there and soon became cities that experienced massive Arab immigrations. They served as the main bases from which campaigns to the east were launched. Under the caliph ‘Omar (r. 13-23/634-44), raids into Persia commenced. Persian resistance against the Arabs continued through the caliphate of ‘Oṭmān (r. 23-35/644-56). The Arabs established garrisons and appointed governors in the major cities and relative calm prevailed. The Arab governors of Iraq administered the eastern lands from Basra and reported to the caliph in Damascus. They were largely responsible for appointing governors in the east. The furthest frontier on the eastern border of the newly emerged Arab Empire was called Khorasan. This region comprised the former Sasanian province of Khorasan as well as ʾTokārestān and lands beyond the Oxus (see MA WARĀ’ AL-NAHR).

The Arabs quickly subdued Sasanian Khorasan and Sistān and raided as far east as Kabul and the Sind (See ‘ARAB ii. ARAB CONQUEST OF IRAN). Treaties were negotiated with the individual rulers of the major towns and cities



of Khorasan and annual tributes were agreed upon. The local rulers (*moluk al-taw ā'ef*) were responsible for the collection and payment of tribute. The Arabs did not maintain a large physical presence there during this period (see 'ARAB iii. ARAB SETTLEMENTS IN IRAN; la Vaissière, 2007, 2017, 2018; and Agha, 1999, 2003). Initially, after campaigning, they typically returned to Basra. Due to this and internal Arab upheavals, such as the assassinations of the caliphs 'Omar, 'Oṭmān, and 'Ali, the Khorasanis frequently used these periods of Arab unrest to rebel. The early raids and garrisons of the Rashidun period (21-40/641-60) were ephemeral. Treaties were concluded, but the Khorasanis rebelled and withheld tribute in locale after locale. The first *fetna* or civil war (36-40/656-60) marked a hiatus for further Muslim advances.

The appointees of the caliph 'Ali (35-40/656-61) experienced multiple problems from both the Khorasanis and the Arab Muslims. Ja'da b. Hobayra Makzumi, sent to govern Abrašahr (Nishapur) in 37/657 was turned back at the gates. 'Ali's first appointee to Sistān was murdered by bandits, while the second appointee was killed by Ḥasaka b. 'Attab, the leader of a renegade Muslim beggar army that occupied Zaranj for two years (36-38/656-58; Balāḍori, *Fotuḥ*, pp. 394-95, tr., pp. 144-45; Kalifa b. Kayyat, *Ta'rik*, pp. 120-21). Only during the reign of Mo'āwia (41-60/661-80) were attempts made to regain and centralize authority in Khorasan (Ṭabari, I, p. 2706, tr. XIV, p. 76; Balāḍori, *Fotuḥ*, p. 396, tr. p. 146-47).

The history of Khorasan in the early Islamic period can be divided into three distinct stages.

First stage. The first stage began with the initial raids under the first three caliphs and ended with the death of Zia'd b. Abi Sofyān (d. 53/673), Mo'āwia's governor of Iraq and the East. During the later portion of this stage (54-63/673-82) the Muslims established a presence in former Sasanian Khorasan, Sistān, and Ṭokārestān. The first raids and campaigns into Sogdia began during this phase, which ended with the so-called second *fetna*, namely Ebn Zobayr's rebellion (64-74/683-92). During this period, 'Abd-Allāh b. Kāzem ruled Khorasan and was aligned with the counter-caliph Ebn Zobayr (d. 73/692).

Second stage. Factionalism and expansion characterized the second stage (64-96/683-714). Serious Arab tribal conflicts and territorial clashes fostered Muslim disunity and partisanship. The strong neutral authority and



intervention of Mohallab b. Abi Şofra (gov. 78-82/697-701) and his sons (Yazid, gov. 82-85/701-4; Mofazzal, gov. 85-86/704-5) helped restore Omayyad authority over Khorasan and extended raids into Sogdia. Territorial expansion began and ended with the governorship of Qotayba b. Moslem (gov. 86-96/705-15), who carried out the policies of Ḥajjaĵ b. Yusof (governor of Iraq and the East, d. 95/714) for activities on the Khorasani frontier. He reclaimed Sistān from the Ratbil (see above), conquered vast areas of Sogdia, and raided beyond the Jaxartes River.

Third stage. The third and final stage of development (97-128/715-45) experienced a period of mis-governance from outsider Syrians and Kufans, who had little understanding of Khorasan and its frontier. Asad b. ‘Abd-Allāh Qaşri (gov. 106-9/725-27 and 117-20/734-37) initiated reforms and tried to reestablish even-handedness to reduce increasing Khorasani factionalism. Fiscal and administrative reforms implemented by Naşr b. Sayyār (gov. 120-31/738-49) were followed by social and economic reforms that came too late and culminated with an internal Khorasani uprising led by Abu Moslem Kōrāsāni (q.v.) that toppled the Omayyads and established the ‘Abbasid dynasty.

Conquest and Settlement (21-64/641-83)

After the imperial Persian army had been defeated in Iraq (see QĀDESIYA) and at Nehāvand (q.v.), the last Sasanian king, Yazdegerd III, fled eastwards to Khorasan and made his last stand at Marv before his betrayal by the local *marzbān* Māhōē and his murder in 31/652 (Ṭabari, I, pp. 2872-84, tr. XV, pp. 78-90; Balāḍori, *Fotuḥ*, pp. 315-16). According to traditional accounts, Arab troops, mainly those based on Basra, had, however, already been raiding toward Khorasan via the Ṭabasayn (Ṭabas al-Tamr and Ṭabas al-‘Onnāb) in the Great Desert. The first expeditionary forces to Khorasan were reportedly composed of ten thousand men from Başra and ten thousand from Kufa. Aḥnaf b. Qays entered Khorasan in 22/642 via Ṭabasayn, the desert route, taking the city of Harāt (Ṭabari, I, p. 2682, tr. XIV, p. 53; Ebn Atīr, III, p. 16). A brief note in Ṭabari states that in Quhestān a governor and a Muslim judge were appointed and that Quhestān was used as a base for staging attacks into Kermān (Ṭabari, I, p. 2705, tr. XIV, p. 74). The cities of Nişāpur, Ṭus, Marv, Abivard, Nasa, Saraks, and Balk all came under Muslim control. The chronology for these conquests varies but Ṭabari dates the above conquests to 31/651 (Ṭabari, I, pp. 2884-88, tr. XV, pp. 90-93).



Other reports indicate that when ‘Abd-Allāh b. ‘Āmer b. Korayz (29-35/649-55 and 41-44/661-64) was governor of Basra and the East, a two-fold attack was launched on Khorasan, with a Kufan army under Sa‘id b. ‘Āṣi pushing on the northern route, along the southern rim of the Alborz via Ray, and a Basran army under ‘Abd-Allāh b. ‘Āmer and Aḥnaf b. Qays traveling by the southern route from Fārs through Kerman and the Ṭabasayn. As a result, in 31/651-52 Basran forces under Aḥnaf b. Qays captured Nishapur, and in the next year, the last great fortress of the region, Marw al-Rud, fell. All this took place against the background of resistance by the Sasanian army and by local magnates, such as the *marzbān* of Marw al-Rud, Bāḍām. Bāḍām submitted to the Arabs and received back his lands in exchange for tribute of 60,000 dirhams (Ṭabari, I, pp. 2884-88, 2897-906, tr., XV, pp. 90-93, 102-10; Balāḍori, *Fotuḥ*, p. 406; Markwart, pp. 67-68). Over the following years, however, turmoil in the central lands of the caliphate, with the murder of the caliph ‘Oṭmān and the ensuing struggles for power, especially the civil war (35-40/656-61) between ‘Ali b. Abi Ṭāleb and Mo‘āwia, the tentative Arab control over Khorasan became relaxed. The Iranian landowners and magnates sought the aid of outside powers, such as the Hephthalites of northern Afghanistan, the Western Turks of Türgesh, and even from the Chinese, since the T’ang emperors claimed a distant sovereignty over Tibet and Central Asia to the west of the Tien-shan and Kunlun mountains. But the distances involved meant that practical Chinese aid to the Iranian princes was at best intermittent, and although the Sasanian prince Pērōz, son of Yazdegerd III, was recognized around 661 as vassal prince of *Tsi-ling*, he was speedily driven out by the Arabs and died in China in 672 (Markwart, p. 68). (For a more detailed account of the conquest period, see ‘ARAB ii. ARAB CONQUEST OF IRAN).

The continual unrest in Khorasan during this period has muddled the facts and obscured the chronology and the historical records of events there. It appears the Khorasanis rebelled by withholding tribute and expelling Muslims in locale after locale. The small sizes of the Muslim armies and their inability to garrison all towns and cities precipitated a repeated pattern of “capture-rebellion-recapture” (Hill, pp. 135-37). Sistān had a more settled Muslim presence than Sasanian Khorasan and provided Iraq and Syria with 40,000 slaves (Balāḍori, tr., p. 143; Bosworth, 1968, p. 20.) The pacification of the Ratbil in Sistān and the enlargement of the Arab garrison in Marv shifted Muslim priorities to the edges of their new frontier in Ṭokārestān and into Sogdia in Transoxiana (Mā warā’ al-nahr).



Mo'āwia (r. 41-60/661-80), the founder of the Omayyad dynasty, attempted to centralize authority in Khorasan. Under him, Omayyad Khorasan encompassed Sasanian Khorasan, Sistān, and Zābolestān (the lands of the Ratbil, stretching to Kabul). He re-subdued all of these regions, but much of western (lower) ʿTokārestān resisted Muslim authority (Ṭabari, I, p. 2706, tr., XIV, p. 76; Balāḍori, *Fotuḥ*, tr., p. 137).

TREATIES, TRIBUTE, AND GARRISONS

During this phase, the Muslim armies negotiated treaties with the local elites. The conditions of these treaties varied depending on whether the town or city had been taken by force (*anwatan*) or peacefully (*solḥan*). Those cities taken by force lost everything. In those taken peacefully, all moveable booty was collected and the town and outlying dependencies were put under tribute.

The local rulers (*moluk al-ṭawā'ef*) typically remained in power and collected the tribute for the Muslims, maintaining the existing tax structure. These treaties (*oḥud*) varied in content but were adhered to by both the Muslims and the Khorasanis. (see Qāḍi, pp. 47-113.) Tribute was paid in cash and in kind. The local rulers during this early period submitted to the Muslims but kept their social hierarchies intact and maintained their privileges. The establishment of Muslim settlements in Khorasan injected a new dynamic that transformed the Muslim presence there from a military force that only extracted resources, to one that shared in its social and economic integration. The principal Muslim garrisons established throughout Khorasan included Abaršahr (Nishapur), Herat, Marv al-Ruḍ, and Marv.

Permanent Settlements (53-64/672-683). The caliph 'Omar instructed his armies to settle in cities, as urban garrison towns (*meṣr*, pl. *amṣār*). This assured the development of an Islamic zone of control and structured leadership. The *amṣār* provided a safe environment for religious education, adherence to Islamic traditions and beliefs, and concentrated all tribes in a common space that forced them to interact with each other, allowing them to have a sense of community.

A Muslim force of 4,000 under Omayr b. Aḥmar Yaškori remained garrisoned in Marv, the main city in Khorasan, until 32/652 and represented the beginning of a permanent Muslim physical presence in Khorasan (Gardizi, pp. 229-30; Balāḍori, *Fotuḥ*, tr. p. 170). At Marv, the Muslim garrisons rotated in and out until 51/671 when, according to a report by Balāḍori (*Fotuḥ*, p. 410, tr.



p. 171), 50,000 families settled around the Marv oasis (for interpretations of this report, see Agha, 1999; la Vassière, 2017). They established themselves in a network of villages along the lines of the five tribal divisions (*akmās*) present in Baṣra (Jabali, p. 121; see Figure 1). We know that in addition to Marv, there were garrisons in Nasā, Abivard, Sarakṣ, Nishapur, Ṭus, Marv al-Ruḍ, Bušanj, Herat, Ṭālaqān, Fāryāb, and Jowzjān (Ṭabari, I, 2884-904, tr., XV, pp. 90-107). Baruqān, near Balk (Yaḡut, *Moʿjam*, I, p. 405) and Kōlm (Samʿani, V, p. 164) are mentioned as being garrisoned much later.

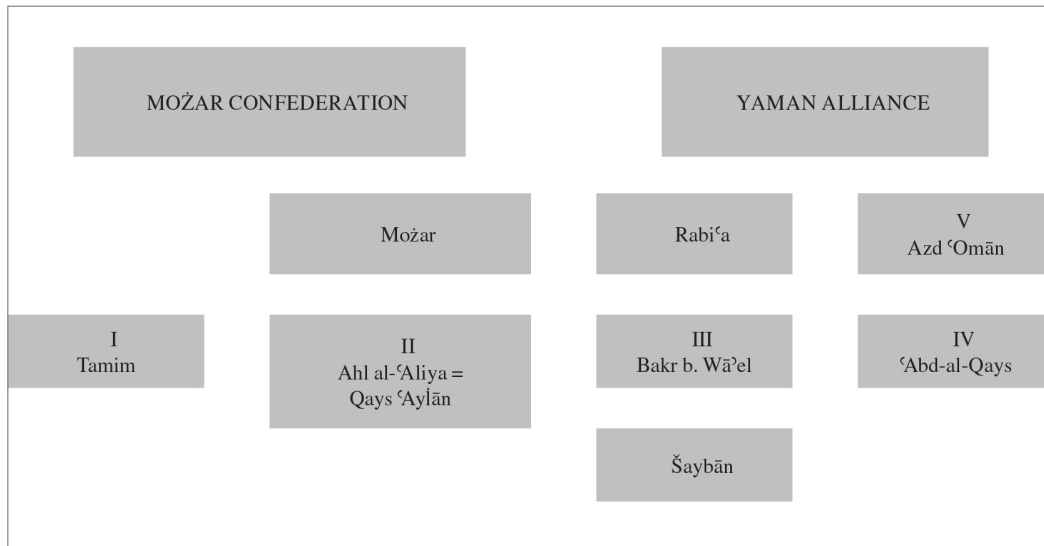


Figure 1. The Arab tribal divisions of Khorasan in the Omayyad Period, with the *akmās* marked by roman numerals.

EARLY FRONTIER GOVERNANCE

Under ʿOtmān, there were five districts (*ko war*) of Khorasan: Marv al-Šāhejān (with Marv al-Ruḍ as a dependency), Balk, Herat (with Bušanj and Bādḡis), Ṭus, and Nishapur (see ʿAṭwān, pp. 49-50, and ʿAli). This division mirrors divisions along early (pre-7th century) Sasanian lines. After restructuring, Marv (al-Šāhejān) was administered separately, while Marv al-Ruḍ, on the edge of the former Sasanian-Hephthalite frontier, became the main Muslim administrative center for western (lower) Ṭokārestān, which included Ṭālaqān and Fāryāb in Jowzjān to the east, but excluded Balk. The district of Herat continued to include both Bādḡis and Bušanj (Balāḡori, *Fotuḥ*, tr. p. 163). The administrative center of Ṭus district



was switched to Nishapur, when Oṭmān appointed Qays b. Hayṭām Solami over it and Khorasan (Ṭabari, I, p. 2831, tr., XV, 36; Balāḍori, *Fotuḥ*, p. 404, tr. p. 161).

Table 1
GOVERNORS OF KHORASAN DURING THE PERIOD OF RAIDS AND SETTLEMENTS (641-83 CE)

Caliphs	Governors of Iraq	Governors of Khorasan
‘Oṭmān (r. 23-35/644-56)	‘Abd-Allāh b. ‘Āmer b. Korayz (29-35/649-55 and 41-44/661-64)	
‘Alī (r. 35-40/656-61)		Different District Governors
Mo‘āwia b. Abi Sofyān (r. 41-60/661-80)	Ziād b. Abi Sofyān (45-53/665-73)	Different District Governors
		‘Abd-Allāh b. Kāzem ¹ (43-45/663-65)
		Ḥakam b. ‘Amr Ğefāri ² (47/667?)
		Ġaleb b. Faḏāla Layṭi ³ (48/668)
		Rabi‘ b. Ziād Ḥāreṭi ⁴ (51-53/671-72)
		‘Obayd-Allāh b. Ziād ⁵ (53-55/672-74)
	‘Obayd-Allāh b. Ziād (56-67/675-686)	‘Abd-Allāh and ‘Abd-al-Raḥmān b. Ziād ⁶
		Sa‘īd b. ‘Oṭmān b. ‘Affān ⁷ (56-58/675-77)
		Aslam b. Zor‘a Kelābi ⁸ (<i>karaj</i>)
Yazīd b. Mo‘āwia (r. 60-64/680-83)		‘Abd-al-Raḥmān b. Ziād ⁹ (58-61?/678-80?)
		Salm b. Ziād ¹⁰ (61-64/680-83)

Notes: The chronology of the early governors of Khorasan is confusing and extremely difficult to reconstruct up until the governorship of Salm b. Ziād in 61/680.

(1) Both Ebn al-Aṭir (III, p. 210) and Ya‘qubi (II, p. 218) date the beginning of the first governorship of ‘Abd-Allāh b. Kāzem in 42 AH. Ṭabari, II, p. 65, tr., XVIII, p. 68, places it in 43 AH, the date that Ebn al-Aṭir (III, p. 218) has him leaving that post. Various sources name two companions of the Prophet as having served as governors before Rabi‘ b. Ziād Ḥāreṭi.

(2) Ḥakam b. ‘Amr Ğefāri and (3) Ġaleb b. Faḏāla Layṭi. Ṭabari (II, p. 85, tr. XVIII, p. 85) and Ebn al-Aṭir (III, p. 224) name Ḥakam as governor in 45 AH, while Ya‘qubi says he was appointed in 44/664. Ya‘qubi also says that he died that year (II, p. 222). Both Ebn al-Aṭir (III, p. 233) and Balāḍori (*Fotuḥ*, p.400) claim that he died in 50/670. Ġaleb b. Faḏāla Layṭi is mentioned by both Ṭabari (II, p. 85, tr., XVIII, p. 93) and Ebn al-Aṭir (III, p. 227) as being appointed in 48/668. Ebn A‘tam (IV, p. 202) mentions him following Ḥakam.

(4) Ṭabari (II, p. 155, tr., XVIII, p. 163) and Balāḍori (*Fotuḥ*, p.400) name Rabi‘ b. Ziād Ḥāreṭi as being appointed governor in 51/671, while Ya‘qubi places him there in 44/664 (II, p. 222). Until the second *fetna* all of the governors are from the Banu Ziād except essentially Sa‘īd b. ‘Oṭmān b. ‘Affān, the son of the third caliph.

(5) ‘Obayd-Allāh b. Ziād governed Khorasan from 53-56-7/672-675 according to Ya‘qubi (II, pp. 236, 237). Balāḍori mentions his appointment. Ṭabari contradicts this, stating he started in 54/673 (II, p. 167, tr., XVIII, p. 176).

(6) Between the governorship of ‘Obayd-Allāh b. Ziād and that of (7) Sa‘īd b. ‘Oṭmān b. ‘Affān, ‘Abd-Allāh and ‘Abd-al-Raḥmān b. Ziād, two sons of Ziād b. Abi Sofyān, filled in when ‘Obayd-Allāh b. Ziād became the governor of Iraq upon the death of his father. Ebn al-Aṭir says they were dismissed in 56/675 (III, p. 253) while Ya‘qubi has them in the position in 57/676 (II, p. 237). Ṭabari (II, p. 177, tr., XVIII, p. 187), Ebn A‘tam (IV, pp. 184-85), Ebn al-Aṭir (III, p. 253) and Balāḍori (*Fotuḥ*, p. 400) all agree that Sa‘īd b. ‘Oṭmān b. ‘Affān was appointed in 56/675.

(8) Aslam b. Zor‘a Kelābi was over the *karaj* most likely during Sa‘īd’s governorship. His appointment is confirmed by Ṭabari in 56/676 (II, pp. 179-80, tr., XVIII, p. 190), Ebn A‘tam (IV, p. 199), Ebn al-Aṭir [55/674](III, p. 248), Ya‘qubi (II, p. 237) and Balāḍori (p. 403).

(9) Ebn al-Aṭir (III, p. 256) states that ‘Abd-al-Raḥmān b. Ziād jailed Aslam when he was appointed governor in 59/678 (Ṭabari XVIII:199; Ebn al-Aṭir 3:256).

(10) After 59/678, no other governor is discussed until the appointment of Salm b. Ziād in 61/680 (Ṭabari, II, pp. 391-92, tr., XIX, p. 184; Ebn A‘tam, V, p. 254; Ebn al-Aṭir, III, p. 304, Ya‘qubi, II, p. 252 and Balāḍori, *Fotuḥ*, p. 403).

Table 1 Governors of Khorasan during the Period of Raids and Settlements (641-83 CE)

The caliph ‘Omar had established *šaraf* (nobility) on the basis of Islamic



precedence, that is, honoring and granting special privileges to the earliest Muslims. As a consequence, *ṣaḥābis* (Companions of the Prophet) dominated in leadership positions (Ebn al-Atīr, *Osḍ al-ġāba*, I, pp. 68-69; Kalifa, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 95-96; Ebn Kallekān, I, pp. 425-28.) All of these Companions of the Prophet represented a segment of the Muslim elite (*a ṣ rāf al-Eslām*), who obtained a high status in society because of their service to Islam and their relationship to the ruling Islamic authorities rather than tribal status or ethnic purity. ‘Oṭmān continued this policy while at the same time favoring his relatives. The caliph Mo‘āwia (r. 41-60/661–80) ordered Ziād b. Abi Sofyān (gov. of Iraq 42-53/662-73) to select Ḥakam b. ‘Amr Ġefāri, a *ṣaḥābi* (first-generation Muslim) to be governor of Khorasan in 44/664-65 (Ya‘qubi, II, p. 222). Ḥakam died in office in Marv 50/670-71, and then, after a succession of deputies, Rabe‘ b. Ziād Ḥāriṭi (gov. 51-53/671-72), another *ṣaḥābi*, was appointed governor. Under Mo‘āwia, a second generation of administrators emerged who were better equipped to deal with matters of state in Khorasan than the aging first generation *ṣaḥāba* (Companions of the Prophet). For a period of ten years, the east was almost exclusively ruled by Ziād’s sons (‘Abd-al-Raḥmān, ‘Obayd-Allāh, ‘Abbād). Yazid b. Mo‘āwia (60-64/680-83) continued his father’s policy by appointing his “cousins,” (Salm b. Ziād [61-64/680-83] and Yazid b. Ziād [killed 61/680]). This Sofyānid corporate dynasty thus ruled, and the only exception was the two-year appointment of the third caliph ‘Oṭmān’s son, Sa‘īd b. ‘Oṭmān b. ‘Affān to the governorship of Khorasan (56-58/675-77). This near family monopoly on governing positions in Khorasan was accepted by the Muslims.

FACTIONALIZATION AND ASSIMILATION (64-96/683-714)

The second *fetna* (64-73/683-92), as the rebellion of ‘Abd-Allāh Ebn Zobayr has been called, marked the end of Sofyānid Omayyad political rule. It intensified major religious unrest in Iraq. The Kharijites grew stronger and repeatedly attacked Baṣra. Iraq became embroiled in political as well as sectarian wars. As a result, distant Khorasan became a place of political and religious refuge for many Muslims.

When the caliph Mo‘āwia II b. Yazid died in 64/683, Omayyad authority throughout Khorasan broke down and individual tribes seized control of the different districts. Tribal warfare ensued with the Qays and Tamim against the Rabi‘a and the Azd. Inter-tribal feuds became common between the Tamim and the Bakr b. Wa‘il. Omayyad authority in Khorasan was in tatters.

The Marwanid Omayyad restoration. Ḥajjāj b. Yusof became governor for Iraq



in 75/694 and gained authority over Khorasan in 697. Ḥajjāj appointed Mohallab b. Abi Ṣofra over Khorasan. In 699, Mohallab crossed the Oxus and campaigned against Keš, which he made his base of operations for two years. His strategy was to pacify eastern (upper) Ṭokārestān (Keš, Kottal and Caḡāniān) as well as western (lower) Ṭokārestān, which had never been completely subdued.

Qotayba b. Moslem and the conquest of Sogdia. Qotayba b. Moslem (d. 96/715) became governor over both Khorasan and Sistān in 86/705. Qotayba was forced to subdue rebellion in Sogdia and Ṭokārestān instigated by the Arab rebel Musa b. ‘Abd-Allah, who had established an enclave in Termed (72-85/691-704). His father, ‘Abd-Allah b. Kaẓem, was governor of Khorasan (64-72/683-91) and had the support of the non-Arab rulers of Sogdia.

With the help of the Hephthalite ruler, the Nēzak (see NEZAK and HEPHTHALITES) Qotayba succeeded in concluding agreements in Sogdia and pacifying Ṭokārestān. When the Nēzak rebelled and enlisted all of the rulers of Ṭokārestān from Bādḡis to Kabul to join him, Qotayba was hard pressed but eventually executed the Nēzak and many of the *moluk al-tawā’ef* of Ṭokārestān (Kalifa, *Ta’rik*

, p. 190; Ebn al-Atīr, IV, p. 114; Ṭabari, II, pp. 1207-8, 1221-23, tr. XXIII, pp. 154-55, 168-70). Qotayba subsequently pacified the Ratbil in Sistān, subdued K̄vārazm, and captured Samarqand (on his campaigns, see Stark, 2018). He successfully employed a policy of making peace and then impressing local militias into service.



Table 2
GOVERNORS DURING THE PERIOD OF FACTIONALIZATION AND EXPANSION (64-96/683-714)

Caliphs	Governors of Iraq	Governors of Khorasan
Mo'awia II b. Yazid (64/683) ʿAbd-al-Malek (65-86/685-705)	ʿObayd-Allāh b. Zīād (56-67/675-86) Ḥajjāj b. Yusof (75-95/694-713)	ʿAbd-Allāh b. Kāzem ¹ (64-72/683-91) Boḡayr b. Weṣāh ² (72-74/691-93) Omayya b. ʿAbd-Allāh ³ (74-78/693-97) Mohallab b. Abi Ṣofra ⁴ (78-82/697-701) Yazid b. Mohallab ⁵ (82-85/701-4) Mofazzal b. Mohallab ⁶ (85-86/704-5) Qotayba b. Moslem ⁷ (86-96/705-14)
al-Walid I (86-96/705-15)		

Notes: (1) Almost all of the major sources agree that ʿAbd-Allāh b. Kāzem gained his second governorship (64-72/683-91) by having Salm b. Zīād relinquish his authority to him (Ṭabari, II, p. 489, tr., XX, p. 72; Ebn Aʿtam, V, p. 311; Ebn al-Aʿtir, III, p. 31, IV, pp. 20-21; Yaʿqubi, II, p. 252; and Balāḡori, *Fotuh*, tr., p. 404). ʿAbd-Allāh b. Kāzem then pledged allegiance to Ebn Zobayr.
(2) Boḡayr b. Weṣāh's dates are firm (Ṭabari, II, pp. 834, 859, tr., XXI, p. 212, and XXII, p. 7; Ebn Aʿtam, V, p. 312, VI, p. 289; Ebn al-Aʿtir, IV, pp. 21, 30). Yaʿqubi documents that Boḡayr beheaded ʿAbd-Allāh b. Kāzem (II, p. 271) and Balāḡori affirms Boḡayr's appointment by ʿAbd-al-Malek (*Fotuh*, tr. p. 405).
(3) Omayya b. ʿAbd-Allāh's dates are firm (Ṭabari tr., XXII, pp. 7, 178; Ebn Aʿtam, VI, p. 288, VII, p. 120; Ebn al-Aʿtir, IV, pp. 30, 71; Yaʿqubi, II, p. 271; Balāḡori, *Fotuh*, tr., p. 406; and Kālifā, dismissal, p. 187).
(4) Mohallab b. Abi Ṣofra and two of his sons ruled after Omayya (Ṭabari, II, pp. 1033, 1084, tr., XXII, p. 178, XXIII, p. 32; Ebn Aʿtam, VII, pp. 78, 120; Ebn al-Aʿtir, IV, pp. 71, 83; Yaʿqubi, II, pp. 272, 276; Balāḡori, *Fotuh*, tr., p. 407, and Kālifā, pp. 185, 187).
(5) Yazid b. Mohallab (Ṭabari, II, p. 1085, 1140, tr., XXIII, pp. 33, 85; Ebn Aʿtam, VII, pp. 196, 204; Ebn al-Aʿtir, IV, pp. 83, 96; Yaʿqubi, appointed, II, p. 276; Balāḡori, appointed by Ḥajjāj b. Yusof, *Fotuh*, tr. p. 407; and Kālifā, appointed, p. 187).
(6) Ṭabari (II, pp. 1141, 1178, tr., XXIII, pp. 86, 126) and Ebn al-Aʿtir (IV, pp. 83, 96) confirm his dates. Yaʿqubi affirms his appointment date (II, p. 276) and Balāḡori, his appointment by Ḥajjāj b. Yusof (*Fotuh*, tr., p. 407).
(7) Qotayba b. Moslem's dates are well documented (Ṭabari, II, pp. 1178, 1296, tr. XXIII, p. 126, XXIV, p. 20; Ebn Aʿtam, appointed, VII, p. 204; Ebn al-Aʿtir, IV, pp. 105, 138; Yaʿqubi, appointed, II, p. 276; Kālifā, pp. 187, 200), but Balāḡori commences his governorship in 85/704 (*Fotuh*, tr. p. 407).

Table 2. Governors During the Period of Factionalization and Expansion (64-96/683-714)

The death of Ḥajjāj in 95/713, followed a year later by the death of the caliph al-Walid b. ʿAbd-al-Malek caused Qotayba to fear an end of his ten-year posting (Ṭabari, II, p. 1267, tr. XXIII, p. 216; Ebn Aʿtam, VII, p. 249; Ebn al-Aʿtir, IV, p. 132). In 96/714-15, Qotayba incited his army to rebel, but they refused and killed him (ca. August 715). The tribal leaders of Khorasan deferred to Moḡar pre-eminence, but Qotayba's downfall was accomplished by consensus among the Moḡar, the Rabi'a-Yaman, and the *mawāli* (clients; see 'ARAB iii; CONVERSION ii; IRAN ii[2]). The passing of these three men marked a turning point in Omayyad governance.

ESTRANGEMENT, DIVISION, AND ARBITRATION (97-128/715-45)

Under Qotayba's leadership, the *maw ā li* found status, power, and prestige. Men such as Ḥayyān Nabaṭi and his son Moḡātel rose to prominence. Ḥayyān's status as the commander of the *mawāli* forces gave him the same status as a chief in the *qabā'el*-system; but within Muslim society, owing to his non-Arab



origin, his advancement could only truly be achieved under the auspices and umbrella of the *a š rāf al-Eslām*. The presence and service of the *maw āli* as part of Muslim authority eclipsed the authority of the non-Muslim *moluk al-ṭawā'ef* and affected the eventual transfer of all local power to Muslim officials (see Ṭabari, II, pp. 1290-91, 1299, 1328-31, tr., XXIV, pp. 13-15, 23, 53-55; Balāḍori, *Fotuḥ*, p. 337, tr. p. 42).

During the caliphate of 'Omar b. 'Abd-al-'Aziz ('Omar II; r. 99-101/717-20), there was a focus on reforms and recognizing equality among Muslims regardless of their ethnic origins. A delegation from Khorasan informed him that the *mawāli* participating in campaigns in Khorasan did not receive '*aṭ ā'* or *rezq* (salary and maintenance pay) and that converts to Islam still paid the *jezya* (q.v.). 'Omar II abolished the *jezya* for new converts and triggered a wave of new converts (Ṭabari, II, p. 1354, tr., XXIV, p. 83; Ebn al-Atīr, IV, p. 158). These mass conversions broke the pattern of controlled conversion, and many administrators believed that these new Muslims had only converted in order to escape the *jezya*. The reforms were short-lived and the *jezya* was re-imposed on many of the "new converts," causing many of them to renounce Islam (see Ṭabari, II, p. 1510, tr., XXV, p. 48).

Samarqand, conversion, and the Murji'ites. Throughout the Omayyad period governorship was a source of private enrichment. Both the Muslim tax collectors (*ommāl*) and the non-Muslim rulers in Sogdia were often corrupt. While lining their own pockets, they were pressured to maintain or increase tax revenues. Exemption from paying the *jezya* for converts to Islam reduced revenues, so these officials continually contended that new conversions were a contrived means to escape taxes. As a result, converts to Islam were forced to pay the *jezya*.

Mass conversions to Islam prompted Jarrāḥ b. 'Abd-Allāh Ḥakami (gov. 99-100/717-18) to impose a circumcision test as proof of conversion. 'Omar II stopped this (Ṭabari, II, p. 1354, tr. XIV, p. 83; Madelung, p. 16). Most probably, many converted for economic reasons. However, Ašras b. 'Abd-Allāh Solami (gov. 109-11/727-30) sponsored a conversion campaign initiated by a *mawlā*, Abu'l-Šaydā' Šāleḥ b. Ṭarīf, who converted many by promising them that they would pay no *jezya*, only *karāj* (Ṭabari, II, 1507-10, tr. XXV, pp. 46-48; Ṭabari, II, 1507-10, tr. XXV, pp. 46-48). But, again, when revenues dropped drastically, circumcision tests were re-imposed, and converts were required to recite a *sura* from the Qur'an (see Ṭabari, II, p. 1508, tr. XXV, p. 47).



Pressure to produce revenues no doubt triggered conversion tests in an effort to detect fraud, but additionally non-Muslim rulers did not wish to see their subjects convert, since that diminished their standing in the community. Another factor that is impossible to gauge is the brand of Islam that was being preached by Abu'l-Şaydā'. Was his message one approved by the authorities or was it a type of Murji'ism, where all one needed was to have faith in one's heart with no need for actions or outward displays of religious practice? This question is raised because of the large concentration of Murji'ite believers in Balk and Sogdia. We know that the famous poet-warrior Tābit Qoṭnah was a Murji'ite. He and Abu'l-Şaydā' actively supported some seven thousand new converts who refused to pay the *jezya* again when it was re-imposed on them. Abu'l-Şaydā' and Tābit withdrew with this group, but they were both imprisoned for a while and Persian elites were humiliated in the streets and forced to pay the *karāj*, while common converts were forced to pay the *jezya* (Ṭabari, II, p. 1508, tr., XXV, p. 47).

Five years later, in 734, Ḥāreṭ b. Sorayj Tamimi rebelled against 'Āşem b. 'Abd-Allāh Helāli (gov. 116-17/734-36). His men consisted of converts and both Yamanis and Tamimis. He advocated for the end of illegal taxes on Muslims, insisted on providing proper pensions for them and called for fairness and justice. He was charismatic and championed the *mawālī* and converts of Sogdia, along with his religious spokesman, Jahm b. Şafwān (q.v.; d. 128/746), who founded the Jahmiya. Ḥāreṭ found refuge with the Kāqān in Ṭokārestān, the Ekşid of Sogdia, the Yabġu, the Sabal of Kottal, the Ekşid of Sāş, and the Türgesh. Ḥāreṭ's Murji'ite version of Islam, like that of the Kharijites, accepted all Muslims as equals. Independent of Omayyad authority, he spread his form of Islam in Khorasan (on Ḥāreṭ and the Murji'ites, see Wellhausen, pp. 464-72, 485-88; Gibb, pp. 76-85; Madelung, 1982, 1988; Blankinship, pp. 176-84; Agha, 1997).



Table 3
THE ERA OF MISGOVERNANCE—SYRIANS AND KUFANS (97-128/715-745)

Caliphs	Governors of Iraq	Governors of Khorasan
Solaymān (96-99/715-17)		Wakī' b. Abi Sud Tamimi ¹ 97/716 (9 mo.)
'Omar II b. 'Abd-al-'Aziz (99-101/717-20)	Yazid b. Mohallab (97-99/715-17)	Yazid b. Mohallab ² (98-99/716-17)
		Jarrāh b. 'Abd-Allāh ³ (99-100/717-18)
Yazid b. 'Abd-al-Malek (101-105/720-24)	Maslama b. 'Abd-al-Malek (101-2/719-21)	'Abd-al-Rahmān No'aym and 'Abd-al-Rahmān b. 'Abd-Allāh ⁴ (100-101/718-19)
	'Omar b. Hobayra (103-5/721-23)	Sa'īd b. 'Abd-al-'Aziz ⁵ (102-103/719-21)
Hešām (105-25/723-42)		Sa'īd b. 'Amr Harašī ⁶ (103-104/721-22)
		Moslem b. Sa'īd b. Aslam ⁷ (104-5/722-23)
		Asad b. 'Abd-Allāh Qasri ⁸ (106-9/725-27)
		Ašras b. 'Abd-Allāh Solami ⁹ (109-11/727-29)
		Jonayd b. 'Abd-al-Rahmān ¹⁰ (111-16/729-34)
		'Āšem b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Yazid ¹¹ (116-17/734-35)
	Yusuf b. 'Omar Ṭaqafi (120-26/738-43)	Asad b. 'Abd-Allāh Qasri ¹² (117-20/735-38)
		Našr b. Sayyār ¹³ (120-31/738-48)

Notes: (1) Wakī' b. Abi Sud Tamimi was appointed by the Caliph Solaymān after killing Qotayba. He ruled between 9 and 10 months only (Ṭabari, II, pp. 1311-12, tr., XXIV, p. 36; Ebn A'ṭam, VII, p. 278; Ebn al-Aṭir, IV, p. 145; Ya'qubi, II, p. 296; Balāḍori, *Fotuh*, tr., p. 413); Ḳalifa, appointed 963, p. 203).
(2) Yazid b. al-Mohallab's dates are well documented (Ṭabari, II, pp. 1306, 1310, 1346, tr., XXIV, pp. 30, 34, XXIV, p. 75; Ebn A'ṭam, VII, p. 278; Ebn al-Aṭir, IV, p. 144; Ya'qubi, II, 296; Balāḍori, appointed by Solaymān, *Fotuh*, tr., p. 414).
(3) Jarrāh b. 'Abd-Allāh (Ṭabari, II, 1347, 1352-53, tr., XXIV, p. 75, XXIV, p. 82; Ebn A'ṭam, VII, p. 320; Ebn al-Aṭir, IV, p. 157; Ya'qubi, II, p. 302; Balāḍori, *Fotuh*, tr., p. 415; Ḳalifa, p. 206 gives a dismissal date of 101/719).
(4) 'Abd-al-Rahmān No'aym and 'Abd-al-Rahmān b. 'Abd-Allāh divided the administration with the former in charge of the military and prayer and the latter in charge of the *ḡarāj*. Sources have them in office for 1.5 years (Ṭabari, II, 1354-55, 1356-57, tr., XXIV, pp. 84, 86-87; Ebn al-Aṭir, IV, p. 157; Ya'qubi, II, p. 302; Balāḍori, *Fotuh*, tr., p. 415; and Ḳalifa, p. 206, gives an accession date of 101/719).
(5) Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (Ṭabari, II, 1417-18, 1436, tr., XXIV, pp. 149-50, 166; Ebn al-Aṭir, IV, pp. 177, 183; Ya'qubi, II, pp. 311, 312; Balāḍori, *Fotuh*, tr., p. 416; Ḳalifa, p. 210).
(6) Sa'īd b. 'Amr Harašī (Ṭabari, II, 1436, 1453, tr., XXIV, pp. 166, 183; Ebn A'ṭam, VIII, pp. 26, 27-28; Ebn al-Aṭir, IV, pp. 183, 188; Balāḍori, *Fotuh*, tr., p. 416; Ḳalifa, pp. 210, 214; he is not mentioned by Ya'qubi).
(7) Moslem b. Sa'īd b. Aslam (Ṭabari, II, 1458, 1462, tr., XXIV, pp. 187, 193; Ebn A'ṭam, VIII, p. 28; Ebn al-Aṭir, IV, pp. 188, 195 [gives date as 106]; Ya'qubi, II, p. 312; Balāḍori, appointed by 'Omar b. Hubayrah, *Fotuh*, tr., p. 416; Ḳalifa, pp. 214, 216 [gives date as 106]).
(8) Asad b. 'Abd-Allāh Qasri (Ebn A'ṭam, VIII, pp. 35, 99; Ebn al-Aṭir, IV, pp. 195, 200; Ya'qubi, II, p. 319; Balāḍori, *Fotuh*, tr., p. 417 says he was appointed by his brother Ḳāled b. 'Abd-Allāh Qasri; Ḳalifa, pp. 216, 233 [gives date as 108]).
(9) Ašras b. 'Abd-Allāh Solami (Ṭabari, II, pp. 1506, 1527, tr., XXV, pp. 44, 65; Ebn A'ṭam, VIII, p. 99; Ebn al-Aṭir, IV, pp. 200, 206; Balāḍori, appointed by Hešām, *Fotuh*, tr., p. 417; Ḳalifa, p. 233 [gives appointment as 108 and dismissal as 113]; he is not mentioned by Ya'qubi).
(10) Jonayd b. 'Abd-al-Rahmān (Ṭabari, II, pp. 1527, 1565, tr., XXV, pp. 65, 103; Ebn A'ṭam, VIII, p. 99; Ebn al-Aṭir, IV, pp. 206, 217; Ya'qubi [earlier]; and Balāḍori, appointed in 112, *Fotuh*, tr., p. 418; Ḳalifa, p. 233 [gives appointment as 113 and dismissal as 115]).
(11) 'Āšem b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Yazid (Ṭabari, II, p. 1564, tr., XXV, pp. 102, 111; Ebn A'ṭam, VIII, p. 106; Ebn al-Aṭir, IV, pp. 217, 219; Balāḍori, appointed by Hešām, *Fotuh*, tr., p. 418; Ḳalifa, pp. 233, 234 [gives appointment and dismissal as 115]; not mentioned by Ya'qubi).
(12) Asad b. 'Abd-Allāh Qasri (Ṭabari, II, pp. 1581-82, tr., XXV, p. 119; Ebn A'ṭam, VIII, p. 106, and VIII, p. 107 mentions his death; Ebn al-Aṭir, IV, pp. 219, 234; Ḳalifa, pp. 224, 233, gives appointment as 115; his appointment is not mentioned by Ya'qubi).
(13) Sources are generally in agreement for the dates of Našr b. Sayyār's governorship (although Ṭabari, II, p. 1638, tr. XXV, p. 170 has the official appointment arriving in Rajab 121/June 739).

Table 3 The Era of Misgovernance—Syrians and Kufans (97-128/715-745)



The Muslim presence in Sogdia completely disrupted the economy and stripped the population of its wealth. Until the governorship of Naṣr b. Sayyār (gov. 120-131/738-48), Omayyad governance had only extracted wealth. It had been corrupted and inconsistent in its policies of tax collection and conversion. Only when peace and commerce were restored could Sogdia begin to accept a new order. Naṣr b. Sayyār, as mentioned before, implemented reforms and was able to win back Sogdian trust. During his governorship, he launched diplomatic missions to China, which successfully established cordial Omayyad-Chinese relations (Beckwith, pp. 124-25). His missions to China became so regular that, in 741, when Ināl Tudun Külüğ, the viceroy of Sāš, requested Chinese assistance against the Muslims, the emperor refused it.

An anti-Omayyad movement had begun around 720. Its propaganda concentrated on the population of Khorasan, and finally, in 746, the Abbasid Revolution under the leadership of Abu Moslem Khorāsāni began there. It quickly gained success in Khorasan, toppled Omayyad authority there, and spread westward into Persia and Iraq. Continued victories propelled the movement into Syria and in 750, the Omayyads were defeated and the Abbasid dynasty was established. Abu Moslem Khorāsāni retained control of Khorasan and reestablished Muslim control over Transoxiana. However, in 755, he was assassinated, and the Abbasid caliph appointed his own governor of Khorasan.

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