

THE PEOPLE OF *AL-AYYĀM* AND THEIR ROLES DURING THE EARLY ARAB CONQUEST OF IRAQ

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Introduction

This paper aimed at introducing the people of *al-Ayyām* and their roles during the Arab conquest of Iraq in the mid-seventh century A.D. The situation in Iraq following the Arab conquest was dominated by the people of *al-Ayyām* who considered the conquered land in Iraq their own property, and were very sensitive to any change in the system.

To begin with, who were the people of *al-Ayyām*? The answer to the question must necessarily be sought in the early history of the Arab conquest of Iraq, in which this group was involved.

The conquest of Iraq and the emergence of *ahl al-Ayyām*

The Arab conquest of Iraq began in 12/633, just after the *ridḍa*-War in 11/632, in which Ḥālīd b. al-Walīd of Maḥzūm, one of the most powerful clans of Qurayš, became eminent among the Arab army commanders. Being a great and influential leader, Ḥālīd fought the apostates with minimum instructions from the Caliph Abū Bakr. In this famous war Ḥālīd succeeded in defeating *ridḍa* tribesmen of Asad, Ṭayy, Ġaṭafān, Fazāra and Tamīm, most of whom were nomads (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 1871, 1893, 1896, 1902, 1908, 1921, 1922-3, 1980; Shaban 1971: 24). The last and crucial campaign was against the settlement of the most powerful Central Arabian tribe of Ḥanīfa at al-Yamāma under the leadership of the false prophet, Musaylima, one of the most powerful *ridḍa* tribesmen and a crucial challenge to Ḥālīd's leadership¹. This tribe had never been a party to the Madīnan alliance and had its own so-called false prophet, Musaylima, whose aim was to establish his own power in the area centred in the populated and well cultivated area of al-Yamāma whose main market had been Makka until the latter was brought under Prophet Muḥammad's control². Under the leadership of Musaylima, the forces, reported to amount to 40,000 men, tried but failed to control the nomads in the surrounding territories, who obeyed only their leader's or so-called false prophets, two of whom were Ṭulayḥa b. Ḥuwaylid of Asad and Saḡāḥ of Tamīm. Ṭulayḥa was supported mainly by the clans of

¹ at-Ṭabarī, *ibid.* 1930, 1946, 1962; where the tribesmen of Ḥanīfa are called *ahl al-qurā*.

² at-Ṭabarī, *ibid.* 1930, 1946, 1962; Ibn Ḥazm, *Gamhara* 309; Watt 1956: 135-36; Shaban 1971: 20; Ein-kelman 1967: 17-25, see particularly: 41, 47, 52.

Asad in Samīra, Ġaṭafān in Tiba and Ṭayy in the area between Samīra and Tiba, albeit some of them declared their support for Abū Bakr (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 1871, 1873, 1889, 1899, 1902, 1930-4; Einkelman 1967: 42). Sağāḥ, who belonged to Ḥanzāla of Tamīm was related to the clan of Tağlīb of Ġazīra on the mother's side. She arrived from Ġazīra at the head of a band of followers belonging to *afnā'* Rabī'a, i.e. splinter clans of Rabī'a, among whose leaders at this time were al-Ḥudayl b. 'Imrān of Tağlīb, 'Aqqa b. Hilāl of Namir, and Abū 'Adī b. Watad of 'Iyād (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 1911-12; al-Balāḍurī, *Futūḥ* 99). In Arabia, she was followed by the clan of Ḥanzāla of Tamīm, one of whose leaders, Šabaṭ b. Rib'ī b. Ḥuṣayn ar-Riyāḥī, joined in his campaign. It must be stressed, however, that some of Sağāḥ's followers of Tamīm also went over to Abū Bakr's side (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 1871, 1889, 1899, 1917-19, 1911-12, 1919-20, 1963, 1970; al-Balāḍurī, *Futūḥ* 51, 99; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġambara* 227; Einkelman 1967: 46). Although Sağāḥ was reported to have been allied to Musaylima and come over to al-Yamāma, her stay in the region was only for a short span of time, after which she returned to Ġazīra taking with her half of the revenue of al-Yamāma. The essential point here is that neither Ṭulayḥa nor Sağāḥ appeared to be among Musaylima's forces in the great battle of 'Aqrabā'. Ḥalīd's victory at 'Aqrabā' was due in some measure to the nomads who, while declaring their support for Abū Bakr, were also actively involved in the former's army.

The composition of Ḥalīd's army

It is crucial to have an understanding of the composition of Ḥalīd's army, for therein lies information about the people of *al-Ayyām*. Some of the nomads who declared their support for Abū Bakr were actively involved in the army of Ḥalīd. Most of these nomads came mainly from the Arab clan of Ġaṭafān, Fazāra, Ṭayy and Hawāzin as well as clans from Asad led by Dirar b. al-Azwar and Sinan, clans of Sulaym led by Ma'in b. Hāğiz and Ṭurayfa b. Hāğiz, Ḥanzāla of the Tamīm clan with 1000 from Ġadīla and 500 from 'Adī (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 1871, 1887, 1887, 1889, 1893, 1894, 1905, 1911, 1922; al-Balāḍurī, *Futūḥ* 91). It is interesting to note that different terms were used to denote these groups. If a whole clan joined in the war its members were called *barara*, i.e. those who proved true and obedient; however, if only a section, they were referred to as *ḥiyara*, i.e. select or chosen (Shaban 1971: 23). Because of pressure and fear of being controlled by the powerful tribesmen of Ḥanīfa these fragmented clans decided to throw in their lot with the Madīnan government against the powerful army of Musaylima. Together with these tribesmen, the *muhāğirūn* and *anṣār*, and other Arab clans who did not fall into apostasy, Ḥalīd was able to defeat the Ḥanafite forces at 'Aqrabā'.

An attempt to identify the people of *al-Ayyām* would necessarily call for looking at Ḥalīd's and his successors' expedition in Iraq. During Abū Bakr's time, al-Muṭannā b. Ḥārīṭa b. Salāma aš-Šaybānī with his troops numbering 8000 men were fighting against the Sāsānians on their own initiative, particularly in the region of Ḥīra

which was later known as Kūfa (al-Balāḍurī, *Futūḥ* 241, 340; at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2016, 2018). He was the first Arab to raid the Sāsānian territories on this front (al-ʿAskarī, *Awāʿil* 225; Ibn Ḥazm, *Gambara* 325). It is reported that when Ḥālid reached Iraq, the Caliph Abū Bakr wrote to al-Muṭannā advising him to join forces with Ḥālid, who was at the time with his forces at Ubulla, the most important port in southern Iraq, in hope of gaining success against the Sāsānians in Iraq (al-Balāḍurī, *Futūḥ* 241, 340; at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2016, 2018, 2021, 2025, 2029; al-ʿAlī 1953: 23.12).

Our sources do not particularly give the number of Ḥālid's Arab forces in Iraq. However, during the *ridda*-war several Arab clans were present and fought with Ḥālid with the maximum number from any one clan being 1,000, albeit many of them were killed during the campaign. It is possible that only a few hundred or less than a hundred of each clan remained with Ḥālid and it is almost certain that not all of these clans had followed him to Iraq. He was probably joined on the way by other tribesmen from different Arab clans from Fayḍ, in central Naḡd, and Taʿlabiyya, on the west bank of Euphrates, who were probably not involved either for or against Madīna in the *ridda*-war. In Iraq, Ḥālid was reinforced by a force, whose number was also unspecified, led by al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr at-Tamīmī. Eventually, Ḥālid's forces exceeded 2,000 men, but was still small in comparison to that of al-Muṭannā's 8,000 men. However, all these forces were placed under the general leadership of Ḥālid.

A study of the formation of Ḥālid's forces in Iraq demonstrates that several Arab clans were involved, particularly those of Šaybān, Tamīm, Ṭayy, Muḏayna, Asad, Ḍuhl, Ḥimyar and Aslam. Together with these clansmen, the majority of whom were from Šaybān, Ḥālid fought the Sāsānians at Ubulla and succeeded in capturing them. He then proceeded to al-Mazār, leaving Maʿqil b. Muqarrin al-Muzanī in Ubulla to look after the area. In the meantime, he sent al-Muṭannā b. Ḥārīṭa aš-Šaybānī to Baḥr al-Mar'a to pursue the enemy. In the raid of al-Mazār, Ḥālid was also able to subdue the region and defeat its population. The latter agreed to pay a tribute to the Arabs, and Suwayd b. Muqarrin al-Muzanī was put in charge of collecting it (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2021, 2025, 2029).

From al-Mazār Ḥālid advanced to al-Walaḡa and appointed Suwayd b. Muqarrin over Hafir and Ḥīra. He then advanced to ʿUllays and then to Amḡisiyya. Many other minor raids were made in the regions of Ḥīra, all of which ended with victory without any serious resistance from the Sāsānians. Several Arab leaders were involved and became eminent in these raids, and they included al-Muṭannā b. Ḥārīṭa aš-Šaybānī, al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr at-Tamīmī, ʿAdī b. Ḥātīm at-Ṭāʿī, Bišr b. ʿUbaydallāh b. al-Ḥasasiyya ad-Ḍuhalī, Suwayd at-Ṭāʿī, Suwayd, an-Nuʿmān, Dirār, Maʿqil, the sons of Muqarrin al-Muzanī, ʿUtayba b. Naḥḥās al-ʿIḡlī, Dirār b. al-Azwar al-Asadī, Hasaka al-Habatī, al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Ḥūr, al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ b. Dī l-ʿUnuq, Busr b. Abī Ruhm, Ḥālid b. al-Wašima (*ibid.* I, 2022), ʿAtta and Rabīʿa b. ʿIsl. Following the

success of these raids, the booty gained on the battlefield was distributed among the Arab fighting-men with only one-fifth of it sent to Abū Bakr in Madīna³.

After a short period Hālid was transferred to the Syrian front, together with his military forces, to fight the Byzantine forces there. His departure for Syria took place in Rabī^c at-tānī year 13/634. al-Balādurī and at-Ṭabarī estimated Hālid's forces to be 800 men only, while the Arab army in Iraq at that time numbered 10,000 men, made up of different unimportant Arab tribesmen of al-Ḥiğāz and Eastern Arabia, with a small number being *muhāğirūn* and *ansār*. The authorities of Ibn Ishāq and Ya^cqūbī emphasised that the forces brought to the Syrian front were from *ahl al-quwwa* while the rest were left with al-Muṭannā b. Hārīṭa aš-Šaybānī in Iraq. Only a few from *ahl al-quwwa* — after a special request by al-Muṭannā — were left in Iraq, including Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-^cIğlī, Bišr b. ^cUbaydallāh and ^cAbdallāh b. ^cAwra al-Aslāmī. In the meantime, some of Hālid's forces in Ḥīra led by al-Qa^cqā' b. ^cAmr at-Tamīmī, Mas^cur b. ^cĀdī al-^cIğlī, Ḍirār b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Fihri and Ḍirār b. al-Azwar al-Asadī, were taken to the Syrian front. It is clear from the foregoing survey that the Arab forces in Iraq at that time were divided into two categories, namely *ahl al-quwwa* and non-*ahl al-quwwa*. In order to distinguish between these two groups of people, it is important to examine every account which deals with this event. Ya^cqūbī's account refers to the forces going to Syria as *ahl al-quwwa* without describing the rest who were left in Iraq (al-Ya^cqūbī, *Tārīḥ* II, 133). The accounts of al-Balādurī and at-Ṭabarī do not describe either of these groups (al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 110, 249; at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2109). Sayf's account divides them into *ṣahāba* and non-*ṣahāba* (*ahl al-qanā'a*), while Ibn Ishāq's tradition makes a distinction on the basis of physical strength between the strong (*ahl al-quwwa*) and the weak (*da'afat an-nās*). From these various accounts one can easily conclude that the first group, *ahl al-quwwa*, were the strong people (or according to Sayf, the companions of the Prophet), while the other, *ahl al-qanā'a*, were non-*ṣahāba*, and *da'afat an-nās*, weak Muslims, or tribesmen from unimportant Arab clans.

With the departure of Hālid, the raiding parties, made up of the weak, remained under the command of al-Muṭannā b. Hārīṭa in Iraq. Not long after, al-Muṭannā unsuccessfully sought Abū Bakr's permission to enlist *ex-rida* tribesmen for his raids in Iraq. He then returned to Iraq to continue raiding with his forces. This incident clearly demonstrates Abū Bakr's policy of prohibiting *ex-rida* participation in Arab campaigns, and none of them was to be found in the earliest conquest (*fa lam yašhad*

³ *Ibid.* 2022, 2027, 2028; also 2037, where the amount of the booty received by the Arab fighting-men reached 1,500 dirhams; 2052, 2057-8.

al-ayyām murtaddun)⁴. This policy was successfully carried out by Hālid and other Arab leaders during Abū Bakr's reign. The Caliph Abū Bakr had placed his full trust in *non-ridda* tribesmen, either Qurayšites or non-Qurayšites, for the campaign against the Sāsānians. However, the campaign did not gather momentum until *ex-ridda* tribesmen were allowed to join Arab fighting-men after ʿUmar's succession in 13/634.

Iraq during ʿUmar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb's reign

ʿUmar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb was proclaimed Abū Bakr's successor in Madīna. His first act was to reverse the latter's policy by bringing together all elements, *ridda* and *non-ridda*, to campaign in Iraq. The Caliph ʿUmar took this decision for two reasons: firstly, he realised that a strong Arab force would be needed to defeat the numerous and strong army of the Sāsānians in Iraq. Secondly, he also realised that by not enlisting *ex-ridda* in these campaigns he was depriving the Islamic community not only of fighting-men but also of an important source of wealth.

Before the arrival of *ex-ridda* forces in Iraq, ʿUmar appointed Abū ʿUbayd of Ṭaqīf as a new leader of the Arab forces on the Sāsānian front. Abū ʿUbayd began his campaign against the Sāsānians at Qarqas or Ġasr, the bridge, in Ramaḍān, 13/634, where the Arab forces were defeated. Abu ʿUbayd together with seven commanders of Ṭaqīf, and his brother and son, were killed, while al-Muṭannā b. Hārīṭa aš-Šaybānī was wounded but continued the campaign. During this time, many of the Madīnan forces and their families, *ahl al-Madīna*, had returned to Madīna while the rest was scattered in the desert, leaving al-Muṭannā with his own forces. The latter took his men to Ullays, then to al-Buwayb, where he was joined, for the first time, by *ex-ridda* tribesmen. The first *ex-ridda* forces to arrive in Iraq were led by Ribʿī b. Ḥusayn and his son, Šabaṭ b. Ribʿī ar-Riyāhī of Ḥanzala of Tamīm, Anas b. Hilāl of Namīr and Anas b. Fihri of Taḡlib, all of whom had been with Saḡāh's army in the *ridda*-war against Abū Bakr (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2188-9, 2190). In fact, followers of Saḡāh were the weakest among *ex-ridda* forces and mainly belonged to splinter clans of Rabīʿa, such as Namīr and Taḡlib, among whom ʿAqqa b. Hilāl, Anas's brother, and al-Ḥudayl b. ʿImrān were prominent. Likewise Šabaṭ b. Ribʿī ar-Riyāhī is reported to have been with Saḡāh and became prominent among *ex-ridda* of Banū Tamīm (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* 1918-9; Ibn Durayd, *Iṣṭiqāq* 223; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamhara* 227; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aḡānī* XVIII, 165).

Besides *ex-ridda*, many *non-ridda* tribesmen were also invited by ʿUmar to join al-Muṭannā in Iraq, the most important among whom was Ġarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Baḡalī who had with him 2,000 Baḡalīs. It is reported that they agreed to join al-Muṭannā provided that one-quarter of the booty would be assigned to them. Other clans which

⁴ at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2021; for the prohibition of *ahl al-ridda* from Arab campaign during the time of Abū Bakr, see *ibid.* I, 2014, 2046, 2081, 2225, 2458; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīḥ* II, 131.

joined al-Muṭannā were fragmented and of little importance, and their leaders included Hilāl b. ʿUllafa at-Taymī of Tamīm, ʿArfaḡa b. Harṭama al-Azdī and ʿAbdallāh b. Dī s-Saḡmayn al-Ḥaṭʿamī. All these Arab tribesmen, *ex-ridda* and non-*ridda*, were taken to al-Buwayb, where a battle was fought, in which the Sāsānians were defeated and their properties seized by the Arabs. The booty gained was distributed between the conquerors, with non-*ridda* tribesmen receiving proportionately bigger shares than *ex-ridda*, while a propotion was set aside for the children of non-*ridda* tribesmen who were left at Ḥīra during the campaign.

Having defeated the Sāsānians at al-Buwayb, al-Muṭannā continued the raid by sending troops to different directions. He sent Bišr b. ʿUbaydallāh ad-Duhalī to Ḥīra, Ğarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Baḡalī to Maysan and Hilāl b. ʿUllafa at-Taymī of Tamīm to Dast Maysan, while he himself went to Ulays, a village in al-Anbār, and then to al-Ḥanafīs. After these expeditions the troops returned to Ḥīra to prepare for further raids (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2202-8). Shortly afterwards, al-Muṭannā and his troops overran Dū Qar, Ğull, Šaraf and Ğuda, where Hilāl's brother, al-Muṣṭawrid b. ʿUllafa at-Taymī of Tamīm was in charge of his clan ar-Ribāb. With him were three members of *afnā'* Tamīm, i.e. splinter groups of Tamīm, Ğazʿ b. Muʿāwiya as-Saʿdī, al-Ḥusayn b. Niyār al-ʿAmrī and al-Ḥusayn b. Maʿbad al-Ḥanzalī.

During this time too the Caliph ʿUmar appointed Saʿd b. Abī Waqqās, the prominent companion, to lead the Arab campaign in Iraq. This appointment came about not because of his military skills, but rather because of his services to Islam and his readiness to co-operate in full measure with the ex-rebels (*ahl ar-ridda*).

There is some agreement about the strength of his forces which set out from Madīna to Iraq, claiming that it was 6,000, while Sayf put it down to 4,000, made up of 600 from Ḥadramawt, 1,300 from Madḡiḡ, 1,000 from Qays ʿAylān and around 1,000 from other tribes. Of these only 2,000, including their wives and children, were taken to Iraq, most of whom belonged to the Arab clans of Madḡiḡ and Qays ʿAylān. Saʿd was latter joined by other Arab tribesmen, including 2,000 from Yaman and 2,000 from Ğaṭafān and Qays. When he reached the area of Zarud/Taʿaliyya and Šaraf, between Madīna and Ḥīra, he was joined by 1,700 Yamanites led by al-Ašʿaṭ b. Qays al-Kindī, one of the prominent leaders of *ex-ridda*, who had been confined to Madīna since his rebellion against the Madīnan government.

When Saʿd reached Qādisiyya at the end of 15/636, he was joined by the people of *al-ḥamrā'*, the local population who sympathised with the Arabs and had converted to Islam, as well as 12,000 of al-Muṭannā's troops, all of whom were *ahl al-ayyām*, of whom 8,000 had been with him throughout his raids in Iraq. Before his death al-Muṭannā appointed Bišr b. ʿUbaydallāh, one of Prophet companions, to take charge of this army. This appointment, however, was rejected by the majority of al-Muṭannā's forces who were from the clan of Šaybān, and the leadership passed on to al-Muṭannā's brother, al-Muʿannā b. Ḥārīṭa aš-Šaybānī, who then brought the army to Qādisiyya to form forces with Saʿd at Zarud. al-Muʿannā's forces were later joined by

1,000 tribesmen led by Hāšim b. ʿUtba b. Abī Waqqāš (or according to Sayf led by al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr at-Tamīmī). According to Yaʿqūbī, these tribesmen belonged to *afnāʾ al-muslimīn*, i.e. Muslim splinter groups, while Sayf's account claims they belonged to *afnāʾ al-Yaman min abl al-Ḥiǧāz*, i.e. splinter groups of the Yamanite tribe of Ḥiǧāz. Elsewhere, Sayf refers to them as *abl al-ayyām*, the earliest conquerors (*Ibid* 2305, 2367). However, these tribesmen had been actively involved in the earliest conquest of Iraq and 800 of them were reported to have been with Hālid's forces in Hīra (al-Balāḍurī, *Futūḥ* 110; at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2109), while the remaining 200 were not mentioned in the sources. It is, however, very probable that they were of al-Aštar Mālik b. al-Hārīt an-Nahāʿī's group. This is because al-Aštar himself was a Yamanite and fought gallantly at Yarmūk before he was sent to Qādisiyya (*Ibid*. 2101; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab* add. 23297, fol. 244B; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīḥ* II, 142). However, al-Qaʿqāʿ b. ʿAmr, who was a Tamīmīte, loomed large in Sayf's account. He was also of Banū Tamīm, and was given the credit of leadership from the very beginning of the Arab conquest of Iraq.

The Arab fighting-men in the earliest campaign of Iraq were, with the exception of *muhāǧirūn* and *ansār*, made up of tribesmen of little tribal standing, who had fought against the apostates in the *ridḍa*-war, and against the Sāsānians in Iraq before the arrival of Hālid. All of them took part in Hālid's expeditions. It was to their participation in these expedition that the term *abl al-ayyām* was subsequently applied by way of distinguishing them from the people of Makka and Madīna (*muhāǧirūn* and *ansār*) (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2021; Shaban 1971: 45). The people of *al-ayyām* mainly belonged to comparatively unimportant Arab clans, or splinter groups, *afnāʾ*, of Arab clans. Notwithstanding this fact, they had an equitable share of the gains, and were privileged by being *abl al-ayyām* which was of great value for them in the future. They came mainly from the East-Arabian clans, of Rabīʿa with 6,000 from Šaybān and 2,000 from other Rabīʿa clans, and they represented the core of al-Muṭannā's forces in Iraq. Others hailed from the Arab clans of Ṭayy, Muzayna, Ḍabba, Kināna, Asad, Ḍuhl, ʿIǧl, Aslam and the splinter groups of Tamīm clans such as ar-Ribāb, Saʿd, Ḥanzala and ʿAmr. They were actively involved in the campaign of Iraq before the arrival of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāš who later led them to Qādisiyya where some of them excelled themselves as heroes (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2183, 2187-8, 2207, 2221, 2226, 2236, 2239, 2245, 2261, 2336-7, 2340; al-Balāḍurī, *Futūḥ* 259; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīḥ* II, 145). At Qādisiyya, they were joined by their families, of whom 1,000 were women from Baǧīla and 700 from Nahāʿ who married *afnāʾ* men just before and after the battle of Qādisiyya (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2362-4). This suggests firstly that the number of *abl al-ayyām* increased at Qādisiyya, and secondly, that the people of *al-ayyām* began to develop their own interest and power.

Several prominent leaders emerged from among the *abl al-ayyām*. Hilāl b. ʿUllafa at-Taymī of Tamīm, for example, was sent to Dast Maysan in al-Anbar by al-Muṭannā b. Hārīṭa aš-Šaybānī to campaign against the Sāsānians in 13/634, a campaign

which took place shortly after the battle of Buwayb where he was in charge of ar-Ribāb. He was also reported to have excelled himself at Qādisiyya, where he was able to kill Rustum, the Sāsānian King. His brother, al-Mustawrid b. ʿUllafa at-Taymī of Tamīm, was also among al-Muʿannā's forces and, in 13/634 was active in the expedition of Ġuda, near the area which was later known as Baṣra, in which he commanded ar-Ribāb with three other *afnā'* Tamīm leaders, Ġazʿ b. Muʿāwiya, al-Ḥusayn b. Ni-yār al-ʿAmrī and al-Ḥusayn b. Maʿbad al-Ḥanzalī. Another prominent leader was al-Aṣṭar Mālik b. Ḥārīt al-Nahāʿī who had been with the Madīnan forces in the *ridda*-war, and was a hero in the earliest campaign of Iraq before he was taken to Yarmūk and then sent on to Qādisiyya. Equally outstanding were Suwayd, an-Nuʿmān, Dirār and Maʿqil, sons of Muqarrin al-Muzanī of Aws, who, despite their small band of followers, fought gallantly in the *ridda*-war against the apostates, and became prominent in Ḥālid's army in Iraq, particularly an-Nuʿmān and Suwayd.

Following their victories in the various campaigns, these leaders then joined the all important battle of Qādisiyya. The battle which took place at the end of 15/636 saw approximately 30,000 men of different Arab clans, both *ex-ridda* and non-*ridda*, including the followers of *ex-ridda* leaders, al-Aṣʿaṭ b. Qays al-Kindī and Qays b. al-Makšūh al-Murādī. The participation of *ex-ridda* in this battle needs to be examined. According to our sources, ʿUmar allowed an *ex-ridda* leader to lead a maximum of 100 men only. However, it is doubtful if Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ observed this limit. Similarly, according to Sayf, the number of al-Aṣʿaṭ's forces at Qādisiyya was 1,700 Kindīs, while other sources claim, Qays b. Makšūh's followers to be 700 men. However, during ʿUmar's time it is possible that *ex-ridda* leaders' power and influence were held in check, and none was appointed to any responsible position, either in the army or in the conquered territories. Two other *ex-ridda* leaders, Ribʿī b. Ḥusayn and his son, Šabaṭ b. Ribʿī al-Ḥanzalī of Tamīm, were also present in Iraq since the battle of al-Buwayb, and fought along with al-Muʿannā's forces. However, neither the strength of their followers was mentioned nor were they ever appointed to any responsible position, whether at al-Buwayb or Qādisiyya⁵.

The participation of *ex-ridda* forces at Qādisiyya, however, was not without its significance in that it enabled the Arabs to defeat the Sāsānians whose empire in Iraq then began to decline. Further, Arab warriors, both *ex-ridda* and non-*ridda*, were given their share of the booty gained on the battlefield (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2356). The term *ahl al-Qādisiyya* was subsequently applied to refer to their participation in this great battle and a specific amount of *aʿtā'*, stipends, was given to them (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2165, 2183, 2217-22, 2633). It was the first time that *ex-ridda* and non-*ridda*

⁵ *Ibid.* 2188-92, 2356; even the people of *al-ḥamrā'* had also shared the booty by their being *ahl al-Qādisiyya* (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2261).

tribesmen had been placed on an equal footing under the newly acquired term of *ahl al-Qādisiyya*.

After their victory at Qādisiyya, Sa'd and his Arab forces moved on to al-Madā'in in Šafar 16/637, making their base in Iraq and living in deserted houses left behind by Yazdağird, the Sāsānian King, his family and officials, after their defeat. By this time many Madīnan and Makkan people had returned home with their families (*ibid.* 2362-3, 2400, 2441, 2443, 2451). The rest of Sa'd's troops were brought to Kūfa and only some chose to stay behind, and they were splinter groups, mainly from the clan of 'Abs who moved to Kūfa probably in the same year (16/637).

During the period of settling in al-Madā'in, some important campaigns were launched to the east and north, all of which were aimed at establishing garrisons, *ma-sāliḥ*, in those regions. One of these regions was Ġalūlā'. This campaign was headed by Hāšim b. 'Utba b. Abī Waqqāš az-Zuhrī and al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr at-Tamīmī with an army of 12,000 men. An additional 600 men were sent from al-Madā'in to Ġalūlā' to reinforce Hāšim and al-Qa'qā's army. Huḡr b. 'Ādī al-Kindī, who had earlier been at Qādisiyya, was appointed leader of the army and was accompanied by three *ex-rida* leaders, Qays b. Makšūh, 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib and Ṭulayḡa b. Ḥuwaylid. After several battles, the Sāsānian troops were defeated, and booty in the form of land and property was left to the Arabs, who then returned to al-Madā'in.

Another expedition to Masabaḍān, which took place just after their return from Ġalūlā', was led by Sa'd himself. In the meantime, al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr at-Tamīmī led an army of *afnā' an-nās*, splinter groups and the people of *al-ḡamrā'* to Ḥulwān. Ḥulwān was soon conquered and al-Qa'qā' returned to al-Madā'in, leaving some of his troops behind to look after the region. This took place while Sa'd and his troops were still at Masabaḍān, fighting against the Sāsānians. An army from al-Madā'in, commanded by 'Abdallāh b. Wahb ar-Rāsibī, a *ḡalīf* of Baḡīla, together with three other leaders, Dirār b. al-Ḥattāb al-Fihri, al-Muḍarrib b. Fulān al-'Iḡlī and Qaddām b. al-Ḥudayl al-Asadī, was sent to Masabaḍān to reinforce Sa'd. Sa'd's army succeeded in subduing the Sāsānians and returned to al-Madā'in. Another army of 5,000 from al-Madā'in was despatched to Takrīt under the leadership of 'Abdallāh b. al-Mu'tamm accompanied by Rib'ī b. al-Afkal al-'Anzī, al-Ḥārīṭ b. Ḥassān ad-Duhalī, Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-'Iḡlī, Hānī' b. Qays aš-Šaybānī and 'Arfaḡa b. Ḥartama al-Azdī. The defeat of the enemy at Ḥulwān, Masabaḍān and Takrīt, respectively, marked the end of the Sāsānian empire in Iraq, and once again the Arabs secured a vast amount of fertile land.

Sa'd's essential task now was to protect the conquered territories and to find a new and suitable base for his Arab forces. However, following Caliph 'Umar's order to attack Qarqisiyya in the north, Sa'd sent another army from al-Madā'in, led by Rib'ī b. 'Āmir al-'Amrī of Tamīm, one of the early conquerors who had been with al-Mu'tannā b. Ḥārīṭa aš-Šaybānī since the battle of the Bridge (*Ibid.* 2479).

The founding of Kūfa

Sa'd then began moving his base from al-Madā'in, looking at several sites before settling on Kūfa. It has been suggested by some sources that the move from al-Madā'in was due to the unsuitability of the province, which the Arab found too dirty and infested with insects. This explanation, however, is not convincing in the light of the military reasons which prompted the move. An examination of the area's geographical location would highlight three strategic possibilities. Firstly, Kūfa was more strategically placed to send help to Syria should it be needed (al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 276; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2360, 2483); secondly, Madīna could be easily cut off by a thrust from the still unsubdued and powerful province of Fārs, and thirdly, in a large city like al-Madā'in it was probably not easy to control the tribesmen effectively, an easier task in the garrison town of Kūfa (Shaban 1971: 51). After having decided on Kūfa as the military base in Iraq, all Arab tribal leaders, *ex-ridda* and non-*ridda*, and their followers were brought to Kūfa, and every tribal grouping set up their houses and mosques under their own leader such as 'Adī b. Ḥātim in Ṭayy, Ḡarīr b. 'Abdallāh in Baḡila and al-Aš'at b. Qays in Kinda (al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 275.35).

For purposes of financial administration, the stipends were paid to the *umanā'* *al-asbā'* and *aṣḥāb ar-rāya* i.e. tribal leaders, who turned them over to the 'urafā', *nuqabā'* and *umanā'*, i.e. trustees, who duly paid those entitled to them. The 'arāfa became a unit for the distribution of 100,000 dirhams in the following way:

- (i) an 'arāfa of *ahl al-ayyām*, received 100,000 dirhams for 20 men (3,000 each), 20 women (300 each), and it is assumed that the 340 children received (100 each).
- (ii) an 'arāfa of *ahl al-Qādisiyya*, received 100,000 dirhams for 43 men (2,000 each), 43 women (200 each), and 500 children (100 each).
- (iii) an 'arāfa of *ahl ar-rawādif*, received 100,000 dirhams for 60 men (1,500 each), 60 women (100 each), and 40 children (100 each) (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2495-6).

The above figures clearly show that *ahl al-ayyām* received proportionately bigger stipends than any other group. When a *dīwān*, or a list of Arab warriors entitled to stipends, was established in 20/641⁶, stipends for *ahl al-ayyām* were still higher than those for *ahl al-Qādisiyya* and *rawādif*, as shown by the figures below:

- (i) *muhāḡirūn* and *anṣār* received 3,000-5,000 dirhams per annum.
- (ii) *ahl al-ayyām* received 3,000 dirhams per annum.
- (iii) The people of Yarmūk and Qādisiyya, *ex-ridda* and non-*ridda*, received 2,000 dirhams per annum.

⁶ al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 275.35; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2495-6; Shaban 1972: 53. Hinds 1971: 349. Only Sayf's account says that the *dīwān* was established in 15/636, but according to others, such as al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 450; al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīḥ* II, 153, it was established in 20/641.

- (iv) *rawādif*, i.e. new-comers to Iraq after the battles of Yarmūk and Qādisiyya received between 1,500 to 2,000 dirhams per annum, according to the time of their arrival (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2412-3; al-Balāḍurī, *Futūḥ* 449; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* III, i, 213-5; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīḥ* II, 153; al-Māwardī, *Aḥkām* 199-201; Shaban 1971: 55).

The people of *al-ayyām* not only had large shares of the revenue from the abandoned lands and the surplus thereof, but also exclusive enjoyment of the authority over the occupied land in the Sawād. Moreover, it is hard indeed to believe that the *dīwān* of 20/641 was put into effect immediately, a point supported by Ibn Saʿd, aṭ-Ṭabarī and al-Balāḍurī's claim that the *dīwān* was still incomplete at the time of ʿUmar's death in 23/644 (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* III, i, 144, 214; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2752; al-Balāḍurī, *Futūḥ* 452; Hinds 1971: 350). Similarly, Hinds points out that "it was only at the tail-end of ʿUmar's caliphate that the beginning of administrative organization in Iraq appeared; and by then the early-comers had enjoyed what amounted to a free run of the area for five years or more" (350-1). This was the period from the establishment of the trusteeship of the abandoned land, which took place after the conquest of al-Madā'in in 16/637 until the death of the Caliph ʿUmar in 23/644. In fact, not all of the original conquerors had enjoyed the authority over the occupied land in the Sawād, particularly that of the abandoned land, as Hinds has suggested⁷, rather only those *ahl al-ayyām*, or trustees, to whom the Caliph ʿUmar entrusted the administration of the land. Some of the *ahl al-ayyām* also shared the task of receiving the taxes collected by *dabāqīn*, local heads and officials, and the transferring of the money to the public treasury in the Sawād. It is quite probable that they also supervised the assessment and collection of the poll-tax, *ḡizya*, in the area⁸.

The Founding of Baṣra

In order to relieve the pressure of ceaseless immigration into Iraq, a new garrison town at Baṣra was established. In order to understand the situation in Baṣra, it is necessary to go back to the beginning of the Arab conquest in the region. During the time of Abū Bakr (12/633), some Arab forces, mainly from the clans of Bakr b. Wā'il, raided Ubulla. The name of their leader, however, was a matter of some disagreement. Abū Miḥnaf claimed it was Suwayd b. Qutba ad-Duhalī (al-Balāḍurī, *Futūḥ* 241, 340) while al-Madā'inī contended it was Qutba b. Qatāda as-Sadūsī⁹. al-Ma-

⁷ Hinds 1971: 350, early-comers are mentioned here.

⁸ Shaban 1971: 53. Some of their names and the villages to which they were sent are mentioned above.

⁹ aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2381, also 2016, where Qutba b. Qatāda as-Sadūsī is also mentioned.

dā'inī's account of Baṣra and eastern provinces is more reliable than that of Abū Miḥnaf, whose main interest after all was Kūfa and its affairs. Thus, one is inclined to accept al-Madā'inī's narrative on this particular point.

According to our sources, Qutba b. Qatāda as-Sadūsī and his men fought in Baṣra separately from al-Muṭannā b. Hārīṭa aš-Šaybānī's force, who at the same time were raiding the same area. This contention is supported by the fact that when the Arab forces led by Hālīd b. al-Walīd arrived in Baṣra, Qutba and his men made their way to Hurayba, the ruins of the old Sāsānian post, while al-Muṭannā and his troops joined Hālīd who succeeded in defeating the Sāsānian army at Ubulla (al-^cAlī 1953: 23-4). This early raid of Qutba is mentioned by Šāliḥ al-^cAlī who suggested that with their small force they fought on their own initiative, without receiving any instruction from the Caliph Abū Bakr in Madīna, and no significant victory was reached in this raid (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2382; al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 242; al-^cAlī 1953: 24-5). When ^cUmar became Caliph, he sent Šurayṣ b. ^cĀmir as-Sa^cdī with a small force to wage war on this front, but the latter was unsuccessful and was killed in one of the battles against the Sāsānians in the area¹⁰. Not long after, in 14/635, another Arab force was organised to raid the Baṣran territory. This newly organised Arab army was led by ^cUtba b. Ġazwān al-Muzanī al-Anṣārī who set out from Madīna with a force of 300 men and was later joined by another 200 nomads (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2377, 2384, 2385). On reaching Hurayba, ^cUtba, a prominent companion of the Prophet, chose the location to establish his military camp where his army could rest during the winter, when they were not campaigning. It has been pointed out by al-^cAlī that few women came along on this campaign (al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 346), showing that the Arabs at that time did not intend to settle in Baṣra permanently (al-^cAlī 1953: 26). It is also worth mentioning that the Arab forces brought by ^cUtba had achieved no significant victory in their raid against the Sāsānians in the Baṣran territory (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2378; al-^cAlī 1953: 27). Understandably, the founding of Baṣra at this time was a temporary measure, and its importance as a military base was not as great as that of Kūfa. In reviewing the importance of Kūfa, Hinds is correct in suggesting that "the difference between Kūfa and Baṣra at this stage was, therefore, that Kūfa was established from necessity and Baṣra from convenience".

At the end of 17/638 the Arab tribesmen from Eastern Arabia began to pour into Baṣra. This move took place following the Arab defeat in the expedition to Fārs, an expedition sent by al-^cAlā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī with a force from Baḥrayn. This force was led by ^cArfaḡa b. Harṭama al-Barīqī of Azd (al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 386), while Sayf was

¹⁰ Sayf gives the date of ^cUtba's raid in 16/637 (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2377). Sayf's chronology of this particular event is, however, not attested by aṭ-Ṭabarī (*Tārīḥ* I, 2377). All our authorities such as al-Madā'inī, aš-Ša'bī and aṭ-Ṭabarī give the date of ^cUtba's campaign in 14/635 (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2377).

of the opinion that it was headed by Hulayd b. al-Mundir b. Sāwī al-Ḥanzalī of Tamīm, and two other Arab leaders, al-Ġarūd b. ʿAmr b. Ḥanaṣ b. Muʿalla and as-Sawwār b. Ḥammām of ʿAbd al-Qays (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2546). They raided Fārs by sea without the Caliph ʿUmar's order, showing their tendency to act independently from the Madīnan regime. When they arrived at Fārs, they were strongly resisted by the Sāsānian forces and defeated at Tawus, while their two leaders, Hulayd and al-Ġarūd were killed and the rest withdrew to Baṣra, the safest and nearest place to Fārs (*Ibid.* 2547-8; al-Balāḍurī, *Futūḥ* 386; Shaban 1971: 51-2).

al-ʿAlī's discusses in detail the social and economic system of Baṣra from the time of ʿUmar. He also gives a detailed account of the Arab expeditions into Baṣran territory and concludes that the founding of Baṣra took place during the time of ʿUtba b. Ġazwān in 14/635 (al-ʿAlī 1953: 25). Although al-ʿAlī was aware that ʿUtba's army was small and that they had no intention of staying in Baṣra permanently (*ibid.* 26), he nevertheless failed to realise that the coming of the Arab tribesmen from Baḥrayn into the province was a turning point in the history of Baṣra. Having stayed temporarily, ʿUtba's army decided to settle permanently in Baṣra. This decision had to be made in order to accommodate those tribesmen from Eastern Arabia. We may, therefore, agree with Shaban's suggestion that the coming of the Arab tribesmen from Baḥrayn, after their failure to establish a safe base in Fārs, was another factor in the establishment of the garrison town of Baṣra (Shaban 1971: 51-2). We can further conclude that the actual founding of Baṣra was not done until the year 17/638, by which time the garrison town of Kūfa was already established.

When the Caliph ʿUmar was informed about the defeat of al-ʿAlī's army in Fārs, he wrote to ʿUtba b. Ġazwān in Baṣra, asking him to recruit a strong army to fight the Sāsānian in Fārs. ʿUtba was able to gather as many as 12,000 men from the East-Arabian tribesmen, including those who were already with him in Baṣra. By this time, tribesmen from nearly all the clans of Eastern Arabia were involved in fighting against the Sāsānians in Fārs. Among the prominent leaders who were engaged in the wars during this time were ʿĀṣim b. ʿAmr at-Tamīmī, ʿArfaḡa b. Ḥartama al-Azdī, Ḥuḍayfa b. Muḥsin al-Ḥimyarī, Maḡza' b. Sūr as-Sadūsī of Bakr, al-Aḥnaf b. Qays at-Tamīmī, Ṣaṣa'a b. Muʿāwiya at-Tamīmī and Abū Ṣabra b. Abī Ruḥm al-ʿĀmirī of ʿAbd al-Qays (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2548-9). The list of leaders would suggest that they belonged to different Arab clans of Tamīm, Bakr, Azd and ʿAbd al-Qays, which in actual fact represented the core of the Arab army fighting on this front at that time (al-Balāḍurī, *Futūḥ* 386). After their campaign in Fārs, most of these tribesmen followed ʿUtba to Baṣra (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2550).

Towards the end of ʿUtba's governorship of Baṣra (17/638), he and his Baṣran forces also raided Ahwāz and Tustar, but he died before the areas were subdued and the governorship of Baṣra was taken by Abū Mūsā al-Aṣʿarī. The latter continued the campaign, particularly in the regions of Ramhurmuz and Tustar, with the help of the Kūfan army (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2541 ff). With the defeat of the army at

Tustar, the Arab campaign in Iraq came to a standstill until the year 21/642, in which the important battle of Nihāwand took place, and which saw the predominance of the Kūfan forces.

It can therefore be concluded that the Arab tribesmen's raid of Baṣra achieved no significant progress in comparison to that of Kūfa. Baṣra at the time of its founding was largely made up of Eastern-Arabian clans of Tamīm, Bakr, Azd and ʿAbd al-Qays. The majority were new-comers to Iraq and had taken no role either in the *ridda*-war or in the earliest conquest of Iraq (Shaban 1971: 52). Except for ʿAṣim b. ʿAmr at-Tamīmī, ʿArfaḡa b. Hartama al-Azdī and Ḥudayfa b. Muḥsin al-Ḥimyarī, their leaders were clearly not involved in the *ridda*-war (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 1880-1), their task was confined only to fighting against the weak and small group of apostates in Mahra (*Ibid.* 1976-9). The Islamic-Arab forces regained their position when they received support from tribesmen of Naḡiya led by al-Ḥirrit b. Rāšid, ʿAbd al-Qays led by Sayḡhān b. Ṣawḡhān, and other Arab tribesmen of Rāsib and Saʿd of Tamīm (*Ibid.* 1979, 1980). This suggests that the two leaders, ʿArfaḡa and Ḥudayfa, played no important role in defeating the apostates in the *ridda*-war. Further, some of those who were involved in the *ridda*-war, such as ʿArfaḡa and his tribesmen, did not come to Iraq until the battle of al-Buwayb in 13/634 and after the departure of Ḥalīd for Syria. Thus the number of the early arrivals in Baṣra must have been very small, and probably did not exceed 300 men, while the rest were new emigrants who did not come to Iraq until the year 17/638. A good number of these new emigrants came from the Arab clans of ʿAbd al-Qays of Baḡrayn, who did not become apostates during the time of the Prophet and remained loyal to the Madīnan regime after the death of the Prophet¹¹.

For purposes of distributing the stipends, the people of Baṣra were initially organised along genealogical lines, but this proved unsuccessful as newcomers arrived irregularly, thereby varying the size of the tribal grouping in Baṣra (al-ʿAlī 1953: 35). To overcome this problem, the system of ʿarāfa was applied in Baṣra, by which only the recognised leaders received 2,500 dirhams, while the rest of the Arab tribesmen in Baṣra received between 250 and 300 dirhams (at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2413, 2496; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* III, i, 112 ff; al-ʿAlī 1953: 127-9; Shaban 1971: 55).

Meanwhile, new waves of tribesmen continued to pour into Kūfa. These newcomers were given low stipends, and they resented the position of *ahl al-ayyām*. They once complained to Saʿd b. Abī Waqqās, the governor of Kūfa, for having divided the wealth unequally among the people (al-Balādurī, *Futūḥ* 278; at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2606-7). al-Aṣʿat b. Qays al-Kindī and *riḡāl min ahl al-Kūfa*, i.e. leaders of the people

¹¹ at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 1958-9, 1960, 1961 (with special reference to al-Ġarūd and his tribesmen of ʿAbd al-Qays).

of Kūfa, are reported to have said "that Sa'd was biased and deprived us of our right" (al-ʿAskarī, *Awā'il* 225). No trouble arose, however, partly because the Caliph ʿUmar is said to have raised the stipends of the new-comers who had shown valour at Nihāwand to the level of the stipends of *ahl al-Qādisiyya*, 2,000 dirhams per annum (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2633), and partly because the plentiful booty gained on the battlefields during ʿUmar's caliphate had helped to ease the situation (Shaban 1971: 54.73; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2676-7; al-Balāḍurī, *Futūḥ* 279).

However, after the campaign of Nihāwand (21/642), Sa'd, the governor of Kūfa, was replaced by ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, and the situation changed as the activities on the battlefield decreased, and the new emigrants became more numerous in Kūfa. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, the new governor of Kūfa, was accused of being weak with no political shrewdness (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2676-7; al-Balāḍurī, *Futūḥ* 279). The people opposed ʿAmmār because he tried to impose order in Kūfa and to exercise more authority over them. He was reported to favour the demand of the Baṣrans for authority over the province of Masabaḍān and to refuse control of Ramhurmuz to the Kūfans (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2672). In fact, these two provinces, particularly Masabaḍān, were conquered by the Kūfan army, in which many of *ahl al-ayyām* were involved (*Ibid.* 2476, 2551 ff). The new arrivals, however, no longer pressured when their stipends were raised by ʿAmmār. Opposition, however, came from the people of *al-ayyām* who had large interests in the conquered territories of the Sawād. A case in point was Ǧarīr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Baǧalī, a Kūfan military commander during the conquest of Ramhurmuz with an interest in the area, who became an opposition leader in Kūfa at the time. His opposition cost ʿAmmār his governorship (*Ibid.* 2552, 2676-7). Although various sources attributed the dismissal to his political weakness, it would appear that his failure to look after the interest of *ahl al-ayyām* and their prestige was equally responsible for his fate. It was at this time too that Abū Mūsā al-Ašʿarī began to exert his influence among the people of *al-ayyām* in Kūfa and he eventually became their governor, albeit only for a year, before he was transferred to Baṣra (*Ibid.* 2678, 2693).

From the forgoing pages we come to the conclusion that the people of *al-ayyām* benefited from the policy carried out by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Although different in some ways, the two caliphs nevertheless shared a common policy of prohibiting the *ex-rida* from assuming positions of responsibility, either on the battlefield or in the conquered territories, thereby confining leadership roles to *ahl al-ayyām*. Consequently, whether they were from Ḥiǧāz or from North-Eastern Arabia, *ahl al-ayyām* had established their power and privileges in Kūfa and indeed in all of the Sawād. Their success in collecting revenues, supplying food from the villages of the Sawād to the people in the towns and in protecting the Arab front against the enemy was succinctly summed up by the Caliph ʿUmar when he referred to the Kūfans as the spear of Allāh ... and the skulls of the Arabs (*rumḥ allāh ... wa-ǧumǧumat al-ʿarab, yakuffūna tuǧurahum, wa-yamuddūna l-amṣār*) (*Ibid.* 2515; al-Balāḍurī, *Futūḥ* 289; Ibn

Sa'd, *Tabaqāt* VI, 1). Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, the governor of Kūfa, used a similar phrase to refer to *abl al-ayyām* of Kūfa in the Sawād (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2432).

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