CHAPTER IV


The Prophet's Section:

Ibn al-Athir now deals with a period which comes in a clear light of history. He narrates the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, and discusses his ancestor. He describes the early life of the Prophet, his upbringing, his activities for the betterment of Meccan Society, his propensities towards a pious life, his retirement to meditation, his mission of prophecy, the ensuing trials and sufferings which he had to undergo and his flight from Mecca to Medina. Ibn al-Athir discusses the period of Prophet's life at Madina at a greater length. He mentions the campaigns which were led against the unbelievers, Arabs in general and Jews in particular, who were the two most stubborn and treacherous opponents of Islam.

When the land of Medina was made clear of the enemies the Prophet directed his energies to Mecca and conquered it in the ninth year of his flight. Shortly the whole Arabia virtually fell at his feet. Just before his death, he made a last pilgrimage to Mecca in 10 A.H./631 A.D. A few months later he fell ill and departed from the world for ever.

The accounts furnished by Tabari and Ibn al-Athir about Abdallah b. Mut'talib reveal a point of difference. In recordi
the dialogue which took place between Abdullah and a woman named Khaithama, Tabari quotes three couplets of Abdullah. Ibn al-Athir adds one more to them. Similarly Tabari narrates four couplets of the woman and Ibn al-Athir records five. Moreover, Ibn al-Athir does not record the same couplets. The age of Abdullah and the time of his death are not mentioned in the history of Tabari while they are mentioned in Al-Kamil. Ibn Sad also records it. This suggests that Ibn al-Athir utilized other source for this piece of information. He might either have copied it from the book of Ibn Ishaq or from Kitab al-Tabaqat of Ibn Sad.

The event of Half al-Fuzul is completely missing in the history of Tabari while Ibn al-Athir records it. Ibn Hisham and Ibn Sad have also preserved it. Ibn al-Athir describes the event on the authority of Ibn Ishaq. Ibn Sad gives a very brief description based on that of Muhammad b. Umar. Ibn Hisham quotes the authority of Ibn Ishaq. There is no doubt that Ibn Hisham copied it from the Sira of Ibn Ishaq. A question arises here as to why this event was not recorded by Tabari, while he also possessed the Sira of Ibn Ishaq? Either


Tabari omitted it or the text which was in his hand did not contain information about this event. Ibn al-Athir variably describes the event. It is, therefore, possible to hold the view that Ibn al-Athir based his account on the Sira of Ibn Ishaq.

The ascension of the Prophet which is recorded by Tabari on the authority of Ibn Hamid differs from that of Ibn al-Athir. It is brief and short. The chain of authorities begins with Ibn Hamid and it goes down to Anas b. Malik. We do not find Ibn Ishaq among the transmitters. Ibn Hisham records this event on the authority of Ibn Ishaq. Ibn Ishaq has narrated it from various authorities which can be seen in the book of Ibn Hisham. This indicates that our author did not derive it from any book other than that of Ibn Ishaq; because we find a slight difference between narratives of Ibn al-Athir and Ibn Hisham.

Under the heading (ذكر المنذدين ومن كان اشد الدو للفتي) we find a long list of the men who tortured the Prophet and their tyrannous deeds have been recorded by Ibn al-Athir. Tabari has also provided some information but not as systematic and in detail as we have in Al-Kamil. Ibn Hisham gives same

heading to it. Ibn al-Athir has recorded the material relying on several authorities.

The heading ذكر ارسال ترضي إلى النجاشي في طلب المهاجرين is also missing in Tabari. He has cast a glance on the event and narrated it only in eight lines. Ibn al-Athir has devoted a considerable space to the narrative. It shows that our author has derived the material from the Sira of Ibn Ishaq.

Another point of difference which deserves attention is that Tabari has given a brief description of Hamza b. Abdallah al-Muttalib while Ibn al-Athir's information is lengthy. Ibn Hisham agrees with Ibn al-Athir in the heading and not in the content. Thus, however, it does not mean that Ibn al-Athir has not transcribed the event from the Sira of Ibn Ishaq. The differences which exist between Ibn Hisham and Ibn al-Athir are possibly due to the different texts of the Sira which both possessed.

The account of Umar's conversion to Islam has been rather overlooked by Tabari. He makes a passing reference to the event but Ibn al-Athir provides a detailed information. The

source of Ibn al-Athir is, no doubt, the Sira of Ibn Ishaq.

In describing the Ghazawats and providing the relevant information Tabari and Ibn al-Athir, generally furnish identical information. But in connection with 'Ghazva Hamra al-Asad', there exists a wide difference. Tabari's source is undoubtedly the Sira of Ibn Ishāq. The similarity between the first few lines of both the texts suggests that our author narrated the tradition of Ibn Ishaq in full while Tabari left the last part of it.

In connection with the campaign of Khaiber, the accounts of Tabari and Ibn al-Athir differ in some respects. The following verses have

والله لولا الله ما اهتدينا * لا تحدثنا ولا صلبينا
فانزلنا سكينة علينا * وثبت الأقدام لتقينا
not been mentioned in the history of Tabari, but Ibn Hisham, on the authority of Ibn Ishāq records them. He has copied them from the Sira of Ibn Ishaq. It helps us in discovering the source whence Ibn al-Athir has derived the couplets. Ibn Ishaq has served as a source material to our author.

The event of Fadak of which Ibn al-Athir supplies information is again ignored by Tabari. Ibn Hishām is not silent on the subject; his authority is Ibn Ishaq. It also shows the source whence Ibn al-Athir might have derived it.

The campaign of Khalid offers another point upon which Tabari and Ibn al-Athir are not in complete agreement. Tabari provides scanty information for us while our author devotes considerable length of space for it. The number of verses can not escape the notice of an intelligent reader. Ibn Hishām verses are not mentioned in Al-Kāmil while we find some of them quoted by Tabari and Ibn al-Athir.

The conversion of Kab b. Zuhair to Islam has not been recorded by Tabari, but on the other hand, Ibn al-Athir narrate the event under a separate heading. He has recorded the material in the ninth year of A.H. Ibn Hishām has also mention it. Beside Ibn Ishaq, he has drawn the material from other sources also. The account given on the authority of Ibn Ishaq displays similarity with that of Ibn al-Athir. It means that our author has sought the help of Ibn Ishaq.

The accounts given under the headings have been based on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbi. Tabari has

utilized other sources too in this respect. He relies not only on Ibn al-Kalbi, but on various authors while Ibn al-Athir exclusively quotes from Kalbi; it is possible that Ibn al-Athir might have utilized the books of Ibn al-Kalbi entitled كتاب أزواج النبي which is mentioned in Al-Fihrist.

Under the heading Al-Fowātim w al-ʿAwārik, Ibn al-Athir furnishes the account relying on the authority of Ibn Ishaq. Ibn Sad has described the account with the same title.

The narrative of Hajjat al-Wada, the illness of the Prophet and his death is followed by a description of Banu Saqifa's story. After comparing the accounts regarding the life of the Prophet furnished by Tabari and Ibn al-Athir, we come to realize that Ibn al-Athir has transcribed almost all the material from the history of Tabari.

This survey shows how much Ibn al-Athir had to labour in collecting his material from sources other than Tarikh of Tabari for presenting a comprehensive biography of the Prophet.

The Section of the Pious Caliphs:

The death of the Prophet and the elevation of Abu Bakr to the Caliphate witnessed a general uprisings all over Arabia. Tribal feuds and regional rivalry under the pretense of renegation (Irtidad) threatened the solidarity of the Islamic polity. Many false Prophets like Aswad al-Ansi, Tuliha-Asadi Masilamah-al-Kazzab seem to have adopted quite intelligent tactics to exploit the situation and establish their own fame. A number of tribes like Amir, Havazin, Salim, Tamim and Sajah gave up their allegiance to Islam. The peoples of Bahrain, Umamah and Yemen followed suit.

At this critical juncture, Abu Bakr came out to face the situation. He crushed the rebellion and restored peace to the peninsula. After resolving the crisis, he established peace. His reign lasted for two years three months and he died at the age of sixty three.

Ibn al-Athir has narrated the happenings regarding the period of Abu Bakr on the basis of the history of Tabari. He is the only authority quoted by the author as he himself confesses in the preface.

The period of Umar which is full of gigantic events is described by the author in detail. Umar came to power in the thirteenth A.H./634 A.D. when Arabia was internally peaceful. But the two great world powers - the Romans and the Sasanid were hostile and the Arabs had to fight against them. Umar, who was endowed with excellent qualities launched a twofold campaign against the Persians and the Romans.

The conquests of Qadasiyah, Himas, Balbakk, Qansarin, Bait al-Muqaddas, Madain, Jalula and Egypt were successfully made. During the reign of Umar, Ray, Qumais, Jurjan, Tabaristan, Azarbijan were also annexed to the Islamic world. Khurasan, Taj, Astakhar Kirman, Sijistan and Mukran also became the parts of the Muslim world.

When the military operations were in full swing and the Sasanid kingdom was about to be obliterated from the map; the

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
Illustrious Caliph was killed in Medina by Abu Lulu a slave of Mughira b. Shu‘bāh. His age was sixty three and his reign lasted ten years six months and four days.

The information given by Ibn al-Athîr, about those happenings is largely based on Tabari’s history. He copies chapters after chapters from the history of Tabari except at one place. The conquests of Halab and Intaqiah about which our author speaks, have not been recorded by Tabari. It is possible that the text of Tabari which Ibn al-Athîr utilized did not contain the events. Another aspect which invites our attention is that he possessed the book of Ibn Ishaq entitled Kitāb al-Khulafā. The title of the book and some of its quotations in Tabari, suggests that the book mainly contained historical information concerning the time of the Pious Caliphs. This point seems to be significant.

Saif b. Umar al-Asadi al-Tamimi (180 A.H./796 A.D.) who was a great collector of the historical information, wrote several books on Riddah, Futūh and Civil wars. Ibn Nadîm had seen those books among which Kitāb al-Futūh w al-Ridda deserves mention. Tabari records his name more than three hundred times first in ten A.H. and lastly in the year of 36 A.H./656 A.D.

2. Ibn Nadîm, Al-Fihrist, p. 92.
Ibn Hajjar Al-Asqalani (852 A.H./1448 A.D.) read Kitāb al-Futūh w al-Ridda as copied by Al-Dhahabi, who was a predecessor of Ibn al-Athir. It is probable that Ibn al-Athir utilized the book and copied the accounts of Halab and Intakia from the book. Futūh al-Shām of Al-Waqidi is also helpful in this respect.

The last ceremony of Umar and the story of Shura were copied by Ibn al-Athir from the history of Al-Tabari. We find here complete agreements between Tabari and Ibn al-Athir.

After Umar, Uthman was elected as the Caliph by a committee nominated by Umar. Nearly first six years of his reign were peaceful in which military operations were carried on abroad. Africa and Qubras were annexed to the Islamic land. Yezd Garrad, the last Sasanid king was killed in the year 30 A.H. 650 A.D. But the last six years of his rule were marked by internal dissension, tribal feuds and intrigues all over the Islamic world which led to a general uprising against Uthman. Egypt and Iraq raised the banner of rebellion. They sent their contingents to besiege the house of Uthman. When they arrived they made a number of allegations against Uthman and encircled his house. Several attempts were made to bring about reconciliation between the Caliph and the rioters; which could have been

achieved had not a letter written in the name of Caliph address
to the governor of Egypt been discovered. This episode turned
the course of the events into a new direction. The Egyptian
contingent, which captured the letter came back to Medina. They
were now more violent and determined. They besieged the house
of Uthman, and within few days, the Caliph was murdered in a
most inhuman way.

Ali succeeded Uthman in the days of turmoil and confusior
Civil war and, in limited circle the strife between Umayyad and
Hashimid took a horrible turn. Muawia, the governor of Seria
had come out to avenge the blood of Uthman. In Mecca, Talha,
Zubair and Aisha set out to take revenge of the murder. The
joint armies of Talha, Zubair and Aisha, under the command of
the latter confronted the army of Ali. The result of the battle
was in favour of Ali. Afterwards, Ali had to fight Muawiah and
a battle took place in Siffin which ended without/final decision
Two arbiters, Abu Musa al-Ashari and Umar b. 'As were appointed
to explore the ways and means for reconciliation. But their
decision, instead of bringing unity, opened the gate for more
dangerous happenings.

Muawiyah severed even his nominal relation from Medina
and proclaimed himself as a Caliph. Meanwhile Ali, conducting
morning prayer in the Mosque, was fatally wounded. He breathed
his last within a few hours. His elder son Hasan b. Ali was
made Caliph. But he was too gentle to hold the sway and to
counter the growing strength of Muawiyah. Later, Hasan came to terms with Muawiyah and an agreement was reached between them under which Hasan gave up his claim to Caliphate.

The history of the pious Caliphs is cautiously presented by the author. He has narrated all the events which were preserved by Tabari. It is the general approach of Ibn al-Athir that he heavily quotes Tabari. He does not leave a single event narrated by him. But it does not mean that he did not utilize other sources when the occasion demanded. We find many places in Al-Kāmil which indicate that Ibn al-Athir consulted some other sources. For instance the appointment of Abdāllh b. Sad b. Abi Sarah as a governor of Egypt is recorded by Ibn al-Athir in the year 26 A. H./646 A. D. But Tabari notes that it happened in the following year. The controversy over different text of the Qur'ān and the solution evolved by Uthmān is not available in the history of Tabari but Ibn al-Athir records it.

The events related to the murder of Uthmān, elegies composed by the poets on the occasion, his line and biographical sketch, all have been copied from the history of Tabari. The tragedies following the murder of Uthmān together with the wars of Jamal and Siffin are transcribed word by word from the history of Tabari.

In the year 39 A. H./659 A. D. Muawiyah appointed Yezid b. Shazrat al-Rahavi as the leader of the Haj Pilgrimage to Mecca. When he reached there a clash with the governor of Ali took place. Tabari has made a scanty reference to it but Ibn al-Athir has narrated it in detail.\(^1\) Muawiyah appointed Muslim b. Aqabah as the governor of Domat al-Jandal and sent Zahar b. Makhal to Samara for collecting religious tax.\(^2\) But these events are not recorded by Tabari. Another addition which Ibn al-Athir has made to it is in connection with Ali. The biographical sketch which we find in Al-Kamil completely differs from Tabari.\(^3\) The condition of agreement reached between Muawiyah and Hasan is differently reported by Ibn al-Athir and Tabari.\(^4\) The events of Hasan b. Wida, Ferwa b. Nufal, Shabib b. Bajra, Muinal-Khariji, Abu Yala and the appointment of Mughira b. Shuba’ as the governor of Kufa, have been discussed in detail in Al-Kamil while they have been omitted by Tabari.\(^5\)

The additional information furnished by Ibn al-Athir in connection with the pious Caliphs, has been taken from other sources. A book written by Ibn Ishaq entitled Kitab al-Khulaf\(\text{a}^\text{a}\) may have been a possible source for Ibn al-Athir. But,

2. Ibid., Vol. 3/152.
5. Ibid., Vol. 3/164-165
since the book is lost and its extracts are preserved in the history of Tabari, and the latter does not provide required materials, we cannot hold that Ibn al-Athir utilized the book. In connection with Ali our author has quoted Madaini. Ali b. Muhammad b. Abdallah al-Madaini (135-215, 225 A.H./752-830, 839 A.D.) was one of the greatest historians of his time. He taught every aspect of Islamic history. His books exceed more than a dozens among which seven deal with the history of the Caliphs. The books entitled Kitab Tarikh al-Khulafa, Kitab Hilval Khulfa, and Kitab Akhbar al-Khulfa might have been Ibn al-Athir’s source. Hisham b. Muhammad al-Kalbi has also written a book named Kitab Sifat al-Khulfa which probably contained the above mentioned material and might have reached our historian.

The account of Musturid b. Alfatal al-Khairji is describe in the year 43 A.H. 663 A.D. His account, to a certain extent, is identical with Tabari and Ibn al-Athir. Tabari has copied the account from the book of Ibn al-Kalbi. Our author completes the narrative from whence Tabari leaves. Ibn al-Athir narrates the event relying on the same authority. Ibn al-Athir further says (قال ابن الكليبي)

5. Ibid., p. 97.
It goes to prove that Ibn al-Athir was familiar with the full account, and it is possible that *Kitab al-Tarikh* of Ibn al-Kalb was under the possession of our author.

The Umayyad Section:

The Umayyad era, in Islamic history begins with the reconciliation and agreement reached between Muawiya and Hasan b. Ali in the year 41 A.H./661 A.D. Muawiya faced several civil wars termed as Kharjid movement in the history. These wars engaged the attention of Muawiya.

On the south-eastern frontier of Islamic territory, the Muslim army made a sporadic attacks on Sind. During the reign of Muawiya, Abdallah b. Suvwar al-Abadi and Muhallab b. Abi Supra led expedition to Sind one after another. But these border clashes were not major wars so they were insignificant. A few expeditions were also conducted on the western-border neighbouring to the Roman provinces of Asia; and notably, the constantine was also attacked unsuccessfully.

4. Ibid., Vol. 3/174-177.
5. Ibid., Vol. 3/181.
The greater period of Muawiyah's reign engaged him in suppressing the Kharjids and administering the provinces which he were worn out with perpetual disorder and discontent. When he died in 60 A.H./679 A.D., Yezid succeeded him in the same year.

The succession of Yezid brought about a new situation in the Muslim empire. His omnipotence was challenged by the two most distinguished candidates - Husain b. Ali and Abdallah b. Zubair each representing separate disgruntled party the Hashimid and the Zubairid. Our historian describes the tragedy of Husain in details. A number of changes in provincial administration were made by Yezid. Umar b. Said was replaced by Walid as a governor of Medina. Salamah b. Ziad was appointed governor of Khurasan and Sijistan. Yezid, in the fourth year of his reign passed away in 64 A.H./683 A.D. For a short period, Muawiyah the son of Yezid was proclaimed as a Caliph. His elevation to the Caliphate coincided with the rise of Ibn Zubair. The latter, as a man of strong will and determination, overshadowed the weak Umayyad Caliph. Many provinces came under his rule and some began to flatter and express their allegiance to Ibn Zubair. He became so much powerful that the Umayyad felt

4. Ibid., Vol. 4/49.
their end inevitable. But the timely rise of Merwan b. al-Makad saved the rule from its collapse. The most sullen opponent Ibn Zubair continued to challenge the authority of Merwan. But soon after his power reduced to Mecca, Egypt was again restored to the Umayyads. Before the final end of Ibn Zubair, Merwan died in 65 A.H./684 A.D. 1 His son Abd al-Malik was made Caliph in the same year. The new Caliph faced several oppositions. The Kharjids took arms all over the Islamic world. Nafi b. Azraq, Najda b. Amir, Mukhtar and many others raised the banner of rebellion. Killing, arson, plunder and looting became the habit of the day. But Abd al-Malik with great patience, admirable determination and practical-mindedness, handled the situation. Inspite of these, Abd allah b. Zubair gave him persistent fight. He still held Kufa and Basra; and his governors defended his rule. But the aggressive activities of the Umayyad and the ruination of the Kharjids weakened the strategies of the Zubairid. After the death of Musab b. Zubair, Abd allah also followed him. A decisive battle took place in the premises of Kabah in 73 A.H./692 A.D. 2 and Ibn Zubair, with admirable courage and bravery, gave his life to an end.

The Kharjids continued their subversive activities in different parts of the empire. Shabib al-Khariji, Mutraf b.

2. Ibid., Vol. 4/134.
Mughirah engaged the attention of the Umayyad Caliph. A very ambitious young Abd al-Rahman Muhammad b. Al-Ashath rebelled against Hajjaje the governor of Iraq; and later circumstances led him to give up the loyalty to Abd al-Malik. He continued to fight the Umayyads more than five years, and lastly he was beheaded in 85 A.H./704 A.D. The following year, Abd al-Malik also departed from the world. His son Walid ascended to the Caliphate. He appointed Qutaiba b. Muslim - one of the most able generals as a governor of Khurasan. Qutaiba extended the Umayyad rule to the confines of China. A number of conquests made by the general are described by the historian. Another general Musa b. Nuṣair proved an added laurel to the glory of Walid. He advanced the western frontier of the empire to Andalus and established an Umayyad rule there. The third general who made a chivalrous attack on Sind was Muhammad b. Qasim a daring youth of high ambition. He conquered the land and made it a part of the empire. Hajjaj b. Yusuf, one of the architects of the Umayyad power died in the year 95 A.H./713 A.D. The death of Abd al-Malik, in 96 A.H./714 A.D., marked the decline of the Umayyad. Sulaiman succeeded his father. His rule brought

4. Ibid., Vol. 4/205-206.
5. Ibid., Vol. 5/222.
6. Ibid., Vol. 5/3.
sever damage to the house. Qutaiba b. Muslim and Muhammad b. Qasim were put to death. Sulaimān made several administrative changes and within three years of his reign, his life came to an end. Umar b. Abd al-Aziz took the term. His reign is marked with the beginning of the Abbasid movement. Shortly after the ascension to the caliphate, he died in one hundred one A.H./719 A.D. Yezid b. Abd al-Malik comes to the power in 101 A.H./719 A.D. The Kharjids again raised their heads but they were suppressed. The dismissal and appointment of the governors has been common feature of his reign. Yezid b. Muhallab raised the banner of rebellion and lastly he was killed. He made people to take oath of loyalty for his brother Hisham and son Walid respectively, so when he died in 105 A.H./723 A.D., his brother Hisham was made Caliph. He faced a number of crises. The growing Abbasid movement, with unrelenting strife of its militant leaders, caused fatal blow to the provincial administration. The preachers of the movement spread all over the empire. They instigated people for rebellion and created hatred against the Umayyad. Hisham rigorously tried to save the pending fall of his house. During his considerable reign ranging over 20 years, he did his utmost for revitalizing the dying spirit of the

2. Ibid., Vol. 5/14.
3. Ibid., Vol. 5/22.
4. Ibid., Vol. 5/37, 39, 41, 42, 43.
5. Ibid., Vol. 5/46.

The primary source which continues to serve Ibn al-Athir is the history of Tabari. He has utilized no doubt, other sources; it happened not because Tabari supplied unauthentic information and Ibn al-Athir preferred others to him, but, in fact, Tabari failed to provide needed information. Sometimes our author omits a portion from a lengthy narrative described by Tabari in the same way, when he thinks that Tabari overlooke; or neglects an important aspect of a particular event, he derive it from other sources. I have tried to trace out such places, though the comparison between Tabari's history and Al-Kamil word by word has strictly been made and to point out the places where Ibn al-Athir utilized other sources, does not mean that unmentioned happenings were not copied from Tabari. The major portion of the Umayyad history, beginning with the conflict between Muawiyah and Ali, and later Hasan b. Ali, has been derived by Ibn al-Athir from the history of Tabari.

ment and relevant events which differ with Tabari. Ibn al-Athir has collected the material from other sources. A possible source for the information may be the Ansab of Al-Baladhuri. Abu Jafar Ahmad b. Yahya b. Jabir al-Baladhuri 279 A.H./892 A.D. lived a little after Abu Mikhnaf, Waqidi, Haitham b. Adi and Madaini, whose treatises and works were extensively utilized by Baladhuri in his Ansab. We find a frequent reference to the above narrators. Abu Mikhnaf, Waqidi, Haitham b. Adi and Madaini have recorded the information about the period under discussion in their valuable works. The preservation of the historical knowledge by Baladhuri provided the chance not only for the safety of previous historical knowledge but he has transferred it to the later historians. The access of Ibn al-Athir to Kitab al-Ansab of Alf Baladhuri is above suspicion. Here, what I have to press is that Ibn al-Athir might have derived the information from Ansab of Al-Baladhuri. Because the information under discussion has been recorded by Abu Mikhnaf, Haitham b. Adi and their contemporaries who subsequently were quoted by Baladhuri.

Tabari has recorded detail information on the Kharjids but the following narratives such as Hasan b. Wadia, Feral b. Nufal, Shabib b. Bejra, Mainal Kherjji, Abu Mesan, Abu Yala and Sallam

b. Ghalib have been overlooked by Tabari. An additional information is also recorded by Ibn al-Athir regarding Musturid b. Alfatal Khariji. Tabari's information is based on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbi and the supplement is also made relying on the same authority. Ibn al-Athir might have received the information by an intermediary source, because Ibn al-Kalbi did not write a single book on Kharjids. This view is based on the list of Ibn al-Kalbi's book which is produced by Ibn Nadim.

The information in connection with Muawiyah and Ziad b. Sumyiah furnished by the two historians differs substantially. What Tabari has recorded is incorporated with the additional material by Ibn al-Athir in his history. But latter rejects Tabari's version and furnishes authentic information. Ibn al-Athir's view coincides with the narrative by Masudi. But merely this identity in substance is not sufficient to hold that Ibn al-Athir derived this information from Muruj; because our historian present such additional points which are not mentioned by Masudi in this respect. Masudi records the story on the authority of Mamar b. Muthannah. But he has not quoted complete tradition of Mamar. He has briefly copied it and it is similar to

2. Ibid., Vol. 3/174.
that of Ibn al-Athir. Since our historian has furnished the
rest of the account it suggests that Ibn al-Athir had knowledge
of the full tradition. Perhaps his source was the Ansab of
al-Baladhuri.

Ibn al-Athir records that Sind was attacked in 43 A.H./
663 A.D. and 44 A.H. by Muhallab b. Abi Sufra. But Tabari does
not mention the event. We can not say that Tabari did not
find the information concerning the conquest of Sind by the
Arabs because he preserves occasional references in his book
on this topic. It affirms the view that he was familiar with
the material. The books of Madaini were, in fact, accessible
to him. He is quoted several hundred times by Tabari. Madaini
wrote three treatises on the subject named Kitab Thaghar al-Hin;
Kitab Ummal al-Hind and Kitab Mukran.

We can not make pretention that our author has definitely
drawn the information from the books of Madaini. But it is
quite possible that in some way or the other he might have
benefitted from his work. It is strongly convincing that Ibn
al-Athir, through Baladhuri's book, got access to the informatic
of Madaini. Futuh al-Buldan of Al-Baladhuri has preserved the

information of Madaini. A great similarity can be observed in the narratives in connection with two attacks above mentioned between Al-Kamil and the Futuh. Baladhuri records these two attacks in his Futuh on the authority of Madaini. Further narratives such as the conquest of Sind by Muhammad b. Qasim support the view that Ibn al-Athir, if he did not copy from Madaini, utilized the Futuh and copied it word by word. Besides utilizing the treatises of Madaini, Al-Baladhuri twice quotes Ibn al-Kalbi in this connection.

The death of Hasan b. Ali in 49 A.H./669 A.D. as reported by Ibn al-Athir has no mention in Tabari. Al-Kamil preserves obituary note on Hasan. The material furnished by the author is possibly derived from the Ansab of Baladhuri. I can not press the point with certainty because the full text of Ansab is not before me. The attack on Constantinople made by Yezid b. Muawiah has been described with more detail in Al-Kamil than in Tabari's history.

The biographical sketch of Yezid recorded by Ibn al-Athir has not been mentioned by Tabari. In the same way obituary note on Merwan b. al-Hakam is again missing in Tabari. These infor-

mations have been collected from other sources even the book of Hadith were utilized. Unfortunately the full text of Ansāb is not before me otherwise it would have been of much help.

The following wars: يمن النزار الأول، يوم مكسين، يوم عمر بن الحбав، بن جدة، يوم الجمرة، يوم الحشا، يوم البليخ، يوم الشرية، يوم المعارك، يوم السكر، يوم أسد، يوم النزارانا، يوم الكحل، يوم البشر have not been recorded in the history of Tabari while we find the parallel of these accounts in the Ansāb of Al-Baladhuri. Ibn al-Athir has transcribed, with many omission, especially of verses, word by word from the Ansāb. Not only that which are pointed out by S. D. F. Goitein - the editor of Ansāb but more chapters were copied by Ibn al-Athir. The killing of Musab b. Zubair, the happening of Zafar b. al-Harith and the episode of Abd allah b. Zubair have their source in the Ansāb of Baladhuri. The death of Hajjaj b. Yusuf and the obituary note on him, is recorded by Ibn al-Athir while Tabari keeps silent. He reports the event in few lines. The same condition remains in connection with Yezid b. Abd al-Malik. The

2. Ibid., Vol. 4/119-125.
biographical portion of Yezid does differ with Tabari in content. Another place where Tabari provides different materia with that of Ibn al-Athir is in connection with Abu Muslim. Tabari narrates Abu Muslim in few lines but our historian furnishes with detail information.

The fall of the Umayyad and general massacre of the family is completely neglected by Tabari. The major portion of the Umayyad history, except those events to which I have alluded, have been described in Al-Kamil on the authority of the history of Tabari. This fact has been ascertained by the comparative study of both the texts.

**Africa and Andalus:**

Tabari reports that Aqaba b. Nafa was deposed from the governorship of Africa in 50 A.H./670 A.D. But Ibn al-Athir does not accept the view. He thinks that Aqaba was appointed governor in this year. He claims that his information is base.

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on the books written by the scholars of Maghrib. He continues to narrate the events concerning the period of Aqaba. Muslema b. Mukhallid succeeded Aqaba. After relating the events, he remarks:

"قد ذكر الواثقى ائ عقبة بن نافع واخترط القيروان ولم يزل عقبة على افريقيا الى سنة ائنتين وستين فنزله يزيد بن شاوية الى آخرها.

which leads us to think that he might have possessed a certain book of Waqidi on the subject. Ibn Nadim mentions a book named Kitab al-Tarikh al-Kabir. The book was probably a comprehensive history of early Islamic period. Unfortunately this book has lost. It is also possible that Ibn al-Athir might have received this information from an intermediary source; because it has identity with the material furnished by Al-Baladhuri in his futuh on the authority of Al-Waqidi.

Aqaba b. Nafa continued to be governor of Africa upto 55 A.H./674 A.D. Muslema b. Mukhallid succeeded him for few years but Aqaba was again appointed governor. After few months he was killed in fighting with the rebellious Berbers under the leadership of Kasila. The anarchic condition of Africa continued to be serious till 69 A.H./688 A.D. when Abd al-Malik assumed the charge of the Caliphate. Zuhair b. Qais tried to crush the rebels but he and his opponents met the same fate,

and both were killed. This time Hasan b. Numan was sent to Africa. He completely eliminated the rebels and brought the condition under his control. He was deposed in 69 A.H./688 A.D. and Musa b. Nuṣair took his place. These accounts are not available in the history of Tabari. The succeeding happenings in Africa and Andalus were continuously neglected by Tabari. The conquest of Andalus, the death of Abd al-Aziz b. Nusair, the attack of Anbsa b. Shahm al-Kalbi the governor of Andalus on the christians of borderland of Andalus are not mentioned in Tabari. Further, the murder of Abd al-Rahman the governor of Andalus, the appointment of Ubaid allah b. Ḥabhab as governor of Africa and the rebellion by the people of Andalus after the death of Aqaba b. al-Hajjaj in 123 A.H./740 A.D. have constantly been overlooked by Tabari. These informations, as Ibn al-Athir points out, have, infact, been derived from authentic sources - like the books written by the historians of Maghrib themselves.

1. Ibn al-Athir, Al-Kāmil, Vol. 4/43-44.
2. Ibid., Vol. 4/143-144
3. Ibid., Vol. 4/206.
4. Ibid., Vol. 4/212-216.
5. Ibid., Vol. 5/8.
6. Ibid., Vol. 5/51.
7. Ibid., Vol. 5/64.
9. Ibid., Vol. 5/92-93.
The happenings related to Africa coincides with the materials recorded by Ibn al-Azari al-Marakashi in the book named Al-Bayan al-Mughrib fi-Akhbar al-Maghrib. We know very little about the place where he spent his life; what is inferre from the book is that he lived in the thirteenth century A.D.

According to Ibn al-Azarri, Aqaba was twice appointed as a governor of Africa. His first term lasted till 65 A.H./674 A.D and in the same year in 62 A.H./681 A.D. he was killed at his second term. The first term and its duration is clearly narrated by Ibn al-Azarri but the second can be established through the paragraph devoted to Kasila the Berber rebell leade. The appointment of Zuhair b. Qais as governor and his defeat leading to the death is again invariably stated by Ibn al-Athir and Ibn al-Azarri, but this does not mean that Ibn al-Athir has utilized the book of Ibn al-Azarri, because, though, their statements are substantially identical but variations exist in detail. For instance, the background of Kasila's religion, his conversion to Islam and the confidence which he had in Ibn al-Mahajir are recorded by Ibn al-Azarri. The encounter occurred between Hasan b. Numan and the Kahina - a Berber woman is similarly stated by both the historians. But Ibn al-Azarri furnished more information than Ibn al-Athir. This kind of additic


and omission strongly suggests that both historians utilized the same and common sources which were very comprehensive and detail in nature.

After Hasan, Musa b. Nusair took the charge of governorship in 89 A.H./707 A.D. Ibn al-Athir quotes a tradition on the authority of Waqidi which says that a certain Abu Salah succeeded Hasan. But, since this statement is not strong in its authenticity, Ibn al-Athir gave it secondary importance placing it in the last. Further informations of the succeeding governors one after another are also missing in Tabari. The information about the death of Abd al-Aziz b. Musa b. Nusair is negligently recorded by al-Tabari; he has completely neglect the account of Ubaidallah b. Habhab. He was appointed a governor of Africa by Hisham b. Abd al-Malik in 117 A.H./736 A.D. After Habhab, Hanzala and Abd al-Rahman b. Habib, became the governors in 125 A.H./742 A.D., 126 A.H./743 A.D. respectively.

Ibn al-Athir's knowledge about Africa and Andalus was comparatively trustworthy because he consulted those books which were written by the reliable authors who were well informed about their own countries and peoples. Such authors

appeared in the very early of Islamic conquest. A notable historian who invites our attention is Arib b. Sad al-Katib al-Qurtubi 364-363 A.H./974-973 A.D. who epitomized the history of Tabari and supplemented to it the informations about Africa and Andalus which apparently is missing in Tabari. This source served a later historian Ibn al-Azari who was contemporary of Ibn al-Athir and has two books on his credit – one on Africa and another on Andalus. Ibn al-Azari was a contemporary of Ibn al-Athir, but we can not hold the view that the circumstances have brought them together; because the biography of Ibn al-Azari, even his name has not been determined by Dozi, so how is possible to hold the view that Ibn al-Azari would have met Ibn al-Athir. But the material furnished by Ibn al-Azari and its identity, thought with some variations, with Al-Kamil, make us/conjecture that probably Arib b. Sad might have been one of the sources which both historians might have utilized. Their sources possibly might have differed in broader sense, but the common source on limited scale is difficult to be doubted.

The narratives upto the fall of the Umayyad, in connection with African history, show sufficient similarity between the materials furnished by Ibn al-Athir and Ibn al-Azari.


The sources which served Ibn al-Athir in connection with the history of Andalus does not agree with Tabari. Tabari though he has too briefly touched the history of Andalus, used secondary sources. Perhaps only Waqidi provided help for him. The portion of pre-Islamic history of Andalus in Al-Kamil is completely missing in Tabari's Tabari can be considered indifferent towards this part of history. Ibn al-Athir himself expresses surprise over Tabari's negligence. Our author exclusively based for the information on a number of books which were available to the historian.

Ibn al-Athir describes a brief history of pre-Islamic Andalus before he narrates the invasion of Tariq. This portion shows clear identity, though with slight variation, with the information recorded by Al-Marakashi and Ibn al-Azari. The latter one provides the information with detail for the comparison.

sion. The dynastic order and the relevant material show a maximum identity between the accounts produced by Ibn al-Athir and Ibn al-Azari. From which the name of Andalus is derived and assigned to the country is "meeting point between the two historians." But it is surprising to note that Ibn al-Qutia does not touch the history of pre-Islamic Andalus.

The reason of Tariq's attack on Andalus has simultaneously been stated by Ibn al-Azari and Ibn al-Athir, and an identity is found in the accounts of the historians.

If the question of source is touched upon from another point of view it may help us in finding out the common sources which Ibn al-Athir and Ibn al-Azari might have utilized. It is to be noted that certain authorities have been named by Ibn al-Azari. The most quoted historian is Al-Razi. Abu Bakr Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Musa al-Razi was a noted historian, 326 A.H./936 A.D., who took keen interest in the history of Andalus and wrote several books on the subject among which Akhbar Muluk al-Andalus, deserves especial mention. The most frequent references are:

5. Ibid., S. 1/231.
to the historian made by Ibn al-Azari suggests that his books extended valuable help to the author and he utilized them. There is no doubt in this view because had Ibn al-Azari receive information through secondary source he would not have mention according to his usual way. But a question arises did Ibn al-Athir get opportunity to utilize the book? It is difficult to answer in clear affirmation.

Another historian whose work helped Ibn al-Azari was Abd al-Malik b. Habib 238-174,180 A.H./852-790,796 A.D. His historical knowledge also helped Ibn al-Azari. The historical knowledge and works of Ibn al-Qutia can not be ignored in this respect. Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Umar b. Abd al-Azig b. Qutia flourished in the fourth century A.H. 367 A.H./977 A.D. His book Tarikh iftitah al-Andalus was a reliable source for the history of Andalus. It begins with the conquest of Andalus by Tariq and comes to an end at the time of Abd allah b. Muhammad 299 A.H./911 A.D. This book was frequently utilized by the later historians like Ibn Hazm. Abu Ali Qali, when he visited Andalus met him and highly praised him before Hakam al-Thani the caliph. It is most probable that Abu Ali Qali might have

   Ulma al-Andalus, Vol.1/226-228. Al-Zabbi, Mughital-Multami
   p. 364-365.
4. It is first published in 1957 from Cairo under the editorship
   of Abd allah Anis.
5. Ibn al-Qutia, Iftitah al-Andalus, p. 121
brought the historical knowledge of Ibn al-Qūtia to the Mashriq and thus it would have become familiar to the historians of Mashriq, and Ibn al-Athir is not an exception.

Hayyān b. Khalīf, popularly called Ibn Hayyān 377-469 A.H. 987-1076 A.D., was a keen student of history and Hadith. He is also quoted several times by Ibn al-Azārī. Ibn Hayyān visited Baghdad and lived for sometime there. He learnt Hadith from Abu Ali Sad b. al-Hasan Arabī al-Baghdādī. With him, Ibn Hayyān carried his historical works and familiarized them to the Mashriq. A historian of the thirteenth century Abd al-Wahīd al-Marakashi who migrated, for unknown reasons, to the Mashriq, has frequently quoted Ibn Hayyān. It indicates that the books of Ibn Hayyān were available in Mashriq during those days. The period of Ibn al-Athir coincides with the time of al-Marakashi, so if Marakashi finds the works of Ibn Hayyān for his assistance, why can Ibn al-Athir, when he lives in the same period and in the same region, be doubted to have utilized the books of Ibn Hayyān. It is most possible that our author might have heavily relied on Ibn Hayyān. The historical books of Ibn Hayyān named as Al-Muqtabis fi-Tarikh Andalus in ten volumes and Al-Mubin in sixty

volumes deserve especial mention. Ibn Hazm 456 A.H./1063 A.D. has also written a book named رسالة نقطة العروض في توااريخ الخلفاء. It has/referred too by Ibn al-Azari and Al-Marakashi, and possibly it might have been under the study of Ibn al-Athir. Our historians access to the work of Ibn al-Raqiq invites consideration. Ibrahîm b. Qâsim Abu Ishaq al-Qairavani lived in the first quarter of the fifth century A.H. 417 A.H./1026 A.D. His fame as a historian and literateure spread far and wide. Ibn Khalladun in his Mukadamah, speaks of him in high words. His history Tarikh Africa w al-Maghrib was utilized by Abd al-Wahid al-Marakashi and Ibn al-Azari. The former carried with him the historical knowledge of Ibn al Raqiq, probably not for the first time, to the Mashrik and introduced it to his contemporary historians. The flow of historical knowledge from the Maghrib to the Mashrik continues it does not stop. We find Muhammad b. Fattuh b. Abd allah b. Fattuh, Abu Abd allah b. Abu Nasar al Humaidi spreading the historical informations in Damescus and Baghdad. In 448 A.H./1056 A.D., he came to Mecca and later proceeded to Baghdad and settled there permanently. He died in 488 A.H./1095 A.D. He was pupil and friend of Ibn


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Hazm. His historical work Jazwatal-Muqtabis was considered one of the most valuable sources for the history of Andalus. A contemporary and student of Ibn al-Athir, Ibn Khallikan has utilized this book. He refers to the book when he narrates a biographical sketch of Musa b. Nusair. His familiarity with Ibn Bashkwal's work is also above doubt. Ibn al-Athir, most probably, came to know these works during his visit to Damascus and Baghdad and utilized them.

From this survey it seems that a large number of historical works were current during those days in the East, and most of them were written by African and Andalusan historians. But it does not mean that only these historical works were the source for the world historians like Ibn al-Athir. Their number may increase after further investigation.

3. Ibid., Vol. 4/403.