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The Governors of al-Shām and Fārs in the Early Islamic Empire – A Comparative Regional Perspective

Abstract: This paper compares patterns of gubernatorial appointments in early Islamic al-Shām and Fārs until the reign of al-Mu‘tamid. The provincial, sub-provincial and super-provincial governors it identifies are listed in the attached appendix. By examining their backgrounds, the paper locates appointment patterns. Finally, the patterns in both provinces are compared and their divergence interpreted as an indication of an imperial strategy adapted to local circumstances.

Keywords: Governors; administration; Fārs; al-Shām; early Islamic Empire; appointments

Introduction

Governors were arguably the most important link between the provincial and imperial levels in the early Islamic Empire. They were the representatives of the central government in the provinces, and the contact point between the central administration and its local representatives and subjects.

Early Islamic literature gives the impression that much of what governors actually did was decided in and guided by the center (by caliphs, viziers, and so forth). However, the distances involved and the slowness of communication must have meant that if the center gave any orders regarding the province, it could provide only general guidelines, and governors must have had a large extent of autonomy.

Either way, the identification and recording of governors of the early Islamic Empire is a vital step in detecting the actual links between the administration of the distinct provinces of the empire and the authorities at the caliphal center. Most early Islamic historiography tends to focus on events and actors at that center. Our knowledge of the actual agents on the ground is thus much more limited, at least in areas with no surviving primary evidence from papyri and similar documents.

The ERC project ‘The Early Islamic Empire at Work: The View From the Regions Toward the Center’ tries to invert this focus, aiming at a closer view of the political, religious and economic elites of the provinces. We have tried to compile

comprehensive lists of governors, whom we identified in the literary sources and the numismatic record. We have further gathered information on their tribal/ethnic, religious, geographic, and family backgrounds, as well as their previous experience in civil administration, the military, and/or the religious field.

In this paper, we will limit ourselves to discussing the governors of al-Shām and Fārs during the period from the advent of the Umayyad caliphate up to al-Mu‘tamid, when the Ṭūlūnids seized power in al-Shām and the Ṣaffārīds took over Fārs. We focus on their tribal/ethnic backgrounds in order to identify patterns that point to election strategies and improve our understanding of the power dynamics between the regions and the center. A full prosopographical study on these governors, including all the above-mentioned aspects, will be the subject of future publication.

Terminology

The term ‘governor’ does not exactly accord with any one term that we find in the primary sources. The most frequent Arabic terms that are customarily translated as ‘governor’ are *‘āmil*, *wālī*, *amīr*, and *ṣāhib*. Although some of them acquired more specific meanings over time,¹ they are generic terms that basically indicate the person in question was given charge of a specific area. Within these sources, the responsibilities of such a governor are usually called his *a‘māl* (sg. *‘amal*). *‘Amal* is often understood as a term that refers to the territory under a governor’s authority (and thus is often translated as “province” or “district”). It should be understood more generally as an ‘area of responsibility’ in a non-exclusively geographical sense. The most important responsibilities (*a‘māl*) of a governor were keeping a particular area under military control (*ḥarb*) and making sure that taxation money flowed towards the center (*kharāj*). Additional *a‘māl* could include providing justice, religio-political leadership and security for the Muslim community (respectively *qaḍā’*,² *ṣalāt*, *shurṭa*), minting coins (*sikka*), and producing robes of honor (*ṭirāz*).

When a governor was appointed over a province (*‘alā Fārs/‘alā l-Shām*), it is usually understood that he was responsible for all or most of these *a‘māl*. At times, though, it appears that the central government chose to split up the re-

1 E.g. *‘āmil* acquired the specific meaning of the fiscal agent in a province.

2 The *‘amal* of *qaḍā’* seems to have evolved quite quickly into a separate office, that of the *qāḍī*; nevertheless, dispensing justice (especially redress for wrongs committed by government *‘ummāl*) remained an important role of the governor. For *qāḍīs* in the Jazīra, see Hannah-Lena Hagemann’s contribution to this volume.

sponsibilities within one province over a number of persons.³ Most frequently, military and civilian functions were divided and someone was appointed *‘alā ḥarb* while another person was placed *‘alā kharāj*. Over time, some of these *a‘māl* evolved into separate offices.

The exact same terminology is frequently used for varying levels of hierarchy: an *‘āmil* can be *‘alā Sābūr* (one of the five *kūras* of Fārs) or *‘alā l-Mashriq* (i.e., the entire east of the empire). For analytical purposes, we introduce three categories here. We will use the term ‘provincial governor’ in a specific sense: to refer to governors in charge of a single ‘classical’ province (e.g. al-Shām, Fārs),⁴ even if they were only in charge of the civilian or military branch of government in that province. The term ‘sub-governor’ will refer to people responsible for one or more subunits of a province (mainly referred to as *jund* in the case of al-Shām⁵ and *kūra* in Fārs). We refer to a governor responsible for more than one province as a ‘super-governor’ and use ‘super-province’ to indicate the territory under his control. It should be noted that the middle ‘Abbāsīd period saw the vast super-provinces of al-Maghrib and al-Mashriq, which at times contained smaller super-provinces themselves. Finally, the term ‘governor’ without any further specification is used in reference to an official belonging to any of these categories.

It has to be assumed that the hierarchy of administration was much more complex than this three-fold model suggests. Moreover, the very structure of the administrative hierarchy itself was subject to changes during the period covered by this study. The current paper does not attempt to give a full-fledged analysis of the structure of provincial government and the exact nature of the relationships between actors within this hierarchy.⁶ It rather aims to contribute to such a discussion, by providing the most comprehensive lists of governors possible at this point and by analyzing individual governors’ backgrounds and patterns of appointment.

In many cases the sources do not tell us who appointed a particular governor. Even if they do, information on appointments remains highly problematic. First, there are a few cases in which contradictory information exists regarding

³ The first time this is attested to in literary and documentary sources in Egypt is in the year 98 H/716–717 CE (Legendre 2014, 213, 217).

⁴ The word province is used here in the sense of the *buldān* of al-Iṣṭakhri and the *aqālīm* of al-Muqaddasī.

⁵ Often it is difficult to make a distinction between ‘sub-governors’ of cities or of districts. This particularly applies to the central parts of al-Shām, where Dimashq and Ḥimṣ are the names of both *junds* and their corresponding main cities.

⁶ For comparable work on the Seljuq period, see Paul 1996.

who appointed a specific governor. Second, ‘appointment’ may refer to two different kinds of events: either the selection of a particular agent, or a higher official’s confirmation of such a selection. Particularly in cases in which a caliph is reported to have appointed governors from the lower strata, it cannot be ruled out that he may merely have confirmed the selection made by another official (super-governor, *wazīr* etc.). Third, sources may misrepresent earlier events, for example by retrojecting later practices.

As these problems can never be fully solved, this paper mostly lists appointers as they appear in the literary source material. If there are reasonable indications that a source’s account is flawed, these are indicated in the appendix footnotes.

Corpus and Methodology

Since there were no comprehensive lists of governors available for our provinces in the secondary literature,⁷ the first step was to find the names of as many governors as possible. The best sources available for detecting these governors are the historiographical works and biographical dictionaries of the first 10 Islamic centuries.

In order to identify the governors of our provinces and their subunits, one of our tools is Jedli, a search toolbox we developed within the framework of the project that helps us retrieve information from the vast corpus of digitized Arabic source material.⁸ Jedli’s Context Search tool allows us to carry out a combined search of a list of place names related to a province and a list of key terms linked to the office of governor (e.g. *wālī*, *‘āmil*, *‘alā Fārs/al-Shām*) or likely to crop up in the context of interactions between the central government and governors as well as between governors and their subordinates (e.g. *wallā*, *qallada*, *‘azala*, *ḍamma*).⁹ Additional information about governors can be found in the Islamic

⁷ Eduard von Zambaur conducted groundbreaking work in this field in 1927. Later works, such as those of Patricia Crone, Paul Cobb, and others, provide valuable contributions to the prosopography of early Islamic governors, but there has been no further attempt to provide comprehensive lists of governors.

⁸ Our digital corpus currently consists of 3,083 works of all genres that predate the year 1000. The bulk of these texts come from the largest corpus of digital texts available online, al-Maktaba al-Shamela, to which were added a number of missing works. Jedli and the corpus can be downloaded from our website. <https://www.islamic-empire.uni-hamburg.de/en/publications-tools/digital-tools/downloads/jedli-toolbox.html> (last accessed 24 October 2019).

⁹ For further information on the Jedli toolbox, see Haro Peralta/Verkinderen 2016 and 2016b.

coinage,¹⁰ which frequently mentions names of officials (caliphs, governors, etc.).¹¹ The names of the governors we found, their appointers, the areas under their control, and the dates of their governorships are now listed in spreadsheets, an excerpt of which is given in the appendix to this paper.¹²

As the next step in our research for this paper, we had to identify the people behind these names and uncover their tribal/ethnic backgrounds. If this was not clearly indicated in the primary sources, we turned to secondary literature. Here the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the appendices to Patricia Crone's *Slaves on Horses*, and the footnotes to the translation of al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rikh* stood out for their usefulness. If no satisfactory information for a governor was found in the secondary material, we returned to the primary sources by using the Jedli search tools to find more occurrences of his name in the corpus.¹³

In the analysis, we identified several patterns in the backgrounds of these governors. While this involves counting numbers of governors who shared a particular attribute, it is of crucial importance to note that these numbers cannot be taken as reliable statistics and must be treated with utmost caution for two reasons. First, there is an indefinite number of governors whose names have simply not come down to us. Second, some of our identifications remain doubtful,¹⁴ which could not be reflected in the aggregate numbers given in this paper but is specified in the appendix. The proportions provided by this paper must be seen as an approximation and cannot be statistically extrapolated.

10 While governors' names on any type of coins from al-Shām are rare, copper coins and pre-reform Ṣaffārid and Būyid *dirhams* from Fārs do regularly carry the governor's name. The main sources used for the numismatic part of the research were Album 2011, Diler 2009, Vasmer 1930 (with additions from Bosworth 1994), and the online coin database Zeno (www.zeno.ru).

11 In combination with the corresponding mint and year, coins provide a valuable check on information derived from the literary sources and may fill in gaps (e.g. the length of rule of a governor for whom only the appointment date is known). Coins sometimes also contain names of officials totally unknown in the literary sources, or not known in connection to our specific provinces. Since these officials are usually not provided with a title, it is not certain what their function was. Since the vast majority of the names on the coins are identifiable as either caliphs or governors, we consider it likely that these persons were governors of the provinces or districts in which these coins were minted.

12 References to the distinct governors discussed in this paper will therefore not be given in footnotes but can be found in the appendix.

13 Usually, we ran a search for the person's name in a subsection of the corpus that contains the most relevant historiographical and biographical works; if we were still not satisfied with the results, we ran another search of the entire corpus.

14 This might relate to the tribal/ethnic background of a person, an assumed misspelling of names, or ambiguities in the source material.

Criteria Used

Ethnicity is a highly problematic category. It is not considered as an exclusively biological category here: language, geographical extraction, genealogy, race, and group affiliation all played a role. During the Umayyad period, the most debated ethnic divide was the one between Arabs and non-Arabs (*a'jam*), with Arabs considering themselves as deserving a special place in the Islamic Empire because of their historical connection to the birth place of Islam.¹⁵

The ethnic background of a person is difficult to grasp if not stated explicitly. Arabic names (or the absence of non-Arabic names) in a family tree are no proof of Arab ethnicity. On the other hand, obviously non-Arabic names in a genealogical tree point to a likely non-Arab extraction. Tribal, ethnic, and geographic *nisbas* can provide some indication about a person's ethnic background, but are riddled with problems. *Mawālī* sometimes took over the tribal *nisbas* of their Arab patron's tribe.¹⁶ Geographic *nisbas* can refer to different relationships between a person and the place in question (he could have been born there, studied there, had a grandfather who came from there, etc.). Most regions of the empire had populations of mixed ethnic backgrounds. Finally, ethnic *nisbas* like 'al-Khurāsānī', 'al-Kurdī', and 'al-Turkī' are notoriously vague.¹⁷

For our analysis, we aim at a broad categorization of non-Arabs, keeping broad labels like *khurāsānī*, *kurdī*, and *turkī* as they are used in the sources and classifying as 'Iranian' those native populations of the eastern half of the empire who do not fall under these three labels.

In the context of this paper, those from a family of known Arab pedigree are considered Arabs.¹⁸ If this condition is not met but there are no other indications of a non-Arab background, those with an Arab tribal *nisba* are also tentatively considered Arabs, notwithstanding the previously discussed issue of *mawālī* tak-

15 Peter Webb has recently argued that awareness of Arab identity only arose in this context (see Webb 2016).

16 In our corpus, one such case is Tawba b. Kaysān al-'Anbarī, governor of Sābūr in Fārs for Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī (120–126 H/738–744 CE). His family originated in Sijistān and his tribal *nisba* was derived from the Banū l-'Anbar of Tamīm, the tribe of his patron in Baṣra (Ibn Sa'd 1990, 7:178).

17 In particular *al-Turkī* generally refers to soldiers brought from Central Asia, whatever their ethnic background was. For further discussion of *nisbas*, see Nef 2010 and Sublet 1991.

18 Usually a personal entry in one of the great genealogical works (al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ash-rāf*, Ibn al-Kalbī's *Jamharat al-nasab*, and so on) would count as proof. But as Crone (2003, 39) has shown in discussing the family of the prominent Umayyad general al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, even this is not watertight; Abū Ṣufra is in one source portrayed as the *ra'īs* of the Azd tribe in Baṣra and in another as an Iranian born on an island in the Persian Gulf.

ing over the tribal *nisba* of their patrons. People with Arab names but no tribal or ethnic *nisba* are categorized as ‘unidentified’.

For governors identified as Arabs, we also look into their tribal affiliations. It is important to note that, in the words of Ulrich, “tribes were not units bound by blood as they were often represented, and that groups could and did change tribal affiliations in different circumstances.”¹⁹ The early Islamic period saw important changes in the tribal system, such as the creation of large tribal confederations like Muḍar and Yemen.²⁰ We will look into patterns of governors’ tribal affiliations both on the level of these overarching confederations and of smaller tribal groups.

Analysis

Al-Shām

The Province

Early Islamic al-Shām roughly covered the Roman-Byzantine provinces of Syria, Phoenicia, Palaestina, and Arabia. It had fertile soil and wealthy cities along its coast and in the mountainous interior, but also included desert-like eastern and southern areas. Arabs were based mainly in these latter fringe areas long before the advent of Islam.

Byzantine rule had not recovered from the last lengthy war against the Sasanians (602–628) when the Muslims conquered the region in the period of the Rāshidūn caliphs. After some 25 years of Arab rule over what was now called al-Shām, the region became the center of the rapidly growing empire during the Umayyad caliphate. Yet even in the heartland of this empire, Umayyad authority was challenged by ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr during the second *fitna*. Later, caliphal rule over al-Shām was challenged by inner-Umayyad rivalries rather than by outside threats, until the third *fitna* evolved into the ‘Abbāsīd revolution that put an end to Umayyad rule.

Once the revolution’s dust had cleared, the early ‘Abbāsīd caliphs secured al-Shām by frequently appointing their own family members to rule over the province. Even though it led to an internal power struggle after the death of Abū l-‘Abbās al-Saffāh, this control strategy continued, which is at least partly explained by strong pro-Umayyad sentiments that led to several uprisings in

¹⁹ Ulrich 2008, 8.

²⁰ See for example Crone 2003, Crone 1993, and Ulrich 2008.

the province during the early ‘Abbāsīd period.²¹ This pattern was followed up to the fourth *fitna*, after which ‘Abbāsīd control over al-Shām became more indirect.

From al-Ma’mūn up to the reign of al-Mutawakkil, the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs intervened directly in the province’s policy-making less frequently. From the latter’s rule onwards, though, the Central Asian military elite of the *atrāk* increasingly dominated all levels of provincial administration. The ‘Abbāsīds had thus already largely lost control over al-Shām before the Central Asian dynasty of the Ṭūlūnids put a preliminary end to caliphal rule over the province.²²

The frontier area with Byzantium (al-Thughūr/al-‘Awāšim),²³ a part of which was already connected to al-Shām by name (al-Thughūr al-Shāmiyya/Thughūr al-Shām), is assumed to have fallen outside of the traditional system of provincial organization.²⁴ It should also be noted that Qinnasrīn’s affiliation with al-Shām is not uncontested,²⁵ even though the late 3rd–9th-century geographical depiction of Ibn Khurradādhbih suggests that Qinnasrīn formed part of early Islamic al-Shām.²⁶ Frequent references to officials who governed Qinnasrīn in combination with al-Jazīra indicate that at certain times it was part of al-Shām’s neighboring province. This issue cannot be adequately reflected in the current paper. Subsequent analysis will thus focus on the governors of Filasṭīn, al-Urdunn, Dimashq, Ḥimṣ, and Qinnasrīn, not taking into account those of al-Thughūr, al-‘Awāšim, and al-Jazīra.²⁷ State officials who governed Qinnasrīn in combination with al-Thughūr, al-‘Awāšim, and/or al-Jazīra can hardly be referred to as ‘super-governors’ in the sense defined above. They will subsequently be referred to as ‘sub-governors’ for the sake of simplicity.

Finally, it should be noted that due to the local focus of authors such as Ibn al-‘Adīm, Ibn ‘Asākīr, al-Ṣafaḍī, and Ibn Shaddād, we are provided with extensive information on the sub-governors of Dimashq and Qinnasrīn, while Filasṭīn, al-Urdunn, and Ḥimṣ are underrepresented. Moreover, these authors provide sev-

21 The most successful uprisings took place parallel to the dynasty’s internal struggles: in 136 H/754 CE (after the death of al-Saffāh) and in 195 H/811 CE (during the fourth *fitna*). See Cobb 2001, 43–65.

22 See Cobb 2001, 34–42.

23 For the usage of the terms *al-Thughūr* and *al-‘Awāšim* as well as some administrative patterns, see Bonner 1994, 17–24.

24 See Qudāma 1981, 186–188.

25 See Ibn al-Faqīh 1996, 160.

26 Ibn Khurradādhbih 1889, 74–79.

27 Likewise, Ḥumayd b. Ma’yūf’s governorate over the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea (*sawāḥil baḥr al-Shām*), addressed by al-Ṭabarī (1967, 8: 320), Miskawayh (2000, 3:557), and al-Dhahabī (1948–9, 12:21), will not be addressed in the current paper. For this, see Borrut 1999–2000, 1–33.

eral entries that cannot be verified by any other sources. In particular al-Ṣafadī's *Umarā' Dimashq* contains some equivocal references.²⁸

Governors of al-Shām in the Umayyad Period

For Umayyad al-Shām (including the brief Zubayrid rule over the southern and central parts of the province in the mid-60s H/680s CE), 70 governors were identified. All fall in the 'sub-governor' category.²⁹ This seems to be explained by the fact that in the Umayyad period al-Shām was the seat of the caliphate and there was thus little need for any high-ranking governor other than the caliph himself.

For the Sufyānid period we know of seven sub-governors, two of whom ruled for three years or longer.³⁰ Among these seven we find six Yemenīs (among them two Kalbīs and two Kindīs) and one Qurashī but not a single Qaysī. This pattern of Yemenī dominance over the subunits of al-Shām did not continue after the brief Zubayrid rule over the southern and central parts of al-Shām.³¹ Already under Marwān b. al-Ḥakam three out of four known sub-governors were Umayyad family members,³² and the employment of sub-governors of their own kin appears to have been the strategy of most of his successors to secure Umayyad authority. This applies to 'Abd al-Malik (five Umayyad, one Qaysī [Tha-

28 One striking example is al-Ṣafadī's statement that the Barmakid Ja'far b. Yaḥyā, who was executed in 187 H/803 CE, (*EF*², "Barāmika" (D. Sourdel)) became governor of Dimashq in 188 H/803–804 CE (Ṣafadī 1983, 188).

29 While al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf in particular turned up frequently in our search results, being for example referred to as *amīr jamā'at ahl al-Shām wa-waliya al-quttāl* (al-Ṭabarī 1967, 6:348), it is assumed here who he was not the 'provincial governor' of al-Shām but a general that commanded the province's armies. It should furthermore be noted that during the Umayyad period we know of three governors in charge of Qinnasrīn and al-Jazīra who according to the above convention can be included as sub-governors of al-Shām: (1) Sa'īd b. Mālīk b. Baḥḍal, a Kalbī serving under Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya; (2) Muḥammad b. Marwān, an Umayyad appointed by his brother, the caliph 'Abd al-Malik; and (3) al-Kawthar b. Zufar b. al-Ḥārith, a Kilābī serving under Marwān b. Muḥammad.

30 Ḥassān b. Mālīk b. Baḥḍal, a cousin of the caliph Yazīd I, governed Filasṭīn and al-Urdunn and apparently himself appointed Rawḥ b. Zinbā' over Filasṭīn in 64 H/683–684 CE. Al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihri served under the first two Umayyad caliphs as governor of Dimashq but after the death of Yazīd I cast his lot with 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

31 For the year 64 H/683–684 CE we hear of Zubayrid sub-governors in Filasṭīn (Nātil b. Qays), Dimashq (al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays) and Qinnasrīn (al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr).

32 Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, Abān b. 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayt, and the later caliph 'Abd al-Malik.

qif], one Yemenī [Mālik], and two *mawālī*³³ sub-governors), al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik (six Umayyad, one Qaysī [‘Abs] sub-governors), Sulaymān (one Umayyad sub-governor), al-Walīd b. Yazīd (six Umayyad, three Qaysī [two Thaqaḥis, one Fazārī], one Yemenī [Azd] sub-governors), Yazīd b. al-Walīd (four Umayyad, one Yemenī [Judhām], one Muḥāribī,³⁴ one unidentified sub-governor), and Ibrāhīm (two Umayyad sub-governors). On the other hand, several caliphs seem to have found it advisable to employ few or even no Umayyad family members as sub-governors in al-Shām. This policy might have been introduced in order not to foment inner-Umayyad tensions. It was followed by ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (two Yemenī, one unidentified sub-governors), Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik (one Qurashī, one Murri³⁵ sub-governors), Hishām (three Qaysī, one Umayyad, two Yemenī, one Murri³⁶ sub-governors), and Marwān b. Muḥammad (three Umayyad, three Qaysī, five Yemenī [among whom two Kindī] sub-governors).³⁷

In the Marwānid period the appointment of sub-governors of al-Shām appears to have been a privilege reserved for the caliph. For almost two-thirds of the Marwānids’ known sub-governors, the sources explicitly state that they were appointed by the ruler himself. For the other third, we are not provided with information on who appointed them.

For the Sufyānid period, the sources remain largely silent on who appointed the sub-governors of al-Shām. In only one case, it is known to have been the caliph Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. In a second, it was Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal, the sub-governor of al-Urdunn and Filasṭīn, who bequeathed the latter to Rawḥ b. Zinbā‘ during the reign of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya. All in all, the cases in which we know who appointed the sub-governors of the Sufyānid period are too few to draw conclusions.

Either way, the vast majority of sub-governors of Umayyad al-Shām were Muslim Arabs,³⁸ with the possible exception of two *mawālī*³⁹ and two unidenti-

33 Dīnār b. Dīnār was a *mawlā* of ‘Abd al-Malik, and Sulaymān b. Sa’d appears to have been a *mawlā* of the Khushayn.

34 *Muḥārib* may refer to several tribes.

35 As in the case of *Muḥārib*, *Murra* may refer to several tribes.

36 Al-Walīd b. Talīd served under both Yazīd b. al-Walīd and Hishām.

37 Remarkably, al-Ṭabarī reports that the *ahl* of Ḥimṣ, Dimashq, al-Urdunn, and Filasṭīn were allowed to elect their own sub-governors after swearing allegiance to Marwān b. Muḥammad (al-Ṭabarī 1967, 7:312). See Cobb 2001, 73.

38 Most can be assigned to Arab tribes and there is no indication that any were not Muslim.

39 Dīnār b. Dīnār and Sulaymān b. Sa’d both appear to have been natives of al-Shām (al-Azdī 1988, 1:26; Ibn Manẓūr 1984, 10:161) and served as sub-governors under ‘Abd al-Malik. While there is no evidence that Dīnār was a non-Muslim, Sulaymān is positively defined as Muslim (Ibn Manẓūr 1984, 10:162).

fied office-holders.⁴⁰ As mentioned above, Yemenī tribesmen constituted the most important group among the sub-governors of al-Shām in the Sufyānid period, while the Umayyads themselves dominated these offices in the Marwānid period. Fewer in number than the Umayyads, Yemenīs and Qaysīs were almost even in their provision of sub-governors for Marwānid al-Shām: in addition to 29 Umayyad sub-governors, we find 13 Yemenīs, 11 Qaysīs, 2 non-Umayyad Qurashīs, as well as 1 Murrī and 1 Muḥāribī (names that might apply to several tribes). This basically accords with other provinces of the Umayyad Empire. The assignment of duties seems to have been cautiously balanced regarding the rivalries between northern and southern Arab tribes.⁴¹ Surprisingly, we do not find a single Kalbī and only one other Quḍā'ī among the sub-governors of Marwānid al-Shām.⁴² This is particularly striking as it is assumed that Quḍā'a provided vital support for the Umayyads in the second *fitna*.⁴³

While the apparent total lack of Kalb and the virtual absence of Quḍā'a are both remarkable, the general balance between northern and southern Arab tribesmen among the sub-governors of Marwānid al-Shām presumably reflects some form of Umayyad policy intended to keep tribal tensions away from the heartland of the empire. The events of the second and third *fitna* proved devastatingly that this was not a successful strategy.

Be that as it may, the apparent absence of provincial and super-governors from Umayyad al-Shām indicates that the province was an exception rather than a typical example of an Umayyad province.⁴⁴ It does not come as much of a surprise that the seat of power shows some distinctive features separating it from the other provinces of the empire. In any case, the firm grip that the Marwānids in particular had on al-Shām (at least for most of their rule) is further reflected by the fact that we do not know of a single case in which a sub-governor of Marwānid al-Shām was appointed by anyone other than the ruling caliph

40 Virtually nothing is known about Hilāl b. 'Abd al-A'lā (appointed over Qinnasrīn by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz) and Ibn al-Ḥusayn (appointed over Ḥimṣ by Yazīd b. al-Walīd).

41 For Fārs, see below. For Iraq see Crone 2003, 129–153.

42 Among the list of tribes attributed to al-Quḍā'a by Kister (*EP*², “Ḳuḍā'a”) we find only one 'Udhri sub-governor: 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd who is said to have governed Dimashq under 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. However, we do find a couple of sub-governors from the tribal groups of Kinda and Ghassān, which are not attributed to the Quḍā'a but depicted as their allies (Crone 2003, 34–35; Cobb 2001, 69).

43 See Crone 2003, 36; Cobb 2001, 69.

44 Regarding the tribal composition of al-Shām, Patricia Crone also notes “faction was a purely provincial phenomenon down to the Third Civil War because it was only in the provinces that the generals took over as governors, Syria continuing to be ruled by old-fashioned kinsmen of the caliph and tribal nobles” (Crone 1994, 744; see Cobb 2001, 68–71).

himself. Finally, it should be noted that Umayyad influence on al-Shām continued to have an effect even after Umayyad rule itself had vanished; in the ‘Abbāsīd period, we know of several insurgents who claimed Umayyad descent hoping that would attract sympathy for their cause.⁴⁵

Governors of al-Shām in the Early ‘Abbāsīd Period

For the early ‘Abbāsīd (pre-Samarran) period—including ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī’s brief rule as a caliphal contender in the second half of the 130s H/mid-750s CE—we were able to identify 64 governors of al-Shām: 7 super-governors, 13 provincial governors, and 44 sub-governors. In contrast to the Umayyad period, we now find several Iranians (particularly Khurāsānians) among the governors of al-Shām. All appear to have been Muslims.⁴⁶ While throughout the Umayyads’ reign we do not know of a single governor who held more than one term of office,⁴⁷ a number of ‘Abbāsīd governors of al-Shām held multiple offices during their careers,⁴⁸ in some instances receiving promotion from sub-governor to provincial governor.

In the first years of ‘Abbāsīd rule over al-Shām the Umayyad custom of ruling the province via members of the caliphal family and a balanced proportion of northern and southern Arab tribesmen was continued. ‘Abdallāh and Šāliḥ b. ‘Alī, the two uncles of al-Manṣūr who had played an active part in the conquest of the province and were now the most influential figures in al-Shām,⁴⁹ appoint-

45 There were two main ‘post-Umayyad’ rebellions during the ‘Abbāsīd period: the first was carried out by a certain Hāshim b. Yazīd b. Khālīd, who after the death of al-Saffāḥ in 136 H/754 CE tried to win over the ‘Abbāsīd ‘Abdallāh b. Šāliḥ (see below) and some of his followers (see al-Šafadī 1983, 108). The case of Abū l-‘Amayṭar is better known. He tried to restore the old Umayyad authority (without, however, claiming the disputed title ‘al-Sufyānī’) during the civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma’mūn in 195 H/811 CE (see *EF*², “al-Sufyānī” (W. Madelung)). For a detailed discussion on post-Umayyad claims to power in al-Shām see Cobb 2001, 43–65.

46 The Barmakids were accused of unbelief (Bouvat 1912, 82–83). This accusation might be explained by the malevolence of other courtiers.

47 Notably, the Yemenī al-Nu’mān b. Bashīr b. Sa’d and the Qurashī al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays served under both a Suyānid caliph and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

48 In particular, the ‘Abbāsīd Ibrāhīm b. Šāliḥ b. ‘Alī is reported to have served four times as sub-governor of Filasṭīn and Dimashq (sometimes including al-Urdunn, and Cyprus) under al-Mahdī, al-Hādī, and al-Rashīd.

49 According to several literary sources al-Saffāḥ appointed ‘Abdallāh as provincial governor of al-Shām, while Šāliḥ became sub-governor of Filasṭīn. Al-Ṭabarī, however, states the pair ruled the subunits of al-Shām together (Ṭabarī 1967, 7:459). This seems likely, as according to al-Šafadī it was Šāliḥ who appointed Riyāḥ b. ‘Uthmān over Dimashq (al-Šafadī 1983, 186).

ed sub-governors on their own behalf. When al-Saffāḥ died in 136 H/754 CE, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī claimed the caliphate for himself.⁵⁰ During his brief rule over al-Shām as a caliphal contender, he appointed one Qaysī and four Yemenī sub-governors. One was already mentioned as sub-governor of Dimashq under the Umayyad al-Walīd b. Yazīd.⁵¹

In order to rid himself of the claims of his uncle, al-Manṣūr successfully sent Abū Muslim against ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī, appointing the spearhead of the ‘Abbāsīd revolution over a super-province comprising al-Shām and Egypt. Despite this it appears al-Manṣūr never really meant to install Abū Muslim as super-governor; in 137 H/755 CE, soon after the defeat of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī, the caliph had Abū Muslim killed.⁵² During the long reign of al-Manṣūr, al-Shām was even more closely controlled by members of the ‘Abbāsīd family (eight ‘Abbāsīd, two other Hāshimid, two Khurāsānian, one Arab-Bajalī governors on all levels). Notably, this included close family members of the caliphal contender ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī. In particular, his brother Ṣāliḥ and the latter’s descendants continued to play a crucial role in early ‘Abbāsīd al-Shām and beyond.⁵³ While non-Hāshimid Arabs virtually lost their previous importance as governors of al-Shām, Khurāsānians now gradually filled the gap. However, al-Manṣūr supposedly sought to limit the authority of the high-ranking governing officials of al-Shām. At any rate, it seems to be no coincidence that we find no less than five provincial governors during his reign (four ‘Abbāsīds, one other Qurashī) who apparently lost their privilege to appoint sub-governors themselves, two of whom were appointed provincial governors only after having served as sub-governors in the province.⁵⁴ Al-Mahdī followed this policy of his father (one ‘Abbāsīd provincial governor, four ‘Abbāsīd, and two Khurāsānian sub-governors). Al-Hādī appears not to have made any changes regarding the administration of al-Shām during his brief rule.

50 It is in exactly this context that the above-mentioned ‘post-Umayyad’ insurgent Hāshim b. Yazīd b. Khālīd tried to win him and some of his followers over.

51 In addition to this ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd al-A‘lā b. Surāqa, we hear of Yazīd b. Khālīd b. ‘Abdallāh who is mentioned as sub-governor of Dimashq during the reign of both Marwān b. Muḥammad and al-Manṣūr. In his case, it is not clear whether he was loyal to the last Umayyad caliph or simply grasped his opportunity during the third *fitna*.

52 While the details of Abū Muslim’s death need some further investigation, it seems certain al-Manṣūr ordered his execution (*EP*³, “Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī” (S. S. Agha)).

53 For a detailed discussion see Cobb 2001, 21–31. Besides the Ṣāliḥīd branch of the ‘Abbāsīds, the family of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (the figurehead of the ‘Abbāsīd revolution known as ‘Ibrāhīm al-Imām’) produced numerous sub-governors of al-Shām in the early ‘Abbāsīd period.

54 This applies to the two ‘Abbāsīds, Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī and ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām.

During the first years of his reign, Hārūn al-Rashīd likewise continued the policies of his predecessors regarding the administrative structures of al-Shām.⁵⁵ In 175 H/791–792 CE, two years after appointing his infant son al-Amīn first successor to the throne, he put him in charge over a super-province including al-Shām and Iraq. Al-Rashīd's succession plans were subsequently readjusted a couple of times, and it was only in 186 H/802 CE that the well-known Meccan protocols were decreed. Even though al-Amīn was evidently now confirmed as first successor to the throne (his brother al-Ma'mūn being second in line of succession), the area covered by his super-governorate becomes much less clear. While secondary literature largely accepts the idea that the empire was essentially divided between al-Amīn (governing the Maghrib) and al-Ma'mūn (ruling the Mashriq), sources prior to the 7th/13th century do not mention al-Amīn as super-governor of the Maghrib but only of al-Shām and Iraq.⁵⁶ One year later, al-Rashīd appointed a third son, al-Qāsim, over al-Shām,⁵⁷ and there is no indication that al-Qāsim was subordinate to al-Amīn in this office.⁵⁸

Either way, unlike al-Rashīd, who himself had been appointed governor of al-Shām by his father and took part in several expeditions against the Byzantines, neither al-Amīn nor al-Qāsim are known to have played any role in the policy-making of al-Shām during the reign of al-Rashīd.⁵⁹ The actual provincial duties were carried out by others: among the additional provincial governors in al-Rashīd's reign we know of only one 'Abbāsīd, two (Barmakid) Khurāsānians, and two office-holders who seem to have been non-Hashimid Arabs.⁶⁰ Before the dramatic fall of the Barmakid family in 187 H/803 CE, Mūsā and Ja'far b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid were apparently not only the first non-Arab provincial governors of al-

55 In fact, he even reappointed the 'Abbāsīd sub-governors Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām and Ibrāhīm b. Šāliḥ b. 'Alī, both of whom had already held multiple governing positions in al-Shām.

56 The earliest source to add *ākhir al-maghrib* to al-Amīn's super-governorate of al-Shām and Iraq is Ibn al-Athīr (Ibn al-Athīr 1997, 5:344).

57 Remarkably, al-Qāsim is partly said to have been appointed over "al-Shām, Qinnasrīn, al-'Awāšīm, and al-Thughūr" (al-Ṭabarī 1967, 8:347), which indicates that Qinnasrīn was not considered an integral part of al-Shām at that time.

58 Ibn al-'Umrānī even reports that al-Qāsim had originally been meant to become super-governor of al-Shām, al-Jazīra, Egypt, and the Maghrib after al-Rashīd's (?) death (Ibn al-'Umrānī 2001, 1:79).

59 The same applies to al-Ma'mūn's role in Khurāsān before he accompanied his father to the eastern provinces shortly before al-Rashīd's death in 193 H/809 CE.

60 'Isā b. al-'Akkī, who was appointed by Ja'far b. Yaḥyā and appears to have been a close confidant of the Barmakids, can be connected to the Arab tribe of 'Akk only by his name and might thus have also been a *mawlā*. Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh, who was appointed by the caliph himself, appears to have belonged to the Bakr b. Wā'il.

Shām in early Islamic history, but also the first ones since the days of al-Saffāh who enjoyed the privilege of appointing both sub-governors and their own successors.⁶¹ Despite this the sub-governor level remained clearly dominated by twelve ‘Abbāsīd family members (in particular the descendants of Šāliḥ b. ‘Alī⁶²). In addition to them we only find two non-Hāshimid Arabs⁶³ and two *mawālī*⁶⁴ serving as sub-governors of al-Shām.

Al-Amīn appears to have deviated from his father’s personnel policy regarding the province, mainly in order to buttress his position. As early as 194 H/809 – 810 CE, he dismissed his brother al-Qāsim as provincial governor of al-Shām, replacing him with Khuzayma b. Khāzim. Later, as the conflict with al-Ma’mūn turned into open war, al-Amīn appointed the ‘Abbāsīd ‘Abd al-Malik b. Šāliḥ b. ‘Alī over al-Shām. Notably, Khuzayma and ‘Abd al-Malik were experienced administrators of al-Shām: both had already held sub-governorships under al-Rashīd.⁶⁵ Among the sub-governors of al-Amīn’s reign, however, three ‘Abbāsīds were now outnumbered by four non-Hāshimid Arabs (among them two Qaysī

61 Mūsā is said to have appointed Sindī b. Shāhak, a former *mawla* of al-Manšūr, over Dimashq. Ja’far, who himself governed al-Shām only for a brief period of time, appointed his successor ‘Isā b. al-‘Akkī to this office.

62 In addition to them and the descendants of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad we also find an increasing number of sons of former caliphs such as Ibrāhīm and Manšūr b. al-Mahdī, as well as Sulaymān b. al-Manšūr.

63 Rawḥ b. Ḥātīm b. Qabiṣa, who is said to have governed Filasṭīn, is attributed to the Azd/Yemen. In the case of Shu’ayb b. Ḥāzim b. Khuzayma, *Ḥāzim* seems to be a misspelling for *Khāzim*. This would strongly indicate that Shu’ayb was a brother of the better-known Khuzayma b. Khāzim b. Khuzayma, a Tamīmī tribesman who governed Qinnasrīn for al-Rashīd and the whole of al-Shām for al-Amīn.

64 The first, (al-)Sindī b. Shāhak, was appointed over Dimashq by the Barmakid Mūsā b. Yaḥyā. He was a *mawla* of al-Manšūr and appears to have been of Indian origin (see *EP*², “Ibrāhīm b. al-Sindī” (C. Pellat)). The second, Harthama b. A’yan, was a governor/major military leader for al-Rashīd and al-Ma’mūn and is said to have governed Filasṭīn for the former. While he appears to have been a Khurāsānian of northern Arab background, he is mentioned as both a *mawla* of the Ḍabba (Ibn al-Athīr 1997, 5:179) and *mawla amīr al-mu’minīn* (of al-Ma’mūn?; al-Ṭabarī 1967, 8:490; see also *EP*³, “Harthama b. A’yan” (J. P. Turner)).

65 Khuzayma had already governed Qinnasrīn and al-‘Awāšīm shortly before al-Rashīd’s death and was appointed provincial governor of al-Shām in 194 H/809 – 810 CE. He continued to serve al-Amīn as sub-governor of Qinnasrīn and al-‘Awāšīm until the caliph’s death in 198 H/813 CE. ‘Abd al-Malik had served as sub-governor of Qinnasrīn and slightly later of Dimashq (during the first years of al-Rashīd’s reign), but for unknown reasons he was disgraced and imprisoned afterwards. Under al-Amīn, ‘Abd al-Malik was released (*EP*², “‘Abd al-Malik b. Šāliḥ” (P. Cobb)) and appointed super-governor of al-Shām and al-Jazīra in 196 H/811 – 812 CE. ‘Abd al-Malik did not live to see the outcome of the rivalry of al-Rashīd’s sons; he died the following year.

tribesmen⁶⁶). In the final stages of the succession war between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, al-Shām was heavily affected. This political instability partly allowed non-governmental actors to resume power.⁶⁷

Spending almost a third of his reign in Khurāsān, al-Ma'mūn seems to have had no particular interest in organizing the administration of al-Shām.⁶⁸ Instead he contented himself with appointing as super-governors his most important military commander Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, the latter's son 'Abdallāh, and his own brother Abū Ishāq (the future caliph al-Mu'taṣim). While Abū Ishāq governed al-Shām in combination with Egypt, the super-province ruled by both Ṭāhir and his son encompassed al-Shām, al-Jazīra, Egypt, and al-Maghrib. Given the above-mentioned ambiguity of the super-province al-Amīn governed under al-Rashīd, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn appears to have been the first super-governor to govern the western section of the caliphate as one entity. The lack of references to any provincial governors in the literary sources and the fact that both 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir and Abū Ishāq appointed (either Arab or Khurāsānian) sub-governors on their own behalf strongly indicates that during the reign of al-Ma'mūn there simply were no provincial governors of al-Shām.⁶⁹

Governors of al-Shām in the Middle 'Abbāsīd Period

In the middle 'Abbāsīd (the Samarran) period, the practice of not appointing any provincial governor over al-Shām but instead administering the province exclusively via super-governors and sub-governors was continued. With regard to the composition of the personnel, the tables clearly turned. While the new Central Asian troops introduced by the caliph al-Mu'taṣim had already played an impor-

66 Aḥmad and 'Abdallāh b. Sa'īd al-Ḥarashī appear to have been the first Qaysis to govern sub-units of al-Shām since 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī's claim to the caliphal throne. Their employment might have been an expression of al-Amīn's desperate search for support.

67 While the second 'post-Umayyad' uprising led by Abū l-'Amayṭar is well known (see Cobb 2001, 55–62), Ibn al-'Adīm provides further information on several strongmen of unknown loyalty who controlled Qinnasrīn during this period (Ibn al-'Adīm 1996, 39).

68 Even though he devoted the last years of his life to campaigns against Byzantium, al-Ma'mūn appears to have been more interested in prestigious military campaigns than the province of al-Shām itself (where he spent comparatively little time). An interesting example of this is the case of Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Bayhas, a strongman of the fourth *fitna*. It seems that al-Ma'mūn simply left him in charge of Dimashq for several years, which underlines the assumption that the caliph did not take a particular interest in al-Shām (see Cobb 2001, 95–96).

69 This appears to be a part of al-Ma'mūn's widely recognized break with 'Abbāsīd administrative practices (see for instance Kennedy 1981, 28–29, or Cobb 2001, 34).

tant role in al-Ma'mūn's military campaigns against Byzantium, it was during the caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim and afterwards that these *atrāk* became increasingly influential in governorships on all levels. Therefore, among the 43 governors we could identify from this period (4 super-governors⁷⁰ and 39 sub-governors), only a little more than a third could be identified as Arabs (the majority of whom remained 'Abbāsids). Almost another third were *atrāk* and the ethnic background of the majority of the last third remains unidentified. Khurāsānians and other Iranians were, however, largely marginalized.

In the early years of al-Mu'taṣim's reign the caliph left the administrative structures of al-Shām mainly unmodified. At an unknown point in time he appointed his son al-Wāthiq over a super-province consisting of al-Shām, al-Jazīra, and Egypt. The actual administrative duties appear to have been carried out by Ashinās,⁷¹ whom the caliph appointed over the same provinces and who was the first Central Asian officer to rule al-Shām as a whole. On the sub-governor level, we do not yet find any *atrāk* in al-Shām.⁷² It is unknown whether al-Wāthiq or Ashinās appointed any of the seven known sub-governors of the province.

When al-Wāthiq himself became caliph, he does not seem to have introduced any great innovation into the administration of al-Shām. After the death of Ashinās in 230 H/844 CE he is said to have appointed 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Malik, who was seemingly a descendant of Šāliḥ b. 'Alī, over a super-province including al-Shām and al-Jazīra. Other than that we are informed of five sub-governors during his reign. Two had already served under al-Wāthiq's predecessors.

Much like Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Mutawakkil devised a plan for succession. It proved fatal: while it is reported⁷³ that in 235 H/850 CE the empire was essential-

70 A notable instance is the case of the later caliph al-Muntaṣir. During the reign of his father al-Mutawakkil, he is reported to have governed vast parts of the empire, including Qinnasrīn, al-'Awāsim, and al-Thughūr. While he is thus said to have ruled only a part of what is considered al-Shām (see introductory remarks above), his domains were too widely stretched to label him 'sub-governor'. Therefore al-Muntaṣir is the only case considered in this paper in which an official is referred to as 'super-governor' without having ruled al-Shām as a whole.

71 While the name Ashinās points to a particular *turki* tribe (see de la Vaissière 2007, 92–94, 194–200), al-Ṭabarī (1967, 8:558) connects the name of the governor/military leader in question to a particularly (supposedly Persian) expression.

72 While the ethnic backgrounds of Rajā' b. Abī l-Ḍaḥḥāk and Muslim b. Muḥammad, both of whom are mentioned as sub-governors of Dimashq, could not be identified, their names provide no clear evidence of a Central Asian background.

73 It should be noted that the numismatic evidence clearly challenges the common version of al-Mutawakkil's plan for succession. While a corresponding discussion would go beyond the

ly divided between his sons al-Muntaṣir⁷⁴ and al-Mu‘azz, it was, again, a third son, al-Mu‘ayyad, who was supposed to govern most of al-Shām.⁷⁵ Even though al-Mu‘ayyad appears to have been involved in the policy-making of al-Shām as little as al-Qāsim b. Hārūn al-Rashīd had been some 50 years earlier, we are not informed of any agent carrying out his responsibilities on the ground. Al-Muntaṣir on the other hand is reported to have appointed Bughā al-Kabīr sub-governor of Qinnasrīn (part of his vast domains). Further sub-governors, namely al-Shārbāmiyān and al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān,⁷⁶ likewise enjoyed the privilege of appointing their successors or deputies. As these names already indicate, it is during the reign of al-Mutawakkil that for the first time we find *atrāk* among the sub-governors of al-Shām. In fact, almost half of the identified sub-governors of al-Shām in al-Mutawakkil’s reign were of Central Asian origin. In 244 H/858 CE al-Mutawakkil decided to take residence in Dimashq for a couple of months. His reason for this is not entirely clear.⁷⁷

In addition to Bughā al-Kabīr, who remained in office, we are informed of only one super-governor and one sub-governor of al-Shām during the brief rule of al-Muntaṣir. It remains unknown whether or not the caliph appointed them. Al-Musta‘īn, on the other hand, is reported to have appointed one super-governor and three out of four sub-governors of al-Shām on his own behalf. In any case, Central Asian officers now ultimately gained the upper

scope of this paper, a close examination of these events and comparison with the succession plans of Hārūn al-Rashīd should be the subject of a future publication.

74 Among the vast domains al-Muntaṣir is reported to have been appointed over, al-Ṭabarī mentions the whole Maghrib (including Egypt), al-Jazīra, parts of northern Iraq and of Fārs, Mecca, Medina, the Yemen, Baḥrayn, as well as Qinnasrīn, al-‘Awāṣim, al-Thughūr, and more (see al-Ṭabarī 1967, 9:176). For further details on al-Muntaṣir’s office, see note 70 above.

75 As al-Mu‘ayyad is said to have been in charge of Filasṭīn, al-Urdunn, Dimashq, and Ḥimṣ, while Qinnasrīn was within the sphere of influence of al-Muntaṣir. Al-Mu‘ayyad must be considered a sub-governor of al-Shām given the convention above. Still, Qinnasrīn might have been considered part of al-Jazīra at that time.

76 While the name al-Shārbāmiyān points to a manorial background from the eastern Hindu Kush region, al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān is well known to have been a close confidant of al-Mutawakkil. As the latter held several prestigious offices, such as superintendent of work in Sāmarrā’ and provincial governor of Egypt, it is quite unexpected to find him as sub-governor of Dimashq. Taking into account the apparently complete absence of provincial governors of al-Shām since the reign of al-Amīn, it is possible that during at least some points of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate sub-governors of Dimashq had authority over large parts (if not all) of al-Shām.

77 While the transfer of royal *dīwāns* to Dimashq mentioned in several sources indeed indicates a removal of the capital, Paul Cobb has argued that al-Mutawakkil planned a large-scale campaign against Byzantium which for unknown reasons was never carried out (Cobb 1999, 241–257).

hand. Arabs were reduced to a clear minority among the governors of al-Shām on all levels.

Since at least the reign of al-Mu‘tazz, the caliph was too busy struggling to stay in power in Sāmarrā’ to actively intervene in the policy-making of al-Shām.⁷⁸ Notably, in 254 H/868 CE the privilege of appointing sub-governors was apparently gained by Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, a Central Asian military leader of the second generation who is not known to have held any office in al-Shām.⁷⁹ It is from that point at the latest that the loyalty of the governors on the ground must be questioned. The best example of this is the case of ‘Īsā b. al-Shaykh, who is mentioned as sub-governor for Filasṭīn (al-Urdunn and Dimashq) a couple of times during the Samarran period⁸⁰ but managed to forge allegiances which eventually allowed him to become the de facto ruler of large parts of the province.⁸¹ In fact, it turns out that direct ‘Abbāsīd rule over al-Shām came to a preliminary end already before the province was taken over by the Central Asian dynasty of the Ṭūlūnids.⁸²

Fārs

The Province

Fārs remained the heartland of the Sasanid dynasty, even after they had moved their capital to Iraq. The main importance of Fārs for the early Islamic Empire lay in the agricultural richness of the large irrigated valleys lying between its mountain ridges and the resulting high tax income derived from the province, which was second only to that gained from al-Sawād (Lower Iraq).⁸³

Sasanian Fārs consisted of six subunits (*shahr*), each centered around one of the main cities of the province. These *shahrs* survived into the Islamic period as the *kūras* of Fārs and were reduced to five at an undefined point (probably

78 Among the seven sub-governors of al-Shām known to have taken office during the reigns of al-Mu‘tazz and al-Muhtadī, only one is reported as appointed by the reigning caliph.

79 It appears that Ṣāliḥ entered the political stage by taking part in the assassination of al-Mu-tawakkil in 247 H/861 CE (al-Ṭabarī 1967, 9.:227).

80 Ibn al-Athīr 1997, 6:240, 290; Ibn Shaddād 2010, 1:82, 159–160.

81 Cobb 2001, 37–41; *EF*, “‘Īsā b. al-Shaykh” (M. Canard).

82 For the desolate state of al-Shām at the dawn of Ṭūlūnīd rule see Gordon 2017, 326–329; Cobb 2001, 41.

83 See the *kharāj* lists of Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ (el-‘Alī 1971: 337–338), Ibn al-Faqīh (1996, 381–382, 390, 411), al-Jahshiyārī (1938, 319–326), al-Ya‘qūbī (1960, 2:202).

around the end of the Sasanian or the beginning of the Islamic period): Iṣṭakhr, Ardashīr Khurra, Arrajān, Sābūr, and Darābjird.⁸⁴

The first Muslim invasions into Fārs were carried out by tribesmen from al-Baḥrayn and ‘Umān who crossed the Persian Gulf by boat and set up a *miṣr* at Tawwaj around the year 19 H/640 CE.⁸⁵ During the next decade, the combined forces of Baṣra and Tawwaj conquered the coastal plains and valleys closest to them. In 29 H/649–650 CE, the new governor of Baṣra ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir was put in charge of all armies in Fārs and conquered areas still in Sasanian hands.⁸⁶ However, Muslim rule remained shaky over the next 15 years, with uprisings by the “people of Fārs” and the *akrād* reported in 29 H/649–650 CE,⁸⁷ 38–39 H/658–660 CE,⁸⁸ and 43 H/663–664 CE.⁸⁹

During most of the Umayyad period, Fārs remained a region highly contested by several actors: during the second *fitna* (ca. 64–71 H/683–691 CE), the Umayyads had already lost control of the province to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. Regarding the 60s H/680s CE and 70s H/690s CE, our information about Fārs is dominated by the struggle of the central authorities (both the Zubayrids and the Umayyads) against Khārijites in Fārs and neighboring areas. The rebels were finally defeated by al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra in 77 H/696–697 CE. Not even five years later, the army commander Ibn al-Ash‘ath rebelled in Sīstān against the super-governor of Iraq and the East, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. On the way to Iraq, Ibn al-Ash‘ath took control of Fārs for two years. The *akrād*, who had already fought al-Ḥajjāj’s army at Ibn al-Ash‘ath’s side in 83 H/702–3 CE, took control of all of Fārs again in the year 90 H/708–9 CE. After the death of ‘Umar II, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab rebelled in Baṣra and took control of Fārs (from 101 H/719 CE until 102 H/722 CE).

During the third *fitna*, the ‘Alīd rebel ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwiya overran Fārs and adjacent areas. He attracted a wide following that included Khārijites, local *akrād*, and ‘Abbāsīd family members; the Umayyads managed to quell this rebellion shortly before they were ousted themselves by the ‘Abbāsīd revolution.

The beginning of the ‘Abbāsīd period saw another uprising by *akrād* in Fārs in the year 137 H/754–755 CE. Supporters of Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdallāh, the brother of

⁸⁴ See Daryaei 2003, and al-Iṣṭakhrī 1927, 125.

⁸⁵ ‘Umān and al-Baḥrayn refer here to the Persian Gulf coast of the Arabian Peninsula rather than the modern states.

⁸⁶ Hinds 1984.

⁸⁷ Al-Ṭabarī 1967–1968, 1:2831; al-Balādhurī 1996, 10:142; al-Ya‘qūbī 1960, 1:172.

⁸⁸ Al-Balādhurī 2003, 2:364–372; al-Ṭabarī 1967–1968, 1:3429–3435, 3449–3450.

⁸⁹ Al-Ṭabarī 1967–1968, 2:54.

al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, who had rebelled in Baṣra, controlled at least part of Fārs between 141 H/758 CE and 145 H/763 CE. During the next century or so, very little is heard about Fārs (except for one more uprising by *akrād* in 231 H/845–846 CE). This suggests that the province was firmly under ‘Abbāsīd control until the year 250 H/864–865 CE, when it first succumbed to a mutiny of *turkī* commanders in the ‘Abbāsīd army,⁹⁰ subsequently fell into the hands of a local magnate named Muḥammad b. Wāṣil,⁹¹ and was finally conquered by Ya‘qūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār in 255 H/868–869 CE. The Ṣaffārīds’ control over Fārs, although not uncontested,⁹² lasted until the Būyīds conquered the province.⁹³

Governors of Fārs in the Umayyad Period

In the Umayyad period, the area to the east of Iraq was divided into three large clusters: those regions conquered by Kūfan armies, those conquered by Baṣran armies, and Khurāsān. As a result of its conquest history, Fārs thus remained part of the territory under control of the super-governor of Baṣra for the entire Umayyad period. It seems to hold generally true that the caliph directly appointed the super-governor of Baṣra, and the governor of Fārs was subordinate to and appointed by the super-governor of Baṣra. However, the latter’s freedom to appoint a provincial governor of his own choice over Fārs was not unlimited: the sources preserve accounts of at least two cases in which the caliph forced his choice upon the super-governor.⁹⁴

From the year 50 H/670–671 CE until the end of the Umayyad period, the super-provinces of Baṣra and Kūfa were usually held by a single super-governor of Iraq,⁹⁵ who consequently also controlled the territories conquered by the Baṣran and Kūfan armies and appointed his own governors to rule over these areas. At times, Khurāsān was also added to this super-governor’s responsibili-

⁹⁰ Al-Ya‘qūbī 1883, 2:608–609.

⁹¹ See Jürgen Paul’s contribution to this volume.

⁹² For an historical overview of Ṣaffārīd rule in Fārs, see Bosworth 1994.

⁹³ There is to date no comprehensive overview of the early Islamic history of Fārs. The brief overview above of the main uprisings in Fārs was mainly put together from the works of al-Ya‘qūbī, Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ, al-Ṭabarī, al-Balādhurī, al-Iṣṭakhri, Miskawayh, and Ibn al-Athīr.

⁹⁴ In the first case ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib ordered his super-governor of Baṣra Ibn ‘Abbās to appoint Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān over Fārs; in the second, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān forced his brother Bishr to re-appoint al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra.

⁹⁵ Exceptions include the years 53–60 H/672–680 CE, 64–75 H/683–695 CE, and 99–102 H/717–721 CE.

ties, making him in effect super-governor of the entire eastern half of the empire. These super-governors of Iraq were directly appointed by the caliph.

Our search turned up 82 governors on all levels for Umayyad Fārs: 29 super-governors, 19 provincial governors, 26 sub-governors, and eight officials where it is unclear whether they were active on the provincial or the sub-provincial level.

All super-governors of Baṣra and all provincial governors of Fārs found in the sources seem to have been Arab Muslims.⁹⁶ On the lower levels, those known by name can usually be identified as Arabs; of the others, three are identified as Iranians,⁹⁷ two are not mentioned by name,⁹⁸ and two have Arabic names but are not identifiable. Arab governors on all levels are often explicitly identified by their tribal *nisbas* in the sources, and it is thus likely that their tribal identity was an important factor in their selection.

We have an exhaustive list of the super-governors of Baṣra/Iraq for the 22 years of Sufyānid rule (41–64 H/661–683 CE). In all but three years of this period, this position was given to Qurashīs. The first of these was not an Umayyad: ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir of the ‘Abd Shams clan (governed 42–45 H/662–664 CE), who had been governor of Baṣra before under ‘Uthmān (29–35 H/644–655 CE). After three years, Mu‘āwiya seems to have tried to get closer control of Baṣra and southern Iran by appointing an Azdī from al-Shām (someone without local loyalties) as super-governor of Baṣra,⁹⁹ The caliph had to retract his decision within months after protest by the Baṣrans, and installed Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān (governed 45–53 H/665–673 CE), whom he had recently recognized as his half-brother, as a replacement.¹⁰⁰ After the latter’s death and two unsuccessful short-term Qaysī

96 At least two had Christian mothers: al-Qubā’ al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abdallāh al-Makhzūmī (governed Baṣra and dependencies in 64–67 H/684–686 CE for Ibn al-Zubayr), and Khālid al-Qasrī (governed Iraq and the East in 105–120 H/724–738 CE). One was probably a recent Muslim convert (Yazīd b. Abī Muslim, al-Ḥajjāj’s *kātib*).

97 Dādhbeh al-Muqaffa’, Farrūkhzād Gushn-anūshān, and Khālid al-Qasrī’s unnamed ‘*amil* of Dārābjird, a *dihqān*.

98 They are only referred to as ‘*amil* ‘*Adī b. Arṭāt* and ‘*amil* ‘*Abdallāh b. ‘Umar*.

99 Al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abdallāh/‘Amr al-Azdī.

100 Ziyād was born out of wedlock; his father was unknown and he was called Ziyād b. Abīhi (“son of his father”) by his detractors. His mother may have been a slave girl. He was adopted by a Thaqaḥī and became a half-brother of Abū Bakra, who would become a famous magnate in Baṣra. Later (al-Ṭabarī 1967–1968, 2:70 mentions this event in passing in his entry on the year 44 H), Mu‘āwiya adopted him as his half-brother, confirming him as the son of Abū Sufyān (much to the dislike of other Umayyads). See *EF*, “Ziyād b. Abīhi” (I. Hasson), “al-Ḥārith b. Kalada” (C. Pellat), and “Abū ‘Ubayda” (H.A.R. Gibb); and Wellhausen 1927, 119–122.

super-governors,¹⁰¹ Ziyād's son 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād (governed 55–64 H/674–684 CE) ruled Baṣra until the Zubayrid takeover.

This pattern—Qurashī super-governors exercising control over Baṣra and its conquered territories on behalf of the caliph—continued under the Zubayrids (64–71 H/683–691 CE) and in the first years of Marwānid rule. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr's four super-governors of Baṣra all belonged to his own family or other (non-Umayyad) Qurashī clans;¹⁰² 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (up to 75 H/694 CE), appointed his own brother Bishr and another Umayyad who was not a close family member.¹⁰³

On the lower levels, the pattern is not as clear, partly because there are more gaps in our data. Under the Sufyānid super-governors of Baṣra/Iraq, we know the names of only two provincial governors of Fārs and two sub-governors.¹⁰⁴ This is not enough to draw wide-ranging conclusions. One sub-governor belonged to the Bakr b. Wā'il tribe, and the other was an Azdī *sharīf*; the latter was later appointed provincial governor twice,¹⁰⁵ and the other provincial governor was an Umayyad. Finally, on *dirhams* minted in Iṣṭakhr we find a governor whose name has not been definitively read and who has not been identified.¹⁰⁶ The Sufyānids seem to have tried to divide the lower-level governorships among the different tribes. This is suggested by the few appointments known from textual sources and also by a *khabar* reported by al-Balādhurī, according to which Mu'āwiya was worried that the Banū l-Ḥārith b. Ka'b/Azd were becoming too powerful because Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān had appointed too many of them.¹⁰⁷

101 Ziyād's deputy in Baṣra, Samura b. Jundab of Fazāra/Qays, was confirmed as super-governor of Baṣra for six or 18 months and then replaced by a former *shurṭa* commander of Baṣra, 'Abdallāh b. Ghaylān of Thaḳīf/Qays; the latter was dismissed within six months after complaints by the Baṣrans.

102 The Zubayrids belonged to the Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā clan themselves. In addition to Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr and Ḥamza b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, 'Abdallāh also employed 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar of the Taym (the clan of the caliph Abū Bakr, who was 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr's grandfather; see *EF*, "Taym b. Murra" (M. Lecker)) and al-Qubā' b. al-Ḥārith of Makhzūm/Quraysh.

103 Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd (appointed twice, in 71 H/690–691 CE or 72 H/691–92 CE, and 74 H/693–94 CE) belonged to the Abū l-'Iṣ clan of Umayya.

104 Their dates of appointment remain unknown.

105 Sharīk b. al-A'war; he is mentioned as provincial governor under Ziyād and 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. He had already been sub-governor of Iṣṭakhr for 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir in Mu'āwiya's reign.

106 'Abd al-'Azīz b. MDWR, see Album 2011, 25.

107 These included his provincial governor of Fārs (at that point apparently including Kirmān), Sharīk b. al-A'war. According to al-Balādhurī 1979, 159–160, Mu'āwiya sent a letter to Ziyād reproaching him, and Ziyād replied he had selected them only for their merits; even if he had found Zanj (black Africans) with these merits, he would have hired them.

Under the Zubayrids, we know of only two provincial governors of Fārs and two sub-governors. Because the Azraqī Khārijites had overrun Fārs, famous generals were appointed provincial governors at the time.¹⁰⁸ Of the sub-governors, one belonged to Quraysh, the other to Rabī'a.

For the provincial governors and sub-governors of Fārs in the first years after 'Abd al-Malik regained control over Baṣra for the Umayyads, we have an exceptional amount of information: we have 10 names of governors in Fārs serving under his super-governor Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd. Khālid seemingly did not appoint any provincial governor over Fārs, but divided authority over the *kūras* of Fārs between two of his sons. He appointed a sub-governor over each *kūra*, all of whom were taken from two families: that of top general al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra of the Azd,¹⁰⁹ and that of 'Āmir b. Misma', the Baṣran chief of the Bakr b. Wā'il/Rabī'a.¹¹⁰ A story in al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'riḫ* may serve to explain the appointment of four members of the latter family: Mālik b. Miṣma' had reportedly hidden Khālid in Baṣra when Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr wanted to have him arrested.¹¹¹ On the other hand, the importance of tribal identity in these appointments is underlined by the fact that one of these Bakrīs, Muqātil b. Misma', minted coins in Bīshāpūr with the inscription 'Bakriyya': the first (and only) reference to Arab tribes on Islamic coins.¹¹²

To sum up, almost all of the governors of Baṣra/Iraq and Fārs (on all levels) appointed by Sufyānids, Zubayrids, and in the first years of 'Abd al-Malik's reign had strong links with Baṣra and its conquest armies, the one exception to this rule being Mu'āwiya's ill-fated appointment of a super-governor from al-Shām. All of them seem to have had previous experience in government, having served before as governors, deputy governors, or *shurṭa* chiefs. Many of them were military commanders, and those who were not Umayyads often belonged to leading families in their tribes and/or had marriage ties with the Umayyads.

Two years after forcing the Zubayrids out of Iraq, 'Abd al-Malik appears to have changed tactics. Instead of appointing more Umayyads or *sharīfs* of other tribes, he relied on al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf to head the Iraqi super-province (governed 75–95 H/694–714 CE). In contrast to most of the previous super-governors (though not unlike Ziyād), al-Ḥajjāj had very humble origins and worked his

108 Al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra/Azd and 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar/Umayya.

109 Al-Mughīra b. al-Muhallab (twice) and Sa'īd b. al-Muhallab.

110 'Āmir b. Misma' himself, his sons Misma' and Numayra, and his brother Muqātil.

111 Al-Ṭabarī 1967, 6:152.

112 See Album 2011, 25.

way up through different military and administrative positions.¹¹³ His clan, the Aḥlāf of Thaḳīf, was not very prominent either.¹¹⁴ His appointments in Fārs were varied. He kept the Azdī general al-Muhallab in charge of the battle against the Azāriqa. This brought al-Muhallab back to Fārs, where he remained in office until his final victory in 77 H/696 CE.

After al-Muhallab was moved to Khurāsān, al-Ḥajjāj appointed one of his own relatives¹¹⁵ and another Qaysī¹¹⁶ provincial governor of Fārs. All of his sub-governors known from the textual sources carried Arabic names, and all but one (still unidentified) came from northern Arab tribes (Tamīm, Bakr b. Wā'il, Fazāra). However, early in al-Ḥajjāj's super-governorship we find the name of one Iranian official, Farrūkhzād Gushn-anūshān,¹¹⁷ on dirhams and copper coins from mints in Fārs. Nothing is known about him from the texts.

After al-Ḥajjāj's death, tribal tension reached new heights in Iraq. Yemenīs and Qaysīs took turns as super-governors of Baṣra, each appointing fellow tribesmen over Fārs.¹¹⁸ Vindictiveness between the two parties was high and led to a vicious cycle in which a new super-governor would arrest and torture his predecessor and the latter's *ummāl*.¹¹⁹ Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik's appointment of the Bajalī Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī (governed 105–120 H/724–738 CE) has been seen as an attempt to temper the tribal tension in Baṣra, because Bajīla was not closely related to any of the rival confederations.¹²⁰ Khālīd still employed the

113 He is said to have come from a poor family of stone carriers and started his career as a schoolmaster in Ṭā'if. He was subsequently governor of Tabāla (in the Tihāma), head of the *shurṭa* of Damascus, commander of the successful expeditions against Muṣ'ab and 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, governor of the Ḥijāz, Yemen, and Yamāma in 73 H, and leader of the *hajj* in 74 H. See *EP*, "al-Ḥadjdjād b. Yūsuf" (A. Dietrich).

114 See *EP*, "Thaḳīf" (M. Lecker).

115 Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Abī 'Aqīl al-Thaqaḳī, whom al-Iṣṭakhrī (124) calls al-Ḥajjāj's paternal cousin; according to Ibn al-Balkhī (132, 157, 170), al-Ḥajjāj appointed his own brother Muḥammad b. Yūsuf. It cannot be ruled out that they were both sent to govern Fārs at different times.

116 Qaṭan b. Qabīṣa al-Hilālī, of the 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a/Qays. The exact dates of his governorship are unknown.

117 The patronymic is mentioned only on copper coins from mint DShT; the other coins all have only *farrūkhzād*. See the discussion in the appendix.

118 Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (Azd/Yemen; 96–99 H/715–717 CE); 'Adī b. Artāt (Fazāra/Qays; 99–101 H/717–719 CE); rebellion by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (Azd/Yemen, 101–102 H/719–720 CE); 'Umar b. Hubayra (Fazāra/Qays; 102–105 H/720–724 CE); Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī (Bajīla, 105–120 H/723–738 CE); Yūsuf b. 'Umar (Thaḳīf/Qays; 120–126 H/738–744 CE); Manṣūr b. Jumhūr (Kalb/Yemen; 126 H/744 CE).

119 See also Crone 2003, 44.

120 *EP*, "Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī" (G. R. Hawting).

same policies as the Yemenī and Qaysī super-governors: he appointed a member of his own tribe provincial governor of Fārs, and tortured at least one of the *‘ummāl* of his predecessor.¹²¹ This pattern was only broken at the very end of the Umayyad period, when the first super-governor of Umayyad stock in more than 50 years was appointed over Bašra.¹²²

Very few sub-governors in Fārs were found in the sources for the period between 80 H/699 CE and 126 H/744 CE: only four Tamīmīs¹²³ and two *dihqāns* could be identified. This is the first time that textual sources explicitly mention sub-governors of Iranian stock in Fārs. We do not have enough data to say whether appointing *dihqāns* as sub-governors was a common practice in this period, but there is reason to assume that this practice was particular to the appointer of these two specific *dihqāns*, Khālīd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī. For instance, the Khārijite Bahlūl reportedly intended to have Khālīd al-Qasrī killed at least partly because Khālīd put Zoroastrians in positions of power over Muslims.¹²⁴

Governors of Fārs in the ‘Abbāsīd Period

All in all, our search turned up 45 governors for the ‘Abbāsīd period (until the takeover by the Ṣaffārīds): 14 super-governors, 20 provincial governors, and 11 sub-governors.

Immediately after the ‘Abbāsīd revolution, the struggle for power within the ‘Abbāsīd movement played out in Fārs as well. Abū Salama, Abū Muslim’s rival in the ‘Abbāsīd movement, had appointed *‘ummāl* over Fārs (we do not know who they were), but Abū Muslim sent his own *‘āmil*, Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath,¹²⁵ to Fārs and had Abū Salama’s *‘ummāl* killed. Al-Ṣaffāḥ tried twice to replace Ibn al-Ash‘ath with a paternal uncle,¹²⁶ but to no avail: al-Manṣūr was the first ‘Abbāsīd caliph to successfully install his own governors in Fārs, perhaps only after Abū Muslim’s death in 137 H/755 CE.

121 He tortured Hāshim/Hushaym b. Ṣafwān al-Fazārī (of Qays), ‘Umar b. Hubayra’s provincial governor of Fārs. See al-Balādhurī 1996, 9:85.

122 ‘Abdallāh, a son of caliph ‘Umar II (governed 126–128? H/744–746? CE).

123 Naṣr b. Ḥassān [al-‘Anbarī] for Khālīd al-Qasrī, and ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Māzinī, ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāriq al-‘Anbarī, Tawba b. Kaysān al-‘Anbarī (the latter a *mawlā* of Sijistānī origin) for Yūsuf b. ‘Umar.

124 Al-Ṭabarī 1967, 7:131; see also *EF*², “Khālīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḳasrī” (G. R. Hawting) for Khālīd’s alleged preference for non-Muslims.

125 This is not the famous ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath of Kinda, but a man of the tribe Khuzā’a/Azd.

126 ‘Īsā and Ismā‘īl b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās.

Among al-Manṣūr's early provincial governors of Fārs were his brother, his uncle,¹²⁷ and Khālid b. Barmak, who had been al-Saffāḥ's secretary. Khālid was the first non-Arab to be appointed to this position.¹²⁸ It thus appears that close personal relations trumped religious pedigree and tribal considerations under the first two 'Abbāsīd caliphs. This may have been part of a wider strategy used by al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr to keep Fārs (and other provinces) under strict caliphal control. Probably for the same reason, they seem to have done away with the system of super-governors; they appointed their provincial governors of Fārs directly, and these were independent from Baṣra. The sources suggest that al-Manṣūr even directly appointed two sub-governors in Fārs.¹²⁹

At the end of his caliphate al-Manṣūr seems to have taken steps toward larger governing units; in 156, he appointed his *mawlā* 'Ummāra b. Ḥamza over Kuwar Dijla,¹³⁰ al-Ahwāz, and Fārs (but from all we know, not over Baṣra itself). In the same period, he also appointed a number of Tamīmīs and an Asadī tribesman to Fārs and its *kuwar*.¹³¹

Starting with al-Mahdī, the 'Abbāsīds seem to have gradually relaxed their direct grip on the province. Al-Mahdī brought the super-province of Baṣra back, but its composition had changed: from now on, the super-province was no longer defined as all areas conquered by the Baṣran armies. Baṣra had lost its special position, and it became just another component in an ever-changing conglomerate of provinces, of which it formed the core along with Kuwar Dijla, al-Ahwāz, and Fārs. At times, Kirmān, the Arabian Peninsula (especially its Persian Gulf provinces), and the Jibāl were added to these.

Hārūn al-Rashīd kept the system of the super-governorship of Baṣra that included Fārs in place at least until the year 173 H/789 CE, when the super-governor of Baṣra Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī died. In the same year, he appointed his infant son Muḥammad al-Amīn heir apparent, and in 175 H/791–792 CE he put him in charge over al-Shām and Iraq. A decade later, al-Ma'mūn was appointed second successor to the throne and put in charge of (greater) Khurāsān, which is described in the reports on this event as the area stretching from the

127 Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī and Ismā'il b. 'Alī.

128 According to Ibn al-'Adīm (7:3023), the appointment of Khālid was the result of machinations by al-Manṣūr's *kātib* al-Mūriyānī, who wanted to get his rival far away from the court.

129 Wāṣil b. 'Ulaym over Iṣṭakhr and Naṣr b. Ḥarb al-Tamīmī over the frontier (? *thaghr*) of Fārs.

130 The agricultural districts along the lower Tigris.

131 Wāṣil b. 'Ulaym (Tamīm – Iṣṭakhr), Yazīd b. Iqbal (Tamīm – Fārs), Naṣr b. Ḥarb (Tamīm – Thaghr Fārs), Shaykh b. 'Umayra (Asad – Fārs).

limits of Hamadhān to the furthest part of al-Mashriq.¹³² Since Fārs (and the rest of southern Iran) are not mentioned in these arrangements, it is not clear to whose sphere of influence it belonged. In any case, there is no indication that either of the two heirs apparent had any direct influence on policies and appointments in Fārs before al-Ma'mūn's reign.¹³³

Under al-Mahdī and Hārūn al-Rashīd, an unbroken succession of super-governors governed the provinces along the Persian Gulf in the years 160–173 H/776–789 CE; three out of four appointees were close family members, the other a *mawlā* of the caliph.¹³⁴ When the last of this chain of super-governors, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī, died in the year 173 H/789 CE, al-Rashīd confiscated the enormous wealth he had amassed during his nine-year governorship. For the later years of al-Rashīd's reign (173–193 H/789–809 CE), the sources mention several governors of Baṣra (all 'Abbāsīd family members except for one caliphal *mawlā*)¹³⁵ but it is not clear whether or not these ruled Baṣra as a super-province. Only one of them, al-Manṣūr's grandson 'Isā b. Ja'far, is explicitly said to have had authority over multiple provinces, including Fārs. There is no evidence any of them were actively involved in the administration of Fārs. This lack of evidence may be related to the general dearth of information about events in Fārs during this period, rather than the limitation of the power of Baṣra's governor.

The textual sources provide only scant references to one sub-governor¹³⁶ and four provincial governors of Fārs under al-Mahdī¹³⁷ and al-Rashīd.¹³⁸ Copper and lead coins further suggest that Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī may have served as provincial governor of Fārs¹³⁹ and provide the names of three more officials

132 Al-Ṭabarī 1967, 8:269 (*Khurāsān wa-mā yattaṣilu bihā ilā Hamadhān*), 8:275 (*min ḥadd Hamadhān ilā ākhir al-Mashriq*).

133 A number of officials are mentioned on copper coins from this period. One of them was likely a provincial governor of Fārs, since he appears on coins from all *kuwar*; the others may have been sub-governors. In any case, the coins do not provide information on who appointed them.

134 Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī (160–163 H/776–780 CE), Ṣāliḥ b. Dāwud b. 'Alī (164 H/780–781 CE), Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī (167–173 H/783–789 CE), and al-Mu'allā *mawlā amīr al-mu'minīn* (165–167 H/781–783 CE).

135 Khalifa 1977, 461–462; al-Ṭabarī 1967, 8:346.

136 'Ammār b. 'Alī served as sub-governor in Fasā, the de facto capital of the *kūra* Darābjird, under al-Rashīd.

137 Shaykh b. 'Umayra al-Asadī, who was already governor of Fārs under al-Manṣūr (perhaps his governorship was simply extended by al-Mahdī), and Khālid b. Barmak.

138 Al-Mahdī's *mawlā* Ḥamawayh, and the Ḍabbī *sharīf* 'Abdallāh b. al-Musayyib.

139 His name is on copper coins from all *kūra* capitals of Fārs in the years 182 H/798–799 CE and 183 H/799–800 CE.

who may have served as sub-governors. They cannot be further identified and it is not clear who appointed them.¹⁴⁰ The provincial governors who can be identified show that al-Mahdī and al-Rashid used both *mawālī* and Arabs in this position. However, since we do not have dates of service or appointment information for most of them, we cannot draw more pointed conclusions.

For most of the caliphate of al-Amīn, we have no information regarding the administration of Fārs. Under al-Ma'mūn, Fārs became part of the dominions of the former protégés of the Barmakids, al-Faḍl and al-Ḥasan b. Sahl. The latter's father had been a Zoroastrian landowner in Iraq with Iranian roots. In 196 H/812 CE, al-Ma'mūn, already hailed as caliph by his own troops even before the death of al-Amīn, appointed al-Faḍl b. Sahl over the super-province of al-Mashriq, which is now said to stretch from Hamadhān to Tibet and from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea.¹⁴¹ Al-Faḍl then appointed his brother over the western part of his territory (including Fārs) in 198 H/814 CE, and al-Ḥasan in turn appointed Wahb b. Sa'īd b. 'Amr, a *kātib* from a Christian family of *kuttāb*, over Fārs and Kirmān.¹⁴² Therefore it seems that al-Ma'mūn installed a more cascaded form of hierarchy, in a departure from the attempts of the first two 'Abbāsids to appoint provincial governors directly.

For the next thirty years, the textual sources do not provide any information about governors of Fārs on any level. After the assassination of al-Faḍl b. Sahl in 202 H/818 CE and the subsequent retirement of his brother al-Ḥasan, control over Fārs probably went to the Ṭāhirids. However, Fārs is not explicitly mentioned as part of their territories until the early 230s H/mid-840s CE, when the Ṭāhirid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muṣ'ab was appointed provincial governor of Fārs during the reign of al-Wāthiq. Nor is Fārs mentioned as part of a super-province of Baṣra. We only know of three (unidentified) officials in Fārs over this thirty-year period from copper coins.¹⁴³

In the year 235 H, al-Mutawakkil divided the empire among his sons.¹⁴⁴ Fārs became part of the lot of al-Mu'tazz. Interestingly, additional super-provinces were created that were not contained within the territory of one heir; for in-

140 Al-Rabī' b. Khaṭīr (Iṣṭakhr 159 H/775–776 CE and 167 H/783–784 CE; Arrajān, Ardashīr Khurra and Jūr 167 H; but not mentioned on coins from Sābūr and Fasā from the same year), Muhalhil b. Ṣafwān (Arrajān 182 H/798–799 CE), al-Amīr Manṣūr ([Sirāf] 188 H/804 CE).

141 Al-Ṭabarī 1967, 8:424.

142 Wahb b. Sa'īd b. 'Amr hailed from a family of *kuttāb* that had been in the service of the Umayyads since Mu'āwiya, then that of the 'Abbāsids and the Barmakids.

143 Al-Qāsim b. Naṣr (mint: Fārs, dates: 214 H/829–830 CE and 220 H/835 CE); al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad and Yaḥyā b. Salaf (Fasā, 220s H/835–845 CE).

144 See note 73.

stance, the Ṭāhirid Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm was put in charge of a super-province consisting of a *‘māl* that belonged to both the territory of al-Mu‘tazz and that of al-Muntaṣir. In addition, he also held the command over the *shurṭa* of Baghdad, which was awarded to him by al-Mutawakkil himself. Ibn Ishāq then appointed his cousin as governor of Fārs (see Fig. 1).

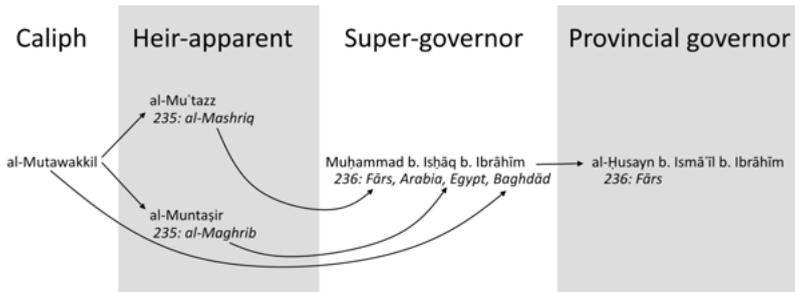


Fig. 1: Graphical representation of the appointment of Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Ṭāhirī

The only name of a non-Ṭāhirid governor of Fārs we have for al-Mutawakkil’s reign is that of al-Ḥasan b. Rajā’, who died while in charge of Fārs and al-Ahwāz in 244 H/858–859 CE. Like Wahb b. Sa‘īd b. ‘Amr under al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, he belonged to an Iraqi family with a long-standing tradition in the *dīwāns*.

During the period of unrest in Sāmarrā’ after the assassination of al-Mutawakkil in 247 H/861 CE, caliphal control over Fārs was lost after two uprisings by the *jund* of Fārs and *shākiriyya* troops¹⁴⁵ against consecutive Ṭāhirid governors.¹⁴⁶ In the complex struggle that followed between various factions of the ‘Abbāsīd army, *akrād*, and Ya‘qūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār, the caliph al-Mu‘tamīd and his regent al-Muwaffaq for the first time appointed *atrāk* commanders over a super-province including Fārs.¹⁴⁷ In a desperate attempt to stop the Ṣaffārīds and keep the taxes of Fārs flowing to Iraq, al-Mu‘tamīd bestowed the governorship of Fārs on a powerful local man of Arab (Tamīmī) stock, Muḥammad b. Wāṣil.¹⁴⁸ This is, as far as is known, the first time someone from the local elite was appointed governor of Fārs.

145 For the *shākiriyya*, see Amikam Elad’s contribution to this volume.

146 Al-Ḥusayn b. Khālid, appointed by Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir; and ‘Abdallāh b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm.

147 Mūsā b. Bughā (256–261 H/870–875 CE) and Masrūr al-Balkhī (261–262 H/875–876 CE).

148 See Jürgen Paul’s contribution to this volume.

The profile of the governors under ‘Abbāsīd rule is thus markedly different from that of the governors of Umayyad Fārs. Whereas none of the Umayyad provincial governors or super-governors we found could be identified as a non-Arab or a non-Muslim, almost half of their ‘Abbāsīd counterparts could be positively identified as (mostly Khurāsānian) Iranians. In addition to these, a number were *mawālī* of unknown background. Almost all of these ‘Abbāsīd governors presumably were Muslims; only one was likely a Christian,¹⁴⁹ and none was positively identified as Zoroastrian. There does not seem to have been an aversion to employ recent converts.¹⁵⁰ For the sub-governors, however, we do not have enough data for meaningful analysis.

Summary and Conclusion

The above discussion shows that the patterns of governor appointments clearly differed in Fārs and al-Shām. Moreover, these patterns changed over time. These shifts occurred at different times in the two provinces, and did not always follow the classical periodization (into Sufyānid, Zubayrid, and Marwānid, or pre-Samarran and Samarran). In fact, the only classical watershed clearly detectable in the structures and appointments in both provinces was the ‘Abbāsīd revolution.

Apart from the fact that the vast majority of all governors of the Umayyad period in al-Shām and Fārs were Arab Muslims, there are very few parallels between both provinces in the appointments of governors. We assume that as the heartland of the Umayyad Empire, al-Shām had a special significance that set it apart from other provinces. As not a single provincial governor or super-governor could be identified for Umayyad al-Shām, it seems likely that essential administrative functions of the province were carried out directly at the caliphal court. Fārs, on the other hand, was part of the territory under control of the super-governor of Baṣra/Iraq, who appointed provincial governors over Fārs and sub-governors over its *kūras*.

For al-Shām, two different phases can be identified during the Umayyad period. For the first phase, which covers the Sufyānid and the Zubayrid periods, little information is available on the sub-governors of al-Shām. From what we know, Yemenis played a crucial role, while we hardly find any Qurashī or

149 Wahb b. Sa‘īd b. ‘Amr, governor of Kirmān and Fārs in the 180s–190s H/796–815 CE.
 150 E. g. Ṣā‘īd b. Makhḷad, a recently converted Christian from the Jazīra (*EP*², “Ibn Makhḷad” (D. Sourdel)), and al-Faḍl and al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, who converted at the beginning of their careers (*EP*², “al-Faḍl b. Sahl b. Zadhānfarūkh” and “al-Ḥasan b. Sahl” (D. Sourdel)).

Qaysī. Furthermore, we hear of only one sub-governor appointed by an official other than the caliph.

In the Marwānid period, all sub-governors appear to have been appointed by the caliph himself, and the province was to a large extent governed by Umayyad family members. As for non-Umayyad sub-governors, balance was carefully maintained between Qaysīs and Yemenīs. While Kalbīs were the dominant group within the Yemenī faction and a main pillar of early Marwānid power,¹⁵¹ it is striking that we do not find a single Kalbī and only few of their Quḍā‘a allies among the sub-governors of al-Shām.

For Fārs, we identified three distinct phases that do not accord with the classical periodization of the Umayyad period into a Sufyānid, Zubayrid, and Marwānid phase. The first phase covers the period from Mu‘āwiya until the first years of ‘Abd al-Malik’s rule, including the Zubayrid period. With a few short-lived exceptions, all of the super-governors of this phase belonged to Quraysh. However, the tribal affiliation of the provincial governors and sub-governors of Fārs was more mixed and does not follow a detectable pattern. What the super-governors and the provincial governors of Fārs do have in common is a strong connection with Baṣra and its conquest armies.

The second phase apparently represents a shift after the first years of ‘Abd al-Malik’s rule. By appointing al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, the caliph introduced a twofold innovation: instead of relying on super-governors from Quraysh who were closely connected to Baṣra, he now appointed a strongman from a minor Muḍarī tribe with no connections to Baṣra. Al-Ḥajjāj’s provincial governors and sub-governors were mainly of Muḍarī background. Under his rule we also encounter the first Iranian official who appears to have served as sub-governor.

The third phase spans the period between al-Ḥajjāj’s death (95 H/714 CE) and the end of Umayyad rule. In this phase, Qaysī and Yemenī super-governors alternated, each appointing mainly members of his own tribe over Fārs and its *kūras*. In this period we also find the first explicit mentions of two Iranian sub-governors in Fārs.

In the beginning of the ‘Abbāsīd period, the caliphs secured their control over both provinces by appointing senior family members as provincial governors over al-Shām and Fārs. Apart from the caliphal family, Arabs lost their quasi-monopoly on governorships and tribal affiliation lost much of its rele-

¹⁵¹ See Crone 2003, 36; Cobb 2001, 69.

vance. Muslim faith, on the other hand, remained a precondition for governorships above the sub-governor level.¹⁵²

These broad similarities aside, the patterns of appointments identified for al-Shām and Fārs are again very different. As in the Umayyad period, changes in the appointment patterns occurred at different times in the two provinces.

We divide the governorships in 'Abbāsīd al-Shām into four phases, which cross the classical lines distinguishing the pre-Samarran and Samarran period. The first phase covers the period from the 'Abbāsīd revolution up to the appointment of al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn as heirs apparent. Even though the custom of appointing close family members as super-governors or provincial governors led to an internal power struggle after the death of al-Saffāḥ, this practice was continued under the subsequent caliphs—the one exception being the ambiguous case of Abū Muslim. From the reign of al-Manṣūr onwards, it appears that these governors were deprived of their privilege to appoint sub-governors, most of whom were also now members of the 'Abbāsīd family.

The second brief phase stretches from the later part of al-Rashīd's reign until the death of al-Amīn. These two caliphs relied less heavily on their own kin to govern al-Shām. Even though al-Amīn was made heir apparent and super-governor of al-Shām and Iraq by his father, it appears to have been the Barmakids who were exercising actual control and appointing governors on their own behalf. In fact they were the first non-Arabs to govern al-Shām. When, after their fall in 187 H/803 CE, governorships on all levels were dominated by Arabs again, non-Hāshimid Arabs can also be found serving as provincial governors. In the caliphate of al-Amīn, there even appears to have been a slight preponderance of non-Hāshimid Arabs on the sub-governor level.

Starting with al-Ma'mūn's reign, which marks the beginning of the third phase, the caliphs seem to have had a comparatively low interest in policy-making in al-Shām. As far as we can tell, no more provincial governors were appointed over the province but al-Shām was ruled as part of different super-provinces. While the first *turkī* super-governor is found in this period, there were no *atrāk* among the known contemporary sub-governors. These sub-governorates were almost evenly divided among 'Abbāsīds, non-Hāshimid Arabs, and Iranians/Khurāsānians. While in the majority of known cases sub-governors were appointed by the caliphs themselves, one 'Abbāsīd and one Ṭāhirīd super-governor are reported to have also enjoyed this privilege.

152 One possible exception is Wahb b. Sa'īd b. 'Amr, who governed Fārs and Kirmān in the 180s–190s H and may have been Christian.

From the reign of al-Mutawakkil onwards we find an increasing number of *atrāk* among the sub-governors of al-Shām, rapidly challenging the role that ‘Abbāsīd family members played on this level. In parallel, the caliphs gradually lost control over al-Shām. By the reign of al-Mu‘tazz, they had largely forfeited their authority over the province, which is demonstrated by two events: Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf, a *turkī* general who is not known to have held any office in al-Shām, is reported to have appointed a sub-governor on his own behalf; and ‘Īsā b. al-Shaykh, a Shaybānī tribesman, managed to forge alliances which allowed him to exercise actual power over large parts of the province. It thus becomes obvious that ‘Abbāsīd authority over the province had vanished even before the Ṭūlūnids took over in 264 H/878 CE.

For ‘Abbāsīd Fārs, we can distinguish three broad phases. It should be noted that due to the lack of meaningful data, sub-governors are left out of the equation here. The first short phase covers the time from the ‘Abbāsīd takeover until the end of al-Manṣūr’s reign. During this period, provincial governors of Fārs were either family members of the caliph or confidants closely connected to the court, and were directly appointed by the caliph. Fārs was at this time not part of a super-province.

The second phase starts with al-Mahdī’s reintroduction of a super-province of Baṣra, which stayed in place at least until 173 H/789 CE.¹⁵³ Only ‘Abbāsīd family members and personal *mawālī* of the caliph were appointed over Baṣra in this period. Below the super-governor level, no provincial governors of Fārs are known from this time, but the scarcity of the available material does not allow us to conclude whether this means that the office was abolished as a result of the reorganization.

During the third phase, we can detect an additional layer of super-governorships above the previously found super-governorships; these are commonly known as the governorships of al-Mashriq and al-Maghrib and are first mentioned in the context of Hārūn al-Rashīd’s succession plan. However, the exact extent of the heirs’ territories and their actual involvement in the super-provincial administration is never clearly defined in the sources. The ‘super-governorship of the East’ was exclusively held by heirs apparent and members of the important governor dynasties of the Sahlids and the Ṭāhirids. While we do not find ‘Abbāsīd family members below the level of the super-governorship of al-Mash-

¹⁵³ In this year, al-Rashīd dismissed Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, who had been in charge of the super-province of Baṣra, including Fārs. For the later years of al-Rashīd’s reign, the sources mention a large amount of governors of Baṣra, but it is not clear whether or not these governors ruled Baṣra as a super-province. Only one of them is explicitly said to have ruled Baṣra as a super-province, including Fārs.

riq, Sahlids and Ṭāhirids did hold both the super-governorship of al-Mashriq and the super-governorship of Baṣra. On the provincial level, we find the offspring of classical *kuttāb* families in addition to a small number of Ṭāhirids. During the anarchy in Sāmarrāʾ, *shākiriyya* troops rose up against the Ṭāhirid provincial governor of Fārs in 249 H/863–4 CE, leading to a power vacuum eventually filled by the Ṣaffārids and bringing continuous, direct caliphal rule over the province to an end.

To conclude: for most of the period considered in this paper, the primary sources' references to governors and their appointments in both al-Shām and Fārs draw only a fragmentary picture, one that becomes even more patchy when dealing with the lower levels of authority.

Our analysis of these references revealed patterns of appointments that were clearly different in Fārs and al-Shām. Moreover, both provinces faced changes in the appointment patterns at different points in time. This divergence in the patterns of appointments is assumed to reflect a divergence in the imperial strategies for both provinces. As, however, the sources remain largely silent in this regard, these imperial strategies can only be deduced from their (imperfect) implementations.

In the Umayyad period this divergence might be explained by the fact that al-Shām held a special position as the seat of the caliphate. But even in the 'Abbāsīd period, it appears that caliphs introduced a uniform strategy for provincial government only in two instances: at the beginning of 'Abbāsīd rule, senior members of the caliphal family were appointed directly by the caliph over both al-Shām and Fārs, and in al-Ma'mūn's reign the absence of provincial governors suggests that this office lost its relevance and was perhaps even abolished, perhaps as part of an attempt to further centralize the imperial administration. In both cases, these uniform strategies were short-lived and soon abandoned in favor of policies tailored to the specific situation in each province. In fact, it appears that a good part of the decision-making process was trial and error, reacting to the current situation in the province and at the caliphal court.

This study is based on data collected exclusively from al-Shām and Fārs. In order to test the above hypotheses, similar work on additional provinces has to be added to the discussion. Ultimately, this approach, if applied to a wider range of provinces, has the potential to answer bigger questions related to the functioning and evolution of the hierarchical structure of government in the early Islamic Empire, and the putative delegation of power through a chain of command linking caliphal authority directly to the sub-provincial level.

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Appendix : Governors of al-Shām and Fārs

Introductory notes to the appendix:

- The appendix contains lists of governors of al-Shām and Fārs for the period from Mu‘āwiya (41 H/661 CE) until the year 255 H/869 CE.
- Table columns: 1 = dynasty served, 2 = date, 3 = governor’s name, 4 = area under governor’s control, 5 = governor type, 6 = appointer’s name, 7 = appointer’s function, 8 = governor’s ethnicity
- The references refer only to the period of the governors’ employment in our provinces; a full prosopographical study of the governors will be the subject of future publications.
- For reasons of space, dates in the appendix are limited to *hijrī* dating
- Time spans that cannot be narrowed down more exactly are between brackets. E. g., (41–60)–64 means the governor was appointed at some unknown time between 41 and 60 H, and served until 64 H.
- If the exact beginning or end of a term is not known, this may be indicated by a trailing hyphen. E. g., 145–152– means the governor was appointed in 145 H, and was in office until an unknown date after 152 H.
- Governor type abbreviations: cal.cont. = caliphal contender, gov = governor, reb = rebel, sub = sub-governor, sup = super-governor
- Ethnicity abbreviations: Ar-Y = Arab – Yemen, Ar-M = Arab – Muḍar, Ar-Q = Arab – Qays, Ar-R = Arab – Rabī‘a

Governors of al-Shām

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
U	(41–60)	¹ (1) النعمان بن بشير بن سعد	Ḥimṣ	sub	Mu'āwiya I	caliph	Ar-Y
U	(41–60)	ملك بن هبيرة ²	Ḥimṣ	sub			Ar-Y – Kinda – Sakūn
U	(41–60)–64	حسان بن مالك بن بحدل ³	Filasṭīn, Urdunn	sub			Ar-Y – Kalb
U	59–64	الضحاك بن قيس الفهري ⁴	Dimashq	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh
U	(60–64)	سعيد بن مالك بن بحدل ⁵	Qinnasrīn, Jazīra	sub			Ar-Y – Kalb
U	(60–64)	حصين بن نمير بن نائل ⁶	Ḥimṣ	sub			Ar-Y – Kinda
U	(64–65)	روح بن زنباع ⁷	Filasṭīn	sub	حسان بن مالك بن بحدل	sub	Ar-Y – Judhām
	64	زفر بن الحارث ⁸	Qinnasrīn	sub			Ar-Q – Hawāzīn – 'Āmir?
Z	64	⁹ (2) النعمان بن بشير بن سعد	Ḥimṣ	sub			Ar-Y
Z	64	نائل بن قيس بن زيد ¹⁰	Filasṭīn	sub	Ibn al-Zubayr	cal. cont.	Ar-Y – Judhām
U	(64–65)	يزيد بن أبي النميس ¹¹	Dimashq	sub			Ar-Y – Azd – Ghassān

1 'Adīm B 10.4625; Dhah 5.158–159. Al-Nu'mān became governor of Ḥimṣ a second time during the rule of Ibn al-Zubayr (see below).

2 Dhah 5.137.

3 Bal A 6.258–259, 264; Athīr K 3.238; 'Adīm B 5.2236; 'Asāk 12.449.

4 Dhah 4.86, 5.81, 261; 'Asāk 2.364; Bal A 5.350; 6.275, 278; 11.46; Mas 1.266; Ṭab 5.531; Athīr K 3.241. After the death of Yazīd I al-Ḍaḥḥāk threw in his lot with 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr for whom he claimed all of al-Shām.

5 Dhah 5.75, see also 'Adīm B 8.3801.

6 'Asāk 14.382; 'Adīm B 6.2818.

7 Bal A 6.264, 286; Athīr K 3.238, 242; 'Adīm B 5.2236; Ṭab 5.531. In 64 Rawḥ was expelled from Filasṭīn by the Zubayrid governor Nātil b. Qays but soon afterwards reinstated by Marwān I.

8 Bal A 6.266; Ṭab 5.535; Athīr K 3.241; Dhah 5.81. While in the year 64 Zufar is said to have temporarily acknowledged Ibn al-Zubayr (Dhah 5.81), he appears to have been originally appointed by some (?) Umayyad caliph.

9 Ṭab 5.535, 539; Ya'q 2.256; Athīr K 3.241; see also Bal A 6.266. Al-Nu'mān had already served as governor of Ḥimṣ under Mu'āwiya I (see above).

10 Ṭab 5.531, 540; Bal A 6.258; Ya'q 2.255.

11 Bal A 6.269. Yazīd expelled al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays from Dimashq but (according to Balādhurī) soon afterwards passed the command on to 'Abd al-Malik.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
U	65	عبد الملك ¹²	Dimashq	sub	Marwān I	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(64 – 65)– 65	خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية ¹³	Ḥimṣ	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	65 – 71	أبان بن عقبة بن أبي معيط ¹⁴	Ḥimṣ	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	69	عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله ¹⁵	Dimashq	sub	‘Abd al-Malik	caliph	Ar-Q – Thaqīf
U	71 –	محمد بن مروان ¹⁶	Qinnasrīn, Jazīra	sub	‘Abd al-Malik	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	75	دينار بن دينار ¹⁷	Qinnasrīn	sub			<i>mawlā</i> of the caliph
U	81	سليمان بن سعد ¹⁸	Urdunn	sub	‘Abd al-Malik	caliph	<i>mawlā</i> of Arab – Khushayn?
U	(65 – 86)	أبان بن مروان ¹⁹	Filasṭīn ²⁰	sub	‘Abd al-Malik	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(65 – 86)	عبد الله بن يزيد بن أسد ²¹	Dimashq	sub	‘Abd al-Malik	caliph	Ar-Y – Mālik
U	(65 – 86)	الوليد بن عبد الملك ²²	Dimashq	sub	‘Abd al-Malik	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(65 – 86)	أبان بن الوليد بن عقبة ²³	Ḥimṣ, Qinnasrīn	sub	‘Abd al-Malik	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(65 – 86)	يحيى بن الحكم بن أبي العاص ²⁴	Ḥimṣ	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya

12 Bal A 6.285.

13 Dhah 5.159; Bal A 5.363–364. Supposedly, Abān b. ‘Uqba was his deputy on the ground.

14 Bal A 7.52; Athīr K 3.388. Supposedly, Abān was subordinate to Khālid b. Yazīd.

15 Ṭab 6.140; Bal A 7.42; Athīr K 3.356.

16 Bal A 8.74; Shadd 1.114.

17 Bal F 1.188. Dīnār appears to have been born a slave (Qut Sh 1.337) in Ḥimṣ (Azd 1.26).

18 Bal F 1.193; Māw 1.301. Sulaymān appears to have been born in al-Urdunn and is mainly known for the prominent role he held in the organization of the *dīwān* (Manṣ 10.161; see also Ṭab 6.181; Khal Trkh 1.299, 312, 319).

19 Bal A 6.310.

20 According to Ibn ‘Asākir, Abān was only in charge of al-Balqā’ (‘Asāk 6.158, 9.217).

21 Bal A 7.42.

22 Bal A 7.43.

23 Bal A 9.349.

24 Dhah 5.315. Elsewhere Yaḥyā is only mentioned as governor of Medina (Bal A 7.136, 219; Ṭab 6.202).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
U	(86–96)	عبد العزيز بن الوليد ²⁵	Dimashq, Qinnasrīn	sub	al-Walīd I	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(86–96)	سعيد بن عبد الملك ²⁶	Filasṭīn	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(86–96)	سليمان بن عبد الملك ²⁷	Filasṭīn	sub	al-Walīd I	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(86–96)	خالد بن برز العيسي ²⁸	Dimashq	sub	al-Walīd I	caliph	Ar-Q – Ghaṭafān – 'Abs
U	(86–96)	عبد الله بن عبد الملك ²⁹	Ḥimṣ	sub	al-Walīd I	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(86–96)	العباس بن الوليد ³⁰	Ḥimṣ	sub	al-Walīd I	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(86–96)	بشر بن الوليد ³¹	Qinnasrīn	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	96	محمد بن سويد بن كلثوم ³²	Dimashq	sub	Sulaymān	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh
U	(99–101)	الضحك بن عبد الرحمان بن عزب ³³	Dimashq	sub	'Umar II	caliph	Ar-Y – Ash'ar
U	(99–101)	عثمان بن سعيد ³⁴	Dimashq	sub			Ar-Y – Ḥimyar – 'Udhra
U	(99–101)	هلال بن عبد الأعلى ³⁵	Qinnasrīn	sub	'Umar II	caliph	
U	(101–05)	عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن بن عتبة ³⁶	Dimashq	sub	Yazīd II	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh
U	(101–25)	الوليد بن تليد ³⁷	Dimashq	sub			Arab – Murra?

25 Şaf 1.185; Dhah 7.92; Bal A 8.73–74.

26 Ṭab 7.266; Misk 3.197; Athīr K 4.310.

27 Bal F 1.145; Bal A 8.99; Mas 1.311.

28 Bal A 13.194; 'Asāk 16.5.

29 Bal A 7.196; Khal T 1.298.

30 Bal A 8.71; Dhah 8.88.

31 Bal A 8.71; Athīr K 4.331; 'Adīm Z 1.28; 'Adīm B 6.2888.

32 Şaf 1.85; Dhah 7.145.

33 Şaf 1.65, 85; Dhah 7.63.

34 Şaf 1.75, 185.

35 'Adīm Z 1.27.

36 Şaf 1.70, 185. While virtually nothing is known about 'Abdallāh, his father is said to have governed Egypt for Ibn al-Zubayr (Bal A 6.259).

37 Şaf 1.185. Elsewhere al-Walid is mainly known as governor of al-Mawṣil (Ṭab 7.260; Bal A 9.107, 13.134).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
U	121–23 ³⁸	كلثوم بن عياض بن جوح ³⁹	Dimashq	sub	Hishām	caliph	Ar-Q – Hawāzin – ‘Āmir – Ka’b
U	(105–25)	عبد الملك بن القعقاع بن خليد ⁴⁰	Ḥimṣ (or Qinnasrīn?)	sub	Hishām	caliph	Ar-Q – Ghaṭafān – ‘Abs
U	(105–25)	الوليد بن القعقاع بن خليد ⁴¹	Qinnasrīn	sub	Hishām	caliph	Ar-Q – Ghaṭafān – ‘Abs
U	(105–25)	عمرو بن قيس بن ثور ⁴²	Ḥimṣ	sub			Ar-Y – Kinda – Sakūn
U	(105–25)	سعيد بن هشام ⁴³	Ḥimṣ	sub	Hishām	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(105–25)	إسحاق بن قبيصة بن ذؤيب ⁴⁴	Urdunn	sub			Ar-Y – Azd – Khuzā’a?
U	126	عبد الملك بن محمد بن الحجاج بن يوسف ⁴⁵	Dimashq	sub	al-Walīd II	caliph	Ar-Q – Thaḳīf
U	126	عبد العزيز بن الحجاج بن عبد الملك ⁴⁶	Ḥimṣ	sub	al-Walīd II	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(125–26)	عمر بن عبد الملك بن مروان ⁴⁷	Dimashq	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(125–26)	عثمان بن عبد الأعلى بن سراقه ⁴⁸⁽¹⁾	Dimashq	sub			Ar-Y – Azd
U	(125–26)	مروان بن عبد الله بن عبد الملك ⁴⁹	Ḥimṣ	sub	al-Walīd II	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya

38 According to Ibn al-Athīr (Athīr K 4.296), however, Kulthūm governed Dimashq in the year 126.

39 Ṣaf 1.90, 185; Bal A 9.103; Dhah 8.5.

40 Ṭab 7.237; ‘Adīm Z 1.27–28. As Ibn al-‘Adīm (‘Adīm Z 1.28) notes that ‘Abd al-Malik and al-Walīd, the two sons of al-Qa’qā’, might have been mixed up, it seems reasonable to follow al-Ṭabarī here.

41 Ṭab 7.237; ‘Adīm Z 1.27–28. Al-Walīd was the maternal uncle of Hishām’s brother Sulaymān.

42 Bal A 8.404.

43 Bal A 8.406.

44 ‘Asāk 8.270, 272.

45 Ṣaf 1.186; Ṭab 7.233, 240; Bal A 9.172; Athīr K 4.302.

46 Ṭab 7.249; Bal A 9.180; Athīr K 4.303–304. In fact, it appears that ‘Abd al-‘Azīz never accepted the governorate offered to him by al-Walīd II but continued to support Yazīd III.

47 Ṣaf 1.79, 186

48 Ṣaf 1.186. Notably, ‘Uthmān is said to have been reinstated as governor of Dimashq by ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī (see below).

49 Ṭab 7.262; Bal A 9.203.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
U	(125–26)	الحكم بن الوليد ⁵⁰	Dimashq	sub	al-Walīd II	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(125–26)	يزيد بن الوليد ⁵¹	Dimashq	sub	al-Walīd II	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(125–26)	عثمان بن الوليد ⁵²	Ḥimṣ	sub	al-Walīd II	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(125–26)	يزيد بن عمر بن هبيرة ⁵³	Qinnasrīn	sub	al-Walīd II	caliph	Ar-Q – Fazāra
U	(125–26)–126	عبد الصمد بن محمد بن الحجاج بن يوسف ⁵⁴	Dimashq	sub			Ar-Q – Thaqīf
U	126	ضبيعان بن روح ⁵⁵	Filasṭīn	sub	Yazīd III	caliph	Ar-Y – Judhām
U	126	الأسود بن بلال ⁵⁶	Urdunn	sub			Arab – Muḥārib?
U	126	إبراهيم بن الوليد بن عبد الملك ⁵⁷	Urdunn	sub	Yazīd III	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	126	سعيد بن عبد الملك ⁵⁸	Filasṭīn	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	126	ابن الحصين ⁵⁹	Ḥimṣ	sub	Yazīd III	caliph	
U	126	مسرور بن الوليد ⁶⁰	Qinnasrīn	sub	Yazīd III	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	126–27	بشر بن الوليد بن عبد الملك ⁶¹	Qinnasrīn	sub	Yazīd III	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(126–27)–127	عبد العزيز بن الحجاج بن عبد الملك ⁶²	Dimashq	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	127	الرماحس بن عبد العزيز ⁶³	Filasṭīn ⁶⁴	sub	Marwān II	caliph	Ar-M – Kināna

50 Bal A 9.151; Ya‘q 2.331; ‘Adīm B 6.2891; ‘Asāk 15.80.

51 Bal A 9.182; ‘Adīm B 9.3930–3931.

52 Bal A 9.151; Ya‘q 2.331; ‘Adīm B 6.2891; ‘Asāk 15.80.

53 Dhah 8.384; ‘Adīm Z 1.28.

54 Şaf 1.186; Misk 3.183.

55 Ṭab 7.268; Misk 3.199; Athīr K 4.311.

56 ‘Asāk 9.67; Ṭab 7.268.

57 Ṭab 7.268; Athīr K 4.311; Misk 3.199.

58 Misk 3.197; Ṭab 7.266; Athīr K 4.310.

59 Ṭab 7.268; Misk 3.199.

60 Ṭab 7.268; Misk 3.199; ‘Adīm Z 1.28.

61 Ṭab 7.300; Athīr K 4.331; see also ‘Adīm Z 1.28; ‘Adīm B 6.2888.

62 Şaf 1.186; Ya‘q 2.338.

63 Ṭab 7.314; Athīr K 4.338; Misk 3.228.

64 According to al-Balādhurī (Bal A 9.320), al-Ramāḥis governed al-Urdunn.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
U	132	⁶⁵ الوليد بن معاوية بن مروان	Dimashq	sub	Marwān II	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	– 132	⁶⁶ ثعلبة بن سلامة العاملي	Urdunn	sub			Ar-Y
U	(127 – 32)	⁶⁷ كوثر بن عبد الله الأسود الغنوي	Dimashq	sub	Marwān II	caliph	Ar-Q
U	(127 – 32)	⁶⁸ الكوثر بن زفر بن الحارث	Qinnasrīn, Jazīra	sub			Ar-Q – Kilāb
U	(127 – 32)	⁶⁹ ثابت بن نعيم بن زرععة	Filasṭīn (, Urdunn)	sub	Marwān II	caliph	Ar-Y – Judhām
U	(127 – 32)	⁷⁰ معاوية بن يزيد بن حصين	Ḥimṣ	sub	Marwān II	caliph	Ar-Y – Kinda – Sakūn
U	(127 – 32)	⁷¹ عبد الله بن شجرة	Ḥimṣ	sub	Marwān II	caliph	Ar-Y – Kinda
U	(127 – 32)	⁷² عبد الملك بن الكوثر الغنوي	Qinnasrīn	sub	Marwān II	caliph	Ar-Q
U	(127 – 32)	⁷³ زامل بن عمرو السكسكي	Dimashq (, Ḥimṣ)	sub	Marwān II	caliph	Ar-Y – Ḥimyar
	(127 – 32)	⁷⁴ يزيد بن خالد بن عبد الله (1)	Dimashq	sub			Arab – Bajīla

65 Ṭab 7.438; Ṣaf 1.111, 186; Bal A 4.121, 6.309, 11.12; Athīr K 5.18. He appears to be identical with al-Walid b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Abd al-Malik (see Misk 3.279 / Ṭab 7.370) and Mu'āwiya b. al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik (see Dīn 1.357). According to an additional passage in al-Ṭabarī's *Tarīkh* (Ṭab 7.312), al-Walid was elected governor by the *ahl al-Urdunn* after swearing allegiance to Marwān II in 127.

66 Ṭab 7.438; Bal A 9.320.

67 Ṣaf 1.90, 186, 222.

68 Bal F 1.189; 'Adīm B 1.236.

69 Bal A 9.224–225; 'Asāk 11.143–144. According to al-Ṭabarī (Ṭab 7.312), Thābit was elected governor by the *ahl Filasṭīn* after swearing allegiance to Marwān II in 127. At a later point, however, Thābit appears to have rebelled against Marwān II (see *EF*², “Marwan II” (G.R. Hawting)).

70 Bal A 9.224; see also Ṭab 7.263.

71 Bal A 9.224, 228; 'Asāk 15.83. According to al-Ṭabarī (Ṭab 7.312), 'Abdallāh was elected governor by the *ahl Ḥimṣ* after swearing allegiance to Marwān II in 127.

72 Bal A 9.224–225; 'Adīm Z 1.29.

73 Ṣaf 1.55, 186; 'Adīm B 8.3731–3732; 'Asāk 16.316. According to al-Ṭabarī (Ṭab 7.312), Zāmil was elected governor by the *ahl Dimashq* after swearing allegiance to Marwān II in 127.

74 Ṣaf 1.113, 186. Yazid came to power over Dimashq after Marwān II's governor Zāmil was forced out. While Yazid is said to have been made governor of Dimashq again under al-Manṣūr (see below), it is not known whether he acknowledged 'Abbāsīd suzerainty already at this early point.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	132–34	عبد الله بن علي ⁷⁵	Shām	gov	al-Saffāḥ	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	132	عبد الحميد بن ربعي ⁷⁶	Dimashq	Sub	عبد الله بن علي	gov	Ar-Y – Qahtān – Kahlān – Ṭayyi’
A	(131–36)	رياح بن عثمان ⁷⁷	Dimashq	sub	صالح بن علي	gov	Arab – Murra?
A	133–34	صالح بن علي (1) ⁷⁸	Filasṭīn (, Dimashq)	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	(131–36)	عبيد الله بن العباس بن يزيد ⁷⁹	Qinnasrīn	sub	al-Saffāḥ	caliph	Ar-Y – Kinda
A	(131–36)	عبد الصمد بن علي (1) ⁸⁰	Qinnasrīn	Sub	عبد الله بن علي	gov	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	(136–37)	الحكم بن ضبعان بن روح ⁸¹	Filasṭīn	sub	‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī	cal. cont.	Ar-Y – Judhām
A	(136–37)	عثمان بن عبد الأعلى بن سراقه (2) ⁸²	Dimashq	sub	‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī	cal. cont.	Ar-Y – Azd
A	(136–37)	عمر بن شريح الحضرمي ⁸³	Dimashq	sub	‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī	cal. cont.	Ar-Y?
A	(136–37)	زفر بن عاصم ⁸⁴	Qinnasrīn	sub	‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī	cal. cont.	Ar-Q – Khasafa – Hawāzin – Hilāl
A	137	حميد بن قحطية ⁸⁵	Qinnasrīn	sub	‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī	cal. cont.	Ar-Y – Ṭayyi’?

75 Athīr K 5.35, 44; Dhah 8.235; Dīn 1.378. Al-Ṭabarī (Ṭab 7.459, see also 460, 467) states for the year 133 that it was both ‘Abdallāh and Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī who were in charge of the *ajnad al-Shām*. **76** Ṣaf 1.186; Ṭab 7.444.

77 Ṣaf 1.186. Elsewhere Riyāḥ is mainly known to have governed Medina for al-Manṣūr (Khal T 1.420–421; Bal A 3.115, 13.132; Ṭab 7.517; Athīr K 5.97, 107; Dhah 9.9).

78 Ṭab 7.460, 465, 467; Athīr K 5.44; Ṣaf 1.63, 186; Dhah 9.291. Despite the insurrection of his brother ‘Abdallāh against al-Manṣūr, Ṣāliḥ continued to hold several governorates under the latter’s rule (see below).

79 Bal A 8.234.

80 ‘Adīm Z 1.31. Some forty years later, when ‘Abd al-Ṣamad must have been an elderly man, he is mentioned again as governor of Dimashq under al-Rashīd (see below).

81 Bal A 4.106, 9.323.

82 Bal A 4.106; Dhah 8.325. According to al-Ṣafādī (Ṣaf 1.186), ‘Uthmān had already been governor of Dimashq under Walīd II (see above).

83 Ṣaf 1.79, 186.

84 Bal A 4.106.

85 Bal A 4.106.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	136?	عبد الوهاب بن إبراهيم الإمام ⁸⁶⁽¹⁾	Dimashq (, Filasṭīn)	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	137	أبو مسلم ⁸⁷	Shām, Miṣr ⁸⁸	sup	al-Manṣūr	caliph	Khurāsānian?
A	138	يزيد بن خالد بن عبد الله ⁸⁹⁽²⁾	Dimashq	sub			Arab – Bajīla
A	140	محمد بن أشعث بن يحيى ⁹⁰	Dimashq	sub			Khurāsānian
A	(140 – 58)	العباس بن محمد بن علي ⁹¹	Shām	gov			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	137 – 41	صالح بن علي ⁹²⁽²⁾	Qinnasrīn (, ‘Awāṣim, Ḥimṣ, Dimashq)	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	141 – 42	صالح بن علي ⁹³⁽³⁾	Shām	gov			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	145	موسى بن عبد الله ⁹⁴	Shām	gov			Ar-M – Quraysh – Hāshim?
A	145 – 52 –	الفضل بن صالح بن علي ⁹⁵⁽¹⁾	Qinnasrīn ⁹⁶	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	(136 – 58)	عمرو بن محمد بن عبد المطلب ⁹⁷	Dimashq	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – Hāshim

86 Ṣaf 1.75, 187; Dhah 9.342; ‘Asāk 15.10. Later in al-Manṣūr’s reign, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb was appointed over al-Shām as a whole (see below).

87 Ṭab 7.482; Bal A 4.202; Dhah 8.238. In fact, it appears that Abū Muslim was never meant to become governor of al-Shām but his appointment was part of al-Manṣūr’s plan to get rid of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī and subsequently Abū Muslim himself.

88 Other texts mention Abū Muslim as governor of al-Shām and al-Jazīra (Bal A 4.107) or simply of al-Shām (‘Adīm B 8.3803; ‘Adīm Z 1.34; Misk 3.351).

89 Ṣaf 1.113, 187. Yazīd had already governed Dimashq during the ‘Abbāsīd revolution (see above).

90 Ṣaf 1.187; Dhah 9.164.

91 Ṣaf 1.69, 187; Dhah 12.109.

92 Ṭab 7.511; ‘Adīm Z 1.34; Ya‘q 2.383 – 284, 390; see also Dhah 9.291. Ṣālīḥ had already governed Filasṭīn (and Dimashq) under al-Saffāḥ (see above).

93 Athīr K 5.90; ‘Adīm B 1.467; Dhah 9.5.

94 Athīr K 5.120; Ṭab 7.561.

95 Ṭab 7.623; ‘Adīm Z 1.35. While according to al-Ṭabarī, al-Faḍl governed Qinnasrīn already in 145, Ibn al-‘Adīm states that he became governor only after the death of his father in 151 or 152.

96 Al-Dhahabī refers to al-Faḍl as the governor of al-Shām as a whole (Dhah 9.291).

97 Ṣaf 1.187.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	(136–58)	عبد الوهاب بن إبراهيم الإمام ⁹⁸⁽²⁾	Shām	gov	al-Manṣūr	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	(136–58)	محمد بن إبراهيم الإمام ⁹⁹⁽¹⁾	Shām	gov	al-Manṣūr	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	(136–58)	سليمان بن أبي جعفر المنصور ¹⁰⁰	al-Sham, Jazīra, Baṣra	sup	al-Manṣūr	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	157–158	إبراهيم بن عبد الوهاب بن إبراهيم الإمام ¹⁰¹	Dimashq	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	158	موسى بن سليمان ¹⁰²	Qinnasrīn	sub	al-Manṣūr	caliph	Khurāsānian
A	(136–58)/ (158–69) ¹⁰³	الفضل بن صالح بن علي ¹⁰⁴⁽²⁾	Dimashq	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	159	محمد بن إبراهيم الإمام ¹⁰⁵⁽²⁾	Dimashq	sub	al-Mahdī	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	–163	إبراهيم بن صالح بن علي ¹⁰⁶⁽¹⁾	Filasṭīn	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	(158–69)	نصر بن محمد بن الأشعث ¹⁰⁷	Filasṭīn	sub			Khurāsānian?
A	(158–69)	هارون الرشيد ¹⁰⁸	Shām	gov	al-Mahdī	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	(158–69)– 169	علي بن سليمان بن علي ¹⁰⁹	Qinnasrīn, Jazīra	sub	al-Mahdī	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	169–70–	إبراهيم بن صالح بن علي ¹¹⁰⁽²⁾	Dimashq (, Urdunn, Cy-prus)	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd

98 Bal A 4.127; ‘Asāk 7.45. Earlier in al-Manṣūr’s reign, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb had already governed Dimashq (and Filasṭīn) (see above).

99 Bal A 4.127. Muḥammad already governed Mecca, Medina and al-Yaman when his brother ‘Abd al-Wahhāb died and he additionally became governor of al-Shām

100 Bal A 4.276.

101 Ṣaf 1.95, 187; ‘Asāk 7.44.

102 ‘Adīm Z 1.35.

103 While according to al-Ṣafaḍī, al-Faḍl governed Dimashq under al-Manṣūr (Ṣaf 1.74), al-Dhabī states that this was the case under al-Mahdī (Dhah 11.161).

104 Ṣaf 1.74, 187; Dhah 11.161.

105 Ṣaf 1.95, 187; Dhah 12.197; ‘Asāk 7.44.

106 Ṭab 8.148; Athīr K 5.233.

107 Ṭab 7.438; Athīr K 5.20.

108 ‘Adīm Z 1.37.

109 ‘Adīm Z 1.36; Bal F 1.190.

110 Ṣaf 1.187; Dhah 11.13; ‘Asāk 6.445.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	- 172	¹¹¹ محمد بن إبراهيم الإمام (3)	Dimashq, Urdunn	sub	al-Rashīd	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	172 – 75	إبراهيم بن صالح بن علي ¹¹² (3)	Dimashq	sub	al-Rashīd	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	175	¹¹³ الأمين	Shām, Iraq (Maghrib)	sup	al-Rashīd	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	175 – 76	¹¹⁴ موسى بن عيسى بن موسى	Shām	gov			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	(175 – 93)	إسحاق بن إبراهيم بن صالح ¹¹⁵	Dimashq	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	- 176	¹¹⁶ عبد الصمد بن علي (2)	Dimashq	sub	al-Rashīd	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	175 – 77	عبد الملك بن صالح بن علي ¹¹⁷ (1)	Qinnasrīn	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	176 – ¹¹⁸	¹¹⁹ موسى بن يحيى بن خالد	Shām ¹²⁰	gov	al-Rashīd	caliph	Khurāsānian – Barmakīd
A	178	¹²¹ هرثمة بن أعين	Filasṭīn	sub	al-Rashīd	caliph	Khurāsānian – <i>mawlā</i> of the caliph

111 Şaf 1.95, 187; ‘Asāk 6.445.

112 Şaf 1.187; Athīr K 5.294; ‘Asāk 6.445. According to Ibn ‘Asākīr, Ibrāhīm ruled Dimashq three times during the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

113 Ṭab 8.275; Athīr K 5.344.

114 Ṭab 8.251; Dhah 7.11; see also Şaf 1.106, 187. While al-Şafaḍī addresses him as Mūsā b. ‘Īsā b. Muḥammad, his actual name appears to have been Mūsā b. ‘Īsā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad.

115 Şaf 1.187; ‘Adīm B 3.1375; Athīr K 5.294.

116 Athīr K 5.293 – 294; Dhah 12.150; ‘Asāk 6.445 – 446. ‘Abd al-Şamad is mentioned as governor of Qinnasrīn already under al-Saffāḥ (see above). Either this is a mistake or he was quite old by the reign of al-Rashīd.

117 ‘Adīm Z 1.36 – 37. Slightly later ‘Abd al-Malik became governor of Dimashq and even of the whole of al-Shām under al-Amīn (see below).

118 Al-Dhahabī dates Mūsā’s appointment to the year 175 (Dhah 11.7).

119 Ṭab 8.251; Misk 3.518; Dhah 13.225; ‘Adīm Z 1.37.

120 Al-Şafaḍī mentions Mūsā as governor of Dimashq only (Şaf 1.187).

121 Ṭab 8.256; Athīr K 5.304.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	178/ 180? ¹²²	جعفر بن يحيى بن خالد ¹²³	Shām (, Jazīra)	gov	al-Rashīd	caliph	Khurāsānian – Barmakid
A	179	إسحاق بن عيسى بن علي ¹²⁴	Dimashq	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	179	إسحاق بن صالح بن علي ¹²⁵	Dimashq ¹²⁶	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	177 – 79	عبد الملك بن صالح بن علي ¹²⁷⁽²⁾	Dimashq	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	180	إبراهيم بن صالح بن علي ¹²⁸⁽⁴⁾	Filasṭīn	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	180	عيسى بن العكي ¹²⁹	Shām	gov	جعفر بن يحيى	gov	Arab – ‘Akk?
A	182 –	إسماعيل بن صالح بن علي ¹³⁰	Qinnasrīn (, ‘Awāšim, Dimashq)	sub	al-Rashīd	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	– 187	إبراهيم بن المهدي ¹³¹	Dimashq	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	187	سليمان بن المنصور ¹³²⁽¹⁾	Dimashq	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	187 – 88	شعيب بن حازم بن خزيمه ¹³³	Dimashq	sub	al-Rashīd	caliph	Ar-M – Tamīm?
A	190	سليمان بن المنصور ¹³⁴⁽²⁾	Dimashq	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd

122 Al-Ṣafāḍī states that Ja‘far was made governor of Dimashq in 188 (Ṣaf 1.188), which seems impossible, as he is known to have been executed in 187 (*EP*², “al-Barāmika” (D. Sourdel)).

123 Misk 3.524; ‘Adīm Z 1.37; Ya‘q 2.410; see also Dhah 12.53. Ja‘far was made “interim governor” to put an end to the *aṣabiyya* turmoil and soon afterwards appointed ‘Isā l-‘Akkī over al-Shām.

124 Ṣaf 1.187; Dhah 14.29; ‘Asāk 8.268.

125 ‘Asāk 8.106, 226.

126 According to Ibn al-‘Adīm, Iṣḥāq even became governor of al-Shām as a whole (‘Adīm B 3.1467).

127 ‘Asāk 8.268; see also Ṣaf 1.187; Ya‘q 2.410. According to al-Ṣafāḍī, ‘Abd al-Malik was dismissed already in 178.

128 Dhah 11.14.

129 Ṭab 8.263; Misk 3.524; Dhah 12.53; ‘Adīm Z 1.37.

130 ‘Adīm B 4.1648–1649; ‘Adīm Z 1.37; Dhah 12.36.

131 Ṣaf 1.188; ‘Asāk 7.115.

132 Ṣaf 1.188; see also Ya‘q 2.409; Dhah 13.114, 16.39.

133 Dhah 12.18, 99. It is assumed here that Ḥāzim is a defective spelling of Khāzim and Shu‘ayb was the brother of Khuzayma (see below).

134 Ṣaf 1.188; see also Ya‘q 2.409; Dhah 13.114, 16.39.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	191	يحيى بن معاذ ¹³⁵	Shām	gov	al-Rashīd	caliph	Ar-R – Bakr b. Wā'il – Dhuhl
A	193	خزيمة بن خازم بن خزيمة ¹³⁶ (1)	Qinnasrīn, 'Awāšīm	sub	al-Rashīd	caliph	Ar-M – Tamīm
A	(170–87)	سندي بن شاهك ¹³⁷	Dimashq	sub	موسى بن يحيى بن خالد	gov	<i>mawlā</i> of al-Manšūr
A	(170–93)	منصور بن المهدي ¹³⁸ (1)	Filasṭīn	sub	al-Rashīd	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – 'Abbāsīd
A	(170–93)	روح بن حاتم بن قبيصة ¹³⁹	Filasṭīn	sub			Ar-Y – Azd / Iranian?
A	(170–93)	أحمد بن إسحاق بن إسماعيل ¹⁴⁰	Qinnasrīn	sub	al-Rashīd	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – 'Abbāsīd
A	(170–93)	إبراهيم بن محمد بن إبراهيم الإمام ¹⁴¹	Dimashq	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – 'Abbāsīd
A	187–94	القاسم بن الرشيد ¹⁴²	Shām, Qinnasrīn, Thughūr	gov	al-Rashīd	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – 'Abbāsīd
A	192–93	علي بن الحسن بن قحطبة ¹⁴³	Dimashq	sub			Ar-Y – Ṭayyī'?
A	193, >1y	منصور بن المهدي ¹⁴⁴ (2)	Dimashq	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – 'Abbāsīd
A	194–	خزيمة بن خازم بن خزيمة ¹⁴⁵ (2)	Shām, Qinnasrīn, 'Awāšīm, Thughūr	gov	al-Amīn	caliph	Ar-M – Tamīm?
A	194	أحمد بن سعيد الخرشني/ الخرشي ¹⁴⁶	Dimashq	sub			Ar-Q

135 Ṭab 8.323; Athīr K 5.379.

136 'Adīm B 7.3256; 'Adīm Z 1.38.

137 Ṣaf 1.187; Dhah 14.94.

138 Bal A 4.278.

139 Athīr K 5.279.

140 'Adīm Z 1.37.

141 'Asāk 7.113.

142 Din 1.391; Dhah 13.10; 'Adīm Z 1.37–38; Ṭab 8.373, 374; Athīr K 5.399; 'Adīm B 7.3256, 3258; Misk 4.31; Shadd 1.115.

143 Ṣaf 1.188. Elsewhere 'Alī is mainly mentioned as governor of Khurāsān (Khal T 1.462–463; Ṭab 8.347; Athīr K 5.391).

144 Ṣaf 1.188; Dhah 17.182.

145 Ṭab 8.374; Misk 4.31; Dhah 13.10; 'Adīm B 7.3256, 3258; 'Adīm Z 1.38; Shadd 1.115.

146 Ṣaf 1.188.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	194, >1y	¹⁴⁷ عبد الله بن سعيد الحرشي	Ḥimṣ	sub	al-Amīn	caliph	Ar-Q
A	–194	¹⁴⁸ إسحاق بن سليمان بن علي	Ḥimṣ	sub	al-Amīn	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	195, >1y	¹⁴⁹ (3) سليمان بن المنصور	Dimashq	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	196 – 97	¹⁵⁰ (3) عبد الملك بن صالح بن علي	Shām, Jazīra	sup	al-Amīn	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	197 – 98	¹⁵¹ (3) خزيمه بن خازم بن خزيمه	Qinnasrīn, ‘Awāṣim	sub	al-Amīn	caliph	Ar-M – Tamīm
A	(197 – 98)	¹⁵² يزيد بن مزيد	Qinnasrīn	sub			Ar-R – Bakr b. Wā’il – Shaybān
	(197 – 98)	¹⁵³ وراق عبد الملك	Qinnasrīn	sub			Ar-R – Bakr b. Wā’il – Shaybān?
A	198/9 –	¹⁵⁴ طاهر بن الحسين	Shām, Jazīra, Miṣr and Maghrib	sup	al-Ma’mūn	caliph	Khurāsānīan – Ṭāhirid
A	206/7 – 213	¹⁵⁵ عبد الله بن طاهر	Shām, Jazīra, Miṣr and Maghrib	sup	al-Ma’mūn	caliph	Khurāsānīan – Ṭāhirid
A	(207 – 13)	¹⁵⁶ صدقة بن عثمان	Dimashq	sub	عبد الله بن طاهر	sup	Arab – Murra?
A	213 – 18	¹⁵⁷ المعتصم	Shām, Miṣr	sup	al-Ma’mūn	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	213 – 14	¹⁵⁸ (1) العباس بن المأمون	Qinnasrīn (, Jazīra),	sub	al-Ma’mūn	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd

147 Ṭab 8.388.

148 Ṭab 8.374, 388; ‘Adīm B 3.1467.

149 Ṣaf 1.188; Ṭab 8.415; Athīr K 5.419; Dhah 13.114.

150 Ṭab 8.424–425; Athīr K 5.425–426; Ya’q 2.434, 440; ‘Adīm B 7.3256; Misk 3.547, 4.73; Dhah 12.16–17, 13.156; ‘Adīm Z 1.38; Shadd 1.115.

151 ‘Adīm B 7.3256; ‘Adīm Z 1.38–39.

152 ‘Adīm Z 1.39. Elsewhere Mazyad is mainly addressed as governor of Armenia for al-Rashīd (Dīn 1.390; Ṭab 8.236, 270; Misk 3.526; ‘Asāk 5.331; Dhah 4.11, 5.12).

153 (sic) ‘Adīm Z 1.39. This account bears no information on Warqā’s loyalties.

154 Ṭab 8.527; Athīr K 5.460; Ya’q 2.454–455; Misk 4.113; Jawz 10.52; Dhah 13.22, 42; ‘Adīm Z 1.39; Shadd 1.115–116.

155 Ṭab 8.595; Athīr K 5.550; Ya’q 2.456; ‘Adīm Z 1.39, 40; see also Ṣaf 1.70, 188.

156 Ṣaf 1.64, 188.

157 Ṭab 8.620; Athīr K 5.557; Misk 4.165; Dhah 15.5; see also Ṣaf 1.188.

158 ‘Adīm Z 1.40; Athīr K 5.557.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
			‘Awāṣīm, Thughūr				
A	214, >1y	إسحاق بن إبراهيم بن مصعب ¹⁵⁹	Qinnasrīn, ‘Awāṣīm, al- Thughūr	sub	al-Ma’ mūn	caliph	Khurāsānian – Tāhirid
A	218	إسحاق بن يحيى بن معاذ ¹⁶⁰⁽¹⁾	Dimashq	sub	المعتصم	sup	Khurāsānian – Khuttalī
A	(214 – 15)– 218–	العباس بن المأمون ¹⁶¹⁽²⁾	Qinnasrīn, Jazīra (, ‘Awāṣīm, Thughūr)	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	(198 – 218)	معيوف بن يحيى بن معيوف ¹⁶²	Dimashq	sub			Ar-Y?
A	(198 – 218)	حميد بن معيوف بن يحيى ¹⁶³	Dimashq	sub			Ar-Y?
A	(198 – 218)	نصر بن حمزة بن مالك ¹⁶⁴	Dimashq	sub			Khurāsānian
A	225, >1y	دينار بن عبد الله بن زاد ¹⁶⁵	Dimashq	sub	al-Mu’taṣīm	caliph	Iranian – Sahlid
A	225 –	محمد بن الجهم السامي/ السامي ¹⁶⁶	Dimashq	sub	al-Mu’taṣīm	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh?
A	(218 – 27)	الوائقي ¹⁶⁷	Shām, Jazīra, Miṣr	sup	al-Mu’taṣīm	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	(218 – 27)	رجاء بن أبي الضحاك ¹⁶⁸	Dimashq	sub			
A	(218 – 27)	القاسم بن عيسى بن إدريس ¹⁶⁹	Dimashq	sub			Ar-R – Bakr b. Wā’il – ‘Ijl
A	(218 – 27)	مسلم بن محمد ¹⁷⁰⁽¹⁾	Dimashq	sub			

159 ‘Adīm Z 1.40.

160 Ṣaf 1.188; Ṭab 8.646; Dhah 17.51, 18.32; ‘Asāk 8.302.

161 Ṭab 8.631; ‘Adīm Z 1.40 – 41.

162 Ṣaf 1.103, 188. Elsewhere Ma’yūf is mainly known to have led several military campaigns against Byzantium (Khal T 1.427, 429, 445; Ṭab 8.43, 57, 203–204; Athīr K 5.179, 208, 263).

163 Ṣaf 1.188. Ḥumayd had earlier governed the coast of al-Shām under al-Rashīd (Ṭab 8.320; Misk 3.557; Dhah 12.21).

164 Ṣaf 1.188. Elsewhere Naṣr is mainly known to have governed the eastern part of Baghdad (Ṭab 8.546; Misk 4.126; Athīr K 5.480).

165 Ṣaf 1.51, 188; Dhah 16.13; ‘Asāk 17.319.

166 Ṣaf 1.96, 188; ‘Asāk 17.319.

167 Dhah 19.62.

168 ‘Asāk 13.84.

169 Ṣaf 1.188; Dhah 16.194

170 Ṣaf 1.188.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	225 – 30	أشinas ¹⁷¹	Shām, Jazīra (and/or Miṣr) ¹⁷²	sup	al-Mu'taṣim	caliph	Turkī
A	227, >1y	أبو المغيث موسى بن إبراهيم ¹⁷³	Dimashq	sub			Ifriqī?
A	(218 – 32)	عبيد الله بن عبد العزيز بن الفضل ¹⁷⁴	Qinnasrīn	sub	al-Mu'taṣim	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – 'Abbāsīd
A	230	عبيد الله بن عبد العزيز بن عبد الملك ¹⁷⁵	Shām, Jazīra	sup	al-Wāthiq	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – 'Abbāsīd?
A	(227 – 32)	إسحاق بن يحيى بن معاذ ¹⁷⁶⁽²⁾	Dimashq	sub			Khurāsānīan – Khuttalī
A	(227 – 32)	مسلم بن محمد ¹⁷⁷⁽²⁾	Dimashq	sub			
A	(227 – 32)	عبد الرحمن بن حبيب ¹⁷⁸	Dimashq	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh
A	(227 – 32)	محمد بن صالح بن عبد الله بن صالح ¹⁷⁹	Qinnasrīn	sub	al-Wāthiq	caliph	
A	232 – (232 – 47)	مالك بن طوق ¹⁸⁰	Dimashq (, Urdunn)	sub			Ar-R – Taghlib
A	235 – 47	المنتصر ¹⁸¹	Qinnasrīn, 'Awāṣim, Thughūr, Jazīra, ... ¹⁸²	sup	al-Mutawakkil	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – 'Abbāsīd
A	235	المؤيد بن المتوكل ¹⁸³	Dimashq, Ḥimṣ, Ur- dunn, Filasṭīn	sub/ gov?	al-Mutawakkil	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – 'Abbāsīd

171 'Adīm B 4.1919; Dhah 16.13; Shadd 1.116; see also 'Asāk 9.163; Ṣaf 1.189.

172 Ibn 'Asākīr and al-Ṣafāḍī mention Ashinās not as super-governor but as governor of Dimashq under al-Wāthiq ('Asāk 9.163; Ṣaf 1.189).

173 Ṣaf 1.115, 188 – 189; Dhah 16.15 – 16.

174 'Adīm Z 1.42.

175 Shadd 1.116. This entry might actually refer to 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ.

176 Ṣaf 1.189; 'Asāk 8.302.

177 Ṣaf 1.189.

178 Ṣaf 1.189.

179 'Adīm Z 1.42.

180 Ṣaf 1.94, 189; Dhah 19.251.

181 'Adīm Z 1.44; Ṭab 9.175 – 176.

182 According to Ibn Shaddād al-Muntaṣir was put in charge of all of al-Shām and al-Jazīra (Shadd 1.116).

183 Ṭab 9.176.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	241	¹⁸⁴ (1) صالح العباسي	Dimashq	sub			Turkī / <i>mawlā</i> of Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	– 244	¹⁸⁵ إفريدون	Dimashq	sub			Turkī
A	244	¹⁸⁶ الفتح بن خاقان	Dimashq	sub			Turkī
A	(244 – 47)	¹⁸⁷ كليباتكين	Dimashq	sub		الفتح بن خاقان	sub Turkī
A	(232 – 47)	¹⁸⁸ سالم بن حامد	Dimashq	sub			
A	(232 – 47)	أحمد بن محمد بن عبيد الله بن المدير ¹⁸⁹	Dimashq	sub			Iranian?
A	247	¹⁹⁰ يونس بن طارحة	Dimashq	sub			
A	232	¹⁹¹ الشارباميان	Qīnnasrīn, ‘Awāšīm	sub	al-Mutawakkil	caliph	Turkī?
A	(232 – 47)	¹⁹² علي بن إسماعيل بن صالح	Qīnnasrīn, ‘Awāšīm	sub		الشارباميان	sub Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Alīd
A	(232 – 47)	¹⁹³ محمد بن علي بن إسماعيل	Qīnnasrīn	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Alīd
A	(232 – 47)	عيسى بن عبيد الله بن الفضل ¹⁹⁴	Qīnnasrīn, ‘Awāšīm	sub		الشارباميان	sub? Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	235 – (247 – 48)	¹⁹⁵ يغا الكبير	Qīnnasrīn ¹⁹⁶	sub		المنتصر	sup Turkī
A	(247 – 48)- 250	¹⁹⁷ وصيف	Shām, Jazīra	sup			Turkī

184 Şaf 1.64, 189; Ṭab 9.199.

185 Şaf 1.189; Dhah 17.8.

186 Şaf 1.189. Elsewhere al-Faṭḥ is mainly addressed as a close confidant of al-Mutawakkil and is said to have been in charge of the *akhbār* (Ṭab 9.184; Misk 4.298).

187 Şaf 1.189.

188 Şaf 1.189; Dhah 17.81.

189 Şaf 1.189; see also Dhah 20.37.

190 Şaf 1.189.

191 ‘Adīm Z 1.43.

192 ‘Adīm Z 1.43.

193 ‘Adīm Z 1.44.

194 ‘Adīm Z 1.44.

195 ‘Adīm Z 1.44.

196 According to Ibn Shaddād, Bughā was al-Muntaṣir’s deputy over al-Shām and al-Jazīra as a whole (Shadd 1.116).

197 Shadd 1.116.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	247 – (248 – 52)	¹⁹⁸ عيسى بن محمد النوشري	Dimashq	sub			Turkī / Khurāsānī-an?
A	248	¹⁹⁹ كيدر بن عبيد الله	Ḥimṣ	sub			Ushrūsānī
A	249	²⁰⁰ بغا الصغير	Filasṭīn	sub	al-Mustaʿīn	caliph	Turkī
A	– 250	²⁰¹ الفضل بن قارن	Ḥimṣ	sub			Iranian
A	250	²⁰² موسى بن بغا	Ḥimṣ, Qinnasrīn	sub	al-Mustaʿīn	caliph	Turkī
A	250 – 52	²⁰³⁽¹⁾ أحمد المولد	Shām, Jazīra	sup	al-Mustaʿīn	caliph	
A	(248 – 52)	²⁰⁴ عبد الرحمن بن حبيب	Ḥimṣ	sub	al-Mustaʿīn	caliph	Ar-Y – Azd
A	(248 – 52)	²⁰⁵⁽²⁾ صالح العباسي	Dimashq	sub			Turkī / <i>mawlā</i> of Ar-M – Quraysh – ʿAbbāsīd
A	249 – (252 – 255)	²⁰⁶ نوشرى بن طاجيل	Dimashq	sub			Turkī
A	252	²⁰⁷⁽²⁾ أحمد المولد	Qinnasrīn	sub	al-Muʿtazz	caliph	
A	252 –	²⁰⁸ عيسى بن الشيخ	Filasṭīn (, Urdunn)	sub			Ar-R – Bakr b. Wāʿil – Shaybān

198 Ṣaf 1.81; Athīr K 6.182. Notably, the table given by al-Ṣafaḍī (Ṣaf 1.189) does not provide any information on the reign of al-Mustaʿīn.

199 Ṭab 9.259; Yaʿq 2.495.

200 Ṭab 9.264; Athīr K 6.195; ʿAsāk 10.327.

201 Ṭab 9.276; Dhah 18.15; Yaʿq 2.495.

202 ʿAdīm Z 1.45.

203 Shadd 1.116.

204 Yaʿq 2.495.

205 Ṣaf 1.64. Notably, the table given by al-Ṣafaḍī (Ṣaf 1.189) does not provide any information on the reign of al-Mustaʿīn.

206 Yaʿq 2.496, 500. He might be identical with ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Nūsharī.

207 ʿAdīm B 3.1296, 6.2753; ʿAdīm Z 1.45.

208 ʿĪsā appears to have been appointed over Filasṭīn (and al-Urdunn) (Athīr K 6.240; Shadd 1.82; see also Yaʿq 2.508) and only later seceded from ʿAbbāsīd suzerainty. While he is sometimes mentioned as (legitimate?) governor of Dimashq (Athīr K 6.290; Shadd 1.159 – 160; Ṣaf 1.190) or even al-Shām as a whole (Athīr K 6.290), he took over the central and northern parts of the province by force (Athīr K 6.240; Shadd 1.82, 116; Ṣaf 1.80; Dhah 20.101). Due to the extremely involute references to his governorate(s), the exact stages of his political career remain notoriously vague (see Cobb 2001, 37–41; *EF*, “ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh” (M. Canard)).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	254	أبو الساج داوداد / ديوداد ²⁰⁹	Qinnasrīn, 'Awāšīm, Diyār Muḍar ²¹⁰	sub	صالح بن وصيف	general	Ushrūsānī
A	(252 – 255)	أحمد بن خالد بن يزيد ²¹¹	Dimashq	sub			Ar-R – Bakr b. Wā'il – Shaybān
A	(252 – 255)	صالح بن عبيد الله بن عبد العزيز ²¹²	Qinnasrīn, 'Awāšīm	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – 'Abbāsīd
A	(252 – 255)	أبو ميمون بن سليمان بن عبد الملك ²¹³	Qinnasrīn, 'Awāšīm	sub			Ar-M – Quraysh – 'Abbāsīd
A	(252 – 256)	يمكجور ²¹⁴	Dimashq	sub			Turkī
A	(252 – 55)/ (255 – 56)?	أصرم ²¹⁵	Dimashq	sub			Turkī

209 'Adīm B 7.3477; 'Adīm Z 1.45 – 46.

210 According to Ibn Shaddād, al-Mu'tazz appointed Abū l-Sāj Diwdād over al-Shām and al-Jazīra, which he ruled at least until 255 (Shadd 1.116).

211 Şaf 1.25, 189.

212 'Adīm Z 1.45.

213 'Adīm Z 1.45.

214 Şaf 1.116, 189 – 190.

215 'Asāk 9.174; Şaf 1.30. Both Ibn 'Asākīr and al-Şafādī note that it is not entirely clear whether Aşram was appointed under al-Mu'tazz or under al-Muhtadī.

Governors of Fārs

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	38/39–42	زيد بن أبيه (= زياد بن أبي سفيان) ²¹⁶	Fārs	gov	عبد الله بن عباس بن عبد المطلب	sup	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	42–45	عبد الله بن عامر ²¹⁷	Bašra, Fārs, Sijjstān, Khurāsān	sup	Mu'āwiya	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – 'Abd Shams
U	42–45	شريك بن الأعور ²¹⁸	Iṣṭakhr	sub	عبد الله بن عامر	sup	Ar-Y – Azd – al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b
U	45	الحارث بن عبد الله / عمرو الأزدي ²¹⁹	Bašra, Fārs, Sijjstān, Khurāsān?	sup	Mu'āwiya	caliph	Ar-Y – Azd
U	45–53	زيد بن أبي سفيان ²²⁰	Bašra, Kūfa, Ḥijāz	sup	Mu'āwiya	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(45–53)	أمير بن أحمر ²²¹	Sābūr	sub	زيد بن أبي سفيان	sup	Ar-R – Bakr b. Wā'il – Dhuhl b. Shaybān / Yashkur
U	(45–53)	عبد الله بن خالد بن أسيد ²²²	Fārs	gov	زيد بن أبي سفيان	sup	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	(45–53)	شريك بن الأعور ²²³	Fārs, Kirmān	gov	زيد بن أبي سفيان	sup	Ar-Y – Azd – al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b
U	53–54	سمرة بن جندب الفزاري ²²⁴	Bašra	sup	Mu'āwiya	caliph	Ar-Q – Fazāra

216 Bal A 2.188, 2.435, 3.47, 5.189–190; Ṭab 5.122, 5.137, 5.155, 5.170, 5.177, 5.178–180. Ziyād's father was unknown, but shortly before Ziyād's appointment over Bašra, Mu'āwiya recognized Ziyād as his own half-brother, and he was henceforth referred to as Ibn Abī Sufyān.

217 Khal Trkh 161; dirhams: Album 2011: 24 no. 6, 7.

218 Ṭab 6.301; Athir K 2.439.

219 Khal Trkh 207; Ṭab 5.215.

220 Khal Trkh 207, 210; Ya'q 1.196, 200; Bal A 5.161; Ṭab 5.217, 234; dirhams: Album 2011: 24 no. 8. Kūfa was added to his responsibilities in the year 50, and the Ḥijāz shortly before his death.

221 Kalbī M 1.81; Khal Trkh 164, 180; Bal F 382, 390, 396; Bal A 5.199; Ṭab 5.224–226.

222 Kalbī J 1.8; Zub 1.188; Ḥazm 1.113–114; Bal A 5.280, 458.

223 Kalbī M 1.281; Bal F 380, 391–392; Bal A 2.78–79, 2.271, 2.295, 5.112, 5.159, 5.170, 5.242, 7.391; Dīn 232; Ṭab 4.301, 5.193, 5.321; Iṣf A 18.437, 441; Iṣf M 99–101; Qud Khar 402; Māk 3.400. Undated Byzantine-style copper coins minted in the name of Sharik b. al-Ḥārith, which have Sharik's name in Arabic and which Album tentatively dated to the 90s most probably belong to Sharik b. al-A'war, whose father's real name was الحارث بن عبد الله بن يغوث (see, e.g., Bal A 2.79).

224 Ibn Sa'd 6.108–109, 7.35; Khal Ṭbq 1.97; Khal Trkh 219; Bal A 1.249, 1.496, 1.527, 5.210–12, 240–241, 6.440, 6.443, 10.385–386, 13.33, 13.185; Bal F 104, 367, 374; Ṭab 5.234, 5.236–38,

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
U	54 – 55	عبد الله بن عمرو بن غيلان ²²⁵	Bašra	sup	Mu'āwiya	caliph	Ar-Q – Thaḡif ²²⁶
U	55 – 64	عبيد الله بن زياد ²²⁷	Khurāsān, Bašra, Kūfa ²²⁸	sup	Mu'āwiya	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	– 59/60	شريك بن الأعور ²²⁹	Kirmān (, Fārs?)	gov	عبيد الله بن زياد	sup	Ar-Y – Azd – al- Ḥāriṭh b. Ka'b
	61	'Abd al-'Azīz b. MDWR ²³⁰	Iṣṭakhr only?	?			?
Z	64	عمر بن عبيد الله بن معمر التميمي ²³¹	Bašra	sup	'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr	cal. cont.	Ar-M – Quraysh – Taym
Z	64 – 67	القباج ²³²	Bašra	sup	'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr	cal. cont.	Ar-M – Quraysh – Makhzūm
Z	66 – 67	قفيز ²³³	“Part of Fārs” (incl. Bīshāpūr)	sub		القباج sup	Ar-M – Quraysh – 'Abd Shams
Z	67 – 71	مصعب بن الزبير ²³⁴	Bašra	sup	'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr	cal.cont.	Ar-M – Quraysh – Asad

5.291, 5.295, 6.66, 6.107, 6.112; Dīn 1.225, 1.309; Waki' 296. Dirhams in his name only at Darābjird mints (DA, DAP), with frozen date 43, see Album 2011: 24 no. 9.

225 Khal Trkh 1.223; Ṭab 5.215, 5.295, 298 – 299; Bal A 5.161, 5.241.

226 Or: Ar-M – Hudhayl.

227 Khal Trkh 1.223; Bal F 339; Dīn 225; Ṭab 5.299 – 300, 5.304, 5.308, 5.314, 5.315, 5.321, 5.338, 5.348, 5.399, 5.474, 5.477, 5.503, 5.524, 5.528. Dirhams, from nearly 30 mints: see Album 2011: 24 no. 12 (in addition to *fulūs* from Iṣṭakhr and Ardashīr Khurra: *ibid.* no. A13).

228 Ibn Ziyād combined governorships of Khurāsān (from 53/54) with Bašra and dependencies (from 55) and Kūfa and dependencies (from 60).

229 Kalbi M 281; Dīn 232 – 34; Bal F 380, 391 – 392; Bal A 2.78 – 79, 2.271, 2.295, 5.159, 5.170, 5.242; Ṭab 2.44, 2.51 – 52, 2.53 – 54, 2.195 – 196, 2.244 – 249; Iṣf M 99 – 101; Iṣf A 18.450; Māk 3.400.

230 Only known from a dirham of which only two specimens are extant (Sears 2002). The governor's name is written in Pahlavi: APDWLACYC Y MDWRAN. Still unidentified.

231 Zub 1.288 – 289; Kalbi J 1.15; Bal A 1.503, 5.465, 6.342, 6.433; Ṭab 5.582.

232 His *ism* was الحارث بن عبد الله بن أبي ربيعة القرشي المخزومي. Kalbi J 1.17, 32; Ibn Sa'd 5.21; Zub 1.318; Bal A 5.400, 6.382, 6.382, 6.433 – 434, 6.452, 7.11 – 14, 7.86, 7.115, 7.157, 7.165, 13.313; Tab 6.93; Iṣf A 1.109, 4.530.

233 His *ism* was عبد الملك بن عبد الله بن عامر. Bal A 9.363; on dirhams from Bīshāpūr: Album 2011: 25 no. 20.

234 Zub 1.240; Khal Trkh 1.269, 296; Ya'q 1.215; Bal A 1.500, 5.464 – 465, 6.293, 6.398, 6.433 – 434, 6.452 – 453, 7.8 – 23, 7.163 – 165, 7.178, 10.143 – 144; Dīn Akhbār 274, 307; Ṭab 5.619, 6.93, 6.117 – 119, 6.127, 6.139, 6.152, 6.160; Maqd 6.22. Dirhams in his name are known (Album 2011: 25 no. 17), but not from mints in Fārs.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Z	(67–71)	²³⁵ حمزة بن عبد الله بن الزبير	Bašra	sup	‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr	cal.cont.	Ar-M – Quraysh – Asad
Z	(67–71)	²³⁶ عبد الله بن أذينة بن سلمة	Fasā wa-Darābjird	sub			Ar-R – ‘Abd al-Qays
Z	67	²³⁷ المهلب بن أبي صفرة	Fārs	gov	مصعب بن الزبير	sup	Ar-Y – Azd
Z	67–71	عمر بن عبد الله بن معمر التيمي ²³⁸	Fārs	gov	مصعب بن الزبير	sup	Ar-M – Quraysh – Taym
Z	(67–71)	²³⁹ مجاعة بن سعر	<i>kharāj</i> Iṣṭakhr?	sub?			Ar-M – Tamīm
U	71/72	²⁴⁰ حمران بن أبان	Bašra	sup	(people of al-Bašra)		Ar-R – Nimr b. Qāsiṭ
U	71/72–73?	خالد بن عبد الله بن خالد بن أسيد ²⁴¹	Bašra	sup	‘Abd al-Malik	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	71/72–73?	(2 sons of Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd) ²⁴²	Fārs	gov	خالد بن عبد الله بن خالد بن أسيد	sup	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya

235 Zub 1.240; Khal Trkh 1.436; Zub Jamh 40, 47; Ya‘q 1.215; Qut M 1.226; Bal A 6.434, 6.444, 6.453, 7.9–11, 7.18, 7.86–88, 7.165; Bal F 372; Ṭab 6.117–118.

236 Only known as governor of Fasā wa-Darābjird from al-Wazīr al-Maghribī’s *al-Īnās* (p. 15), where he is mentioned in the context of his more famous brother, who was al-Ḥajjāj’s *qādī* of al-Bašra.

237 Al-Muhallab was in the first place the leader of the military operations against the Khārijites; that he was also formally governor of Fārs is only stated in a couple of sources: Bal A 6.428–429, 7.8; Ṭab 6.94, 6.301.

238 Zub 1.288–289; Bal A 6.434, 6.436, 7.8–9, 7.99, 7.164–165, 7.189–190; Ṭab 6.119, 6.158; Ḥazm 1.140. Dirhams from mints in Fārs from 67–72, see Album 2011: 25 no. 21 (also very rare copper coins, only from Iṣṭakhr: *ibid.* no. 21E).

239 According to a *khbar* in al-Balādhuri’s *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* (Bal A 7.165), Mujā‘a saved ‘Umar b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Mi‘mar’s life in a battle against the Khārijites, and ‘Umar rewarded him by letting him keep 700.000 dirhams he (Mujā‘a) had levied from the *kharāj* of Iṣṭakhr. In al-Mubarrad’s version of the events (Mub 3.242), Mujā‘a is given the right to levy the *kharāj* after the battle, which does not necessarily imply that he had any official position in Iṣṭakhr.

240 Bal A 3.52, 5.472, 5.555; Ṭab 5.167, 6.165. Dirhams from the mint of Ardashīr Khurra only (ART, year 72): see Album 2011: 25 (no. 23).

241 Khal Trkh 1.268, 1.293, 1.296; Bal A 1.500, 5.464, 5.473–474, 6.313, 6.316, 6.327, 7.101, 7.107, 7.111, 7.273, 7.299, 7.379, 7.411, 7.422, 7.450, 9.48; Ṭab 6.165, 6.169, 6.172, 6.178; Mas M 3.105, 3.110; Ḥazm 218. Dirhams from mints Bašra, Bishāpūr and Arrajān: see Album 2011: 25 (no. 24).

242 Bal A 7.411.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
U	71/72 –73?	²⁴³ عامر بن مسمع	Sābūr	sub	خالد بن عبد الله بن خالد بن أسيد	sup	Ar-R – Bakr b. Wā'il
U	71/72 –73?	²⁴⁴ مقاتل بن مسمع	Ardashīr Khurra (, Bīshāpūr?)	sub	خالد بن عبد الله بن خالد بن أسيد	sup	Ar-R – Bakr b. Wā'il
U	71/72 –73?	²⁴⁵ مسمع بن مالك بن مسمع	Fasā wa- Darābjird	sub	خالد بن عبد الله بن خالد بن أسيد	sup	Ar-R – Bakr b. Wā'il
U	73	Numayla b. Mālik ²⁴⁶	Arrajān?	sub	خالد بن عبد الله بن خالد بن أسيد؟	sup	Ar-R – Bakr b. Wā'il
U	71/72 –73?	²⁴⁷ المغيرة بن المهلب	Iṣṭakhr	sub	خالد بن عبد الله بن خالد بن أسيد	sup	Ar-Y – Azd
U	72 –	²⁴⁸ المغيرة بن المهلب	Fasā wa- Darābjird	sub	خالد بن عبد الله بن خالد بن أسيد	sup	Ar-Y – Azd
U	72 –	²⁴⁹ سعيد بن المهلب	Arrajān wa- Sābūr	sub	خالد بن عبد الله بن خالد بن أسيد	sup	Ar-Y – Azd
U	72	²⁵⁰ حمران بن أبيان	Fārs/Ardashīr Khurra only?	gov/ sub	?		Ar-R – Nimr b. Qāsiṭ
U	73 – 74	²⁵¹ بشر بن مروان	Bašra, Kūfa ²⁵²	sup	'Abd al-Malik	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya

243 Ṭab 6.196.

244 Ṭab 6.196; dirhams from mint Bīshāpūr (BYSh, years 72 and 73): Album 2011: 25 no. 22.

245 Ṭab 6.196.

246 Only known from coins: see Album 2011: 26 no. A32. DeShazo (2000) read the Pahlavi name of this subgovernor xxx b. Mālik, and identified him as the son of Mālik b. Misma', which makes sense, because we know from the historical sources that two brothers and (another) son of Mālik b. Misma' were in charge of districts of Fārs in these years. In a later article (DeShazo 2004), he read the name as Numayla b. Mālik, and identified him as Numayla b. Mālik b. Sāriya of the Banū Numayr, whom he found in al-Ṭabarī. Given the context, I think his first identification is more likely, even though Numayla b. Mālik b. Misma' is not found in the historical sources.

247 Ṭab 6.169, 6.320.

248 Khal 268; Ṭab 6. 169.

249 Khal 268.

250 His governorship of Fārs/Ardashīr Khurra is not known from historical sources; dirhams in his name are known from Ardashīr Khurra only, from the year 72: Album 2011: 25 no. 23. It is not impossible that the dirhams were struck in his name in his position as governor of al-Bašra, even after he was fired.

251 Khal 249; Fas 37; Bal A 6.316, 7.273, 7.421; Ṭab 6.194, 6.197. Dirhams known only from Bašra, Kūfa and Jāyy, see Album 2011: 26 no. 27.

252 He had been governor of Kūfa since 71; al-Bašra and its dependencies were added to his responsibilities in 73.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
U	73–75	خالد بن عبد الله بن خالد بن أسيد ²⁵³	Baṣra	sup	‘Abd al-Malik	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	74(ca.)	عبد العزيز بن عبد الله بن خالد بن أسيد ²⁵⁴	Fārs / Ardashīr Khurra	gov/ sub	خالد بن عبد الله بن خالد بن أسيد	sup	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	75–95	الحجاج بن يوسف ²⁵⁵	Iraq, Mashriq	sup	‘Abd al-Malik	caliph	Ar-Q – Thaqif
U	75–78–	المهلب بن أبي صفر ²⁵⁶	Fārs	gov	الحجاج	sup	Ar-Y – Azd
U	75–79	Farrūkhzād-ī Gushn-Anūshān ²⁵⁷	Ardashīr Khurra and Sābūr?	sub?			Iranian

253 Bal A 7.273; Ṭab 6.194, 6.197, 6.209.

254 His governorship is only suggested by dirhams struck in mints ART (Ardashīr Khurra) and TART (Tawwaj of Ardashīr Khurra) in 74 (Album 2011: 25 (no. 25K)); in the historical sources, he is said to have been appointed by his brother Khālid to fight the Khārijite Qaṭarī in Fārs: Bal A 7.411, 7.417, 12.352.

255 Khal T 293–294; Ya‘q T 219, 227; Ṭab 6.202, 6.493; etc. On dirhams from Bishāpūr, Ardashīr Khurra, Tawwaj, Iṣṭakhr, Yazd, Darābjird and Fasā: see Album 2011: 26–27 (nos. 35, 36, 37).

256 Bal A 7.423–428, 431; Ṭab 6.301. Al-Muhallab was put in charge of Fārs by al-Ḥajjāj to defeat the Khārijites there; as soon as he had expelled them from Fārs, he was made governor of Khurāsān. Dirhams from Bishāpūr, Ardashīr Khurra, Tawwaj and other mints in Fārs (75–79): see Album 2011: 26 no. 31.

257 Known only from coins dating 75–79. The patronymic is mentioned only on copper coins from mint DShT, the dating of which is debated (see Album 2001, 68 for an overview of the discussion), the other coins have only *farrūkhzād*, which Gyselen (2009, 71–73) thinks may be an epithet (“born with glory”) for the governor, rather than the personal name of another official. I agree with Album (Album-Goodwin 2002, 68) that all attestations of *farrūkhzād* on coins from Fārs probably refer to the same person, Farrūkhzād son of Gushn-anūsh. His name appears on dirhams from Ardashīr Khurra, together with al-Muhallab’s (75–76); with al-Ḥajjāj’s on dirhams struck in mints in the *kūras* Ardashīr Khurra (ART and TART, 77–79) and Sābūr (BYSh, 77–79); and solo on copper coins from cities in Ardashīr Khurra (Jūr and Tanbūk/Shirāz (undated), and Dasht (76?)), see Album 2011, 26–28. On the copper coins, Farrūkhzād’s name takes the position traditionally assigned to the issuer of the coin (to the right of the bust on the obverse of the coin). On the dirhams, al-Ḥajjāj’s and al-Muhallab’s names take this position, while Farrūkhzād’s name is in the lower left margin of the obverse of the coin (ObQ3), where usually no official’s name is mentioned; until then, only a few governors had used this place to put a second mention of their own name (Album 2011, 25 nos. 17, 23, 25, 35.2), in addition to the main mention to the right of the bust. On one dirham type from Jayy in the year 74, we also have another name in ObQ3, in addition to the governor’s name next to the bust (Album 2011, 26 no. 27.2), but since this name is also unidentified, it does not help us to determine what Farrūkhzād’s function was.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	77	Abū Sa'īd b. Numayla? ²⁵⁸	Arrajān only?	sub			Ar-R – Bakr b. Wā'il?
U	77	الحكم بن نهيك ²⁵⁹	Fārs/Arrajān	gov/ sub			Ar-M – Tamīm – al-Hujaym b. 'Amr
U	(78–95)	قطن بن قبيصة بن المخارق الهلالي ²⁶⁰	Fārs, Kirmān	gov		الحجاج sup	Ar-Q – 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a – Hilāl
U	(78–95)	محمد بن يوسف الثقفي ²⁶¹	Fārs	gov		الحجاج sup	Ar-Q – Thaqīf
U	83–(90)	محمد بن القاسم بن أبي عقيل ²⁶²	Fārs	gov		الحجاج sup	Ar-Q – Thaqīf
U	(75–95)	خرشة ²⁶³	Jahrom / Fasā wa-Darābjird	sub		محمد بن يوسف الثقفي gov	Arab – undefined
U	78?	كردم بن مرثد الفزاري ²⁶⁴	Fārs (<i>kharāj</i>)	gov/ sub		الحجاج sup	Ar-Q – Fazāra
	ca. 80	Khālid b. 'Abbād ²⁶⁵	Sābūr?	sub	?		?
U	80–84?	عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن الأشعث ²⁶⁶	Fārs, Kirmān, Sijjstān	sup/ reb		الحجاج sup	Ar-Y – Kinda
	81/82	خرشة بن عمرو التميمي ²⁶⁷	Fārs	gov		عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن الأشعث rebel	Ar-M – Tamīm

258 Known only from a single dirham, minted in Arrajān (Zeno #96408). Son of Numayla b. Mālik, known from the Arrajān dirhams of 73?

259 Al-Balādhurī (F 380) says he was governor of Fārs for al-Ḥajjāj, but also that he built the mosque and the *dār al-imāra* of Arrajān; and coins in his name are only known from Arrajān (Zeno #8141); so perhaps he was only in charge of Arrajān rather than all of Fārs. Later, he was governor of Kirmān for al-Ḥajjāj (Bal A 13.60–61).

260 Khal Ṭbq 56, 184; Qud 3991; Bal F 380. Also governor of Sijjstān (Sa'd 622) and Iṣbahān (N'm 2.122).

261 Balkhī 132, 157, 170. Al-Ḥajjāj's brother; perhaps mistake by Ibn al-Balkhī, for Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Abi 'Aqīl?

262 Khal Trkh 1.288; Ya'q 1.226; Bal F 420; Ṭab XI 641; Iṣṭ 124. In the year 90 or 92, al-Ḥajjāj appointed him over al-Sind and al-Hind.

263 Bal A 12.12; Balkhī 157.

264 Bal A 7.431, 7.268.

265 Only known from undated copper coins from mints Bishāpūr and Tanbūk (Album 2011: 28 thinks they date from about 80).

266 Was appointed governor of Sijjstān by al-Ḥajjāj but fell out with him and conquered Fārs on his way to confront al-Ḥajjāj in al-'Irāq; Bal A 7.317, 7.389, 8.326, 12.12; Ṭab 6.338. Coins in his name from Fārs mints in the years 82–84 (Album 2011: 27) prove he was in actual control of the province.

267 Appointed by Ibn al-Ash'ath while the latter was on his way to confront al-Ḥajjāj in al-'Irāq; Bal A 12.12; Jawz VI 225.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
U	(75–95)	²⁶⁸ هلال بن هرمي	Fārs?	gov?	الحجاج	sup	Ar-M – Ḍabba
U	95	يزيد بن أبي كبشة السكسكي ²⁶⁹	<i>ḥarb</i> and <i>ṣalāt</i> of Baṣra and Kūfa	sup	al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik	caliph	Ar-Y – Kīnda
U	95	²⁷⁰ يزيد بن أبي مسلم	<i>kharāj</i> of Baṣra and Kūfa	sup	al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik	caliph	<i>mawlā</i> of Ar-Q – Thaqif
U	96–99	²⁷¹ يزيد بن المهلب	Iraq and Khurāsān [incl. Fārs?]	sup	Sulaymān	caliph	Ar-Y – Azd
U	99–101	²⁷² عدي بن أرطاة الفزاري	Baṣra	sup	'Umar II	caliph	Ar-Q – Fazāra
U	99–101	²⁷³ (عمال عدي بن أرطاة)	Fārs	sub	عدي بن أرطاة	sup	?
U	99–100	الجراح بن عبد الملك / عبد الله الحكمي ²⁷⁴	Ahwāz, Fārs, Kirmān, Khurāsān	sup			Ar-Y ²⁷⁵
–	101–02	²⁷⁶ محمد بن المهلب	Fārs	gov	يزيد بن المهلب	rebel	Ar-Y – Azd
–	101–02	المهلب بن أبي عيينة بن المهلب ²⁷⁷	Jazīrat b. Kāwān	sub	يزيد بن المهلب	rebel	Ar-Y – Azd
U	102	²⁷⁸ مسلمة بن عبد الملك	Iraq, Khurāsān [incl. Fārs]	sup	Yazīd II b. 'Abd al-Malik	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	102–05	²⁷⁹ عمر بن هبيرة الفزاري	Iraq, Mashriq	sup	Yazīd II b. 'Abd al-Malik	caliph	Ar-Q – Fazāra

268 Bal A 11.391. Sent by al-Ḥajjāj to raid the *qala'as* of Fārs; it is uncertain if he was really appointed governor.

269 Bal A 8.289; Ṭab 6.493.

270 Ṭab 6.493.

271 Tab 6.585.

272 Khal Trkh 320, 322; Bal A 8.149, 8.245, 8.295, 11.103, 12.199; Bal F 84, 340, 359; Ṭab 6.554, 6.556, 6.578–579.

273 Bal A 8.194–196.

274 Ṭab 6.585. Not entirely clear if Khurāsān was included in his responsibilities.

275 Or, if Ḥakami refers to al-Ḥajjāj's grandfather al-Ḥakam b. Abī 'Aqil: Arab – Qays – Thaqif.

276 Bal A 8.310.

277 Bal A 8.310.

278 Khal Trkh 1.325, 1.327, 1.333; Ya'q 236; Fas 2.265; Bal A 6.302; Bal F 412; Din 334; Ṭab 6.604, 6.615.

279 Khal Trkh 1.328, 1.332, 336; Ya'q 236–237, 240; Din 365; Fas 2.265; Bal A 8.252–253, 8.268, 8.275; Bal F 412, 450; Jah 48; Ṭab 6.620, 7.17, 7.26; Mas M 3.201; Maqd 6.49.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
U	102?–05–	هاشم / هشيم بن صفوان الفزاري ²⁸⁰	Fārs	gov	عمر بن هبيرة	sup	Ar-Q – Fazāra
U	105/6– 120	خالد بن عبد الله القسري ²⁸¹	Iraq, Mashriq	sup	Hishām (or Yazid II)	caliph	Arab – Bajīla (neither Yemen nor Muḍar)
U	–120	أبان بن الوليد بن عبيد الله بن ملك الجلي ²⁸²	Fārs	gov	خالد بن عبد الله القسري	sup	Arab – Bajīla (neither Yemen nor Muḍar)
U	–120	طارق بن أبي زياد ²⁸³	Fārs	gov	خالد بن عبد الله القسري	sup	?
U	(105–20)	(unnamed ‘āmil of Khālid al-Qasrī) ²⁸⁴	Darābjird	sub	خالد بن عبد الله القسري	sup	Iranian – dihqān
U	–120	داهيه / دانويه المققع ²⁸⁵	Kharāj of Fārs	sub/ gov	خالد بن عبد الله القسري / الحجاج بن يوسف	sup	Iranian – dihqān
U	(105–20)	عبيد الله بن العباس الكندي ²⁸⁶	Fārs	gov	خالد بن عبد الله القسري	sup	Ar-Y – Kinda
U	(105–20)	نصر بن حسان التيمي ²⁸⁷	Iṣṭakhr	sub	خالد بن عبد الله القسري	sup	Ar-M – Tamīm – ‘Anbar
U	120–26	يوسف بن عمر الثقفي ²⁸⁸	Iraq, Mashriq	sup	Hishām	caliph	Ar-Q – Thaḳīf
U	(120–26)	عبد الكريم المازني ²⁸⁹	Fasā wa- Darābjird	sub			Ar-M – Tamīm – Māzin?

280 Bal A 9.86, 13.181.

281 Zub 1.9; Khal Trkh 336, 350, 358; Ya‘q 237; Qut M 365, 398; Bal A 8.277, 8.379, 8.386, 9.39, 9.79, 9.98, 12.101; Bal F 413; Jah 51; Ṭab 7.26–28, 7.39, 7.138; etc.

282 Ya‘q T 241; Bal A 9.86–87, 12.93.

283 Ya‘q T 241.

284 Bal A 9 89.

285 Father of Ibn al-Muqaffa‘; Bal A 4.218; Waf 2.155.

286 Kalbi M 1.155; Ḥazm 1.427: Crone (2003, 152–153) doubts the stories about all his governorships are true, and sees him only as *shurṭa* chief in Kūfa and governor for Ibn Jumhūr.

287 Dhah 13.397. Since this Naṣr was the grandfather of the Baṣran *qādī* Mu‘ādh b. Mu‘ādh al-‘Anbarī, it is likely that Naṣr’s nisba was al-Tamīmī rather than al-Taymī (see Bal A 13.25 for Mu‘ādh’s pedigree).

288 Khal Trkh 350, 358–359; Ya‘q T 243; Qut M 365, 507; Bal A 3.233, 4.118, 9.58, 9.96, 9.100; Dīn 337; Ṭab 7.159, 7.179, 7.254. 7.270.

289 Bal A 9.114.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
U	(120–26)	²⁹⁰ عبد الله بن طارق العنبري	Fasā wa-Darābjird	sub?	يوسف بن عمر الثقفي	sup	Ar-M – Tamīm – ‘Anbar
U	(120–26)	²⁹¹ توبة بن كيسان العنبري	Sābūr	sub	يوسف بن عمر الثقفي	sup	<i>mawlā</i> of Ar-M – Tamīm – ‘Anbar
U	126	²⁹² منصور بن جمهور الكلابي	Iraq	sup?	Yazīd III	caliph	Ar-Y – Kalb
U	126–27/8	عبد الله بن عمر بن عبد العزيز ²⁹³	Iraq	sup	Yazīd III	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – Umayya
U	126–27/8	²⁹⁴ النضر بن سعيد الحرشي	Iraq	sup	Yazīd III	caliph	Ar-M
U	–127/8	(unnamed ‘āmil of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar) ²⁹⁵	Iṣṭakhr	Sub	عبد الله بن عمر	sup	?
U	–128	²⁹⁶ مسلم / سلم بن المسيب	Shīrāz	gov/ sub	عبد الله بن عمر	sup	Arab – Bajila
–	128/9–	²⁹⁷ يزيد بن معاوية	Fārs	gov	إبراهيم بن معاوية	rebel	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Alid
–	130	²⁹⁸ عبد الله بن معاوية	Fārs? Iṣṭakhr?	gov/ sub?	إبراهيم بن معاوية	rebel	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Alid
–	(129–30)	²⁹⁹ الحسن بن معاوية	Iṣṭakhr	sub	إبراهيم بن معاوية	rebel	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Alid
U	–128/9	³⁰⁰ المسيح بن الحواري	Ardashīr Khurra and/ or Sābūr	Sub	عبد الله بن عمر	sup	Ar-Y – Azd – Atik

290 Bal A 9.114. ‘Abdallāh is said to have been sent by Yūsuf b. ‘Umar to deal with the *akrād* of Fasā wa-Darābjird; it is uncertain if this means he was also appointed governor of this subdistrict.

291 Sa‘d 7.179.

292 Khal Trkh 369, 370; Ya‘q T 247; Qut M 367; Bal A 9.193–196; Jah 61; Ṭab 7.270, 7.277, 7.280, 7.284.

293 Khal Trkh 370, 382; Ya‘q 246; Qut M 363, 369; Bal A 2.63, 8.235, 9.195, 9.196; Ṭab 7.284, 7.299, 7.304, 7.318, 7.319.

294 Bal A 8.299; Ṭab 7.318, 7.329.

295 Ṭab 7.371.

296 Ṭab 7.372; undated copper coins by Salm b. al-Musayyib from Iṣṭakhr: see Album 2011: 46 (#A201).

297 Ṭab 7.372.

298 Kalbī M 157; Bal A 2.64–66; Ṭab 7.371; copper coins in his name from Iṣṭakhr, dated 130: see Album 2011: 47.

299 Iṣf Ṭ 1.157. According to al-Ṭabarī (Ṭab 7.371), Ibn ‘Umar’s (unnamed) ‘āmil of Iṣṭakhr was expelled by Ibn Mu‘āwiya’s supporters in 129.

300 Bal A 8.221; Tab 7.372.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
U	129–32	يزيد بن عمر بن هبيرة ³⁰¹	Iraq ³⁰²	gov/ sup	Marwān II	caliph	Ar-Q – Fazāra
A	–132	(‘ <i>ummāl</i> of Abū Salama) ³⁰³	Fārs	sub	أبو سلمة	‘Abbāsīd <i>dā’ī</i>	?
A	132–33	محمد بن الأشعث بن عقبة الخرزاعي ³⁰⁴	Fārs, Kirmān	gov/ sup	أبو مسلم	‘Abbāsīd <i>dā’ī</i>	Ar-Y – Azd – Khuzā’a
A	132	عيسى بن علي بن عبد الله بن العباس ³⁰⁵	Fārs	gov	al-Saffāḥ	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	132	إسماعيل بن علي بن عبد الله بن العباس ³⁰⁶	Fārs	gov	al-Saffāḥ	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	135?	يحيى بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن العباس ³⁰⁷	Fārs	gov	al-Manṣūr	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	137–38?	خالد بن برمك ³⁰⁸	Fārs	gov	al-Manṣūr	caliph	Khurāsānian – Barmakīd
A	–145	إسماعيل بن علي بن عبد الله بن العباس ³⁰⁹ (2)	Fārs	gov	al-Manṣūr	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
–	145	عمرو بن شداد ³¹⁰	Fārs	gov	إبراهيم بن عبد الله	rebel	<i>mawlā</i> of Ar-M – Quraysh – Jumāḥ
	149	هارون بن حامد ³¹¹	only Iṣṭakhr?	sub?			?
A	(137–49)	واصل بن عليم ³¹²	Iṣṭakhr	sub	al-Manṣūr	caliph	Ar-M -Tamīm – al- Hujaym b. ‘Amr

301 Khal Trkh 382, 409; Ya‘q 246–247; Qut M 369; Bal A 8.232, 9.197, 9.277, 9.309; Din 350; Ṭab 7.327, 7.411; Mas M 3.241.

302 Including its dependencies, but not Khurāsān.

303 Ṭab 7.458. Their identities are not specified.

304 Bal A 4.89, 6.428; Ṭab 7.458, 7.460.

305 Bal A 4.89; Ṭab 7.458. The caliph’s uncle. Appointed by al-Saffāḥ, he was not able to carry out his functions due to threats by Abū Muslim’s governor.

306 Ṭab 7.458, 7.460. Idem.

307 Qut M 377; Bal A 4.281; Athīr K 5.46. The caliph’s brother. According to Ibn al-Athīr, he died while in office in Fārs in the year 135, but al-Manṣūr came to power only at the end of 136.

308 Jah 97; Dhah T 10.160.

309 Ya‘q T 263, 266; Qut M 374; Fas 126; copper coins from Darābjird, Shīrāz and Jūr of the year 145: see Shamma 1998: 259, 265, 280.

310 Ṭab 7.636, 8.50.

311 Only known from copper coins in his name from mint Iṣṭakhr, year 149 (Zeno #77517).

312 Bal A 13.61; Dur 209; Ḥazm 209.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	(137–49)	يزيد بن عقāl ³¹³	Fārs	gov			Ar-M – Tamīm – Ḥanzāla
	154 – (158–69)	نصير ³¹⁴	Fasā	sub?			
A	156 – 58	عمارة بن حمزة ³¹⁵	Kuwar Dijla, Ahwāz, Fārs	sup	al-Manṣūr	caliph	<i>mawlā</i> of the caliph
A	158 – 159	نصر بن حرب التميمي ³¹⁶	<i>Thaḡhr Fārs</i>	sub?	al-Manṣūr	caliph	Ar-M – Tamīm
A	(135–158)	شيخ بن عميرة بن حيان الأسدي ³¹⁷	Fārs	gov	al-Manṣūr	caliph	Ar-M – Asad
A	(158–69)	شيخ بن عميرة بن حيان (2) ³¹⁸ الأسدي	Fārs	gov	al-Mahdī	caliph	Ar-M – Asad
A	159 – 60?	خالد بن برمك ³¹⁹	Fārs	gov	al-Mahdī	caliph	Khurāsānian – Barmakid
	159 – 67	الربيع بن خضير ³²⁰	Iṣṭakhr, Ardashīr Khurra, Arrajān	sub?			

313 Al-Iṣṭakhrī (141) says Yazīd was governor of Fārs at the time of the rebellion of Abū Sāra, and al-Ma'mūn (r. 198–218) sent Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath from Khurāsān to fight Abū Sāra. Al-Iṣṭakhrī's story is fishy, because other sources (Bal A 11.31; Ḥab 487; Māk 2.506) put the rebellion of Abū Sāra in the days of al-Manṣūr (r. 137–158), and Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath (al-Khuzā'i; g. Fārs 130–133) died already in 149. The most likely interpretation is that al-Iṣṭakhrī mixed up al-Ma'mūn and al-Manṣūr.

314 Known only from a copper coin in Tübingen from Fasā 154 and Fasā n.d. (but mentioning al-Mahdī and "Manṣūr" (Shamma 1998: 272).

315 Jah 141; Ṭab 8.51, 8.53.

316 Ṭab 8.201; Bal A 13.12; Jawz 8.201. Military commander of al-Manṣūr, and part of his guard (Bal A 13.12; Ṭab 8.79). It is not clear what the hapax *thaḡhr Fārs* (border of Fārs) refers to exactly. Ibn al-Athīr (K 5.207) and Ibn Khaldūn (Khld 3.255) simplify the text, making Naṣr governor of Fārs.

317 Bal A 11.165. Crucified the rebel Abū Sāra (Bal A 11.31; Ḥab 487), whose rebellion started under Yazīd b. 'Iqāl.

318 Bal A 11.165. Perhaps continuation of his governorship under al-Manṣūr?

319 Jah 97; Dhah T 10.160.

320 Only known from copper coins in his name. He appears alone, with his patronymic, on copper coins from the year 159 (mint Iṣṭakhr); and simply as Rabī', together with caliph al-Mahdī, on copper coins with date 167 from Iṣṭakhr, Ardashīr Khurra, Jūr (the capital of Ardashīr Khurra) and Arrajān. See Shamma 1998, 167, 259, 269–270.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	160–63	³²¹ محمد بن سليمان بن علي	Başra, other Gulf provinces ³²²	sup	al-Mahdī	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	164	³²³ صالح بن داوود بن علي	Başra, other Gulf provinces ³²⁴	sup	al-Mahdī	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	165–67	³²⁵ المعلى	Kuwar Dijla, Baḥrayn, ‘Umān, Kas-kar, Ahwāz, Fārs, Kirmān	sup	al-Mahdī	caliph	<i>mawlā</i> of the caliph
A	169	³²⁶ عمار بن علي	Fasā	sub	?		?
A	167–73	³²⁷ محمد بن سليمان بن علي	Başra, other Gulf provinces ³²⁸	sup	Hārūn	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	(173–191)	³²⁹ عيسى بن جعفر بن أبي جعفر	Başra, other Gulf provinces ³³⁰	sup	Hārūn	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	(173–91)	³³¹ حمويه	<i>Ḥarb</i> and <i>kharāj</i> of Fārs	gov	Hārūn	caliph	<i>mawlā</i> of al-Mahdī

321 Khal Trkh 447, 448, 461; Bal A 3.129; Ṭab 7.655.

322 Al-Başra and it’s *a‘māl*, the Kuwar Dijla, al-Baḥrayn, ‘Umān, the harbours (*al-furaḍ*), Kuwar al-Ahwāz and Kuwar Fārs.

323 Khal Trkh 438, 440; Ṭab 8.150, 8.162; copper coin from Iṣṭakhr: Shamma 1998: 280–281.

324 The *ṣalāt* and *aḥdāth* of al-Başra, the Kuwar Dijla, al-Baḥrayn, ‘Umān, *al-furaḍ*, Kuwar al-Ahwāz, and Fārs.

325 Ṭab 8.153, 8.163, 8.166.

326 Fas 159.

327 Khal Trkh 447, 448, 461; Bal A 3.129; Ṭab 7.655.

328 Al-Başra, al-Baḥrayn, *al-furaḍ*, ‘Umān, al-Yamāma, Kuwar al-Ahwāz, and Fārs.

329 Grandson of the caliph Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr; Qut M 379; Khal Trkh 461–62; Bal A 4.275; Ṭab 8.346. He figures three times in Khalifa’s and al-Ṭabarī’s lists of Hārūn al-Rashīd’s governors of al-Başra after the death of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān in 173; it is not clear whether all three times, he was appointed as super-governor.

330 According to Ibn Qutayba (Qut M 379), he was in charge of “al-Başra and its *kuwar*, and Fārs, al-Ahwāz, al-Yamāma and al-Sind”; al-Balādhurī leaves out Fārs but adds al-Baḥrayn: “*a‘māl* al-Başra, Kuwar Dijla, al-Ahwāz, al-Yamāma, al-Baḥrayn and al-Sind” (Bal A 4.275). The other sources only mention him as governor of Başra.

331 His governorship of Fārs is only known from a story in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Iṣf A 16.497) that alleges Ḥammawayh received the governorship of Fārs for a period of seven years because his singing girl, one of al-Rashīd’s favourites, had asked for this favour. In the year 191, Ḥamma-

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	181 – 83 – ?	محمد بن يحيى البرمكي ³³²	Fārs?	gov?			Khurāsānian – Barmakid
	182	مهلهل بن صفوان ³³³	Arrajān?	sub?	?		
	188	الامير منصور ³³⁴	[Sīrāf]	sub?			
A	– 192 –	عبد الله بن المسيب بن زهير ³³⁵	Fārs	gov			Ar-M – Ḍabba
A	196 – 202?	الفضل بن سهل بن زاذانفروع ³³⁶	al-Mashriq ³³⁷	sup	al-Ma'mūn	caliph	Iranian – Sahlid
A	198 – 202?	الحسن بن سهل بن زاذانفروع ³³⁸	Jibāl, Fārs, Ahwāz, Baṣra, Kūfa, Ḥijāz, Yaman	sup	al-Ma'mūn	caliph	Iranian – Sahlid
A	(198 – 202)	وهب بن سعيد بن عمرو ³³⁹	Kirmān, Fārs	gov/ sup	الحسن بن سهل		Christian?

wayh was put in charge of the *barīd* of Khurāsān, and he was the one who sent the news of al-Rashīd's death to Baghdād in the year 193 (Ṭab 8.323, 365).

332 Copper coins in his name from all *kūra* capitals in Fārs in 182 and 183: Zeno # 81269, 83227, 83479, 81297, 63155; Shamma 1998: 263, 266, 270, 271, 282.

333 Only known from copper coins from Arrajān, 182 (Shamma 1998: 264).

334 Lowick 1985: 27–28. Only known from 32 lead coins found in the Sīrāf excavations, on which Maṣṣūr is mentioned in the obverse marginal formula as the issuer of the coins (*amara al-amīr Maṣṣūr bi-al-'adl*). Lowick tentatively identified this Maṣṣūr as either Maṣṣūr b. al-Mahdī (g. Baṣra 196–200), or – perhaps more likely – Maṣṣūr b. Ziyād, a Barmakid protégé “who held the position of Secretary for the Army under al-Rashīd and who deputized for al-Faḍl”. A subordinate official, Bū Ḥasan (sic), is also mentioned on the coins. The coins carry no mint name, but since they were found in relatively large numbers at Sīrāf, and lead coins did usually not circulate outside of their city of origin, it is assumed here the coins were minted at Sīrāf.

335 Qut M 413 (without date or appointer). Copper coins in the name of ‘Abdallāh b. al-Mu-sayyib from Shīrāz, dated 192: see Album 2011: 62–63, Shamma 1998: 262. From the noblest family of the Banū Ḍabba, the Banū Ḍirār, he held governorships in Fārs, Egypt and al-Jazīra. His father had been governor of Khurāsān for al-Mahdī (Qut M 413).

336 Ṭab 8.424; Maq 6.108. Al-Faḍl and his brother al-Ḥasan were Zoroastrians from a village in Iraq, and converted to Islam at the start of their careers (Jahsh 255–256). Their grandfather's name points to their Iranian background.

337 “From the mountains of Hamadhān to the mountains of Siqīnān (?) and Tibet in length, and from the sea of Fārs and al-Hind to the sea of Daylam and Jurjān in width” (Ṭab 8.424).

338 Ṭab 8.527.

339 Waf 2.415. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl retired in 202, after the assassination of his brother, so Wahb must have been in Fārs and Kirmān sometime between 198 and 202.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	214–20	القاسم بن نصر ³⁴⁰	Fārs/Shīrāz?	gov	?		?
				/			
				sub			
	(220–29)	الحسن بن محمد + يحيى بن سلف ³⁴¹	Fasā?	sub?			
A	232–36	محمد بن إبراهيم بن الحسين بن مصعب ³⁴²	Fārs	gov	al-Wāthiq?		Khurāsānian – Ṭāhirid
A	235	أبو عبد الله المعترف بالله ³⁴³	Khurāsān, Ṭabaristān, Rayy, Armenia, Ādharbayjān, Fārs	sup	al-Mutawakkil	caliph	Ar-M – Quraysh – ‘Abbāsīd
A	236	محمد بن إسحاق بن إبراهيم بن الحسين بن مصعب ³⁴⁴	Fārs	gov	al-Mu‘tazz	sup, heir	Khurāsānian – Ṭāhirid
A	236	محمد بن إسحاق بن إبراهيم بن الحسين بن مصعب ³⁴⁵	Yamāma, Baḥrayn, Ṭarīq Makka, Egypt, Fārs	sup	al-Muntaṣir	sup, heir	Khurāsānian – Ṭāhirid
A	236	محمد بن إسحاق بن إبراهيم بن الحسين بن مصعب ³⁴⁶	all his father’s responsibilities [governor and <i>ṣāhib al-shurṭa</i> of Baghdād] added	sup	al-Mutawakkil	caliph	Khurāsānian – Ṭāhirid
A	236	الحسين بن إسماعيل بن إبراهيم بن مصعب ³⁴⁷	Fārs	gov	محمد بن إسحاق بن إبراهيم	sup	Khurāsānian – Ṭāhirid
A	–244	الحسن بن رجاء بن أبي الضحاك ³⁴⁸	<i>kharāj</i> and <i>ḥarb</i> of Fārs and Ahwāz	gov	?	?	?

340 Copper coins in his name from mint Fārs, dated 214 and 220: Album 2011: 62–63.

341 Known only from a copper coin in Tübingen, from Fasā 22x (Shamma 1998: 273).

342 Ya‘q T 310; Ṭab 9.150, 9.183–184. Killed in Fārs by his nephew Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm.

343 Ṭab 9.176, 9.180, 9.183.

344 Ṭab 9.183–184.

345 Ṭab 9.183–184.

346 Ṭab 9.183–184.

347 Ya‘q T 310; Ṭab 9.184.

348 Mas M 3.480; Ṣaf 12.8; Ṣāb 47. His father had been in charge of the *dīwān al-kharāj* under al-Ma‘mūn and the *kharāj* of Damascus; al-Ḥasan himself had started his career as a young boy in

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	248	محمد بن عبد الله بن طاهر ³⁴⁹	Iraq, al-Ḥaramayn, <i>shurṭa</i> , Fārs	sup	al-Mustaʿīn	caliph	Khurāsānian – Ṭāhirid
A	– 249	الحسين بن خالد ³⁵⁰	Fārs?	gov?	محمد بن عبد الله بن طاهر	sup	
A	248/ 249 – 50	عبد الله بن إسحاق بن إبراهيم ³⁵¹	Fārs	gov	محمد بن عبد الله بن طاهر	sup	Khurāsānian – Ṭāhirid
–	250 – 55	علي بن الحسين بن قريش بن شبيل ³⁵²	Fārs	gov	mutinous army of Fārs		Khurāsānian

the *dīwān* of al-Maʿmūn, and before becoming governor of Fārs and Ahwāz had been governor of the Kuwar al-Jabal and Isfahan (Ibn ʿAsākir 1995–2001, 13.84, 13.88, 18.122).

349 Yaʿq T 315; Ṭab 9.258.

350 Yaʿq T 315. Killed in an uprising by the *jund* in Fārs.

351 Yaʿq T 315; Ṭab 9.277. Brought Fārs back under control, but was killed in the next year during a new uprising by the *jund* and the *shākiriyya* troops.

352 Yaʿq T 315; Iṣṭ 144; Ṭab 9.409; Waf 6.405–407.

