

**Administrative system of Iran under the Muslims 640-750 AD.**



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2017





Accession No TH:18209 *Wm*

**DATA ENTERED**

*July 26/11/08*

MS

955

MAA

Iran - History

Arab Muslims

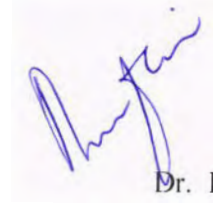
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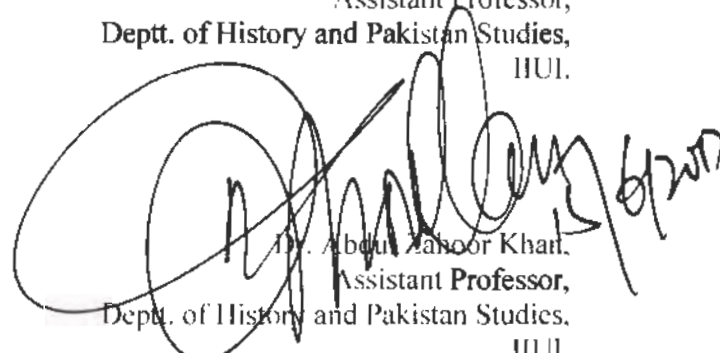
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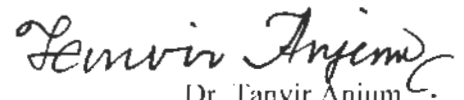
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640-750 AD**

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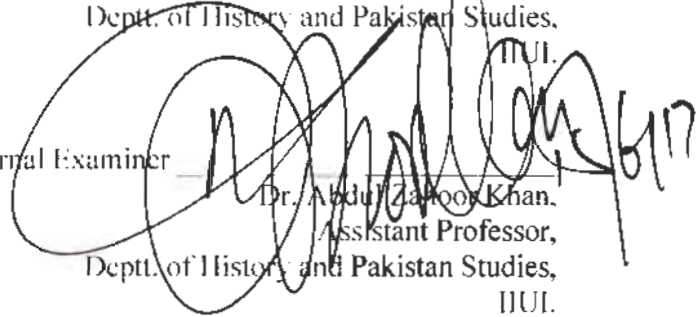
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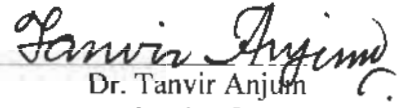
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## **Declaration**

I hereby declare that this theses is the result of my individual research and that it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree.

**Madiha Malik**

*To*

*My Nana Abu (Baba ji)*

*&*

*My Parents*

## ABSTRACT

*The Arab conquests during the pious caliphate had changed the lives of the people of Arabia. Similarly, the Arab Muslim conquest of Iran had paved new paths towards a land which was famous for its glory and wealth. The Arabs administered Iran not only on previous administrative models of Iranians but also adopted new policies to control and direct their subjects. Moreover, the Arabs started settling their people in newly conquered regions of Iran not only in the form of army but civil settlements also took place. The aim of presenting this study is to highlight not only the administration of Muslims in Iran but also the effects of their management, settlements and its results on the economic, social and political lives of Arabs and local Iranians.*

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Allah, who is the Greatest, the Bestower of honors and the Humiliator, always provides me strength to struggle and work hard. All praise to Allah who makes me able to accomplish my work. He is always there for me.

When my research started, I was not familiar with Iran. However, with the passage of time, new facts and ideas were opened to me and my interest, to know Iran, was increased. To know about a new land and to explore it, was a great experience for me.

There were a lot of people who helped me in doing my research. The foremost and the respected one was my teacher and supervisor Ms. Rafia Riaz. She is always an inspiration for me. She helped me in selecting my topic for research, and always there to guide me towards the right direction. She not only increased my interest in Arabic sources but also helped me to explore new facts as well. I will also express my appreciativeness to Ms. Saima Gul whose guidance was always there for me.

I am also very thankful to my friends Maria Fazal and Afsheen Kiran who helped me in searching sources and guide me at times. I am also thankful to my sisters Wajiha Habib and Aruma Khalid and my husband who always understand, encourage and helped me in my difficult times during research. Lastly, with great humbleness, I am very thankful to my Abu, Ammi and my teacher Ms. Saeed un Nisa without whom prayers I am nothing.

I also want to express my thankfulness to the central library of International Islamic University, Islamabad, library of Quaid e Azam University, Islamabad and to D'awah Academy Islamabad to provide me sources for my research.

Madiha Malik

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## GLOSSARY

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>Abnā'</i>   | Arabic word which means sons. The sons of Iranian fathers and Arab mothers were known as <i>abnā'</i> .         |
| <i>Adnāni</i>  | The tribe who connect its lineage with Adnān.   |
| ' <i>Ahd</i> lands                                   | The lands which were conquered after a war and signed a treaty.   |
| <i>Ahl al Āliyah</i>                                 | Quraysh, Kināna, Azd, Bajīla, Khus'am, Qais, Ghīlan, and Muzniya tribes were known as " <i>Ahl al Āliyah</i> ". |
| <i>Al 'Amm</i>                                       | Arabic word which has different meanings, for instance, blind or uncle.   |
| <i>Al Mughāfir/ Dīr, halāq, jawshan/ al hutamiya</i> | Coat of Mail  |
| <i>Al rijāl</i>                                      | Infantry  |
| <i>Al Fursān</i>                                     | Cavalry   |
| <i>Al Rumāt</i>                                      | Archers   |
| <i>Al Ghilmān</i>                                    | Service Corps   |
| <i>Al Tāliyah</i>                                    | Scouts  |
| <i>Al Rid</i>  | Rear Scouts   |
| <i>Āmils</i>   | Officers  |
| <i>Amsār</i>   | Garrisons   |
| <i>Amīr al Ashrah</i>                                | Decurion  |

|                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>Andarzbād</i>              | Councilors under Iranians.   |
| <i>Arīd</i>                   | A special police force who was assigned the duty to check the activities of people who refused to fight with <i>kharjities</i> .                                       |
| <i>Ashrāfs</i>                | Notables   |
| <i>Ashghānī</i>               | Title of kings of Al Jibal   |
| <i>'Attar</i>                 | Fragrance  |
| <i>Attabi silks</i>           | It was woven plain silk, sometimes stripped with black or white stripes. It was famous for its fineness.   |
| <i>Atā</i>                    | Regular Stipends.  |
| <i>Ayyin</i>                  | Sassanian Tax  |
| <i>Arāday</i>                 | A wooden house for archers.  |
| <i>Baghliā</i>                | Iranian <i>dirham</i>  |
| <i>Bayda' / anf al bayda'</i> | Helmet   |
| <i>Dabbābah</i>               | A multi-story carriage for stone throwers, precursors and archers. Egyptians, firstly used <i>dabbābah</i> . Later on, copied by Greeks, Romans and later by Persians. |
| <i>Darāq</i>                  | Shields  |
| <i>Dār al harb</i>            | The territory of war.  |
| <i>Dar al salām</i>           | The land of peace (Muslims).   |
| <i>Dibāj</i>                  | Figured Silk.  |
| <i>Dhimmīs</i>                | Non-Muslim citizens of Muslim state.   |
| <i>Dīwān al jund</i>          | A department which was responsible for army  |

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| <i>Dil Īrān</i>  | Heart of Iran  |
| <i>Dihqāns</i>   | The landed aristocracy of Iran.  |
| <i>Diwāns</i>    | Registers  |
| <i>Dirham</i>    | Silver currency of Arabs.  |
| <i>Farrah</i>    | The power of Iranian kings, which means "life force".  |
| <i>Fay</i>       | The tax levied on <i>ghanimma</i> , literally means the spoils of war.   |
| <i>Fitna</i>     | Disturbance in a state created by some particular people.  |
| <i>Hamarkar</i>  | Tax Collectors under the Iranians.   |
| <i>Habs</i>      | Mortmain   |
| <i>Hamīr</i>     | Another group of Arab tribes included Rabīya, Mud'haj, Hamdān and others.  |
| <i>Hāras</i>     | Security Guards  |
| <i>Harbīs</i>    | A non-Muslim person, although conquered but, did not live under the protection of Muslims. It is a counter name of <i>dhimīs</i> . |
| <i>Harbah</i>    | Short spears with long blade   |
| <i>Harīr</i>     | Silk   |
| <i>Hasak</i>     | Caltrops   |
| <i>Hazarbad</i>  | Another title of Iranian Prime Minister.   |
| <i>Hindām</i>    | Used to level walls.   |
| <i>Īrānshāhr</i> | The land of Iran   |
| <i>Itabā'</i>    | Doctors  |

|                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| <i>Jarīb</i>             | Acre  |
| <i>Jizya</i>             | Tax levied on Non-Muslims.  |
| <i>Jund-i Shahanshāh</i> | The special army of the king of Iran.   |
| <i>Kātib</i>             | Scribe or Secretary.  |
| <i>Kailja</i>            | A weight used for grains.   |
| <i>Khādīm</i>            | Correspondence Man under the Muslims.   |
| <i>Kharāj</i>            | Land Tax.   |
| <i>Kisrā</i>             | The title of kings of Iran.   |
| <i>Kubāsh</i>            | It is an instrument made of wood and iron and used to destroy the huge walls. |
| <i>Kura</i>              | City  |
| <i>La'ma</i>             | Body Armor  |
| <i>Lihāzim</i>           | A group of eight Arab Bedouin tribes.   |
| <i>Madd</i>              | A measure which has different weights in Iraq and Hijāz.                      |
| <i>Maks/mucus</i>        | Tax levied on markets.  |
| <i>Marzabān</i>          | Military Governor of Iranians.  |
| <i>Mawālis/ mawlā</i>    | Newly converted Muslims.  |
| <i>Maysara</i>           | Left Wing of Army   |
| <i>Maimna</i>            | Right Wing of Army  |
| <i>Manjñiq</i>           | A siege engine used in Medieval times.  |
| <i>Manzūa'h</i>          | The part of army who worked voluntarily or without pay.                       |

|                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| <i>Misqāl</i>                | A measure of Arabs which has different weights according to their regions.           |
| <i>Mīr Muhalla</i>           | The leader of every part of the city of Kufa or Basra.                               |
| <i>Mobad</i>                 | Zoroastrian priests.   |
| <i>Mobad mobadān</i>         | Chief Justice of Iranians.   |
| <i>Muqatillah</i>            | A special army force of caliph Umar (RA).  |
| <i>Muqaddima</i>             | Vanguard   |
| <i>Mujaffaf</i>              | Covered Army Horses  |
| <i>Muslīha</i>               | That part of army that remained away from army at a distance for particular reasons. |
| <i>Mustāla 'mā fil hadīd</i> | The man who wore body armor  |
| <i>Naurūz</i>                | A religious and cultural ceremony of Iranians.                                       |
| <i>Nushshāb</i>              | Persian Bows   |
| <i>Parvānak</i>              | Correspondence Man under the Iranians.   |
| <i>Qanāt</i>                 | It was an underground canal system, started by Muslims in Iran.                      |
| <i>Qafiz</i>                 | A measure  |
| <i>Qatā'i</i>                | Absolute Ownership.  |
| <i>Qādi al qudāt</i>         | Chief Justice of Muslims.  |
| <i>Qādī</i>                  | Justice  |
| <i>Qaws/ nabl</i>            | Bows   |
| <i>Qihānī</i>                | The tribe who connect its lineage with Qihān.  |
| <i>Qairāt</i>                | Carat  |



|                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| <i>Qist</i>                | A measure equal to the one half of <i>sā</i> or 1.4/1.7 liters or between 1 and 1.6 k.gs.  |
| <i>Rab'a Ahl al Medina</i> | <i>Ahl al Āliyah</i> and Kūfa were known as " <i>Rab'a Ahl al Medina</i> ".  |
| <i>Ra'osa- i Arba'a</i>    | The city of Kufa or Basra was divided in to four parts which was known as <i>Ra'osa- i Arba'a</i> .  |
| <i>Rimah</i>               | Spears   |
| <i>Rihāb</i>               | Another group of five Arab tribes included Tamīm, Adī, Akal, Thaur and Zabba.  |
| <i>Rustaq</i>              | Towns  |
| <i>Sadqa al muharrima</i>  | Absolute property of Muslims   |
| <i>Sawāfi lands</i>        | State lands, it included the lands owned by Khusraw and of Persian royal family, postal stations, fire temples of Persians, lands of those people who were killed in wars, wet lands, and lands of those people who migrated during wars, mills and all the lands which were declared as <i>sawāfi</i> lands by Khusraw. |
| <i>Sawāif</i>              | The part of Muslim army who protect the borders in summers.  |
| <i>Shaykh</i>              | Leader of a tribe.   |
| <i>Shahnshāh</i>           | The Iranian King was known as <i>shahnshāh</i> .   |
| <i>Shahr</i>               | Province   |
| <i>Sharistān</i>           | Capitals of Iranian provinces  |

|                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| <i>Spahbad</i>               | Commander in chief of Iranians.   |
| <i>Sulha lands</i>           | The lands subdued without war and signed a peace treaty.  |
| <i>Shūra</i>                 | The principle of consultation with Qurān and a group of people who were the part of <i>Shūra</i> .                          |
| <i>Shurta</i>                | Police Force  |
| <i>Tassuj</i>                | Villages of Iranians  |
| <i>Tawwābīn</i>              | A group emerged after the martyrdom of Imām Hussain (RA). They wanted to take revenge of Imām Hussain (RA) from government. |
| <i>Unwahlands</i>            | <i>Dhimmi</i> lands were also known as <i>unwah</i> lands.  |
| <i>Urrāway</i>               | Like a small <i>manjñiq</i> .   |
| <i>Urāfa</i>                 | A special police force which was responsible to control rebels.   |
| <i>'Ushar</i>                | 10% tax levied by Muslim government.  |
| <i>'Ushri lands</i>          | The owners of <i>sullah</i> lands will only pay <i>'ushar</i> as their lands will be <i>'ushri</i> lands.                   |
| <i>Vuzurg framadar</i>       | Prime Minister of Iranians.   |
| <i>Waqf/ fay al Muslimīn</i> | The share of Muslims in the spoils of war.  |
| <i>Yatakgov</i>              | Title of Attorney under the Iranians.   |
| <i>Zakāh</i>                 | The poor tax imposed on Muslims on particular proportion of wealth (gold, silver or property).                              |

## INTRODUCTION

At the advent of Islām, the Īrān was a part of the Persian Empire, had a very rich culture and a very well organized administrative system. The empire, however had become weak due to some internal disintegration. The Prophet (PBUH), like other areas, sent letter towards the ruler of Persia which was treated disrespectfully. However, after a very short while, the power of Īrān was subdued by the Muslims during the period of caliph Umar (RA) in the battle of Nihāvand in 642 AD.

The Arabs had relations with the Iranians even in the pre Islamic Arabia in the form of *abnā*. These relations were friendly as well as hostile. As far as the administration of Īrān was concerned, it was administered by the local *dihqāns* and other officials. Īrān, under Sassanid was divided in provinces according to the four points of compass. They also made garrisons in the territory of Īrān. Iranians, before the Muslim conquest, had a very well organized network of postal services which connected the whole of the empire.

In his time period, caliph Umar (RA), after conquering Īrān paid his attention towards the administration of Īrān. A new terrestrial division was introduced. The second Caliph adopted the previous administrative modes but with some modifications. Garrisons were developed and the tribes such as Bani Abd Qais and Bakr bin Wāil etc. were settled by the second Caliph in certain areas of Īrān. Some of the Iranian armies such as *Jund i Shahanshāh* accepted Islām. The taxes imposed by the Arab government were also less than Iranian monarchs. Later on, the Caliphs adopted the same administrative pattern, but minor changes came with the passage of time regarding the policies towards conversions and the status of *mawālīs*, the role and participation of Iranians in administration and

development of garrisons, settlement of Arab tribes in Iranian regions and the taxation policies. Initially, after conquest, there were two to three Arab tribes got settled in Īrān. Later, many Arab tribes migrated from Syria and some other areas to Īrān. The settlement of Arabs resulted in the development of new garrison towns which were in strategically important areas. Gradually, Iranians got important positions in Muslim's armies. The agriculture grew as Arabs introduced some new crops in Īrān such as cotton. Muslim policies not only consolidated their rule in Īrān but also led Īrān to a gradual process of urbanization.

The present study unfolds the administrative patterns of Īrān from 640-750 AD under the government of Arab Muslims. It focuses on the development of garrisons, the role of locals in administration, taxation policies of Arabs regarding Īrān, the settlements of Arab tribes in different regions of Īrān and the aristocratic classes and their role in Īrān's administration.

### **Scope and Significance**

The scope of the study in terms of time is extended over a century and ten years of the Muslim caliphate from 640 to 750 AD. The study discusses administrative structure of Īrān from the time period of the second caliph of Islām. The study also focuses on the administrative structure of Īrān during the time period of caliph Uthmān (RA), Ali (RA) and further focuses it during the time period of Umayyad. There is a lot of work on the administrative structure of Muslim caliphate but little is known about Īrān particularly. Scholars did not talk more about Īrān before Abbasid time period. It will be valuable to know the detailed accounts of Iranian administration under Muslims before the establishment of Abbasid Empire as it was one of the most important and huge victories of

Muslims. It will covers the social, economic, military and political aspects of the administration of Īrān. The study also helps to know about the strategies in developing a good administrative structure of a region.

### **Review of the Literature**

A lot of work has been done on the administration of Muslims. Both Muslim as well as non-Muslim scholars have worked on the administrative modes of the caliphs of Islām as a whole. As far as Īrān is concerned, there is a bundle of information on the conquest of Īrān but its administration after conquest has been focused in detail after 750 AD. There are scholars who discussed the provincial division, method of taxes and the development of garrisons in Īrān till 750 AD. However, there is no specific work which has thoroughly covered the administration of Īrān under the Muslims from 640 to 750 AD.

Bertold Spuler's *The Muslim World: The Age of Caliphs, 1960*, is a well-researched work on the conquests and administration of the conquered areas under Muslims. The author argues that the motives of Muslim conquest and settlements in conquered areas were economic. Moreover, the restriction of Persians' conversion had also economic motives behind it as the conquered people were a great source of revenue for Muslims. The author maintains his argument that only the upper class Persians, *dihqāns*, were allowed to convert. Moreover, *dihqāns* were the people who took the control of Iranian lands. However, the policy changed during the Umayyad regime but the motive, again, was economic. Moreover, the author claims that there was distinction in taxes between Muslims and Persians that resulted in revolts. Although the author asserts that the main motive of Muslims, behind the administrative policies, was economic, however did not go in detail. The work has covered a few aspects regarding the administration of Īrān in different times,

while the present study discusses the administration of Īrān in detail during the period of the Pious Caliphs and Umayyad caliphate.

G. Le Strange in *The Lands of Eastern Caliphate, 1966*, has talked about the regions of Īrān under Abbasid in detail. However a short history of these regions from 640-750 AD is also given. The work is descriptive in nature and the author did not develop any argument. However it provides information about the geography, climate and the capitals of different regions that can be helpful in determining the administrative patterns and their influences upon people. The author also provides maps of different regions that can be helpful in better understanding of Īrān.

Richard N. Frye in *The Golden Age of Persia, 1977*, has discussed the pre Islamic Persia, its regions, society and state in detail. The Muslim conquest of Persia and its administration from 640 to 750 AD also came under the special considerations of the author. The social stratification, relations of local Iranians with Arabs and the migrated Arab tribes have also been discussed by the writer. The author claims that Muslims developed a very well organized administrative system in Īrān. The author is very well informed and he not only discusses the settlements of Arab tribes in Iranian regions but also their rivalries. The writer also has talked about the pension and other payments procedure based on tribal system. Moreover the regions of Īrān like Āzerbaijān and Fars that, according to the writer, always remained faithful to Muslims have also been discussed by the writer. Zia ul Haq also mentions in *Landlord and Peasant in Early Islām* that some of the tribes migrated to Āzerbaijān that shows peaceful and healthy suitable place for Muslims in terms of wealth. As the author develops his argument that Muslims developed a very well organized administrative system, similarly he argues that the system of taxation

was uniform throughout Īrān as there was no discrimination regarding taxation however the policies towards clients or *mawālīs* changed with the passage of time. Frye argues that the Muslims adopted the administrative patterns of Īrān but with some modifications. Moreover the Arabs were the people who brought themselves close to the Western and Eastern Iranian cultures and developed a new culture. The author also discusses the conversion policy and coinage from 640-750 AD. Although all these aspects are mentioned by the author but he was not certain about the sources as the sources available on the history of Īrān were compiled after one to two centuries of its conquest. The author has developed his argument and discussed a lot of aspects of administration of Īrān under Muslims from 640-750 but all these aspects are not debated in detail. The present study deals with all the aspects in detail.

Zia-ul Haq's *Landlord and Peasant in Early Islām, 1977*, is a well-researched book to understand the *fay* and *kharāj* policies of the Pious Caliphs and Umayyads as well. The author has focused on different regions and applied his *fay* and *kharāj* theories at that time. The author argues that during the Pious Caliphate, the lands of Īrān were left at the hands of locals by declaring *fay* lands and were not divided among the conquerors. The reason behind was that it could create problems in future, moreover it could cause a decrease in state revenue of Muslims. The author has created a similarity with M. A Shaban, as he has the same views regarding *fay* lands. Later, these *fay* lands converted into *Sawāfi* or state lands during the Umayyad era. The change in policy was under the influence of Sassanid system as all the lands under Sassanids were state lands. Although the author worked on *fay* and *kharāj* policies, he did not go in details and failed to discuss the taxation policies as well as the role of *Sawāfi* lands under the Pious Caliphs and Umayyads. Moreover it did



not mention which lands were declared *Sawāfi* lands under Umayyads and why? The author also discussed the settlement of tribes from Kūfa, Basra and Syria in Āzerbaijān but did not mention the reasons for their migration and their influence and role on the economic activity of Āzerbaijān. The author, also, did not discuss the development of garrisons and their role and influence on economy. The main focus of the author is on Abbasid time period. The present study focuses on Pious Caliphate and Umayyad reign. Moreover, the work did not focus on the other aspects of administration of Īrān except economy during 640 to 750 AD.

Richard W. Bulliet in *Conversion to Islām in Medieval Period: An Essay on Quantitative History, 1979*, draws a quantitative view of conversion of Non-Muslims into Muslims. The author not only draws the conversion tables according to the dates of life and deaths but also has mentioned the possibilities of fabricated genealogies and names that can affect a correct percentage of conversion. The author has also claimed that Īrān was the first conquered land that accepted Islām as a religion. Yet the conversions till 750 AD were only 10 percent. The work is a quantitative and did not provide reasons for slow conversions. The present work not only focuses on the conversion ratios but also on the reasons as it is said that the conversion was restricted during Pious Caliphate but it was allowed during the time of Umayyad.

Donald N. Wilber's *Īrān: Past and Present, 1981*, is a work particularly on Īrān that covers the early empires of Īrān from the past till modern times. The writer discusses the Muslim conquest of Īrān in detail. It also throws light on the pre Islamic relations of Arabs and Iranians or Arab's *ajamīs*. The author argues that Īrān, before Muslim conquest was a centralized state and was controlled by appointed officials in provinces. It was



replaced by an international and democratic religion that firmly ruled in Īrān. The author argues that Muslims were good for Iranians as they were neither strict nor lenient as it is clear that the imposed taxes were reasonable for Iranians. The writer believes that the Muslims, after the conquest of Īrān, ruled the people more firmly than the previous empire. G. E Grunebaum in *Classical Islām: A History 600-1258, 1970*, also argues that Arabs were better protectors of Iranians than Turks. Wilber has also developed his argument that Muslims accepted the Iranian traditions and modes of administration and led the Īrān towards a new way. Moreover, the Muslims also adopted their language as two languages prevailed in the empire: Arabic for Arabs and Persian for local Iranians. Grunbaum also favored Wilber as bilingual documents were also present. G. R. Hawting in *The First Dynasty of Islām, 1986*, mentions that although Iranians, unlike other conquered regions, accepted Islām largely and for a long time, they prevented themselves from adopting Arabic language. Rather, they patronized Persian, initially as everyday language and as the language of literature in later times. Wilber, briefly, discussed the local dynasties in Īrān that emerged after Muslim conquest such as The Dabuyidsin Dabya and the Bawandid dynasty in Baw. These dynasties are not mentioned by other writers. Although the author has developed his argument and discussed the Muslim rule in Īrān, he did not go in details. Moreover a lot of aspects regarding administration of Īrān have not come under writer's consideration as the book mostly focuses on Abbasid and later dynasties of Īrān. The present study focuses on the administration of Īrān from 640 to 750 AD in detail.

Ira M. Lapidus's *A History of Islamic Societies, 1988*, has discussed the Pious Caliphate and Umayyad era in detail. The author has discussed Īrān in short and argued that the Muslims had ideological and economic motives behind the conquest of Persia.

Later, they also settled in Īrān and developed their garrisons in certain areas such as Hamadan, Isfahan and Ray. Muslims left the administration of Īrān to the locals, however gradually took the control of Iranian regions themselves. The author argues that the increased influence of Muslims gradually turned the conquered people in lower grades. Moreover, the economic growth had also changed the society and there emerged a class stratification, a lot of Arabs merged themselves with locals, the tribal influence decreased to some extent and institutions were commercialized during Umayyad period. In his book *Islamic History: A New Interpretation, 1971*, M. A. Shaban created a difference with the author as according to him, conquered Persians assimilated themselves only in armies and not with local population. The reason, discussed by Shaban, is that it could be a threat for Muslims. The author Marshall G. S. Hodgson in his book *The Venture of Islām: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* argues that during Umayyad period, institutions were commercialized as Arabs adopted Iranian life style and a neo tribalism developed. Moreover, Muslims involved the Iranians in their administration and adopted their administrative patterns, but always drew a distinction between them. Yet, this distinction eliminated during the reign of Umar II. Although the author looked at these issues and developed an argument, however did not go in detail as which people were settled in garrisons? What were the motives behind settlements of Muslims in Iranian region or were the settlements confined to the armies or tribes as well? Moreover, the author did not discuss the reasons for adopting Persian modes of administration and how and who were the people who became the part of Muslim administration in Īrān. Besides, the author did not throw light on economic situation of Īrān also. The present study focuses on the issues related to the settlements, economy, army as well as revolts in detail.

Hamidullah Haiderabadi's *Siyāsi Wathiqa Jāt, 2005*, is a narrative work which covers the time period from the Holy Prophet (PBUH) to the four caliphs. The book narrates the letters of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and of the pious caliphs. The letters of caliph Umar (RA) towards the conquered lands and people have also been discussed including Īrān. However, it did not go in details, for instance, regarding the administration of the conquered areas. It is just a narration. Moreover, on one hand, the book narrates the instructions of caliph Umar (RA), however it did not discuss that how these instruction were followed or how the appointed governors ruled in those regions. However, the writer has successfully depicted a picture of Īrān through letters. A lot of regions are discussed by the writer, however, one should determine the areas of Īrān itself. It is worth of notice that there were some common provisions for every area for instance the condition of hospitality of newly arrived Muslims for three days and of the maintenance of roads and bridges etc. The work helps in better understanding of Īrān's certain areas however it is not enough to know the administration in detail.

Richard W. Bulliet's *Cotton, Climate and Camels in Early Islamic Īrān, 2009*, provides information about the economy of Īrān under Sassanid, Pious Caliphs and Umayyad shortly, and during Abbasid and later times in detail. The author argues that Sassanid had not only an agrarian but a trade economy as well. The author argues that Muslims developed their garrisons not only at strategically important areas but also considered trade routes, for instance the garrison of Jurjān developed due to the importance of silk route as well. The author claims that Arabs (Yemenite) settled in different regions of Īrān and introduced the crop of cotton to the Iranians, which became a big industry of Īrān. Īrān had also advanced in cotton fabric industry in later times. The writer has talked

about the economy of Īrān during 640-750 AD in short as his focus was on cotton industry that flourished during Abbasid and later times. The author, also, did not discuss the policy of taxation and other issues regarding economy of Īrān. The present study discusses the taxation policies, agriculture, industries and state revenues etc. in detail.

Fred M. Donner in his book *Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islām, 2010*, has discussed the time period of Pious Caliphs and Umayyad as well. The author argues that expansion of Muslims had not only ideological motives but material and strategic as well. The author argued that the ideological motives naturally resulted in material motives as Persia was a great source of revenue. The Muslims adopted the administrative patterns of Persians and institutionalized theirs. Moreover, the author had a view that although Muslims made Christians and Zoroastrians a part of their armies and state, however, they considered them inferior and always developed a distinction between them. D.S. Margoliouth also has the similar views in his book *Umayyad and Abbasid, 19987*, as he argues that non-Arabs had not good status as Muslims considered them superior of all and clients were treated badly by the Umayyads.

### Objectives of the study

The objectives of the research are:

- To determine the terrestrial division of Iran during Sassanid rule and under the Muslims.
- To determine the administration of Iran under Sassanid rule.
- To find out the settlements of Arab tribes and their role in the administration of Iran.
- To determine the Muslim's administration and behavior towards local Iranians.

- To find out the policies of Muslim caliphs and their governors to administer Iranians.
- To determine the role of army and the development of garrisons in different regions of Īrān.
- To find out the taxation and other economic policies in Īrān from 640-750 AD.

### **Research Question**

What were the modes of administration of Īrān under Muslim rule from 640-750 AD?

### **Subsidiary Questions**

- What was the terrestrial division of Iran during Sassanid rule and how it was conquered by Muslims?
- How the Sassanids administered Iran during their rule?
- Which Arab tribes settled in Iran and what was their role in administration?
- How the Muslims administered and treated the local Iranians?
- How the Muslim caliphs and governors ruled the province of Iran?
- What was the role of Muslim army in Iranian administration and why and where garrisons were developed by the Muslims?
- What was the method of taxes and how trade industry and agriculture developed in Īrān after Muslim conquest till 750?

## **Methodology**

The study is qualitative in nature. Moreover it is an unstructured, exploratory and analytical research, as it describes, explores and analyzes the administrative strategies of Īrān adopted by the Muslims after conquest till 750 AD. A critical approach is adopted regarding the policies of the Muslims towards Īrān. Moreover, a causal relationship or a correlation between the administrative policies and outcome is also analyzed as an outcome variable. The study also follows the historical method as it utilizes historical documents etc. The study mostly focuses on the primary sources. For instance, Baladhurī's "*Futuh ul Buldān*" and Ibn Khaldūn's "*Tārīkh i Ibn i Khaldūn: Rasūl Allah (SAW) aur Khulāfa i Rashidīn*". It also takes advantage from the secondary sources. The encyclopedias and world atlas are also used in order to identify different regions of Īrān and their significance. The sources are available in the Central library of IUI, The Islamic Research Institute Islamabad and in the Central Library of Quaid i Azam University Islamabad.

## **Organization of the Study**

The study is divided in six chapters apart from introduction and conclusion. The first chapter identifies the regions of Īrān while the second chapter focuses on the tribal settlement of Arabs in different regions of Irān and the reasons for which Arabs were inclined to settle in Irān. The focus of the third chapter is on the development of Arab Iranian relationship. The fourth chapter discusses the role and administration of Muslim caliphs and governors towards their Iranian subjects. The development of garrisons and role of army in Īrān are discussed later. The last chapter throws light on economic development of Irān under Muslim and their taxation policies as well. Conclusion is drawn in the end.

## Chapter 1

### Territorial Division of Īrān and its Administration during Sassanid

#### Rule

*Īrānshāhr* or the land of Īrān was ruled by Persian kings.<sup>1</sup> For centuries, many people came, invaded and ruled Persia. The Persian rulers reigned the vast territory of Persia/Īrān in two phases and according to Ibn Hishām, the first Iranian rulers were known as “*iskiyān*” while the seconds were “*ardawān*”. Besides, according to Masūdi, the kings of second phase were known as Sassanid and they trace their lineage from Sāsān bin Bābak.<sup>2</sup>

There is ambiguity about the word Persia, Īrān and Fārs. Contemporary sources mostly use the word “Persia” for Sassanid’s territory. There is a general impression that Īrān is comparatively a modern Muslim terminology used for Persia. However the word Īrān is as old as the Persian Empire. Generally, Fārs was used to define Īrān. For instance, Masūdi clearly defines that during the time period of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and later, Īrān was known as Fārs and that it was a country rather than a city (as a lot of people consider it a city).<sup>3</sup> It is also apparent from the fact that the Holy Prophet (PBUH) wrote a letter to the king of Persia which was titled as “From the Prophet of Allah to *Kisrā*, the king of Fārs”.<sup>4</sup> The people of Fārs were the descendants of “*Kiūmrath*” who had further

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<sup>1</sup>Richard N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977), 8.

<sup>2</sup>Abū al-Hassan bin Hussain bin Alī al-Masūdī, *Tārīkh-i Masūdī*, trans. Kokab Shādānī, vol. 1, (Karachi: Nafīs Academy, 1985), 204.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 187,199.

<sup>4</sup>Hamīd Ullah Haiderabadi, *Siyōsī Wathīqa Jāt*, trans. Abū Yahyā Imām Khān Nausharvī. (Lahore: Sādat Art Press, 2005), 88.

claimed his genealogy from Irum bin Sām bin Nūh (AS).<sup>5</sup> Fārs was given the name of Īrān by "Īraj" whose actual name was "Īrān bin Afrīdūn" and according to Masūdi, the people of Fārs are descendants of Īraj.<sup>6</sup> According to Abū Rehān al Khwarzami, Īrān was the name of Arfakhshād bin Sām bin Nūh (AS).<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, besides Fārs, a lot of Muslim historians have also used the word "Īrān" for instance, Balādhūri and Abū Rehān al Khwarzami.<sup>8</sup>

One more important question about the regional boundaries of Īrān arises when one talks about Muslim conquest and administration of Īrān (mostly known as the conquest of Persia). But before jumping to the question of lands included in Muslim Īrān, it is essential to know about the Sassanian provincial divisions of Persia/Īrān. It is significant that Īrān was not just the land of Persian speaking people as there were a lot of other groups who populated different regions of Īrān. The areas in which Iranian culture was dominant were included in *Īrānshāhr*. It is said that Sassanid Persia/Īrān included vast areas from north, west, east and south east of Arabia. According to Asma'i, as cited in *Mu'ajjam al Buldān*, Khorāsān, Sajistān, Kirmān, Makrān, Isfahān, Jīlān, Sandān, Jurjān, Āzerbaijān and Armanān were the sons of Īrān bin Aswad bin Sām bin Nūh (AS). The regions were named on them and all were known as *Īrānshāhr*.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Masūdi, *Tārīkh-i Masūdi*, Vol. 1, 183.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 199.

<sup>7</sup>Shahāb al-Din Abī Abdullah Yāqūt bin Abdullah, *Mu'ajjam-al Buldān*, vol. 1, (Beirut: Dar e Beirut, 1956), 289.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 289.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 289.



According to Abu Rehān-al-Khwarzami, *Īrānshāhr* included the areas of Irāq, Fārs, Jibāl and Khorāsān.<sup>10</sup> Frye believes that Āzerbaijān, the northeastern part of Persian Empire, although populated with Armenians, Kurd, Persians and others, was also the part of *Īrānshāhr*. Masūdi also mentioned Kurds, Armenians and followers of *Zartusht* who lived in different areas of Āzerbaijān.<sup>11</sup> It was named after Bazarbāz bin Īrān bin Aswad bin Sām bin Nuh (AS).<sup>12</sup> Azerbaijan had its borders to Barza'a in east, Arzanjān in west and Daylam in north.<sup>13</sup> Azerbaijan, because of its geographical importance, was administered by army governor of Sassanid rulers.<sup>14</sup> Another important region in the north west of Āzerbaijān was Armenia. It was a distinct kingdom and allied herself with Persian Empire but was not considered the part of *Īrānshāhr*.<sup>15</sup>

Similarly, Georgia also allied herself with Īrān but it was not considered the part of *Īrānshāhr*. Tabristān and Jurjān, although less populated, were the part of Sassanid Īrān. Because of the strategic importance of the region, a bulk of army was deployed over there.<sup>16</sup> Media, known as Al- Jibāl by Arabs and Kohistān by Persians, was also the part of *Īrānshāhr*. It included the cities of Masabadhān, Mihirjanqadhaq, Dinwar, Qum and Hamdān. It is said that Azerbaijan, Isfahān and Ray were also the part of Al-Jibāl but were separated later.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 289.

<sup>11</sup>Jabir Ahmed bin Yahyā Balādhuri, *Futūh-al Buldān*, trans. Syed Abūl-Khair Maudūdi. Vol. 2, (Karachi: Nafis Academy, 1986), 483,485.

<sup>12</sup>Yāqūt, *Mu'ajjam-al Buldān*, vol. 1, 128.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.,128.

<sup>14</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 12.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 12.

<sup>16</sup>Masūdī, *Tārikh-i Mosūdī*, vol. 1, 154.

<sup>17</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 11.

Irāq, the western part of the Persian Empire, was one of the most important regions of the Sassanid Empire with its capital Ctesiphon which was also known as “*Dil Irān*” or the heart of Irān.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, Fārs and Khuzistān, were also the part of the Sassanid Irān. The eastern part of Irān was consisted of Khorāsān and was the military center of *Irānshāhr*.<sup>19</sup> But it is essential to know that all the parts of Khorāsān were not included in *Irānshāhr*. For instance, from three cities of Khorāsān; Nishāpūr, Herāt and Balkh, only Nishāpūr was considered the part of *Irānshāhr*.<sup>20</sup> Sajistān was also counted in *Irānshāhr*.

As Persia consisted of an enormous area, so it was difficult for the Muslims to administer all the region as a separate province of Irān. Therefore, after the Muslim conquest of Irān, a new regional division was introduced. Irāq was declared a separate province, whereas, Irān and Khorāsān were separated from each other. Moreover, some other regions were also treated as separated units. Now, there emerged an ambiguity about the edging areas of Irān.

There are little facts which did not illustrate undoubtedly that which areas were comprised of the province of Irān and which were the part of Irāq and Khorāsān. Therefore, there is a vague estimation of the regions of Irān that Fārs and Al-Jibāl were the parts of Irān. As far as Ārmenia is concerned, it was treated as a separate province by Muslims. Āzerbaijān, was, most probably the part of Muslim Irān. Moreover, Khuzistān and Kirmān were also the parts of Muslim Irān.

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<sup>18</sup>Yāqūt, *Mu’ajjam-al Buldān*, vol. 1, 289.

<sup>19</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 13.

<sup>20</sup>*ibid.*, 13.

There are certain facts on which basis the areas of Īrān can be determined. For instance, collection of *kharāj* can be a good guess for the identification of the regions of Īrān. Under Muslim rule, there were fluxes in the system of tax collection. The ruling circumstances variably influenced the system which was distinct during pious caliphate, civil wars or in peaceful Umayyad kingship. Therefore, it is difficult to identify the Iranian regions during early caliphate as Caliph Umar (RA) appointed different governors in eastern regions who received the *kharāj* of their respective areas and sent it to Medina. Later, pious caliphs also received the taxes from different regions independently. But it is also true that during Umayyad rule, the *kharāj* of Īrān was received by the governor of Irāq. For instance, it is a fact that Kūfa, at first, was made the revenue gathering center for Āzerbaijān and Al Jibāl, while, Basra became the revenue collector of Khūzistān, Kirmān, Fārs, Sīstān and Khorāsān.<sup>21</sup>

Besides, during civil war of Ibn-I Zubair, Mukhtār Thaqfī and others, the collection of taxes was not restricted to Irāq. Moreover, all the taxes of Al-Jibāl were collected by the governor of Hulwān.<sup>22</sup> Northern Īrān was also under the protection or sponsorship of Kūfa.<sup>23</sup> Later, during Umayyad rule, when Khorāsān became the residential place of Arabs of Kūfa and Basra, Merv became the revenue collection center for Īrān.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, the collection of taxes neither make Āzerbaijān and Al-Jibāl, Khorāsān, Fārs, Sīstān, Kirmān or Khūzistān the part of Irāq nor identify clearly the regions of Īrān, as Basra also received the taxes of Sīstān and Khorāsān which were not

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<sup>21</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 70.

<sup>22</sup>Abī Jafar Jarīr Tabarī, *Tōrīkh-i Tabarī*, trans. Syed Haider Tabātabāī, vol. 4, (Karachi: Nafis Academy, n.d.), 503.

<sup>23</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 64.

<sup>24</sup>*ibid.*, 70.

the part of Muslim Īrān. So it is difficult to identify the areas of Īrān by means of collection of taxes.

Another way to determine the areas of Īrān is to identify the governors of provinces whose appointments were issued by the Caliph. The governors, further, appointed their officials in different regions of their respective provinces. It is problematic to identify the Iranian regions during early caliphate as Caliph Umar (RA) appointed governors in different regions of Īrān who independently received the *kharāj* of their respective areas and sent it to Medina. For instance, Qubāz bin Abdullah in Hulwān while Salmā bin al Qīn, Harmala bin Marita, Zar bin Kalīb and Muqtahrab bin al Aswad in the areas between Fārs and Ahwāz, Utba bin Farqad in Āzerbaijān were appointed directly from center.<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, the Caliphate of Uthmān (RA) did not clearly delimit the regions of Īrān, rather, governors were independently appointed for different regions from center and did not clearly illustrates the areas of Īrān. However, it is evident that the governors of Kūfa and Basra were authoritative during the caliphate of Uthmān (RA). For instance, Saīd bin Al-Ās (governor of Kūfa) was given the authority to appoint the governors of Ray, Hamdān, Isfahān and Hulwān.<sup>26</sup> It is most probable that he was receiving the *kharāj* of these areas as well. Caliph Ali (RA), himself, also appointed the governors of Ray and Isfahān.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Abī Jafar Jarīr Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, trans. Syed Rasīd Ahmed Rashid, vol. 2 (3), (Karachi: Nafis Academy, n.d.), 63-64, 152.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 429-430.

<sup>27</sup>Abī Jafar Jarīr Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, trans. Habīb Al-Rehmān Siddīque, vol. 3 (2), (Karachi: Nafis Academy, n.d.), 330.

Later, during the kingship of Amīr Muawiyah (RA), he appointed Ziyād as governor of Basra, Khorāsān and Sīstān (Sajistān) and he further appointed the governor for Fārs.<sup>28</sup> It clearly indicates that Ziyād was the indirect receiver of taxes of Fārs. On the other hand, the governors of Ray, Sajistān, Isfahān and other areas of Īrān were appointed by Caliph Abdul Malik bin Marwān rather than by the governor of Irāq.<sup>29</sup>

Another custom for the appointments of governors was that the governor of Kūfa and Basra had the authority to appoint his *āmils* in Īrān and Khorāsān. For instance, after taking Kūfa, Mukhtār Thaqfī also appointed governors for Ārmenia, Āzerbaijān, Behqubāz and Hulwān.<sup>30</sup> Later, Hujjāj bin Yousaf also appointed governors for different regions of Īrān and Khorāsān and received *kharāj*. For instance, besides Iraq, when Hujjāj turn into the governor of Sajistān and Kirmān also, he got the authority of further appointments in different regions.<sup>31</sup>

However, these all governorships and appointments did not give the information about the regions of Īrān. Yet, it is clear that Sīstān or Sajistān was treated as a separate province by Arab Muslims but it was not the part of Īrān.<sup>32</sup> As far as Āzerbaijān is concerned, it was most perhaps the part of Muslim Īrān. For instance, according to Ibn-i-Khaldūn, the regions of Istakhar, Shīrāz, Ahwāz, Ardshīr, Sabūr, Sūs and Tustar etc. were included in Fārs. While, during his time period, Caliph Umar (RA) included the regions

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<sup>28</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 4, 77, 82.

<sup>29</sup>For details see *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*.

<sup>30</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh i Tabarī*, vol. 4, 503.

<sup>31</sup>Abī Jafar Jarīr Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, trans. Syed Muhammad Ibrahim, vol. 5, (Karachi: Nafis Academy, 1967), 310.

<sup>32</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 14.

of Tabristān, Qazvīn, Ray, Isfahān, Hamdān and Hulwān etc. in Āzerbaijān.<sup>33</sup> The areas of Āzerbaijān, as mentioned by Ibn-i-Khaldūn, increased the probability that Āzerbaijān was the part of Muslim Īrān. On the other hand, while talking about the conquest of Al-Jibāl, Balādhurī included Hulwān, Qum, Isfahān, Qāshān, Qazvīn and Ray in it. Furthermore, it is also evident that before attacking on Isfahān, Caliph Umar (RA) asked Hurmazān to attack Isfahān or Āzerbaijān first? He replied that Isfahān was head and Āzerbaijān the arms. The cut off head would result in the fall of both arms.<sup>34</sup> He also included Fārs and Kirmān in Iranian regions while, Sajjstān was included with east for instance Sindh. The administrative divisions frequently kept on changing throughout the pious caliphate and the Umayyad period and it is difficult to identify the areas of Īrān through this criteria. However, the present study considers the areas of Āzerbaijān, Kirmān, Fārs, Khūzistān, Al-Jibāl and Tabristān in Muslim Īrān.

### 1.1 Conquest of Īrān

The glory of Īrān enthralled Arabs and they had a dream to conquer it. The reign of Caliph Umar (RA) turned it into reality. The conquest of Irāq was followed by Īrān and Muslims conquered the regions of Īrān one after another. The conquest of Īrān was very significant for Muslims. It not only opened the doors of opportunity for Muslims but the cultural diffusion also resulted in new customs and traditions. The doors for knowledge were also opened and in coming years, Muslims produced renowned scientists and intellectuals.

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<sup>33</sup>Abdul Rehmān Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn: Rasūl aur Khulāfā-i Rasūl*, trans. Ahmed Hussain Āla Abādī, vol. 1, (Karachi: Nafis Academy, n.d.), 385.

<sup>34</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 1, 433.

After conquering Irāq including Madāin (Ctesiphon) and Jalūlā, Muslims moved towards Al-Jibāl which comprised of the areas of Hulwān, Nihāvand, Al Dīnūr, Masabzān, Hamdān, Mihirjanqadhaq, Qum, Qāshān, Isfahān, Ray, Qūms, Qazvin and Zanjān. Yazdjard, the last Iranian king was alive and was protected by the people of Hulwān. But when Hulwān was conquered without war and Muslims signed peace treaty with the people on certain conditions, Yazdjard escaped and the people from Fārs, Ray, Qūms, Isfahān and Hamdān gathered around him and started preparations for war.<sup>35</sup> Caliph Umar (RA) send Naumān bin Muqqarran towards Nihāvand. Iranians attacked on Muslims but were defeated. The conquest of Nihāvand was also known as “*fatah ul futūh*”.<sup>36</sup> On their way back from Nihāvand, Abū Mūsā Ash’arī (RA), after a small attack, conquered Al Dīnūr and collected *kharāj*. The people of Masabdhān did not resist, rather, signed a peace treaty and became a *sulha* land.<sup>37</sup> Afterwards, under the command of Jarīr bin Abdullah al Bajilī, Muslims attacked Hamdān and conquered it on the similar conditions of Nihāvand.<sup>38</sup> Abū Mūsā Ash’arī (RA), at his return from Nihāvand, conquered Qum and sent Ahnaf bin Qais who conquered Qashān. It is said that Caliph Umar (RA) sent Abdullah bin Abdullah bin Utbān with reinforcement who met Abū Mūsā Ash’arī and they all attacked on Isfahān and conquered it.<sup>39</sup>

As Muslims conquered different regions of Īrān, Yazdjard escaped towards new regions. He stayed in Hulwān but after Muslim attack, escaped towards Isfahān and then

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<sup>35</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn i-Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 364-365.

<sup>36</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 1, 435.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 438.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 441.

<sup>39</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn i-Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 370.

towards Istakhar. Later, he escaped towards Kirmān, Sajistān and then Khorasān. He was treated badly in Merv and was murdered by a villager.<sup>40</sup>

It is said that after two months of the conquest of Nihāvand, Caliph Umar (RA) sent Urwah bin Zaid al-Khail towards Ray which was attacked and conquered and paid *kharāj* of five lac *dirhams*.<sup>41</sup> The people of Qūms also signed peace treaty on the conditions of the treaty of Nihāvand.<sup>42</sup> After the conquest of Qūms, Muslims stepped towards Qazvīn, which is also known as Qashvīn, meaning the place of protection.<sup>43</sup> During the Sassanid rule, an army of *Asāwira* and Fārs was always present in order to protect the people from Daylamities. When Muslims attacked Qazvīn, they fortified themselves and asked Daylamities for help but were deceived by them and signed peace treaty on the similar conditions of Nihāvand.<sup>44</sup> It is said that the people of Qazvīn did not like to pay *jizya* as it, probably, was humiliating for them. They accepted Islām instead.<sup>45</sup>

It is said that after receiving orders from caliph Umar (RA), Huzaiifa bin al-Yaman, who was in Nihāvand, attacked Āzerbaijān. The *marzabān* of Āzerbaijān lived in Ardbail. He gathered huge forces and attacked Muslims but the military governor was

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 422-423.

<sup>41</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 1, 451.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 451-452.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 456.

<sup>44</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 371-372.

<sup>45</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 1, 457.



defeated and signed a treaty and agreed to pay *jizya*.<sup>46</sup> Later, during Caliph Ali's (RA) time period, a lot of people from Āzerbaijān accepted Islām.<sup>47</sup>

Tabristān was not conquered during the caliphate of Umar (RA). Saeed bin al-Āsi who was appointed as governor of Kūfa by Caliph Uthman (RA) attacked Tabristān without receiving any orders from center. He conquered Al-Royyān and Dabāvand.<sup>48</sup> The people of Tabristān had aggressive nature and always created problems for Muslims. The irregularity of *kharāj* and breaching of promises was also common for the people of Tabristān.<sup>49</sup>

During his caliphate, Umar (RA) ordered Abū Mūsā Ash'arī (RA) to attack on the adjoining areas of Basra. Thus he attacked Ahwāz<sup>50</sup> and conquered all the areas of Ahwāz except Sūs, Tustart, Manāzir and Rām Hurmoz.<sup>51</sup> Abū Mūsā Ash'arī (RA), then, attacked Manāzir and imprisoned a lot of people. While he was in Manāzir, Caliph Umar (RA) sent orders to leave the place in someone else's command and to attack Sus. He left Ziyād bin Rabi who, later, conquered Manāzir. When Abū Mūsā Ash'arī (RA) came, the people of Sūs fortified themselves. But later sued for peace and Muslims became the masters of Sūs. Afterwards, Muslims attacked Rām Hurmoz and its people signed peace treaty and paid *jizya* of eight lac *dirhams*.<sup>52</sup> Tustar was conquered by Muslims where

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<sup>46</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 373.

<sup>47</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 2, 484.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 491.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 492-495.

<sup>51</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*. Vol. 2, 544.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 547.

Harqūs Bin Zahir Sādi was appointed.<sup>53</sup> Muslims stormed on Tustar under the command of Abū Mūsā Ash'arī (RA) and faced a strong resistance as the people of Tustar bravely attacked Muslims. The army of Tustar confronted Arab army but due to weak planning, they failed and were being conquered by the Muslims.<sup>54</sup> Hurmazān was captured from the fort of Tustar and sent towards Medina to Caliph Umar (RA) where he lived and accepted Islām. There is another view that Tustar was captured or conquered easily and a peace treaty was signed, however, its people revolted and crushed ruthlessly by Muslims after the annulment of pact.<sup>55</sup>

During the time period of Caliph Uthmān (RA), Uthmān bin Abi-al-Ās-al-Thaqfī was appointed as the governor of Oman and Bahrain. He sent a battalion of the tribes of Banī Abd Qais, Azd, Tamīm Bani Nājīa and others towards Fārs.<sup>56</sup> Muslims captured Tawwaj, Dārabjard, Sabūr, Istakhar Jūr and other areas of Fārs.<sup>57</sup> The conquest of Fārs had the similar effect, on Muslims, like Qādsiyah. Muslims not only conquered Fārs but constructed mosques and settled tribes over there.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, Mujāsha'i also attacked on Kirmān captured it.<sup>59</sup>

## 1.2 Administration of Īrān during Sassanid Rule

There are many contradictions regarding the areas and genealogies of the people of Fārs. However it is true that they are the descendants of "Kīūmrath" who owned the genealogy

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<sup>53</sup>The Persian name of Ahwāz was "Hawz Maysar". Later changed by Arabs to Ahwaz.

<sup>54</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 355-356.

<sup>55</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūh al Buldān*, vol. 2, 550.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., 559.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 557-561.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., 556-559.

<sup>59</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 414.

of Irum bin Sām bin Nūh (AS).<sup>60</sup> After Kiūmrath, there came many great kings who not only effectively ruled Īrān but also worked for the sake of knowledge. For instance, the mythological Emperor Jamshaid who not only initiated the observance of *Naurūz* but also worked hard to spread knowledge and that is why he got the title of *Kisrā*.<sup>61</sup> The kings of Fārs firmly ruled their territories, however between the two phases of the rule of Persians, some indigenous governors revolted and made their own rule and assumed titles as well. For instance, the kings of Al-Jibāl came to known as “*Ashghānī*”.<sup>62</sup> However, Persian rulers strengthened their rule for years.

As far as administration of Īrān is concerned, the second rulers of Īrān, known as Sassanid, held government effectively. The Sassanian king, Ardshīr bin Bābak introduced a new division of ranks in his court, for instance, the prime designation, in court, was given to intellectuals and clerics, than to ministers, governors and clowns.<sup>63</sup> He divided his courtiers in seven ranks: Ministers, Clerics, chief justice, *marzabāns* and entertainers etc.<sup>64</sup> According to Masūdi, not only the fabulous Emperor Anūsherwān, but the Umayyads and Abbasids also followed Ardshīr bin Bābak. The Persian kings, including, Ardshīr, Anūsherwān Sābūr and their descendants not only ruled ethically themselves but also advised their officials to be honest to their posts. For instance, Ardshīr wrote letters to his governors and advised them to rule honestly and to live with unity as in his view, the unity could destroy one’s enemy.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, Sābūr was not in the favor of any non-

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<sup>60</sup>Masūdi, *Tārīkh-i Masūdi*, vol. 1, 83.

<sup>61</sup>*ibid.*, 185.

<sup>62</sup>*ibid.*, 195.

<sup>63</sup>*ibid.*, 205.

<sup>64</sup>*ibid.*, 206.

<sup>65</sup>*ibid.*, 207-208.

ethical activities or power corruption. He advised his governors to rule their subjects graciously.<sup>66</sup> Correspondingly, Yazdjard bin Behrām was also advised by a wise man to rule honestly and graciously so that people could appreciate and love him.<sup>67</sup>

The Iranians divided their territory in provinces which were known as *shahr* and capitals of provinces were called *sharistān*. A province was further divided into *kuras* or cities. *Kuras* were further divided into *tassuj* or villages which were further divided into *rustaq*.<sup>68</sup> The province of Fārs was divided in to five *kuras* Istakhar, Arrājān, Bīshāpūr, Ardshīr Khurra and Dārabjird.<sup>69</sup> Al-Muqaddasi also divided Fārs into six *kuras*, Arrājān, Dārabjard, Ardshīr Khurra, Shīrāz, Istakhar and Sābūr.<sup>70</sup> According to G. Le Strange, Sābūr was the smallest district of Fārs, however, Bīshāpūr or older Shahpūr was the “chief district” of Fārs.<sup>71</sup> According to Ibn-i-Hawkal, it was a large and populous district, yet, Al-Muqaddasi describes its ruins because of migrations of the people.<sup>72</sup> Istakhar was the largest city of Fārs and mostly known as Istakhar-i-Fārs. On the other hand, Bīshāpūr was the smallest. Isfahān was also considered the part of Fārs.<sup>73</sup>

The other province of Īrān was Khūzistān, mostly known as Al-Ahwāz. The older name of Al-Ahwāz was Hormuz *Shahr* and Khūzistān means the land of Hūz.<sup>74</sup> It was an

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<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 209.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 221.

<sup>68</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 9-10.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., 10.

<sup>70</sup>Al-Muqaddasi, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions*, trans. Basil Anthony Collins, (n.p: Garnet Publishing Company, 1994), 374.

<sup>71</sup>Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), 262.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., 262

<sup>73</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 11.

<sup>74</sup>Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 232-233.

agricultural area with at least seven *kuras*. The largest *kura* of Khūzistān was Hormzid Ardshīr or Sūq-al-Ahwāz. Other *kuras* of Khūzistān included Rustaqabād or Askar Mukaram, Tustar or Shūstar and Sus or Shūsh.<sup>75</sup> Richard Frye included Jundīsābūr, Ramīz and Surraq in Khūzistān.

Al-Jibāl (also known as Kohistān or Media), had six *kuras* included Masabadhān, Mihrjānqadhaq, Dināwar (Māh-i-Kūfa), Nihāvand (Māh-i-Basra), Hamdān and Qum. Ray, Isfahān and Āzerbaijān were also considered *kuras* of Al-Jibāl, however, at the end of Sassanid Rule, were separated.<sup>76</sup> However, Al-Muqaddasi, included Ray, Hamdān and Isfahān as important districts of Al-Jibāl.<sup>77</sup> The first district of Al-Jibāl is Ray, then Hamdān, Isfahān, Qum, Qāshān, Saymāra, Karaj, Māh e Kūfa and Māh-i-Basra.<sup>78</sup> It is also said that there were four quarters of Al-Jibāl: Kirmisīn, Ray, Hamdān and Isfahān.<sup>79</sup> Hamdān was rebuilt by Muslims.

Āzerbaijān's northern boundaries are unknown. However, its capital was Ardbail. The regions included in Āzerbaijān were Ardbail, Tabraiz, Marāghah, Nakjawan, Marand, Al-Miyānj and Khalbāsa.<sup>80</sup> There was a variety of people that seventy dialects were spoken in its regions.<sup>81</sup> Āzerbaijān was a strategic area and a developed garrison of Persian rulers and of Muslims as well. It was a mountainous region with Caspian Sea in the east. The mountains of Caucasus region in its north provided a natural boundary to

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<sup>75</sup>Muqaddasi, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions*, 358.

<sup>76</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 11.

<sup>77</sup>Muqaddasi, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions*, 340.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., 341.

<sup>79</sup>Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Coliphote*, 186.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., 161-171.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., 159.

Āzerbaijān. Tālish and Kābustān mountains also complimented the huge Caucasus region. Initially, the region of Āzerbaijān, was ruled by Turks, Romans, and Persians, later, Muslims developed their strong hold and introduced Islām to its people. Kurds, at times, also ruled Āzerbaijān.

Kirmān was consisted of five *kuras*; Bardasīr, Narmasīr, Sīrjan, Bām and Jīruft.<sup>82</sup> It is said that Kirmān, in medieval times, had two capitals: Sīrjān and Bardasīr.<sup>83</sup> Al-Sīrjān had the central position among all the *kuras*. Kirmān was divided in to five *kuras* or districts but an alternate view exists with Muqqadasī and Ibn Rusta. For instance, Ibn-i-Rusta included Bardsīr, Sīrjān, Narmasīr, Jīruft and Hormuz, while Muqqadasī included Bām instead of Hormuz as the *kuras* of Kirmān. However, the division of towns and villages was based on agricultural lands and plains in Kirmān or, in other words, different zones of Kirmān possessed natural boundaries of cultivated and uncultivated lands.<sup>84</sup>

Likewise, the Sassanid kings introduced a very effective administrative system that Muslim caliphs such as Caliph Umar (RA), and later, Umayyads and Abbasids followed their patterns. As Sassanids divided their administration in different departments so they were checked properly. Anūsherwān and *Kisrā* Pervaiz had nine seals which were used for the authenticity of documents and letters. For instance, the stamps were categorically divided into the seals for royal letters, treaties, correspondence, and punishments, to seal food and for treasury etc.<sup>85</sup> Irān was ruled by *shahns'hāh* who

<sup>82</sup>Muqqadasī, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions*, 404.

<sup>83</sup>Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Coliphates*, 300.

<sup>84</sup>*The Encyclopedio of Islam*, s.v. "Kirman"

<sup>85</sup>Masūdi, *Tārīkh-i Masūdi*, vol. 1, 235.

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obsessed a superior value known as *farrah* which means “life force”.<sup>86</sup> The Sassanid bureaucracy was divided in to Prime minister, who was also known as *vuzurg framadar*. Later, the title was replaced by *hazarbad*. The duties of prime minister are not known, however, in initial times of Sassanid, he also performed the duties of commander in chief. Later a new title, *Īrān spahbad*, was introduced for commander in chief. Ibn-i-Khaldūn also mentioned a similar title of “*spahdaar*” for the ruler of Tabristan.<sup>87</sup>

*Marzbān* or the “military governor of frontier” was also used for just governor or provincial chief. Sassanid appointed four *marzbāns* according to the four points of compass. Then there were *mobad* or Zoroastrian priests who performed legal acts and were divided in to *yatakgov* or attorney and *andarzbād* or councilors. A further division was of *mobad* and *mobad mobadān* (*qādī* and *qādī al qudāt*) who received endowments of fire and endowments of dead (*atash hamar difira* and *ruwanikan difira*). Then there were tax collectors known as *hamarkar*. The correspondence men were known as *parvānak*. The Muslims copied their postal system and also appointed their own correspondents. But the title of *parvānak* was replaced with *khādim*.<sup>88</sup>

*Dihqāns* or landed aristocracy, were most important part of Iranians they were the local nobility and were very famous in eastern Īrān like Khorāsān.<sup>89</sup> It is said that *dihqāns* were appointed by government in western Īrān, and contrary to this, they, themselves, were in government in eastern part of Īrān. The languages of Iranians were also versatile in their own. For instance, there were official written language (Pahalvi), official spoken

<sup>86</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 7.

<sup>87</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn i-Kholdūn*, vol. 1, 372.

<sup>88</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 18.

<sup>89</sup>Bertold Spuler, *The Muslim World: The Age of the Caliphs*, part. 1, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), 29.

language (Persian/Dāri), dialect at home was Aramic and ritual tongue was Pahalvi or Avestan. Later, during the Umayyad era, the official language was Arabic, whereas, official spoken language were Arabic and Dāri in Īrān. Moreover, the dialect, at home, was either Arabic or Dāri, while ritual language was Arabic and Persian.<sup>90</sup>

The social stratification of Iranian society composed of priests, warriors, scribes and artisans.<sup>91</sup> According to Richard Frye, the class distinction was not wiped out during Muslim rule rather continued by the Arabs. However, it did not give the impression of that the class stratification of Iranians continued with rigidity. Although the colonies of Īrāq were made on profession or tribe, however there was a clear division between Arab Muslims, newly converted Muslims (*mawālis*) and non-Muslims. Yet, it was clear that Arabs had superior authority and were the masters of non-Arabs.

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<sup>90</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 16.

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid.*, 55.



## Chapter 2

### **Arab Tribes Settled in Īrān and their Role in Administration**

Īrān, because of possessing a huge area, has diverse geography which not only affected the attitudes and behaviors of the people but also affected its economy, the way of living and earning as well. Most of the regions of Īrān had mountains with flat and fertile lands. A lot of rivers and developed canal systems attracted Muslims and after its conquest, Arabs started settling their people in different regions of Īrān. The Arab settlement had diverse patterns or attitudes. On one hand, the tribes were settled in the form of army in certain important areas of Iran. On the other hand, there were tribes which were settled according to the economic importance of a particular region. These types of settlements had not only done by the Arab government but also by individuals (a single family) as well. As far as the difference in the attitudes of Arabs and Iranians is concerned, it seems that, to some extent, the Arabs adopted Iranian way of living, however the feeling of superiority of being Arabs remained intact. Moreover, the Arab settled tribes not only captured the economy of their regions but also participated in different conquests and wars along with Iranians.

There were different reasons for which Arab Muslims were settled in Īrān. There were security causes due to which garrisons were developed and people were settled. Economy was also another important factor due to which Arabs preferred to settle in Īrān. Gradually, the Arabs and Iranians mingled with each other's culture and new features in Arab Iranian societies were introduced.

## 2.1 Arab Tribal Structure and its Importance

Arabia, having diversity of cultures and religions, was situated in the middle of two imperial societies; the Romans and the Persians. The political system of Arabia depended on its tribal structure. There was no solo power, however, individual authorities dominated the society.<sup>1</sup> Many people of Arabia were settled but the nomadic people who were, although, less in number were the most important part of Arabia.

Nomads mostly depended on seasonal pastures and moved from one place to another in search of water and a place of grazing for their flocks. There was further division in nomads for instance, full nomads and semi nomads. Full nomads usually possessed large flocks of camels and goats and mostly depended on their milk and dates. They rarely moved from their areas. They also used to sell handmade items which helped them in their living. Full nomads were mostly found on the north and northeastern borders of Arabia and the tribes from Bakr bin Wā'il, Tamīm, Asad, Iyād, Namīr and Tanūkh were considered full nomadic tribes.<sup>2</sup>

The nomadic tribes also produced martial leaders and orators, however did not enter in the interior of Arabia. Semi nomadic people created a little difference from fully nomadic people in the manner of migration. They usually migrated from one place to another every year. The migration of semi nomadic tribes entirely depended on the

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<sup>1</sup>Marshall G. Hadgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, vol. 1, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2004), 149.

<sup>2</sup>Fred McGraw Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 16.

pasturelands and sometimes due to low rainfall they were hired by the settled people for labor.

The society of Arabia consisted of a strong tribal structure. The *shaykh* or chief of a tribe was selected from honorable families and supposed to have some personal qualities such as wealth and should be wise and generous with political awareness.<sup>3</sup> The leadership of a tribe could be inherited as well.<sup>4</sup> There were defined tribal groups based on paternal relations.<sup>5</sup> These paternal relation could be real or supposed as well.

The tribal structure of Arabia falls in a pyramidal shape which started from a family and then paternal relations like uncles gave a broader view of solidarity and bonding. These paternal relations then formed a stronger group based on blood relations and is known as a tribe. The essential part to form a group or a tribe was a common ancestor which gave not only a sense of collective rights but also of shared duties. The interests of a common ancestry were alike which strengthened the solidarity of a tribe.<sup>6</sup>

There could be several sub-groups or tribes which was followed by a number of lineages and divisions. The tribal solidarity of a tribe was stronger on smaller level, however, on a broader line it became weak. The social support of a person depended on

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<sup>3</sup>Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 13-14.

<sup>4</sup>Carl Brockelmann, ed., *History of Islamic Peoples*, trans. Joel Carmichael and Moshe Perlmann, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1948), 4-5.

<sup>5</sup>Fred McGraw Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), 20.

<sup>6</sup>Patricia Crone, "Tribes and States in the Middle East", in Fred M. Donner, *From Arabian Tribes to Islamic Empire: Army, State and Society in Near East c. 600-850* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), 359.

the strength of his tribe. But sometimes the allied groups or tribes also joined the strong ones as their allies and got social support. Later, these allies merged themselves into the stronger one and became a part of it. It happened even after the Muslim conquest of Īrān when Iranians, who accepted Islām merged themselves into a tribe and retained their genealogies. Even merging themselves in a stronger or most honorable tribe was the common attitude found among most of the Iranians.

Besides, the upgradation of the tribes also happened due to intense expansion in it which affected its reputation and strength. For instance, at a time, Bakr bin Wāil, because of its reputation, held the tribes of Banī Shaybān, Banī Ijl, Banī Qais, Banī Thalaba, Banī Dhuhā, Banī Tayyam al-Lāt, Banī Hanīfa and Banī Yashkar. Later, due to unnecessary expansion of the tribe, Bākr bin Wāil became less effective.

Despite all these facts, an increase or expansion of a tribe had its advantages on the other side. For instance the tribes in a larger group consisted of nomadic, semi nomadic and settled tribes who had their influence on their rivals and, at times, provided assistance to their allied ones.

As far as the social and economic life of the tribes of Arabia is concerned, they were interdependent on each other. For instance, nomadic people, for their essential stuffs that they cannot produce themselves depended on settled people. On the other hand, for martial activities and a peaceful trade, settled tribes made pacts with nomadic tribes for not plundering their caravans.

## 2.2 Arab Tribal Settlement in Different Regions of Īrān

There can be several reasons behind human migration from their native lands and settlement at new places. People might migrate because of good economic opportunities that can change their lives and standards of living. The brutalities of weather or topography can also force people to migrate to a place which has better living conditions than theirs. People who migrate towards new regions definitely look for an area which is better than their previous ones. The urban areas are prior choices of migrating individuals or groups.

The medieval times witnessed huge human migrations for several reasons from which wars or conquests were the loftier ones. Like other people of the world, Arab conquests towards north, west and east also convinced them to migrate and settle in new regions of Romans and Persians. Arab migration towards east was as important as any other migration of Arabs towards north or west as east was always a fantasy for them. After conquering it, Īrān received Arab migration in different phases and manners.

The prior motive of Arabs was to consolidate their rule in eastern regions which provided a reason for them to settle Arabs in Īrān in the form of army. The manner in which army was settled in Īrān was interesting in its place.

As Arab tribal structure was so strong and it introduced every single person as a member of a tribe, likewise, Arab army also consisted of several tribal groups and the development of garrisons and settlement of Muslim Arab army resulted in the settlement of a number of tribes in Īrān. The actual data of tribal settlement in Iranian regions is not clear, however, there are facts which shows that the tribes of Mudhij, Qais, Īlān, Sakūn,

Kinda, Ghatfān, Tamīm, Rabīya, Bakr bin Wāil, Tay, Qudha'a, Asad and Bajīla etc. were settled over there. The settlement of Arabs was, gradually, done over all the regions of Īrān.

As there were several reasons which tempted the Arabs to settle in Īrān. Each province and region of Īrān had its own economic and social importance which lured Arabs to settle over there. For instance, Fārs was culturally rich area and was always the abode of Persian rulers. Besides, its geographical importance could not be denied as Khūzistān in the west, Isfahān in northeast, Kirmān in east and by Persian Gulf in the west and southwest were the important areas which bordered Fārs. The border areas had their own strategic importance which could not be denied.

Another key factor for Arab Muslim settlement laid on the importance of food and agriculture. Although, the Arab Peninsula had no huge fertile fields the flat and fertile fields of southern Fārs greatly attracted the Arabs which could deliver an uninterrupted source of food. They could cultivate new crops themselves or by hiring someone and could settle their families over there.

Further, Fārs not only had its importance regarding food but it was also a commercial area which could enrich the economy of Arabs. It had trade routes which linked Fārs to other regions. These trade routes varied according to the communications with different provinces and changed with the passage of time. Thus it is difficult to identify these routes, however, it is said that Shīrāz was the center and controller of mule tracks.

After the conquest of Fārs, Uthmān bin Abī al Ās settled the tribes of Azd, Tamīm, Banī Abd Qais, Banī Nāhīya and others in the regions of Fārs and received a huge number of conversions of the people who were Zoroastrians or Christians for centuries. Uthmān

bin Abī al-Ās not only settled these tribes in Fārs but made several constructions in the area. This construction made the province as important as under Sassanid rulers. He constructed mosques in Fārs.<sup>7</sup> Dārabjard was considered the center of learning under Persians and Muslims also took the advantage from their knowledge as well.

Tribes from Arabia also settled in Istakhar and there could be several reasons for Arab settlement there. It is said that Fārs has five districts and Istakhar was the largest and the most ancient district of Fārs.<sup>8</sup> The region was known as the land of kings and the residence of sons of kings. It was one of the important cultural and religious centers of Īrān under Sassanid. The people of Istakhar also claimed their superiority because of the association of the Prophet Sulaymān (AS) to the city, because the people of Fārs believed that before Dhahāk they were ruled by Prophet Sulaymān (AS).<sup>9</sup>

Istakhar had a rich history as it possessed a lot of fire temples and it is said that Ardshīr I himself was the superintendent of the fire temple of Istakhar. The area was also, at times, capital of Īrān. According to Muqaddasi, he found a mosque during his visit of Istakhar. He realized that the mosque was, initially, a fire temple that was converted in to mosque by Muslims. This perhaps, happened under Abbasids or in later times.

Istakhar captured the attention of rulers and people of Īrān not only due to its religious or cultural importance but also because of developing economy. It can be said that, at times, it was the economic center of Sassanid as the Sassanid coins were minted here. The reason, most probably, was the various fields of iron and other metals in Istakhar

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<sup>7</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*. Vol. 2, 556.

<sup>8</sup>Yāqūt, *Mu'ajjam-al Buldān*, vol. 1, 211.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 211.

which were used by the people of Īrān in abundance to mint the coins or to make royal jewelry.

Khūzistān, the southwestern province of Īrān with its capital Sūs, was situated on the Īrān Irāq borders and possessed a lot of fertile land. There is uncertainty that whether Khūzistān was a part of Irāq or Īrān.<sup>10</sup> Yet, it has been discussed earlier, that some of its regions were the part of Irāq, while, others were included in Īrān.<sup>11</sup>

The Arabs did not possess agricultural richness and perhaps, the alluvial plains, mud flats and wetlands and agricultural richness of the region provided a strong reason to Arabs to settle in Khūzistān. Most importantly, despite the extreme hot weather of Khūzistān, the cultivation of wheat, barley, sugarcane, cotton, citrus fruits, dates, melon and rice enriched the economic condition of its people. The production of these fruits and grains increased to an extent during the time period of Abbasid, however, the production of cotton, wheat, dates and barley possessed a low ratio production under Umayyads as well. Moreover, the people of Khūzistān also facilitated their lives with fish from Persian Gulf. Abadan, Shūstar and Ahwāz were the important economical towns of Khūzistān.<sup>12</sup>

One of the most important cities of the Khūzistān which received Arabs settlers was Tustar which possessed lot of fertile lands. Natural fertility was also enhanced by Sassanid rulers as they developed lot of canals in Tustar.<sup>13</sup> It is said that the areas which appeared

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<sup>10</sup>Shahāb-al Din Abī Abdullah Yāqūt bin Abdullah, *Mu'ajjam-al Buldān*, vol. 2, (Beirut: Dār e Beirut, 1956), 405.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 405.

<sup>12</sup>*The Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Khuzistan"

<sup>13</sup>Yāqūt, *Mu'ajjam-al Buldān*, vol. 2, 29.



firstly on earth after the universal flood were Tustar and Sūs.<sup>14</sup>The area also infatuated enormous fields of iron and other metals which were very useful in the making of weapons and jewelry.

Tustar is located on the borders of Irāq-Īrān and it is a known fact that there are contradictions regarding edging areas and as the people of Kūfa and Basra, both, were present at the time of its conquest, thus both claimed the area. However, Caliph Umar (RA), accepted the authority of the people of Basra over Tustar because of its physicality.<sup>15</sup>

One of the most important areas of Khūzistān which conquered and received the settlement of Muslims was Qazvīn which was founded by Persian king Shāhpūr II and was situated in the south of Elburz Mountains. It has its boundaries with Isfahān, Persian Gulf and Asia Minor. The Persian name of Qazvīn is Qashvīn which means the place fixed for protection.

Qazvīn is situated near Daylam and during Sassanid rule, the people of Qazvīn always protected their land from the attacks of Daylamities. The army of *Asāwira* was always present between the mountains of Qazvīn and Daylam.<sup>16</sup> The strategic importance of the area inclined Muslims to settle and to protect the area from attacks of the east.

Besides, the areas also owned fertile lands which appealed Muslims towards Qazvīn. It is a known fact that Kūfa and Basra were urban centers of Irāq and many people migrated from the villages of Īrān towards Kūfa and Basra and settled in these two provinces but there are also facts which shows that the people from Kūfa came and settled

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>16</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*. Vol. 1, 456.

in Qazvīn. They, like other Arabs, developed Qazvīn and it is most probable, that the development rested on the patterns of Kūfa and Basra. There are evidences which shows that the people of Kūfa who settled in Qazvīn constructed their houses after its conquest.<sup>17</sup> After settlement, agriculture of the area might flourished because Qazvīn owned fertile fields and the people who came from Kūfa or Basra, certainly, were aware of techniques of cultivation.

Qa'qā' bin Amr settled some Arab tribes in Hulwān after its conquest and Qubāz was appointed as their governor.<sup>18</sup> Hulwān was a rich urban province of Īrān which had a natural attraction for Arabs as the area had large and fertile arable lands.

A lot of fruits were produced in Hulwān. According to Ibi-i-Hawqal, figs, pomegranates, and dates were produced in the region. The Muslims could develop themselves economically in Hulwān which was not a bad opportunity to change their lives. Moreover, beside rich economy, it was a developed city in which houses were built up of stones and bricks.

Kirmān also received Muslim settlement which was located in the southwest of *Dasht-i Lūt* where it met Sīstan. Kirmān, like other areas of Īrān, had northwest and southeast mountain ranges. Moreover, the area also possessed lot of fertile plains and pastures.

Despite its extreme weather, the land of Kirmān is considered good for cultivation of dates, walnuts, cereals and citrus fruits etc. Moreover, honey, wheat, barley, cotton and

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 458.

<sup>18</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 48.

dates are also produced here. It is most plausible that the land of Kirmān was also a rich source of food and production of other stuffs during the time period of Pious Caliphs and Umayyad rulers. It is also evident that cotton was produced in Īrān before Muslim conquest. The production of cotton boomed during Abbasid time, however Umayyad rulers also facilitated their people from its production. Moreover, the two industries of Kirmān flourished under Muslims from very early times i.e. cotton and wool industry.<sup>19</sup>

Arab Muslim settlement in northern Īrān was significant at its place as it was a very important region which included the areas of Azerbaijān and Hamdān. Settlement in Āzerbaijān could be fruitful for Muslims because the province has a diverse geography as its north was a mountainous area while its center had rich fertile and arable lands which provided a rich crop yield to its people and a good revenue to Muslim government. It was also rich in water resources which fulfilled the essential needs for cultivation, for instance, there were eight rivers flowing from Caucasus to Āzerbaijān and increased the fertility of the respective region.

The districts of Āzerbaijān which were rich in fertility and received lot of cultivation included Tabraiz, Aradbail, Mahbād, and Zanjān.<sup>20</sup> Besides agriculture, Āzerbaijān north and south was rich in zinc, copper, gold and other precious metals which could be helpful for Muslims in the making weapons and other stuffs. Rich Iron fields were also present in Afsharabād.

Āzerbaijān was strategically important area of Īrān and was a garrison that is why Muslims also deployed their armies over there. Later, these Muslim armies also brought

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<sup>19</sup>*The Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Kirman"

<sup>20</sup>*The Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Iran"

their families with them and permanently settled in different regions of Āzerbaijān.<sup>21</sup> As Muslim armies received replacement after every four years that is why, most of the army men permanently settled in the urban areas of Kūfa and Basra, Ārmenīā and Āzerbaijān and also found their livelihood over there. The area always provided a large number of army for crushing the revolts or for further conquests. It is probable that because of continuous warfare, the settled tribes were always present with their services.

Moreover, the people from the regions of Syria and Egypt also migrated towards Āzerbaijān for better economic opportunities and rich fertile lands. The people, who migrated to Āzerbaijān, purchased lands from locals and started cultivation. The Arabs not only settled in Āzerbaijān but also took advantages of its lands. Besides those army men, who received official lands, there were Arabs who purchased lands and started agriculture over there. For instance, the land of Wārsān was grown by Marwān bin Muh'Armad bin Marwān bin Hakam.<sup>22</sup>

Muslims were not only attracted towards the economic resources of these conquered areas but also consolidated their rule and put their services for the development of these regions such as construction of roads and bridges etc. For instance, the bridge of Wārsān was known as the important construction of Marwān bin Muḥammad bin Marwān.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. "Iran"

<sup>22</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūḥ-al Buldān*, vol. 2, 484.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 484.

Arabs not only settled by government in the form of tribes but there were also some individuals who came and settled in different regions. Later, their families joined them and gradually the whole area came under the control of that respective family.

Likewise, a man known as Idris, used to make perfumes, came to Jabal and then settled in a valley of Hamdān known as “Mass”.<sup>24</sup> He purchased lands and started agriculture over there and became a rich man. It is most probable that his descendants lived there for a long time. It is interesting that a person who used extract perfumes started agriculture in Hamdān which shows that the area possessed rich fertile and arable land. It was a law under Muslim jurisprudence that a person who used a barren land and made it cultivable, became the owner of that land. This provided a strong reason for Arab Muslims to go, settle and to cultivate the region which possessed huge arable or barren lands so to claim huge properties.

### **2.3 A Brief Description of the Major Tribes settled in Īrān**

Iranian regions received Arab tribal settlement in each of its regions. There were many reasons, as discussed before, which inclined Arabs to settle in Īrān. Now the question arises that which and how many tribes were settled in Īrān?

It is said that Banī Azd were settled in Fārs, Kirmān and Āzerbaijān. After the conquest of Fārs, Uthmān bin Abī al-Ās settled Azd, Tamīm, Banī Nahīya and Banī Abd Qais in different regions of Fārs.<sup>25</sup> Most of the people of Banī Abd Qais were warriors.

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<sup>24</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 1, 446.

<sup>25</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 2, 556.

They accepted Islām during the time period of the Prophet (PBUH) but later became apostates.

Furthermore, Banī Azd were also settled in Kirmān and were very active in political activities during the time period of Umayyads, for instance, a man became very famous during Abbasid Revolution was Jādī' bin Alī al-Kirmāni who belonged to Kirmān and Azd tribe. Yet, it is not clear that Azd tribe was settled by Muslim caliphs in Kirmān during Umayyad rule or earlier.

Azd, mainly, belonged to Southern Arabia.<sup>26</sup> The tribe related their lineage towards Azd bin al Ghaus bin Nabat bin Mālik bin Kahlān and divided in to four branches i.e. Azd Shanu'ah, Azd Ghassān, Azd Surrāt and Azd Omān.<sup>27</sup> They were fearless people and involved in wars of Ibn-i-Zubair (RA). The Azd tribe probably, was considered among the influential and respected tribes settled in Īrān because of Muhlab bin Abī Safrah.

As far as Azd's settlement in Āzerbaijān is concerned, there is ambiguity about its settlement. However, it can be a good guess that Azd, Tamīm and Banī Abd Qais were settled in Āzerbaijān as a warrior tribe as during his governorship of Āzerbaijān, Muhlab bin Abī Safrah fought with an army, consisted of different tribes including Azd, against Mus'ab bin Zubair.<sup>28</sup>

Similarly, it will be significant to look at the settlement pattern of another of the important tribes, Rabīya. Rabīya, were divided in several branches. For instance, there were

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<sup>26</sup> Michael Lecker, *People, Tribes and Society in Arabia Around the Time of Muhammad* (Great Britain: Ashgate Variorum, 2005), 116.

<sup>27</sup> Umar Razā Kahāla, *Mu'ajjam Qabā'il-al Arab: Al Qadīma wa-al Hadītha*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. Vol. 1, (Beirut: Mausūsa al Risālah, 1985), 16-17.

<sup>28</sup> Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 5, 55.

Rabīya who belonged to Banī Zaid, to Banī Mālik, Banī Khuzair, Banī Thaqīf, Banī dhu'hal bin Shīban, Banī Numir, to Banī Killab who claimed their lineage from Abdul Mut'alib bin Abd Munaf bin Qussai bin Killāb and were "Adnāni". There was also further division of Rabīya in Rabīya bin Jush'am (from Hamdān and were *Qihṭāni*), Rabīya bin Hāzim (From Tay and were *Qihṭāni*), Rabīya bin Hanzala (from Tamīm and "Adnāni"), Rabīya bin Sa'ad (from Azd and "*Qihṭāni*"), Rabīya bin Āmir (from Banī Āmir bin Sa'sā' and were "Adnāni"). Rabīya bin Nazār were also known as Rabīya al-Fars.<sup>29</sup> They were famous for their bravery and participation in wars. Many great tribes merged themselves in Rabīya al Fars who were "Adnāni".<sup>30</sup> The branch of Rabīya, known as Rabīya bin Salmā had their lineage from Rabīya al-Fars as well.<sup>31</sup>

Rabīya accepted Islām and took part in martial activities as it is a known fact that Rabīya were excellent military men and known for their bravery. It is not clear that Rabīya, already, were settled or settled by Muslims in Fārs. But the probability exists that they were already settled over there and later, after conquest, accepted Islām.

In fact, Rabīya were considered the most courageous people of Fārs. They were known as "*Rabīya al-Fars*".<sup>32</sup> Fārs was the center of Zoroastrians and there were a lot of holy places and fire temples of Zoroastrians therefore, a possibility exists that they, previously, were Christians or Zoroastrians. Moreover, a great number of Rabīya were present in Hamdān.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Fārs is an Arabic word which means horse.

<sup>30</sup>Kahāla, *Mu'ajjam Qabāil -al Arab*, vol. 2, 424.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 421.

<sup>32</sup>Abī Jafar Jarir Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, trans. Syed Muhammad Ibrahim and Syed Rasīd Ahmed Rashid, vol. 2, (Karachi: Nafis Academy, n.d.), 325.

<sup>33</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 5, 282.

Banī Asad were settled in Istakhar. They were farmers and retained loads of goats. Farming facilities and an attracting place for livestock might attract Arab Muslims to settle in Istakhar. It is not clear that which branch of Banī Asad was settled in Istakhar as there were Asad bin Harith who, basically, were from Azd (Qihṭānī) and had their ancestry as Asad bin Harith bin Al Atīk bin Asad.....bin Ghassān bin Azd.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, there was Asad bin Khuzaima, a great tribe (Adnāni) and had their lineage as Asad bin Khuzaima bin Mudrika bin Ilyās bin Mudar bin Nazār. Asad bin Khuzaima had a number of branches, for instance, Banū Kahil, Banū Ghanam bin Dūdān and Banū Thalba bin Dūdān were the part of Banī Asad bin Khuzaima. They came and settled in Irāq in 19 Hijri. Later, also moved towards Īrān and settled in Samīra, Salama and other regions of Īrān.<sup>35</sup>

Other branches of Banī Asad included Asad bin Rabīya, Asad bin Sharīk Asad bin Asad bin Murr, Asad bin Imran and Asad bin Muslīah etc. who were all Qihṭānī. While Asad bin Wabarrāh were Adnāni.<sup>36</sup>

Banū Amr bin Mālik were settled in Khūzistān by the Muslim caliphs over there.<sup>37</sup> There are different lineages defined for Banū Amr bin Mālik, for instance, there is a view that they were from Banī Najār, from Aws (Azd), from Shanu'ah (Azd) and from Wādi'ah. But there is an agreement on the point that they were *Qihṭānīs*.<sup>38</sup>

Moreover Banū Al 'Amm were also settled in Khūzistān. Banū al 'Amm claimed contradictions regarding its genealogy. During the time period of second caliph Umar

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<sup>34</sup>Kahāla, *Mu'ajjam Qabāil-al Arab*, Vol. 1, 21.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 22.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 24-25.

<sup>37</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn i Khaldūn*, vol. 1,354.

<sup>38</sup>Kahāla, *Mu'ajjam Qabāil-al Arab*, vol. 2, 836.



(RA), they came to Basra with Banī Tamīm, accepted Islām and helped Muslims in their further conquests.<sup>39</sup> As they helped Arabs in wars so they were accepted as their family members by the Arabs. Consequently they were given the name “*Al ‘Amm*”.<sup>40</sup> Some others had a view that “*Al ‘Amm*” was the title of Mālik bin Hanzala which means that Banī Hanzala were settled in Khūzistān. The probability of the settlement of Banī Tamīm increased when another interpretation of Banī al ‘Amm originated that *Al ‘Amm* was the title of Murrah bin Mālik who belonged to Banī Tamīm and was a blind man.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, Abu Ubaidah said that they were from Banī Tamīm. The people of Banū ‘Amm, perhaps before accepting Islām, also helped the people of Fārs in their wars.<sup>42</sup>

Banī Tay were settled in Tustar and were one of the important and known tribes of Arab, were courageous people and recognized for their bravery during battles. In fact, they were warriors and their plunders and attacks on Banū Iyād bin Nazār and Banū Āmir witnessed the harsh nature of Banī Tay. They were also known as the tribe of Jazīra.<sup>43</sup> The people of Banī Tay accepted Islām during the life of the Prophet (PBUH) and, later, were the part of army of Muthna in his conquest of Irāq.<sup>44</sup> They, initially, lived in Yemen but later migrated towards Samīra and then captured and started living in Ajā and Salmā mostly known as *Jabal-i Tay*.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>Umar Razā Kahāla, *Mu’ajjam Qabāil-al Arab: Al Qadīma wa-al Hadītho*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. Vol. 3, (Beirut: Mausūsa al Risālah, 1985), 821.

<sup>40</sup>“*Al ‘Amm*” is an Arabic word which means Uncle, grand uncle or father in law.

<sup>41</sup>He was known as “*Ummī*” which means blind.

<sup>42</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 90.

<sup>43</sup>Kahāla, *Mu’ajjam Qabāil-al Arab*, vol. II, 688.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, 691.

<sup>45</sup>Ajā and Salmā were two mountains.

Like other tribes, Banī Tay had also further divisions, for instance, there were Tay bin Udad which was a great tribe and were from Kihlan (Qihṭānī) and linked their lineage with Tay. They were admired by Abdullah bin al Khalifa Al Bawla as the owners of fields, deserts and mountains, who were best in wars.<sup>46</sup> It seems that the people of Banī Tay were good in farming of lands as Yemen also possessed agricultural economy and it is most probable that they also adopted the profession of agriculture which not only provided a good share to their lives but also to the economy of the region. Moreover, Banī Tay were also settled in Kohistān.<sup>47</sup>

Baladhurī said that the descendants of Jarīr bin Abdullah, the tribe of Bajīla, were settled by Muslims in Hulwān.<sup>48</sup> Banī Bajīla was considered a courageous tribe and claimed their lineage as Banū Anmar bin Arāsh bin Kihlan (Qihṭānī).<sup>49</sup> It is said that the war of Qadsiyah witnessed the greater number of participation of the women of Bajīla.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, according to Baladhurī, Jarīr appointed Azra bin Qais in Hulwān as his heir.<sup>51</sup> A probability existed that his family or tribal companions settled in Hulwān.

There were two types of areas in Īrān: the *sullah* and '*ahd* regions.<sup>52</sup> The ones who signed peace treaties without any resistance were known as *sullah* while the others who resisted and paid *kharāj* were '*ahd* lands. Ray was the '*ahd* land who resisted and paid *kharāj*. Muslims usually used the '*ahd* lands for cultivation while the *sullah* lands were given to locals. It is said that the tribes who settled in Ray included Banī Thaqīf and

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<sup>46</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 3 (2), 283.

<sup>47</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 4, 250.

<sup>48</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, Vol. 1, 431.

<sup>49</sup>Kahāla, *Mu'ajjam Qabā'il-al Arab*, vol. 1, 63.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 65.

<sup>51</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 1, 430.

<sup>52</sup>*The Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Iran"

Bajīla.<sup>53</sup> It is most probable that they involved in the agricultural activity of Ray by owing their own lands. They may appointed locals as vassals who used to cultivate land for them because Arabs were unaware of agricultural techniques.

According to Baladhurī, the tribe of Hamdān was settled in Al-Miyanj and Khalbāsā, in Āzerbaijān. Banū Hamdān was one of the most important tribes of Al-Yemen and consisted of a lot of branches. For instance, there were Hamdānis who had their lineage from Al-Sarhān and from Zil-al-Asbah as well.<sup>54</sup>

The Hamdānis who, most probably, settled in Āzerbaijān were from Banī Adi and had the lineage, i.e. Adī bin Usāma bin Ghanim bin Taghlab bin Wa'il. They were from "Adnān" and, in times, also ruled the areas like Mosul and Jazīra. The areas of these respective tribes not only received the ownership of lands but also the development and construction on particular patterns of Kūfa and Basra. For instance, Abdullah bin Jafar Hamdānī developed a colony for his family in Al-Miyanj. The division of colonies was also on the attitude of the people of Irāq who divided their colonies according to their tribes and occupations. Moreover, Abu al Ba'īs also constructed palaces in Marand.

Banī Taghlab were also settled in Farāz and always created problems for government but suppressed by Muslim caliphs. Banī Taghlab bin Wā'il was a great tribe and known as Taghlab bin Wā'il bin Qasit....bin Asad bin Rabīya bin Nazār bin Ma'ad bin Adnān. There were several branches of Banū Taghlab bin Wā'il for instance Banū Hamdān

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<sup>53</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 5, 288.

<sup>54</sup>Kahāla, *Mu'ajjam Qabā'il-al Arab*, vol. 1, 297.

who, in times, were kings of Mosul. Banū Taghlab mostly lived in Jazīra, Sanjār, Nasībīn and *Dīyār Rabīya*.<sup>55</sup>

Taghlab was a warrior tribe and known for his wars and plundering with and on other tribes. They raged a war with Bakr bin Wā'il for over 40 years. Moreover the wars of Banū Taghlab with Banū Yarbo' and Banī Shīban were also famous. They were also settled in Jazīra because of their bravery and of its strategic importance as it was a garrison as well. This portrays that the administrators of Muslims not just settled the tribes but also considered the nature of the tribes and the region as well. However, they always watch out by Caliph Umar (RA) who appointed Furrāt bin Hayyān to look after and control the activities of Banū Taghlab in Jazīra. The history of Banū Taghlab was not very pleasant as they fought against Muslims in their conquest of Farāz and against Muslim attack on East.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, Banū Taghlab also attacked on Takrit and Lusaikh but were defeated.

The other tribes included Banī Awad who were settled in Barza. Banī Awad also had division within its tribe, for instance, Banī Awad belonged to Sa'ad al Ashīra and were "*Qihṭānī*". They were settled in Kūfa.<sup>57</sup> Another branch of Awad was from Qais bin Elaan and were "*Adnānī*". It seems that Banū Hamdān were dominating in Āzerbaijān as Banī Awad bin Abdullah who lived in Āzerbaijān were "*Qihṭānī*" and belonged to Hamdān tribe.

Āzerbaijān also received the settlement of Banī Kinda in Surrāt. Banī Kinda were from the tribes of Hadarmaut and there was further division of Banī Kinda with different

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

lineages, for instance, Kinda bin Ufir.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, Mu'awiyah bin Kinda, Al Sukūn and Al Siksik were also the branches of Kinda. The people of Banī Kinda accepted Islām during the time period of the Prophet (PBUH). Banī Kinda were also present in the conquest of Irāq and it is said that the people of Banī Kinda and Iyād moved with Khalid bin Walīd (RA) from Irāq to Syria for conquest. During the Umayyad Caliphate, they came back to Kūfa and constructed and settled their houses and colonies. They also revolted with Mukhtar Thaqfi against Ubaid ullah bin Ziyād. Later, Abdul Rahman bin al Ath'ath also received their assistance in different times.<sup>59</sup>

Banī Āmir bin Luwa'i were settled in Hamdān.<sup>60</sup> Banī Āmir bin Luwa'i were from Quraysh (Adnāni) and a large tribe who claimed its genealogy as Banū Āmir bin Luwa'i bin Ghālīb bin Fahar bin Mālik.... Moreover, Banī Majal were also present in Hamdān.<sup>61</sup> Banī Mjal, a tribe of Arabia, was the part or branch of Banī Mālik.<sup>62</sup>

Tayyam-ul-Lāt were settled in Jibāl.<sup>63</sup> It is not clear that which branch of Tayyam-al-Lāt was settled in Jibāl as there were a lot of branches of the tribe. For instance, Tayyam-al-Lāt bin Asad who had their lineage from Tanukh and Quda'a, Tayyam-al-Lāt bin Thalba who were from Khazraj and were given the name "Tayyam-al-Lāt" by the Prophet (PBUH) and Tayyam-al-Lāt bin Rufaida who belonged to Banī Kalb.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>58</sup>Kahāla, *Mu'ajjam Qabāil-al Arab*, Vol. 3, 998.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., 999.

<sup>60</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 1, 441.

<sup>61</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 5, 282.

<sup>62</sup>Kahāla, *Mu'ajjam Qabāil-al Arab*, vol. 3, 1041.

<sup>63</sup>Abdul Rehmān Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn: Khilāfat i Mu'awiyah wā āl-i Marwān*, trans. Ahmed Hussain Āla Abādī, vol. 2, (Karachi: Nafis Academy, n.d.), 431.

<sup>64</sup>Kahāla, *Mu'ajjam Qabāil-al Arab*, vol. 1, 139.

Arabs not only settled by government in the form of tribes but there were also some individuals who came and settled in different regions. Later, their families joined them and gradually the whole area came under the control of that respective family. For instance, a man known as Idris, used to make perfumes, came to Jibāl and then settled in a valley of Hamdān known as "Mass".<sup>65</sup> He purchased lands and started agriculture over there and became a rich man. It is most probable that his descendants lived there for a long time. It is interesting that a person who used extract perfumes started agriculture in Hamdān which shows that the area possessed rich fertile and arable land. It was a law under Muslim jurisprudence that a person who used a barren land and made it cultivable, become the owner of that land. This provided a strong reason for Arab Muslims to go, settle and to cultivate the region which possessed huge arable or barren lands so to claim huge properties.

Narīz was a valley of Āzerbaijān in which Mur bin Amr Mosuli settled his family.<sup>66</sup> Muhammad bin Sannān al Ajlī founded a palace in Dastabā and settled his family over there.<sup>67</sup> His tribal members also populated Dastabā and constructed their houses over there as well. The land of Wārsan was grown by Marwān bin Muhammad bin Marwān bin Hakam.<sup>68</sup>

The Arab tribes settled in Īrān were mostly warrior tribes. For instance, Banī Rabīya who had their relationships with the people of Īrān before Islām and were known for their

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<sup>65</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 1, 446.

<sup>66</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 2, 486.

<sup>67</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 1, 459.

<sup>68</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 2, 484.

bravery, settled in Īrān. Moreover, Banī Abd Qais and Bakr bin Wā'il who were a guarantee for victory were also settled in the important regions of Īrān like Fārs and Jazīra.

The settlement of such tribes, perhaps, provided assurance for a firm rule to Muslims. Besides, to curb the revolts inside Īrān and the outward conquests of Muslims towards Khorasan and north also became easy as these tribes became a permanent source of armed assistance.

The Iranian provinces were populated by Arab tribes who started their social and economic life in different regions of Īrān. As Arab tribes had status or categories according to their social and religious prestige and economic condition so they were divided naturally for centuries.

Moreover, the division in several groups and sub groups and affiliations with other tribes divided Arab tribal society in factions. These affiliated groups signed contracts within defined groups and helped each other in different stuffs like revolts, conquests or in the appointments of governors etc. For instance, Quraysh, Kināna, Azd, Bajīla, Khus'am, Qais, Ghīlan, and Muzniya tribes were known as "*Ahl-al-Āliyah*".<sup>69</sup> *Ahl-al-Āliyah* and Kūfa were known as "*Rab'a Ahl-al-Medina*".

Moreover, there were *Lihāzim*, consisted on eight Bedouin tribes included Banī Qais and their supporter Ghaza, Qaum-i Lāt and their supporter Amal, Āl-i Dhuhāl bin Shīban and their supporter Banī Yashkar and Dhuhāl bin Thalba and their supporter Banī Hanīfa.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 255

<sup>70</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 4, 460.

Another division was “*Hamīr*”, included Rabīya, Mud’haj, Hamdān and others.<sup>71</sup> They supported caliph Ali (RA) during the battle of camel “*Rihāb*” was the name of five tribes included Tamīm, Adī, Akal, Thaur and Zabba.<sup>72</sup>

These tribal bonding always witnessed the biased behavior of the settled tribes in Irān whether it is for the appointment of a governor or siding someone during revolts. For instance, the people populated with a particular tribe in a province of Irān, always preferred the governor of their own tribe or of their allied ones. For example, Banī Azd and Tamīm had friendly relations with each other in Kirmān. Now, two people were appointed as governor of Kirmān; Abdul Rehmān by Yazid bin Abdul Mālik and Mudrak bin Muhlab by Yazid bin Muhlab (Governor of Basra). The appointment of Mudrak was not tolerated by Banī Tamīm but on the emphasis of Banī Azd, they accepted Mudrak and rejected the appointment of Abdul Rehmān as the governor of Kirmān.<sup>73</sup> This kind of manner always effected the social and political atmosphere of Irān.

The feeling of superiority among Arab tribes also increased but in a different manner. There were tribes, after Islām, who considered themselves superior because of their association with Prophet (PBUH), but the tendency changed to some extent as the tribes got a superior status on the basis of conquests or wars. There were tribes who considered themselves superior for instance, Mudar and Tamīm considered themselves loftier and dominated the governors and people of Khorāsān.

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<sup>71</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 3 (2), 287.

<sup>72</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*. Vol. 1, 474.

<sup>73</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 4, 64.



Similarly, Bakr Bin Wā'il, Abd Qais, Rabīya, Azd, Kinda, Tamīm and Quda'a also considered themselves loftier ones. These tribes, although, were not present in the company of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), but because of active participation in wars during the time period of Pious caliphs created a sense of superiority among these tribes.<sup>74</sup> The feeling of superiority might create problems to others.

As far as Iranians are concerned, it is also significant that mostly Iranians accepted Islām but the Arab tribes who already settled in Īrān were mostly Christians and took a long time to convert. However, the military assistance was always provided by already settled Arab cum Iranian non-Muslim tribes. Furthermore, as Iranian got the status of *dhimmīs* and most of Iranians were declared slaves during Umayyad time period.

The tribes of Taghlab, Namir, Ayad and Shahārja, initially fought with Īrānians against Muslims but after the conquest of Īrān these tribes assisted Muslims, as slaves, in their conquests towards north and east. They also fought along with Muslims in their conquest of Takrīt. There were also tribes who later accepted Islām, given equal rights to Muslims and assisted them in their wars. For instance, Taghlab tribe of Hulwān, Jalula and Takrit accepted Islām.<sup>75</sup> Ibn-i-Kathīr is of the view that the tribe of Nimar also accepted Islām and were also given rights equal to Muslims. Ibn-i-Khaldūn also stated that the tribes of Taghlab, Namir and Mashārja accepted Islām after the conquest of Īrān.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 428.

<sup>75</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 54.

<sup>76</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 243.

## 2.4 Tribes Settled in Īrān and their Revolts against Arabs: Kharjities

It is significant that a lot of Arab tribes who settled in Īrān, later, joined Kharjities and revolted against their own masters, Arabs. It is important to know that who were Kharjities? Kharjities had alternated opinions regarding Islām from rest of the Muslims. They were separated from Caliph Ali (RA) during the battle of Siffīn by saying that Quran is the arbitrator and Caliph Ali (RA) had to accept the arbitration of Quran otherwise he would be killed like Caliph Uthmān (RA). They also had a war with Caliph Ali (RA) in 38 Hijri which is known as the battle of Naharwan. They had repudiated Caliph Ali (RA).<sup>77</sup> There were almost 12,000 people who separated themselves from the caliph and gathered in Harora under the leadership of Shabīb bin Rabī Tamīmi and killed the governor of Ctesiphon (Abdullah bin Habab).<sup>78</sup> Later they also appointed Abdul Rehmān bin Muljam to kill the Caliph Ali (RA).<sup>79</sup>

The Kharjities, during Āmir Mu'awiyah's time period, used to mourn for the Kharjities of Naharwān under the leadership of Hayyān bin Zibyān and the people of Ray also joined them. They promised to each other for another revolt and a gradual increase started in their activities during Umayyad rule.

Kharjities were divided in different groups, for instance, *Sarfarosh* who were also known as *Shurrāt*, mostly consisted on the people of "Azd". The other group was *Azāriqa* who further divided in to *Najdāt*, *Himriya* and *Jabīya*, mostly lived in *Dīyār-i-Rabīya*

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<sup>77</sup>Masūdi, *Tārīkh-i Masūdi*, vol. 2, 292.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., 331.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., 347.

which shows involvement of Rabīya tribe.<sup>80</sup> At a time, Hujjaj said that most of the Kharjities were from Rabīya rather than Qais.<sup>81</sup> Some other Kharjities were settled in Mosul as well.

Now the question arises who were the people to accept kharjism. There were different Arab and other groups and tribes who settled in Īrān before it was conquered by Muslims. Even after its conquest, a lot of people were settled in Īrān. Like tribal structure of Arabs, Iranians also affiliated themselves with different Arab tribes so it is easy to identify the people/tribes who were involved with Kharjities.

The Rabīya were very active with Kharjities and during Marwan's time period, and Bastām Baihī revolted with 100 people of Rabīya.<sup>82</sup> The Kharjities of Rabīya became very active during the time of caliph Umar bin Abdul Azīz. The other active tribe was Bakar bin Wā'il. They even provided leaders for Kharjities as Najda bin Āmir is the example of it. Najda, initially, belonged to *Azāriqa* but later separated from them.<sup>83</sup>

Moreover, a very important and active leader of kharjities was Qatrī bin Fujah Tamīmi, belonged to the tribe of Tamīm.<sup>84</sup> Another important figure of kharjities was Saleh bin Mussarah Tamīmi who lived in Mosul and Jazīra and supported *Sifriya* and from the tribe of Tamīm. During the initial years of Āmūr Muawiyah (RA), the tribes of Ashja' and Tay also gathered in Nakhīla which shows the involvement of these tribes as well.

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<sup>80</sup>Abūl Hassan bin Hussain bin Alī al-Masūdī, *Tārīkh-i Masūdī*, trans. Akhter Fatehpūrī, vol. 3, (Karachi: Nafis Academy, 1985), 131-132.

<sup>81</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 422.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., 431.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 393.

<sup>84</sup>Masūdī, *Tārīkh i Masūdī*, vol. 3, 174.

The other important leaders of kharjities were Qarīb and Zihāf who belonged to Banī Ayād and Tay respectively. On the other hand, as it has been stated earlier that according to Hujjāj most of the kharjities were from Rabīya, while, he denied the involvement of Banī Qais in their activities but there are evidences which proves the involvement of Banī Abd Qais in the activities of Kharjities.<sup>85</sup> The tribes of Shayban of Banī Tayyam, Banī Mehlam and Banī Dhuhā Bin Shayban also provided leaders to Kharjities.

The nutshell of whole discussion is that, the tribes were not only settled in Īrān but they also assimilated Iranians in themselves. Those Iranians, who were merged in Arab tribes and embraced Arab names, also helped Arabs in their wars as well. But, on the other hand, Arab Muslims continued their superiority over Iranians. However, there were also Arab groups who joined Kharjities and revolted against their fellows.

**Tribal Settlement of Arabs in Different Regions of Īrān: A Table of Details of Tribes  
and the Areas Where They Settled**

| Tribes        | Areas                    |
|---------------|--------------------------|
| Banī Azd      | Fārs, Kirmān, Āzerbaijān |
| Banī Abd Qais | Fārs, Āzerbaijān         |

<sup>85</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 389.

|                      |                         |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| Banī Tamīm           | Fārs, Āzerbaijān        |
| Banī Nāhiya          | Fārs                    |
| Banī Rabiya          | Fārs, Hamdān            |
| Banī Asad            | Istakhar (Fārs)         |
| Banī Amr bin Mālik   | Khūzistān               |
| Banū al ‘Amm         | Khūzistān               |
| Banī Hanzala         | Khūzistān               |
| Banī Tay             | Tustar(Khūzistān)       |
| Banī Ijil            | Qazvīn                  |
| Banī Bajīla          | Hulwān, Ray             |
| Banī Awad            | Āzerbaijān              |
| Banī Kinda           | Āzerbaijān              |
| Banī Āmir bin Luwa’i | Hamdān                  |
| Banī Majal           | Hamdān                  |
| Tayyam ul Lāt        | Hamdān                  |
| Banī Taghlab         | Āzerbaijān, Ray (Farāz) |
| Bannu Hamdān         | Āzerbaijān              |
| Banī Thaqif          | Ray                     |

### Administration of Locals in Iran under the Arab Rule

Arabia was the neighborhood of Persians and was always influenced by the political situation of Sassanid rulers. The people of Iran and Arabs were both friends and foes however, developed matrimonial relationships with each other and their sons were known as *abna'*.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the settlement of Arab tribes in Iranian regions and the appointments of the kings of certain regions of Arabia witnessed the authority and relations of Sassanid rulers and the people of Arabia.<sup>2</sup>

Before Muslim conquest, most of the people of Iraq and Iran did not have similar religion, culture and customs like those of Sassanians. They were alien to their customs, who politically ruled them.<sup>3</sup> Iranians were consisted of different nations for instance, Zoroastrians, Christians, Buddhist and pagans etc. They all were enthusiastic to secure their regions from Muslims attacks. On the other hand, Iranian Christians did not help Persians against Muslims rather remained impartial during Muslim conquest.<sup>4</sup> According to Christians, Persians were punished by God by "Barbarian Arabs" in order to break their pride.<sup>5</sup> They also thought that later Arabs would also be punished by God in the form of civil wars.

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<sup>1</sup>An Arabic word which means sons.

<sup>2</sup>Richard N. Frye, *Iran* (London: Harvard University Press, 1954), 109-116.

<sup>3</sup>Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from Sixth to Eleventh Century* (New York: Lagman Inc., 1986), 13.

<sup>4</sup>Stephen Gero, *Only A Change of Masters? The Christians of Iran and The Muslim Conquest*, in Fred M Donner, *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World: The Expansion of Early Islamic State*, vol. 5, (Great Britain: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), 125.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 126-129

The behavior of Iranians and Arabs was depended on the environment, customs, education and most importantly the region which had a deep effect on their lives. Contrary to other conquests towards north and west, Eastern conquest of Iran was the most difficult one.<sup>6</sup> Arab Muslims had to consolidate themselves in Iranian regions both politically and culturally.<sup>7</sup> There were the people who accepted Islam and associated themselves with Arab tribes. To deal with Iranians and to blend in them in their own culture was, somehow, difficult for Arab Muslims because they were never being slaves or subjects of a foreign power rather owing a magnificent culture.<sup>8</sup> However, Muslims conquered Iran and not only assimilated Iranians in their culture but a lot of things also befitted the part of Arab Muslims lives. Iranians, on the other hand, not only integrated themselves with Arabs but also continued to live with their own culture.<sup>9</sup> They also tried to bring their culture to new society and to syncretize with it.<sup>10</sup> Gradually Arabs became dominant.

### 3.1 Muslim's Treatment of the Royal Families and Nobility of Iran

One of the most important aspect of Arab Iranian relation comprises of Muslim's treatment of the Royal families and aristocracy of Iran. Yazdجرد, the last Sassanid Emperor, left Iran with his family and his subjects including women, children and old people while all the

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<sup>6</sup> G. P. Tate, *Seistan: A Memoir on the History, Topography, Ruins and People of the Country* (Quetta: Goshal e Adab, 1977), 18.

<sup>7</sup> Gustave E. Von Grunebaum, "The First Expansion of Islam: Factors of Thrust and Containment", in ed. Fred M. Donner, *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World: The Expansion of Early Islamic State*, vol. 5, (Great Britain: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), 89.

<sup>8</sup> Patricia Crone, "War and Society in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds" in ed. Fred M. Donner, *From Arabian Tribes to Islamic Empire: Army State and Society in the Near East c. 600-850* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), 312.

<sup>9</sup> Frye, *Iran*, 31-32.

treasurable things were left in Iran as there are a lot of evidences in which Muslims found official animals like donkeys, horses and camels made of gold and loaded with treasures. Yazdجرد went in different regions of Iran such as Ray, Tabrستان, Kirmān and Sajستان. Lastly, with the army of *Asāwira*, which he got from Sajستان, left to Khorāsān.<sup>11</sup> The question arises that what happened to the people who were administrators and the runners of Iran.

Iranians had certain ranks in which they had divided their nobility. The most important were *Dihgāns* and *Marzabāns*. *Dihgāns* were more dominant and authoritative in eastern rather than in western regions of Iran. In eastern regions, *dihgāns* were appointed by the kings of Persia.<sup>12</sup> However, after the attacks of Muslims, the Iranian *Kisra* left with his family towards Khorāsān, and most of *dihgāns* became the rulers of their respective areas.

Thus after capturing Iranian regions, Muslims reacted varying towards the aristocratic class of Iran. Firstly, the wars witnessed killings of many *dihgāns* and *marzabāns*. For instance, Shehar Barāz was killed. Similarly, after the war of Jalūā, an Iranian chief Mehran was arrested with a lot of slave girls and later was also killed. Moreover, all the well-known leaders were present in the conquest of Nihāvand and were killed.<sup>13</sup> Asfandiyār bin Farrukh Zād, brother of Rustam, was declared the captive of war.<sup>14</sup> There are no evidences which clearly told what happened next to him? However, a daughter of *Kisra* named *Manjāna* was arrested during the war of Jalūā.<sup>15</sup> The ultimate

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<sup>11</sup>Tabari, *Tārkh-i-Tabarī*, vol. 3 (2), 384.  
<sup>12</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 55.  
<sup>13</sup>Tabari, *Tārkh-i-Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 154.  
<sup>14</sup>Tabari, *Tārkh-i-Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 188.  
<sup>15</sup>Ibid, 434.



fate of Manjāna as a concubine or wife of any Arab Muslim is ambiguous. The killing of *dihgāns* resulted in devastating of the whole administrative unit of Iranians as most of *dihgāns* were killed while a very small number of these self-proclaimed rulers were left on the mercy of Muslims.

Apart from the assassination of nobility, Muslims also utilized the services of *dihgāns* and *marzabāns*, and took advantage of their knowledge and tactics of controlling Iranian locals. Firstly, Humazān, who not only accepted Islam but was also involved in administration by Muslims, was one of the seven great families of Irān and controlled the areas of Mehar-jāngadhāq, and Ahwāz.<sup>16</sup> Humazān, the king of Ahwāz, was arrested and accepted Islam in front of Caliph Umar (RA). He was a very shrewd person who misled Caliph Umar (RA) and saved his life. In an answer to Mughira bin Sah'ba, the translator of Caliph Umar (RA), he told that he belonged to Meharjān.<sup>17</sup> He signed a treaty with Muslims for the areas of Rām Hurmoz, Jundi Sabūr, Tustar, Sūs and Mehar-jāngadhāq.<sup>18</sup> Consequently, Humazān was appointed as ruler over Ahwāz.

The appointment of Humazān was very useful for Muslims as he had, previously, ruled these areas and people were attached to him, thus, collection of taxes became easier. He collected *jizya* from these areas and Muslims enjoyed the peaceful transfer of taxes.<sup>19</sup> Humazān also became the strategic consultant of Muslims as, at a time, Caliph Umar (RA) took his opinion before further conquests of Iran. For instance, Caliph Umar (RA) took the advantage of his knowledge of the people and strategic importance of the

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 89.

<sup>17</sup>Tabarī, *Tārkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 104-107.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 99.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 94.

areas, and asked him whether the Muslims should attack Fārs, Āzerbaijān or Isfahān first. Hurmazān replied that Isfahān is the head whereas Fārs and Āzerbaijān are the hands, cut the head and you will be able to control the hands easily.<sup>20</sup>

Besides, Hurmazān and Abu al Farkhān Zainabī also helped Muslims against Sīyah dakhsh bin Mehran bin Behrām bin Chaubīn, (king of Ray), and was rewarded by Muslims the kingship of Ray which continued in his sons, later.<sup>21</sup>

In fact, *dihqāns* secured their power at the time of Muslim conquest and continued it with securing abandoned lands by accepting Islām. They also secured lands in the garrisons, however, most of which were bought by Muslims.<sup>22</sup> Ibn-i-Ziyād also appointed *dihqāns* in different areas because he thought that it was easier to collect taxes and the local Iranians did not create any problems while paying taxes. Abū Mūsā Ash'arī (RA) also selected sixty sons of rich Iranian landlords and restricted them for certain services for instance, to convey the news of victory to the center.<sup>23</sup>

Moreover, after the conquest of Tustar, all the royal officers accepted Islām, no matter for which reasons, however secured their political or economic benefits.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, *dihqāns* knew the nature and language of their respective areas as well as the maneuvers to control and collect the taxes which had given them a lot of importance in front of Muslims.<sup>25</sup> It can be seen in an example where caliph Umar (RA) fixed pensions for *dihqāns* and other officials as according to Baladhurī, caliph Umar (RA) also fixed stipends

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 173.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 182-183.

<sup>23</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 229.

<sup>24</sup>Khūrshīd Ahmed Fāriq, *Hadhrat Umar (RA) Kay Sarkārī Khutūt* (Lahore: Wifāq Press, 1978), 218.

<sup>25</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 4, 366-367.

for the aristocratic Iranians, For instance, stipends were fixed for the *dihqāns* of Nahr al-Malik, Al-Falālīj (Busbahbarī), Al-Rafīl and for Hurmazān and Jufaina al-Ibādī.<sup>26</sup> However, an inverse attitude of Caliph Umar (RA), of restricting Iranians to a limitation, was found when he was offered the experienced and polished men of Anbār for office work and refused by saying that he did not want to involve any non-Muslim in state secrets.<sup>27</sup>

A third category was of the nobility who had signed peace treaties with Muslims and later, either converted in to Islām and associated themselves with some Muslim tribe or assisted them in further conquests. For instance, after the conquest of Istakhar, an Iranian leader Siyāh called other Iranian leaders and people to accept Islām as he was afraid of Muslims. Consequently, he and his other fellows accepted Islām on equal status with Arabs and on the condition to help Muslims with their army.<sup>28</sup> Later, they also received higher stipends from center. The reason was to increase their loyalty and enthusiasm for wars. The persons who received stipends were Sīyah, Khusru, Shehryar, Shehroyah, Shairviyah and Afrozīn.

Dīnār, an Iranian king, also signed a treaty with Muslims.<sup>29</sup> His treaty received the same instructions as of others.<sup>30</sup> Fazusfān (king of Isfahān) also signed a peace treaty with Muslims.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, the king of Bāb (Shehar Barāz) refused to accept any lineage from

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<sup>26</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 2, 649.

<sup>27</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 252-253.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 109-110.

<sup>29</sup>Dīnār was the lowest grade of Iranian kings.

<sup>30</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 161.

<sup>31</sup>The title of king of Isfahān was Zul Hājibīn, of Sajistān was Shah and of Khorāsān was Khaqān.

Iranians, rather accepted Islām and associated himself to Muslims. Moreover, he, although, refused to pay *jizya* but helped Muslims with his army in conquests.<sup>32</sup>

### 3.2 Arab-Iranian Relationship

To develop good relation with their masters, it is wise for the conquered people or subjects to be obedient to their masters. It could be a wise step of Iranians that they should accept and obey their new masters. After conquest, Muslims developed their firm hold in Īrān and involved Iranians in their administration and daily life. Moreover, an exchange of settlement and culture of Iranians in the regions of Arabia and of Muslims in Iranians allowed both to frame each other's' relationship.

#### 3.2.1 Motives of Arabs behind the Conquest of Īrān

As far as Arab conquest of Īrān is concerned, it had faced different attitudes of Iranians. There were people who were conquered forcefully but on the other hand, there were Iranians who welcomed Muslims to capture their region, for instance, the ruler of Qum welcomed Muslims, gave them a village to settle and seeds to start agriculture over there. The reason was that they were victims of Daylamites and wanted a firm protection which they hoped to acquire in the appearance of Muslims. But, tensions increased between the people of Qum and Muslims in long term when Muslim migrations increased to an extent. Furthermore, the tussle between two Persian families Mehrāns and Zinabīs allowed Zinabīs to welcome Muslims and Zinabīs helped Muslims in their attack of Ray. Consequently, after conquering the area, Zinabī was declared governor and his family took the control of city.

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<sup>32</sup>Tabarī, *Yārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 190-191.

As far as the motives of Muslims behind the conquest of Īrān is concerned, there seems diversity. According to Richard N. Frye, Muslims had no ideological motives behind their conquest of Īrān.<sup>33</sup>The economic motives were prime priority of Muslims. Muslims were more interested in economic advantages rather than conversions.<sup>34</sup>

On the other hand, some people thought that Muslims only had ideology on which basis they attacked Īrān. No economic theory was involved behind the conquest of Īrān.<sup>35</sup> Marius Canard is of the view that ideological motives were the prime purpose of Muslim conquest of Īrān, however, religious eagerness is being exaggerated without concerning the economic needs and motives of the conquest of Īrān.<sup>36</sup>

The ideology during the time of Caliph Umar (RA) was Islām as well as economic. People conquered Īrān as it was the promise of Allah. They ruled them but the fear of Allah was supreme from everything. Besides, Caliph Umar (RA) also caught the attention of the people of Arabia by telling them about the rich resources and economy of Īrān.

After the conquest of Īrān, complains against Abu Musa (RA) were received which show the increased love for wealth and during the time period of caliph Uthmān (RA), such type of boldness became very much common. People became greedy for Īrān as it was a rich state but it is also evident that there were people who had no concerns with such sort

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<sup>33</sup>Frye, *Iran*, 45.

<sup>34</sup>Homa Katouzian, *The Persians: Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern Iran* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), 66.

<sup>35</sup>Bertold Spuler, *Iran in Early Islamic Period: Politics, Culture, Administration and Public Life Between the Arab and the Seljuk Conquests, 633- 1055*, ed., Robert G. Hoagland, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2014), 4.

<sup>36</sup>Marius Canard, "The Arab Expansion: The Military Problem", in ed. Fred M Donner, *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World: The Expansion of Early Islamic State*, vol. 5, (Great Britain: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), 67.

of greediness. For instance, during the conquest of Sajistān, Abdul Rehmān, a Muslim commander, found an idol which was decorated with precious stones. He destroyed the idol and gave all the precious stones to the *marzabān* by saying that he was not concerned with these stones, rather he destroyed the idol for ascertaining that it is useless.<sup>37</sup>

### 3.2.2 Conversion of Iranians to Islam

The Islamic province of Īrān had witnessed conversions more than any other conquered region. The people who converted firstly, the Christians of Khūzistān, than Jibāl and Āzerbaijān and Daylam etc.<sup>38</sup> The irony was that most of the people converted because of economic or political motives. Frye included the military intentions as well. A lot of people accepted Islām in order to get rid of slavery, as, despite a highest ratio of conversions, there was lack of religious enthusiasm.<sup>39</sup> It is also said that the Caliph Umar (RA) neither encouraged nor forced Iranians to accept Islām. There were statements in which he said that non-Muslims (in their own regions) could not be forced to accept Islām.<sup>40</sup>

On the other hand, Caliph Umar (RA) also said that no one should be prohibited to accept Islām.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, Īrān was considered as a land of deception and evils so it was better to give them time to accept Islām with its complete orders. The caliph may also did not force them because they were newly conquered people and forceful conversion make them annoyed. The only reason which has been discussed for the Caliph Umar (RA), regarding the non-encouragement of conversion in Islām, is economic burden.

<sup>37</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 417.

<sup>38</sup>Katouzian, *The Persians*, 66.

<sup>39</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 61-62.

<sup>40</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 346.

<sup>41</sup>James E. Lindsay, *Daily Life in the Medieval Islamic World* (London: Green Wood Press, 2005), 11.

The western writers like Ira M. Lapidus insisted on the reason that the Caliph was worried for the increased economic burden of Iranians as the conversion means a decrease in taxes. However, later, contrary to anticipations, Īrān had seen the highest ratio of conversions in Islām. Zoroastrianism was strong in Western Īrān rather than eastern part where a syncretism of Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Manichaeism and Christianity prevailed.<sup>42</sup> Although, a lot of people converted to Islām, Zoroastrianism (religion) ruled Īrān for a long time period.<sup>43</sup> (may be that is the reason that Al-Muqaddasi found very few mosques, rather a lot of fire temples which were converted in to mosques during Abbasid time period).

Later, Zoroastrians also migrated from their homes because of securing their faith but many Zoroastrians also accepted Islām in order to save their interests.<sup>44</sup> *Asāwira* also converted in to Islām, however, these conversions were very less in numbers till Umayyad time period after which an increase in their conversion level was observed.<sup>45</sup> There were a lot of “nominal conversions”, as many converted Iranians continued a syncretism of Islām, Christianity and Zoroastrianism.<sup>46</sup>

Every class of native Iranians including men and women or soldiers, converted to Islām, no matter with its complete obligations or unwillingly. As far as Iranian women are

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<sup>42</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 126.

<sup>43</sup>Richard N. Frye, ed., *Sassanian Remains from Qasr i Abu Nasr* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973), 23-24.

<sup>44</sup>Spuler, *Iran in Early Islamic Period*, 23.

<sup>45</sup>Chase F. Robinson, “The Conquest of Khuzistan: A Historiographical Reassessment”, in ed. Fred M. Donner, *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World: The Expansion of Early Islamic State*, vol. 5, (Great Britain: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), 300.

<sup>46</sup>Bulliet, *Conversion To Islam and the Emergence of a Muslim Society in Iran*, 30-51.

concerned, a lot of honorable women were either killed or caught as slaves or concubines. The concubines either lost their inherited properties or after conversion in Islām, continued their lives by holding their properties.<sup>47</sup>

Conversion of Iranian women was interesting at its place. They converted with their family males for instance, father, brother or husband.<sup>48</sup> Women of Takrīt, Qazvin and Isfahān possessed a number of converted women. Moreover, intermarriages with Muslim males also tends Iranian women towards conversions. These intermarriages also brought a syncretism and continuity of old Iranian culture with newly introduce Islamic philosophy and culture. For instance, the marriage of Imam Hussain (RA) with the daughter of last Sassanian Emperor Shah Banu and, later, of Walīd I with Shahfarand, another noble women, had resulted in mixing of Iranian blood with prophetic and royal blood of Arabs. Consequently, Iranian culture started spreading in Islamic society and new manners in different aspects of life were introduced, for example, proper bowls were introduced, firstly, by Iranian women.<sup>49</sup>

As far as the ratio of conversion is concerned, the tendency of conversion rise more frequently in Īrān rather than any other conquered area of Arabs.<sup>50</sup> It is said that the Muslims received the highest and rapid ratio of conversions from Īrān. The ratio of accepting Islām was, although, slow from the time period of Caliph Umar (RA) to

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<sup>47</sup> Jamsheed Choksy, "Women during the Transition from Sassanian to Early Islamic Times", in ed. Guity Nashat and Lois Beck, *Women in Iran from the Rise of Islam to 1800* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 54.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 56-57.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 60.

<sup>50</sup>Richard W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (London: Harvard University Press, 1979), 18.



Umayyads, however received a frequent change afterwards. For instance, Ash'ath was appointed as the governor of Āzerbaijān by caliph Ali (RA). He saw the increasing ratio of converted Muslims and, to encourage people, settled a group of “*Ahl al Atād*” and “*Ahl dīwān*” in Ardbail (Āzerbaijān). They also constructed mosques over there.<sup>51</sup>

Moreover, the ratio of conversions varies from region to region and time to time. For instance, the areas conquered first had possessed high ratio of conversions as compare to the region conquered after them. There was a high ratio of people who converted because of two reasons: either they were the captives of wars or the poor farmers who could not pay taxes. So in order to avoid the imposed taxes, a lot of people accepted Islām. But there was also the people who did not want to convert in Islām and treated by Muslims as slaves so many Zoroastrians accepted Christianity and became clerics.<sup>52</sup>

However, Īrān received 8 to 10 percent conversions till 750 AD.<sup>53</sup> The converted people also adopted the Arab culture, strikingly Islām, but there were people who also adopted the Iranian culture and there developed a mixture of Arab Iranian culture which could be seen in their lives and constructions.

### 3.2.3 Arab-Tribal Association of Iranians

The already settled Arab tribes in Īrān socialized themselves with Iranians. But after Muslim conquest, they had to adopt Arab Muslim culture as it was necessary for their survival. Consequently, they decided to go with their master's culture. It is a known fact

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<sup>51</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 2, 484.

<sup>52</sup>Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in Medieval Period*, 41-42.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, 44.

that Arab tribal structure was very strong and a person without having support of a tribe was considered unsafe.

After the conquest of Īrān, there were tribes and people who accepted Islām and associated them with some Arab tribe. For instance, Banī Taghlab accepted Islām after the conquest of Takrīt and migrated to Basra. Moreover after the conquest of Sūs, Sīyah Al Aswari, who was in the army of Yazdjard, accepted Islām with his subordinates and associated themselves with Banī Tamīm because of close relations of Tamīm with Prophet Muhammad (SAWW).<sup>54</sup> Sīyah and his companions were given the option to associate themselves to some Arab tribe or to live separately.

Moreover, after the war of Qadsiya, a lot of non-Muslims developed good relationship with Banī Tamīm.<sup>55</sup> It seems that Banī Tamīm was preferred tribe for Iranians, and it is interesting to know that people from Tamīm rejected to accept a human as arbitrator after the battle of Siffīn. The initial Kharjities, Ahnaf bin Qais al Sa'adī, Mu'aqil bin Qais al Rīyahi and Mus'ar bin Fudqī, belonged to Banī Tamīm as well.<sup>56</sup> These Kharjities were, most probably, those Iranians who accepted Islām and associated themselves to Banī Tamīm. Moreover, the acceptance of new ideas was a deep-rooted practice of Iranians and the ideas of Kharjities, might, were appealing to them which inclined them to upswing against rest of the Muslims.

Another tendency of Iranians who accepted Islām was that they also adopted Arabic names. The association and the conversion of Iranian names in Arabic has given an

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<sup>54</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 2, 536-537.

<sup>55</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2, 358.

<sup>56</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 3 (2), 315.

advantage to Iranians to make a fusion of Iranian cum Arabs. Later, during Abbasid time, such conversions and affiliations provided a big advantage to Iranians.

The adoption of Arabic names was very much common among upper class of Īrān. It happened might because upper class Iranians did not want to lose their stature. On the other hand, Iranian association was also catching for Arabs and they happily accepted Iranians as new members of their tribe. People used to give their children Arabic names and after associated themselves to some tribe, adopted their genealogy. However, the Persian names were also liked by the Arabs.

Conversion in Islām, the change of Persian names with Arabic and fabricating fake genealogies has make it difficult to identify the ratio of conversions, yet, it is possible, to an extent, by tracing back the genealogy of a person. Or, in other words, the hypothesized genealogy of a person can made it clear to understand the ratio of conversions. For instance, Ali was the son of Ubaid Ullah who was the son of Rustam made it clear that Ubaid Ullah's father was a convert.

Moreover, the hypothetical time spans for the life and death can also be helpful in tracing the ratio of conversions. For instance, a death year of a person can be traced with the average life span (which was seventy) and the average time in which a son faced his father (which was 34) can be helpful to trace back the converted ones. If the death date of Ali was between 400 to 465 Hijri than the average life span (which is 70) should be excluded and it is clear that he was born between 330 to 395 Hijri. Now, by excluding 34 years from his life, it can be identified that his father was born between 296 and 361 and so on.

But the problem was that if, Rustam, the father of Ubaid Ullah adopted some Arabic name than it became difficult to trace the time of conversion. Despite the adoption of Arabic names there existed a discrimination as those Iranians were not given an equal status to Arabs. They were considered inferior and treated as slaves.

Moreover, the genealogy was traced several times when an Iranian claimed to have an Arab native. For instance, there was a story of Abdul Aziz bin Bashar, who belonged to Istakhar, associated himself with Asad tribe and claimed its genealogy, was humiliated by Mus'ab bin Zubair. Similarly, Ziyād bin Amr, who belonged to Kirmān and claimed Arab genealogy was insulted by Mus'ab bin Zubair because of his conversion and association. The reason behind this defined hatred was that these converted and associated Iranians were considered inferior.<sup>57</sup> Even such type of incidents shows there were people from the ruling class who created such discrimination among Arab Muslims and converted ones.

This inclination of considering *mawālīs* as low-graders was followed by Umayyad caliph in later times. Moreover, the association with some tribe was not accepted all the time. The tribes, at times, also rejected the forged Arab genealogies of Iranians by tracing their original ones. For instance, a man from Qazvin, claimed to be from Banī Ajal, but was rejected by Arabs as they traced his ancestors.<sup>58</sup>

There was third category of converted people who, may be, had a thought that to associate themselves with some Arab tribe was essential for their survival and prestige. This thought process was obvious in upper class who wanted their previous prestige and right in Muslim Īrān as well. For instance, the king of Hallab, who initially belonged to

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<sup>57</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 5, 110.

<sup>58</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, Vol. 1, 459.

Fārs, said to Muslims at the time of its conquest that despite of a lot of existed nations of Īrān, he preferred to associate himself with an Arab tribe. It looks that he, in effect, associated himself with some Arab tribe and adopted the genealogy of the respective tribe.

### 3.2.4 Rebellions of Iranians

As far as the rebel nature of Iranians is concerned, Iranians rarely revolted during the time period of the Caliph Umar (RA) as they were quiet satisfied with his administration. A very less number of revolts found in his last years as the *marzaban* Shehrak revolted in Fārs that was crushed during the time of Caliph Uthmān (RA).<sup>59</sup>

On the other hand, there were Iranians who had deep feelings of being offended by Muslims and a hatred always surrounded their hearts which insisted them to raise revolts against Arab Muslims. Likewise, Abu Lulu Fīroz was not happy as Iranians were thrown to a position of slaves. The assassination of Caliph Umar (RA) was a case of his developing hatred.

As far as the attitude of revolts is concerned, there are certain reasons behind revolts. For instance, although, revolts during his time period were very less in number, but the Caliph Umar (RA) was anxious to know the reasons for revolts. He was of the view that probably the bad behavior of Muslims led Iranians to rise revolts. But he was not satisfied as his governors were kind and he himself had an eagle eye on their activities. In a meeting of *shura*, Ahnaf bin Qais replied to that question of revolts varied inversely that as far as their king is alive, revolts could not be removed.<sup>60</sup> Yet, the Caliph did not find

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<sup>59</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 378.

<sup>60</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 107.

opportunity to kill Yazdjard, that's why in his last year of the caliphate, Shehrak (*marzabān*) revolted after pushing from Yazdjard.

Slavery could be another reason for the revolts of Iranians. It is a well-known fact that Iranians had a great past and they could not accept slavery easily. A vibrant example is of Abu Lulu Fīroz, who used to cry in the streets of Medina and often said that Umar (RA) had masticated his liver.<sup>61</sup>

After Caliph Umar (RA), the next caliph started exchanging and replacing the existed governors with the new ones. They started complaining about their new governors. The frequent change of governors annoyed and made Iranian people brave on revolts. The people of Isfahān, Ray, Hamdān, Ārmenīā, Āzerbaijān and Sajistān, all revolted.

Besides the shift in attitudes of the people of Īrān, during the time of Caliph Uthmān (RA), Muslims also became harsh towards them. The people of Fārs revolted and gathered in Istakhar which was the central city of Fārs and was considered the most important and holy city as an important and ancient fire temple was over there and was under the direct command of *Kisrā*. It was the central city of Sassanids.<sup>62</sup> Probably, Iranians got an opportunity after the death of Caliph Umar (RA), and tried to get their rule back. It is said that the revolt of Fārs was crushed in such a brutal way that they were thrown in to abasement and were never be able to rise again.<sup>63</sup> Sharīk bin A'ūr Harthī also built a mosque in Istakhar.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>Tabarī mentioned him as "Abū Lava Lavah". He was the slave of Mughīra bin Sha'ba and as far as the mastication of liver is concerned, he was not happy because of fall of Iran and the death of hundreds and thousands of Iranians. It is a fact that about 80,000 Iranians burned to death in Nihāvand.

<sup>62</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 218.

<sup>63</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 414.

<sup>64</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 392.

Similarly, a revolt also raised in Tabristān but all the revolts were crushed. During the time period of Caliph Ali (RA), circumstances has been changed to a great extent. A new group, known as Kharjities, appeared and started creating problems for the caliph. Consequently, the internal strife provided Iranians an opportunity and they started revolting with the assistance of Kharjities. For instance, the people of Ahwāz started conspiracies against Caliph Ali (RA), farmers of Banū Nājia and a lot of thieves joined Kharjities and revolted.<sup>65</sup>

The people of Fārs also expelled Sahal bin Hanīf from Fārs and revolted. However, the revolts were crushed and the people of Fārs started paying *jizya* and other taxes like *zakat*. Mu'aqil, who crushed these revolts, found three types of people at the shores of Fārs; Muslims, Christians and the converted Muslims who again accepted Islām after seeing the division among Muslims. Islām was again offered to the third ones and they accepted.<sup>66</sup> However, the people of book were again declared *dhimīs*.

### 3.2.5 The Revolts of Iranians: Kharjities

The role of Iranians as the subjects of Muslims is not enough without considering Kharjities. Persians were always fascinated with new ideas and easily accept the leadership of the person who emerged in the time of lawlessness.<sup>67</sup> Kharjism is one of the earlier Islamic examples of this, however, it is said that Īrān was deliberately involved in Kharjite

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<sup>65</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 3 (2), 407-409.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, 409-415.

<sup>67</sup>Katouzian, *The Persians*, 5.

movement.<sup>68</sup> The nature of Iranians of accepting new ideas created problems not only for them but for Umayyad rulers as well.

There were a lot of tribes and groups settled in Īrān. Most of them have joined Kharjities. It is right to say that Īrān became a Kharjities populated region. One of the groups who settled in Īrān were Kurds who also involved with Kharjities mostly with *Sarfarosh* and settled in Āzerbaijān.<sup>69</sup> Some other Kharjities settled in Arrān, Bailqān, and Ārmenīa under the leadership of Ibn Abi al-Sāj. The cities of Sajistān, Jibāl-i Harrāt, cities of Kirmān, the cities of Fārs, Jazīra and Jibāl etc. were also populated with these Kharjities. Some *Sifrīya* and *Himrīya* Kharjities were settled in Istakhar and Sahik (The area between Fārs and Kirmān).

There were villagers and farmers who also supported Kharjities and refused to pay *kharāj*. Such type of people always were a support for Kharjities. They were also given important ranks in order to increase their enthusiasm. For instance, a Kharjite, Kharīt bin Rashid, appointed those on his left wing army, who refused to pay *kharāj* to the government.<sup>70</sup> Probably the locals of Īrān were encouraged by the revolt of Kharjites as immediately after the war of Naharwān, many people of Īrān raised revolts like the people of Ahwāz and Fārs.

Kharjities always find their place of shelter in Īrān. Most of the times Ahwāz was the center as we can see in different times and revolts.<sup>71</sup> During 45 Hijri, Yazīd bin Malik al Bahilī, gathered a huge group of Kharjities from Ahwāz. Moreover, whenever a Kharjite

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<sup>68</sup>Spuler, *Iran in Early Islamic Period*, 21.

<sup>69</sup>Masūdī, *Tārīkh-i Masūdī*, vol. 3, 131-132.

<sup>70</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 3 (2), 409.

<sup>71</sup>For details, see *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 4.



was defeated, tried to seek shelter in Ahwāz which shows that it was a leading center of Kharjities and Ahwāz not only provided a shelter but also manpower to the defeated ones. For instance, Kharīṭ bin Rashīd and the Kharjities that were defeated during Ziyād's rule, their leader "Sardās" seek shelter in Ahwāz and later, during 68 Hijri Kharjities again took shelter in Ahwāz after a defeat.

Moreover, Muḥlab bin Abi Safrāh also had wars with Kharjities at the land of Ahwāz as well. One of them was with Qatir bin Fūjah. The Arabs also stayed in Ahwāz after defeating Kharjities at different times. Another important center and a place of center was Isfahān. The first defeat of Kharjities with Muḥlab inclined them to seek shelter in Isfahān and Kirmān.<sup>72</sup> Another leader of Kharjities, Abad Rabbah ul Kabir also lived in Kirmān which shows he was safe and had his followers over there. Kharjities also lived and waged wars in Ray, Istakhar, Tabristān, Fārs, Hamdān, Qum, Qāshān, Jabal and Jazīra. Sīstan was also provided living quarters for Kharjities.<sup>73</sup>

The Kharjities had a very strange nature. There were Kharjities who were very kind and pious in their respective areas. They had indulged in unique activities. For instance, Saleh bin Musarrah Tamīmi, was a great virtuous man and had a lot of students and followers who were attracted towards him because of his worship and accepted him as their leader.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 4, 462.

<sup>73</sup>Tate, *Seistan*, 19.

<sup>74</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn i-Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 404.

On the other hand Mardās Kharjī who lived in Ahwāz used to snatch the stuffs of people and give it to the needy or his followers and return the extra stuff to the owner.<sup>75</sup> These people were very much active in social welfare programs or activities that people easily accepted them as their leaders and started following them. For instance, Sūwīd bin Abdullah Kharjī was the person who overextended his pupils and governors in different regions of Qum, Qāshān and Hamdān and people, at large, accepted his doctrines and came in his obedience in large groups. They had the techniques to attract people and it happened several times as the people from Jazīra, Mūsāl, Sehroz, Qum, Qāshān, and Fārs supported them in high numbers.

Kharjities were even so effective that they, at times, also received the *kharāj* of their respective areas as Ubaidullah bin Hur (Kahrjī) received the *kharāj* of Furs and Shabīb Kharjī also received the *kharāj* of his area. Ibn e Arzaq also settled in Ahwāz and received its *kharāj*.<sup>76</sup> People from Kirmān to Ahwāz also provided bundles of high quality arms and horses to Ubaid Ullah bin Mahuz (*kharjī*). The governor of Hamdān, Hamza bin Mughira also provided money and arms to Mutraf.<sup>77</sup>

Moreover, they were lenient towards *dhimīs* but harsh for Muslims. There was an incident in which Kharīt bin Rashid and his companions killed a farmer and left a dhimmi alive.<sup>78</sup> (Kharīt was from Najī tribe) They also killed many women and children in their attacks on certain regions.

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 389.

<sup>76</sup> Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 4, 406-409.

<sup>77</sup> Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 5, 279.

<sup>78</sup> Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 3 (2), 401-402.

The war techniques of Kharjities were similar to Iranians. The reason probably be that most of the Kharjities were consisted on Iranians. For instance, they used to dig trenches and appointed the soldiers on its edges.<sup>79</sup> Shabīb Kharjī was the toughest competition of Arabs. He defeated Muslim army several times. He attacked on Neharwan, Jalūlā, Takrīt Mousal, Sajistān, Kirmān, Ahwāz and Mah-i Neharwān. His war techniques were also very interesting. He attacked on markets and looted food, clothes and horses etc. and then moved to another one.<sup>80</sup> In the last years of Umayyad rule, Dhahāk Kharjī adopted a different war technique. He used to fight and attack in small groups, and then ran away.

### 3.2.6 Lack of Religious Enthusiasm in Iranians

Iranian people had a diverse relationship with Arabs based on the fluctuating conditions of political and social circumstances. The changing attitudes of the ruling classes of Arabia effected the people of Īrān to a great level. The whole of Īrān divided among different groups of Arabs. For instance, after the death of Yazīd bin Mu'awiyah, a tussle for caliphship and chaos in all provinces of Arabs again started.

The people of Īrān also divided as there were those who supported Ibn-i-Zubair (RA) for caliphship, for instance, in spite of of Jazīra, the whole Īrān supported him. On the other hand, *tawwābīn*, under Sulaymān bin Sard, were also became very active after Yazīd's death. They got support from Jazīra, Anbar and Qarqīsīya as well.<sup>81</sup>

Mukhtar Thaḡfī also became rebellious and got the control of Kūfa and appointed his governors in Ārmenīā, Āzerbaijān, Behqubāz, and Hulwān and fixed their pays as well.

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<sup>79</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 4, 460.

<sup>80</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 5, 199.

<sup>81</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 4, 434-448.

Moreover, he also got the control of Jibāl and ordered its governors to transfer all the taxes to Hulwān.<sup>82</sup> He also expelled the governors of Ibn-i-Zubair (RA) from Īrān. Moreover, there were people from Jibāl, and Kirmān who supported Yazīd bin Muhlab in his rebellion against government. He also captured Basra and appointed his governors in Ahwāz, Fārs and Kirmān.<sup>83</sup>

Besides, with the passage of time, the Iranians, probably, were exhausted from the continuous warfare or they had not a deep loyalty for Islām as equal to Arab Muslims. In other words, they had lack of Islamic enthusiasm that is why their participation in outside conquests was not admirable during Umayyad time period. For instance, there were Iranian people who supported Jarah in his attack on Turks from Āzerbaijān in day but left him at night without informing him.<sup>84</sup>

During Umayyad time period, a hatred also developed among Iranians because they were not given an equal status despite the fact that they had converted ones.<sup>85</sup> Moreover, they were not assimilated by Muslims in Arab majority populated areas. However, they were allowed to work as slaves or civilians.<sup>86</sup>

A very interesting fact is that the areas like garrisons where Iranians were not given an equal status, a lot of cultural aspects of Iranians were introduced to Muslims and a sort

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., 503.

<sup>83</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 6, 63-64.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., 165-166.

<sup>85</sup>Frye, *Iran*, 46.

<sup>86</sup>Patricia Crone, "War and Society in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds", in ed. Fred M. Donner, *From Arabian Tribes to Islamic Empire: Army State and Society in the Near East c. 600-850* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), 315.

of “social contact” started.<sup>87</sup> Because of such sort of behavior Iranians always supported the revolts and other anti-government activities.

On the other hand, the ratio of government supported elements were always very less in number. It seems that Iranians did not accepted their governors easily because the Umayyad time period witnessed a continuous change in the governors of Īrān. Gradually, till 160 Hijri, *dhimmīs* have controlled everything and the power of Arabs reduced.<sup>88</sup>

### 3.2.7 Construction Works the Arabs

War always brings devastation and destruction of all the developed areas. Although, after Muslim conquest of Īrān, desolation to such an extent did not took place, however, after the conquest of different areas of Īrān, Caliph Umar (RA) not only appointed his governors there but, himself, was involved in the development and administration of every conquered area. One of the most important issue was the construction.

Every conquered area of Īrān received the orders of construction of roads and bridges which not only added to the development of regions but also provided employment to the people. Moreover, the constructive work converted their attention from their fall and involved them in building up their areas. Caliph Umar (RA) also involved them in the security of markets, fields and pathways.<sup>89</sup> There are letters of Caliph Umar (RA) which shows his concerns for the employment of Iranian subjects.

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<sup>87</sup>Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 48.

<sup>88</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn i-Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 294.

<sup>89</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 46.

Besides the development of cities, Muslims also diverted their attention towards villages and to make the people and state prosperous and started the digging of canals which also provided an occupation to *dhimmi*s. For instance, after conquest, Sūq al Ahwāz, villages of Shaghar and Warūq received construction of new canals and agriculture on aridity.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, a lot of mosques were also built in different areas for instance, Yahya bin Zarīs constructed a mosque in Ray. Likewise, Āzerbaijān, Mūsā, Al Hadthia, Kirmān and other regions received the similar constructions.

Furthermore, Iranians also had a rich history and there were numerous intellectuals as well. Besides revolts, Muslims also made their contributions in intellectual fields. Muslims instituted schools in Īrān in which Persian as well as Greek knowledge was transferred to people.<sup>91</sup> They were painters, poets and writers. Muslims translated their works in Arabic and patronize them.

### 3.3 Settlement of Diverse Ethnic Groups of Īrān before Muslim Conquest and their Relations with Arabs

#### 3.3.1 Asāwira

Besides Arab tribes, there were some other groups settled in Īrān. For instance, Asāwira were already settled in Bāb, Qazvīn, Ahwāz, Sajistān and other areas of Īrān. They were landlords and also had their own army.<sup>92</sup> They also helped Yazdjard in his escape towards Merv.<sup>93</sup> Later, they accepted Islām and were allowed to own their lands.

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<sup>90</sup>Ibid., 93-94.

<sup>91</sup>Syed Aī Bilgarāmī, *Tamaddun i Arab* (Lahore: Mahmud Riaz Printers, n.d.), 572-573.

<sup>92</sup>Fāriq, *Hadhrat Umar (RA) Kay Sarkāri Khutūt*, 216.

<sup>93</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 3 (2), 384.

Asāwira were basically army men and known for their bravery. Most of Iranians adopted a trend that after accepting Islām they adopted Arabic names and associated themselves to some Arab Tribe. This, perhaps, developed a feeling of intimacy with Muslims and of being a part of Arabs. Similarly, Asāwira, despite of their high rank among Iranians, adopted the genealogy of Banī Asad.

### 3.3.2 Īsabija

Another group, settled in Īrān, was Īsabija. They were sailors and lived in coastal areas of Fārs. After Muslim conquest of Īrān, they accepted Islām and, being strong soldiers, indicated their devotion to Muslims by participating in further conquests.<sup>94</sup> Īsabija also connected themselves to Banī Hanzala after conversion and adopted their genealogy. Later, Īsabija were also present and sided Ibn Ash'ath in his revolt.

### 3.3.3 Al Zutt

Another group who joined Īsabija in Fārs was, Al Zutt (Jaat). Al Zutt also adopted the profession of Īsabija and became fishermen cum soldiers.<sup>95</sup> It is said that Hujjāj bin Yousaf settled Al Zutt and other groups in Kaskar and they were joined by other Iranians later. Al Zutt were famous for their criminal activities as well. They were mostly thieves and used to loot people of different regions. Amīr Mu'awiyah, because of their profession, also settled Al Zutt on the coastal areas of Syria.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>94</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 2, 537.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., 537.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., 539.

### 3.3.4 Al Andghār

Another group was “Al Andghār” who lived near Sajistān and in Fārs. They were also soldiers. In fact, it is said that Īsabij, Al Zutt and Andghār, all were soldiers of Fārs.

### 3.3.5 Kurd

Kurds were pre historic people who occupied the Zagros Mountains from very early times. They were known for their bravery and always created problems to foreign invaders. Habitually, they were farmers and shepherds and belonged to Persians.<sup>97</sup> They built houses from clay and stones in Īrān. After Muslim conquest of Īrān, some of them also accepted Islām and like other people of Īrān, also claimed the genealogy of Rabīya bin Nizār bin Ma’ad bin Adnān. While some of them claimed Mu’dar bin Nizār.<sup>98</sup>

Kurds lived in Iranian regions of Kirmān, Sajistān, Isfahān (Bazanjān), Jibāl, Hamdān, and Ārmenīa.<sup>99</sup> In encyclopedia of Islām, it is stated that Istakhari mentioned five districts of Fārs in which Kurds were in abundance: Jilūya, Lawālijān, Diwān, Kariyān and Sahariyār. They all numbered about 500,000 families and were warriors and known for their bravery. But at the time of Muslim conquest, a great number of these families perished and the survived ones mingled them with other nations.<sup>100</sup>

Moreover, Kurds also inhabited the border areas of northeastern Iraq. Muslims, firstly, faced Kurd at the conquest of Taktī and Hulwan, defeated them and received *kharāj* from them. Later they also created problems for the Caliph Umar (RA) as the Kurds of

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<sup>97</sup>The *Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. “Kurds, Kurdistan”

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., 449.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., 450.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., 450.



Alhwāz revolted lot of times against Muslims. They also revolted during the time period of calliph Ali (RA) and others, mostly in Fārs.<sup>101</sup>

Moreover, Kurds were also punished by Hujjāj bin Yousaf for their revolts and aggressive nature. During Umayyad time period, as Kurds lived in various areas of Īrān and often created problems in different regions of Īrān, for instance, during the reign of Umayyad Caliph Walid bin Abdul Malik, they raised revolts in Fārs.<sup>102</sup>

In a nutshell, the chapter reveals the impression that the people of Īrān not only accepted their new masters, but also the new ideas. There were many Iranians who remained loyal to Muslim caliphs and provided their services either as soldiers, farmers, or slaves etc. But on the other hand, there were people who accepted the ideas which were conflicting to Islām. They, at times, were also divided between Muslims in their internal strife or civil wars. Yet, beside all these confusions, Muslims ruled Īrān for centuries.

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<sup>101</sup>Ibid., 451.

<sup>102</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 225.

## Chapter 4

### Arabs and their Governors' Role in the Administration of Iran

If we see the relationship of the Caliph and their governors with each other or with their subjects, there seems diversity of behavior. The attitude changed with the passage of time and the strategies that were adopted by the Caliphs were also changed.

As far as the relationship of Caliph Umar (RA) towards Iranians is concerned, it seems that he was very much lenient towards them. As he was the first Caliph who conquered Īrān, thus it was very much obvious that he had to adopt such policies which not only consolidated his rule in Īrān but also made Iranians feel safe. The relationship of Caliph Umar (RA) with his Arab subjects is very well known by the people as he was considered a generous, kind and a pious person.

However, as the political situations, civil wars and the attitudes of Arabs had changed, a gap between Iranians and Arabs developed. During the Umayyad time period, the sense of superiority of Arabs and lavish life of *shaykhs* of tribes, contrary to their tribal fellows most of whom were lived in misery, had widened the gap between masters and their subjects.<sup>1</sup> For instance, the word *maulā* which was, initially, used for helper but, later, during the Umayyad times it commonly started being using for the non-Arab clients.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 49.

<sup>2</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 61.

#### 4.1 Firmness of Pious Caliphs towards their Governors

The relationship of Iranians with their Muslim Caliphs could be seen after the conquest. As it is known that the power of Īrān was subdued in the reign of the second Caliph Umar (RA), so after the conquest, he sent his governors towards Īrān. Caliph Umar (RA) had a view that Muslims are like camels who obey their leader so he had to guide them to the right path. The tenure of Caliph Umar (RA) was the example of this statement that how strategically and loyally Muslims were guided by him. Moreover, he was very much strict towards his governors that he strictly ordered them to be kind towards their respective subjects and to do justice without any discrimination.<sup>3</sup> He even ordered his governors to be honest regarding the division of booty. He often pleaded to God that he may not appoint his governors to do injustice or to involve in nepotism or any other disloyalty to God or to Muslims. Thus, although Īrān was a rich area and Muslims got a lot of booty and opportunities to gain wealth, his governors remained loyal towards their Caliph.

There were several treaties towards the areas of Īrān which illustrated that again Caliph Umar (RA), not only depicted his concerns for Muslims but for Iranians as well. The social education and ethics were taught to the people of Īrān. Moreover, orders of Caliph Umar (RA) were received by his governors to administer their areas well so that his subjects will live in peace. For instance, he ordered his governors to not create any difference between two groups of people while judging.

Moreover, to have an eye on disloyal people and those who had a bad reputation were ordered to be arrested. There was plenty of thieves in Tabrisān, may be due to its

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<sup>3</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 254.

geographical condition or it may be less populated as compare to other regions of Īrān. The area received special instruction to control the activities of thieves.<sup>4</sup> To take care of patients and to look after them was also the responsibility of governors of Īrān.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, Caliph Umar (RA) also ordered to kill the witches and to call Iranians to eat together and to leave the custom of marrying their daughters, sisters or mothers. The *mawālīs* were also treated well as they held an equal to Muslims and were supposed to receive stipends equal to Muslims.<sup>6</sup>

Caliph Umar (RA) was very harsh towards his governors and always kept eye on their activities. The ideology of Muslims to remember Allah and be honest with Him always kept them away from ill doings. Furthermore, Caliph Umar (RA) always advised all the governors before appointment. For instance, one of his governors, Salman Fārsi (RA) advised Sa'ad bin abi Waqās (RA) to be vigilant while distributing money or wealth.<sup>7</sup> Moreover advised him to remember Allah.

As far as Iranian subjects are concerned, he was kind with them and wanted to build friendly relations with them as when he sent Abu Ubaida Thaqfī (RA) towards Fārs, he counseled him about Īrān as a land of evil and deception, and about its people as hard on ills, thus he had to teach them of good and piety.<sup>8</sup> Later on, when Sa'ad bin Abi Waqās (RA) appointed as the governor of Fārs, he was advised by the caliph to be lenient towards

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<sup>4</sup>Hamīd Ullah, *Siyāsī Wathīqa Jāt*, 272-273.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 260-263.

<sup>6</sup>Fāriq, *Hadhrat Umar (RA) Kay Sarkārī Khutūt*, 301.

<sup>7</sup>Masūdī, *Tārīkh-i Masūdī*, vol. 2, 243.

<sup>8</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 288.

the people as all the people are equal in front of Allah.<sup>9</sup> The difference rests in belief and that does not make them inferior humans.

There was another kind of attitude which shows the sympathetic behavior of caliph Umar (RA) towards his Iranian subjects. For instance, *jizya* was an insulting word for some Iranians so the caliph ordered his governors to use the word charity so that they did not feel insult in paying tax.<sup>10</sup> There are evidences in which the king of Hallab requested to not impose *jizya* on them as it was insulting for them. Consequently, they replaced *jizya* with their army assistance. Moreover, the imposed *jizya* of Caliph Umar (RA) was not according to the economic condition of the people like Iranian rulers who had imposed taxes according to the wealth of people.<sup>11</sup> The Muslims imposed a very low ratio of taxes on their subjects and there were exemptions and alterations if anyone could not pay taxes.

The leniency of Caliph Umar (RA) towards Iranian subjects could also be seen after the conquest of Isfahān when he advised his governors that whoever wanted to leave Isfahān, had the right to do so, as they all had the right to live where they wanted. Moreover, they also had the choice to accept Islām.

The attitude of the Caliph Umar (RA) shows that he did his best to develop good relations with Iranians. The governors' attitude, however changed to some extent during the last years of the Caliph Umar (RA) as complaint of Abu Musa (RA), for appointing *dihqāns* and other people as private servants, received.

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 298.

<sup>10</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 70-71.

<sup>11</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2, 443.

Moreover, the strictness and control of Caliph Umar (RA) could be known by the fact that he always wanted his governors to be present for their subjects. Harqūs, after conquering Ahwāz, started living on a mountain. Caliph Umar (RA), in order to provide relief to Muslims and *dhimīs*, ordered him to settle in plain.<sup>12</sup>

As far as Caliph Uthmān (RA) is concerned, although, he, in his time, ordered governors to work on the same patterns of Caliph Umar (RA), but leniency marked the attitudes of governors which effected society in long term. He emphasized to be kind with the people and not act just as tax collector. Even to consolidate the conquered regions, he wrote to Abdul Rehmān bin Rabīya (in Bāb) to not move for further conquests as he felt that people had indulged in the lust for wealth which could create inconvenience to them.<sup>13</sup>

#### 4.2 The Leniency of Caliphs and Ambitions of their Governors

The greed of Muslim governors also witnessed the power hunger for Iranian regions. Īrān was a prosperous state and always an attraction to the people of Arab. A lot of people wanted to govern Iranian regions. Umar bin Sa'ad bin Abi Waqās was one of them. He always wanted the governorship of Ray. Ibn e Ziyād asked him to fight against Imām Hussain (RA) in order to get the governorship of Ray as a reward.<sup>14</sup> He fought. The behavior of the people changed to that extent that they did not even bother to respect the Prophet's family.

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<sup>12</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 95.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, 395.

<sup>14</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 94.

Moreover, the lust for governorship did not end the hunger of governors, the continuation of lavish life also depicted the power hunger of many governors. For example, the governor of Ray and Dastabā, Kathir bin Shahāb al Harthī, had insulted his servant for giving him simple food and said that he did not conquer Īrān for eating such a simple or plain food.<sup>15</sup>

As time passed away, the fluctuation in the attitudes of governors witnessed the unstable behavior of subjects who started resisting in different ways by breaking the laws or raising rebellions. Caliph Uthmān (RA) is also blamed for appointing his relatives on the governorship of certain provinces. Moreover at a time, Āyeshā (RA), wife of Prophet (SAW), also said that he appointed the people who were too young for this post.<sup>16</sup> The result of such appointments was definitely revolts that disturbed the whole *ummah*.

It is said that the Caliph Umar (RA) also appointed his relatives but the difference existed where accountability was questioned because Caliph Umar's (RA) relatives were accountable to him as, rather Caliph Uthmān (RA) had a soft nature that was misused by his governors. The result was that the governors became negligent and complains were received. Although he wrote his governors to work for their subjects as servants rather than tax collectors but his soft nature allowed them to work as they want.<sup>17</sup>

Moreover, the Caliph consulted his governors to control the rebel activities of people and they advised him to take long term effective measures. For instance, in a

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<sup>15</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al' Buldān*. Vol. 1, 452-453.

<sup>16</sup>Tabarī, in *Tārīkh i Tabarī* explained that Ayesā (RA) defended Caliph Uthmān (RA) for the blame of appointing young governors and said that his governors were experienced army men.

<sup>17</sup>Fāriq, *Hadhrat Uthmān (RA) Kay Sarkāri Khutūt* , 112-113.

meeting, the governors of the caliph advised him to involve the people in *jihād* and to decrease their stipends in order to control these revolts.<sup>18</sup>

Gradually, during the time period of Caliph Uthmān (RA), people revolted a lot. The reason could be the frequent changing of governors in certain regions. For instance, after assuming the caliphship, Caliph Uthmān (RA) expelled the governor of Āzerbaijān (Abdullah bin Farqad) who was appointed by Caliph Umar (RA). The result was revolt that was curbed.<sup>19</sup> The appointment of Ubaid Ullah bin Mu'amar (RA) as the governor of Fārs resulted in revolt that was also crushed. He was replaced in governorship from Khorāsān to Fārs.<sup>20</sup> The revolts became common during last years of Caliph Uthmān (RA), even the murder of the Abdullah bin Āmir by the people of Istakhar was an example of this.<sup>21</sup>

On the other hand, during Umayyad time period, a feeling of superiority increased to such an extent that an extensive gap has been created between governors and their subjects. People were living in bad conditions while the upper classes lived lavishly. There was an incident during the time period of Hujjāj bin Yousaf which indicates the depriving situation of layman and the nobles of Ray. A lady Lailā Ukhilia came to Hujjāj and complained about the lack of rains that effected the growth of crops and the dusty passages that always created problems for pedestrians, and the declining situation of poor. Hujjāj after asking, sent her to the house of Hind bint-i Isma' as she was one of the wealthy ladies of her respective area and lived in tranquility.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 438.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 405.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 413.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, 456-460.

<sup>22</sup>Masūdi, *Tārīkh-i Masūdi*, vol. 3, 213.



### 4.3 Diverse Policies and Attitudes of Umayyad Caliphs regarding their Governors

As Umayyads came in power, Amīr Mu'āwiyah (RA) became the first person who laid the foundation of kingship in Islām and a major change in the behavior of the rulers and their subjects can be seen. The modes of government were changed, however, the fear for God was still important to Amīr Mu'āwiyah (RA). The change in the attitude can be better understood by a discussion between Amīr Mu'āwiyah (RA) and Abdul Rehmān bin Al-Hars, when the later questioned Amīr Mu'āwiyah about the absence of tolerance in his attitude. Amīr Mu'āwiyah (RA) answered that his tolerance disappeared as tolerate and wise people disappeared from the society.<sup>23</sup>

Amīr Mu'āwiyah (RA) was a very sharp person and he made his government strong with his wise strategies. For instance, He answered Amr bin al Ās when he questioned about his bravery that he did not go for a decision until and unless found his advantage in it and never withdrew until he understood that it was worthy of intelligence. He better knew that the areas should receive the governors that were better for its nature and environment.

The tussle between Caliph Ali (RA) and Amīr Mu'āwiyah (RA) had created a warlike situation in all the conquered regions including Īrān. People became uncertain as Caliph Ali (RA) expelled all the governors appointed by the Caliph Uthmān (RA) and Amīr Mu'āwiyah (RA). He also wrote to the governors of Āzerbaijān and Hamdān to accept his caliphship. As'ath bin Qais was deprived of his governorship of Āzerbaijān and Ārmenīa because he was indulged in wealth and was replaced by Jarīr bin Abdullah.

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<sup>23</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 44.

As it was a time period of chaos and there was a warlike situation in whole of the Muslim empire, so there were some strange incidents that never happened before. Some governors that were appointed by the Caliph Ali (RA), were killed secretly. Consequently, there were three governors, being scared of Amīr Mu'āwiyah (RA), accepted his caliphship. Amīr Mu'āwiyah (RA) also received a lot of wealth from the governor of Isfahān as a result of his obedience as well.<sup>24</sup>

The nutshell of uncertainty and chaos was that a lot of people took advantage of the circumstances. The governor of Urdshīr Khurrah, Musqila bin Habira did not pay *kharāj* properly. On the other hand, Amir Muwaiyah (RA) sent his own governors in Caliph Ali's (RA) regions and ordered to capture all the villages and to receive *zakat* from them. Moreover, he also ordered to loot the villagers and to kill the supporters of Caliph Ali (RA). Consequently, they looted even the armory of Thalbia.<sup>25</sup>

Ibn e Kalbī said the kings sometimes punished on minor things and forgave the loftier ones and the reason behind such an attitude is to develop the fear of government. There were a lot of incidents in which Amīr Mu'āwiyah (RA) forgave the people on small offences because of fear of God. The qualities, a caliph possess, not only effected his government but also his employees or governors. It is a twofold relation which effected the empire wholly.

Yazīd and his governors were very much different from Amīr Muawiya's. They were indulged in fulfilling their lust for power and forgot the wisdom of Amīr Mu'āwiyah. One can better understand it by the statement of Yazīd in which he claimed to break the

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<sup>24</sup>Masūdi, *Tārīkh-i Masūdi*, vol. 3, 346.

<sup>25</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 3 (2), 424.

skulls of disobedient ones despite the fact they were dear to him.<sup>26</sup> This also shows the difference of attitude between the wisdom of two caliphs (Amīr Mu'āwiyah and Yazīd).

Besides, another Umayyad caliph, Abdul Malik was famous as a cruel and miser person so were his governors. For instance, Hujjāj and Muhlab bin Abi Safrāh who both were both appointed in Iraq and Iranian regions respectively. Hujjāj also appointed one of his cousins as the governor of Isfahān. The people of Isfahān were famous as annoying and for nonpayment of taxes. They warmly welcomed him and promised to pay taxes. But as the time of payment came, they started finding excuses. The governor started terrifying them by cutting their heads one by one on daily basis and succeeded in collecting taxes.<sup>27</sup>

Umayyad Caliph Hishām bin Abdul Malik was also very kind and on the other hand strict towards his governors and the state structure. After Caliph Umar (RA), Umar bin Abdul Azīz was the Umayyad caliph who had a stable government. He was also very strict towards his governors. He thought that a good governance has four pillars: Governor, Judge, Treasure officer and the Caliph.<sup>28</sup> He strengthened his government that even Kharijites never revolted during his reign. He also issued orders in his government regarding the rights of *dhimīs* and farmers.<sup>29</sup>

The governors, in the last years of Umayyad caliphate, had a great influence on Iranian people. For instance, Marwān bin Muhammad bin Marwān was very active commander of the army appointed in the garrisons of Āzerbaijān. The regions of Ārmenīa and Jazīra were also under his command. People were satisfied under his command because

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<sup>26</sup>Masūdī, *Tārīkh-i Masūdī*, vol. 3, 90.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 214-215.

<sup>28</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 6, 46.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 47.

his dismissal. Consequently, when Caliph Ali (RA) called Jarīr bin Abdullah, Ash'ath bin Qais advised him of complaining Sharjīl but Jarīr refused as he had friendly relations with him.

The trend was not very common during the time of two previous caliphs. However, during the Umayyad rule, personal likes or dislikes and family relationship played a major role in appointing and dismissing of governors in different provinces. For instance, Abdah bin Rīyah Ghassanī was appointed as the governor of Jazīra, Mūsāl and Āzerbaijān after the acceptance of caliphate of Yazīd bin Walīd.

Likewise, the tussle between Abdul Rehmān bin Al Ath'ath and Hujjāj bin Yousaf is an example of feuds amongst governors. Although Abdul Rehmān was appointed as the governor of Sajistān but after his successful conquests towards Ratbail, a hatred developed in the heart of Hujjāj. Consequently, they had wars with each other in the regions of Kirmān, Sūs and Sabūr etc.<sup>33</sup>

Besides, there were some Umayyad governors who always worked for their caliph and remained in their good books. For instance, Muhlab bin bi Safrāh, who was the governor of Fārs during Ibn-i Zubair's (RA) time period and always provided a huge army from Fārs for crushing the revolts. He was also appointed as the governor of Mūsāl, Jazīra, Ārmenīā and Āzerbaijān. Later he also became the trusted governor of Caliph Abdul Malik and always fought in Iranian regions on the behalf of Abdul Malik against kharjities.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 5, 318, 327-328, 362-368.

<sup>34</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 182-183.

Another trend could be seen during the time period of Abdul Malik bin Marwān, when during the war of succession, he promised the Marwanids of Iraq to donate Isfahān as a property to them, although later he did not fulfil his promise.

#### 4.4 Policies of Umayyad Governors towards their Subjects: A Study of Ziyād

The strategies that were adopted by the Arab governors to control their Iranian subjects are interesting in their place. Ziyād was the governor of Īrān during the time of Caliph Ali (RA). He had a very tactical mind and it is said that he ruled Īrān firmly by involving Iranians with each other in wars.<sup>35</sup> As it is said that Ziyād was very active during Caliph Ali's (RA) time period, so Amīr Mu'āwiyah was very much scared of him as he governed a major province of Īrān. Caliph Ali (RA) also advised him to stay careful from Mu'āwiyah as he was very clever.

Ziyād was later appointed as a governor by Amir Mu'āwiyah as well and during his tenure, he maintained law and order situation in Sajjstān and Khorāsān.<sup>36</sup> His *shūra* also included the faithful persons of high esteem like Anas bin Malik (RA), Abdul Rehmān bin Samra (RA) and Samra bin Jundab (RA) who experienced the company of the Prophet Muhammad (SAWW).

Ziyād was also the pioneer of the trends that were adopted by the later caliphs. For instance, he appointed 500 security guards (*hāras*) around the mosque during the time of

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<sup>35</sup>Masūdi, *Tārīkh-i Masūdi*, vol. 3, 27.

<sup>36</sup>His inaugurating speech is given in detail in *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 4. His speech has similar characteristics as of Hujjāj.

prayer.<sup>37</sup> The respective step was might be due to the previous incidents in which people were attacked in the mosques, majorly by Iranians.

Ziyād was also the pioneer of appointing a squad that was armed with weapons and protected him.<sup>38</sup> Ziyād as the governor of Sajistān and Khorāsān in 45 Hijri, controlled the aggressive people of both the areas very well.<sup>39</sup> Ziyād dealt with the people leniently and in his inducting speech said that he would always present for the needy, would not deprive anyone from his stipend by complains of the others and that he would never indulge the people in war. The strategy was very much alike that of pre Islamic Iranian rulers or Sassanid rulers who also adopted such type of strategies. The result was that the militant people were controlled and did not revolt during his governorship.

Later, Qutaiba bīn Muslim, in order to increase conversions, was also blamed for destroying the fire temples of Iranians.<sup>40</sup> Ziyād appointed Abdullah bīn Hassin as a police inspector who controlled the crime ratio very successfully that almost 4000 people joined the police force. Ja'ad bin Qais Tamīmi was a sub inspector under Abdullah bin Hussīn.<sup>41</sup>

On the other hand, Ziyād was a very strict person and ruthlessly punished the culprits but the outcome was that his subjects slept fearlessly because the crime ratio

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<sup>37</sup>Hugh Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 13.

<sup>38</sup>Ziyād was so kind to them that they gave him the title of Kisrā Anūsherwān.

<sup>39</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 34.

<sup>40</sup>Richard W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam and the Emergence of a Muslim Society in Iran*, in ed. N. Levtzion, *Conversion to Islam: A Comparative Study of Islamization* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979), 30-51.

<sup>41</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh i Tabarī*, vol. 4, 81.

decreased to zero. Ziyād not only controlled his subjects but also had an eagle eye on his governors as well. For instance, he expelled Naf'i bin Khalid Tahī because he misused his money. Ibn-i-Amir, who before Ziyād, was the governor of Basra, Fārs and Sajistān was too lenient with people that he never punished anyone. Consequently, people became brave on crimes.<sup>42</sup>

Ziyād divided the city of Kufa or Basra in *Ra'osa- i Arba'a*, which means that the city was divided in to four parts and every part had a leader known as *Mīr Muhalla*. Probably, he adopted the division in Iranian regions as well. There were people, who instead of all these developments, did not like Ziyād. For instance, Yazīd bin Mufarragh Hamīrī, a poet of Sajistān, wrote verses in his disgust.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>*ibid.*, 73.

<sup>43</sup>*ibid.*, 156.

## Chapter 5

### Development and Administration of Arab Army in Īrān

At the advent of Islām, there were two great powers, Romans and Persians, who ruled enormous areas around the east, north and west of Arabia. As far as Persia is concerned, it was a huge empire, which has been ruled by different dynasties in its past. The last Persian rulers were Sassanid who effectively ruled Persia, however, due to some internal factors the empire became weak and ultimately swallowed in Arab Muslim Empire. The Sassanids ruled Persia for long time in which they faced external threats from Roman Empire, Kurds and Turks. Consequently, they had to strengthen their borders so that they could be able to protect their empire and people. Many garrisons were developed in strategically important areas of Īrān (Persia). Moreover, Sassanid own one of the most well organized and well equipped army with modern weapons of its time. The division of army in groups like *Asāwira*, *Bukhāriyah*, *Jund-i Shahanshāh* and *Hamra* etc. depicted the firm hold of Persian army on different regions of Īrān. The reflection of enthusiasm and patriotism of these armies can be seen in the royal army of *Behrā Shair* who took the daily oath that they never make the fall of Fārs possible.<sup>1</sup> Later, the armies of Isfahān and Āzerbaijān also took the oath of death with caliph Ali (RA).<sup>2</sup>

After the conquest of Īrān, Muslims also developed garrisons and settled their armies over there. Later, the families of those army men were also granted lands and their

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<sup>1</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 323.

<sup>2</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 4, 25.



families started settling over there. Gradually, most of those army men involved themselves in economic affairs and became landlords of their areas.

### 5.1 Arabs and the Development and Organization of Army

Before the arrival of Islām, despite the fact that everyone in Arabia was a tribal man and always ready to fight with his weapons, Arabs had lack of military knowledge.<sup>3</sup> There was just a tribal massive in which everyone fought for the superiority of his tribe. They did not bother to know the wars ethics and the sense for fighting rather attacked each other on small matters like retaliation. Even after Islām, initially, just a little change was observed in organization of the Arab Muslim army as they started following one leader.<sup>4</sup> To organize army in ranks like Persians or Romans was still far unmanageable for Muslims. A very important reason was the social structure of Arabia which was still purely tribal and that tribal authorities tranquilly dominated not only the society but army as well. These Arab Muslims used to fight in “tribal units” under their own flags. These armies worked as semi-independent entities. A shortcoming of these tribal influences was that the caliph, independently, did not control these semi-independent units. Caliph had no direct control over small armies and people. They were controlled by governors of provinces and cities.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, in the early years of Arab Muslim rule, soldiers used to fight without

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<sup>3</sup>Leone Caetant, “The Art of War of the Arabs and the Supposed Religious Fervour of the Arabs”, in ed. Fred M. Donner, *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World: The Expansion of Early Islamic State*, vol. 5, (Great Britain: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), 1-2.

<sup>4</sup>*ibid.*, 3.

<sup>5</sup>Patricia Crone, *War and Society in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, 313.

payments because they got due share in booty.<sup>6</sup> The consumption of whole revenue (booty) by soldiers and their families hindered substantial economic output for the center.

After the Muslim conquest of Īrān, the Muslim Caliphs deployed their armies in the conquered areas of Īrān and developed garrisons. In its initial time, Muslims strongly influenced Īrān with their army and captured a lot of areas. Many of Iranian armies were converted to Islām and assisted their Muslim rulers in their wars. Moreover, after the conquest of Īrān, a number of Arab tribes had joined Muslim armies because of the temptation of the booty which also increased the number of soldiers in Muslim armies.<sup>7</sup> During Umayyad rule, Muslim armies, though, did not get technological advancements yet, they could, now, claim a proper classification of their army in infantry and cavalry. They, now, had a proper transportation system with a number of horses and camels.<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, early Muslims saw an era which was full of warfare and struggle to conquer new regions. A continuous fight and religious enthusiasm had increased the importance of conquests and conquered regions. Yet, their descendants got a lavish life which reduced the importance of early conquests in their concentrations. Consequently, the lack of ideological enthusiasm had turned the victorious curve downwards. According to some scholars, Muslim expansion during the Umayyad period, largely depended on fervor for booty which dominated all the other motives.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, with the passage of time, as Umayyad rulers started their kingship, the control over their armies gradually decreased and a lot of revolts started in Īrān from their natives. The army also became weak and the

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<sup>6</sup>Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State*, 5-6.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 4.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 4.

<sup>9</sup>Marius Canard, *The Arab Expansion: The Military Problem*, 66.

passion for war gradually decreased. For instance, Hishām bin Abdul Malik replaced Marwān bin Muhammad Bin Marwān from the governorship of Āzerbaijān and Ārmenīa with Muslimah bin Abdul Malik because of his objection about the sluggishness of army under his command and that he did not take interest in fighting with non-Muslims, rather insisted on peace treaties.<sup>10</sup> Later on, Abbasids took the advantage of deteriorating situation of law and order in Īrān which resulted in the emergence of the greatest Muslim dynasty of the antiquity.

## 5.2 Recruitments

When Muslims started their outward conquests, the need for soldiers had increased to an extent. Thus, in order to fulfill their needs for warriors, Arabs started new recruitments. The abundance of wealth and natural resources of newly conquered areas had tempted a lot of Arab tribes to be recruited in Arab army. These recruitments had increased the number of soldiers in Muslim armies.<sup>11</sup> Now, the need for a record of soldiers had turned Muslims' attention towards the administrative side and *dīwān al jund* was established. Muslim soldiers were properly registered and received pensions as their right and in return, always ready to provide their services for army.<sup>12</sup>

Arab soldiers were recruited for four years services after which they enjoyed their vacations.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, army registers were also prepared and used while sending the army

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<sup>10</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 284.

<sup>11</sup>Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 4.

<sup>12</sup>Patricia Crone, *War and Society in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, 313.

<sup>13</sup>Jalāl-al Dīn Sayyūtī, *Tārīkh-ul Khulāfā'* (Qāhira: Dār-al Fīkar al Arabī, n.d.), 156.

on a conquest or for the replacement of army from a garrison. For instance, Bashar bin Marwān consulted the army register for sending troops against Kharjities.

The volunteers were also called at times. People tried to enter their names in these registers, during Umayyad rule, as volunteers rather than standing army. The reason probably be that the continuous warfare irritated people and they did not want to have a burden on them. Moreover, during Umayyad's rule, it was not essential for volunteers to take part in conquests. (Hujjāj bin Yousaf was an exception from this). The (forced) volunteers could also send other people in their place.<sup>14</sup>

Moreover, there was another trend that the governor of Kufa and Basra sent expeditions towards east and northeast. The people who were not liked by the governor, were involved in continuous warfare in Īrān. For instance, Abdul Rehmān bin Al Ash'ath, who revolted against Hujjāj for he thought that he was disliked by Hujjāj and he send him on one after the other conquest.<sup>15</sup>

Besides Arabs' recruitments, there were non-Arabs and clients who were also given chances to provide their armed services for Muslims. These soldiers included the captives of wars, slaves, converted Iranian soldiers and peasants. They were regularly recruited and paid like other soldiers. Likewise, a number of soldiers were converted and listed as soldiers in *dīwāns*. Like Arab soldiers, they were also paid. Initially, non-Arabs were recruited in groups, later individual recruitments were also done.<sup>16</sup> For instance, *Asāwira*

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<sup>14</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 6, 308.

<sup>15</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 5, 325-327.

<sup>16</sup>Patricia Crone, "The Pay of Client Soldiers in the Umayyad Period", in ed. Fred M. Donner, *From Arabian Tribes to Islamic Empire: Army State and Society in the Near East c. 600-850* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), 287.

and *Jund i Shahanshāh* were converted and recruited in army in groups but later, these group conversions and recruitments became rare and were switched by individual elements.

When Muslims conquered Īrān, they faced two kinds of soldiers; the one who converted and got a privileged status in Arab Muslim army and society and the others who, although, did not convert but assisted Muslims in their further conquests. There were clauses in all kinds of Muslim treaties, according to which the non-Muslims were obliged to assist Muslims in their conquests no matter they had converted or not for instance, the treaty of Ārmenīā had similar clauses.<sup>17</sup> That is why the army officers of Daylam did not accept Islām, yet helped Muslims in their further conquests, however, some of them had, later converted.<sup>18</sup> They were also given some advantages, for instance, a non-Muslim assassin, in Muslim army, was benefited with the weapons of his killed one.<sup>19</sup>

The non-Arab clients who did not accept Islām were declared slaves and considered inferior to the Arabs, but the converts were allowed to join a tribe and to merge themselves in it. They got, in return, protection of Arabs.<sup>20</sup> There were recruitments of slave or unfree soldiers from the time of the Holy Prophet (SAW) and the practice was continued by pious

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<sup>17</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, Vol 2 (3), 192.

<sup>18</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2, 420.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 299.

<sup>20</sup>Faliḥ Husayn, "The Participation of Non-Arab Elements in the Umayyad Army and Administration", in ed. Fred M. Donner, *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World: The Articulation of Early Islamic State Structures*, vol. 6, (Great Britain: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008), 268-270.

caliphs and, later, by the Umayyad rulers. They fought with Muslims on their frontiers and also assisted all the Muslim groups in their civil wars.<sup>21</sup>

The proper recruitment of slave soldiers was started after the death of Amīr Mu'āwiyah (RA).<sup>22</sup> The unfree slave soldiers of Umayyads, however, fought only in crises.<sup>23</sup> A very interesting development was witnessed during the period of Abdul Malik who announced that ran away slaves will be free, registered and recruited. Eventually, a lot of slaves, who ran, came back. For instance there was an Iranian slave, who rebelled and afterwards came back and was later, raised to the status of commander. *Al fityān* was also created after this announcement.<sup>24</sup>

Another attitude of Arabs can be seen in the case of Fīroz Hussain, a slave who bought his freedom for 50,000 *dirhams*, was recruited as regular paid soldier and gradually employed non-Arab clients as his private soldiers. Later, he also provided a number of warriors to Ibn Ash'ath in his revolt.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the soldiers of Yazīd bin Muḥlab were mostly private servants.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, Tariq bin Ziyād who was also the *mawlā* of Musā bin Nusayr, had an Iranian background.<sup>27</sup>

Slaves were not or rarely equipped because of safety reasons. Moreover, ordinary slaves also participated in wars with their masters, although, because of the lack of armed

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<sup>21</sup>Daniel Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islam: The Genesis of a Military System*, (London: Yale University Press, 1981), 109-115.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>24</sup>Crone, *The Pay of Client Soldiers in the Umayyad Period*, 290.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, 295.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, 296.

<sup>27</sup>Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islām*, 126.

skills, they were not able to help their masters to a great extent, however, limited assistance showed their loyalty to their masters. Moreover, they did not deceive their masters during revolts.<sup>28</sup> The reason, perhaps, was the good relation between a slave and his master.

The captives of wars, had also played very important part. They could be, at times, beneficial as well as threatening for Muslims so Arab rulers had to keep these captives carefully so that they could not become a threat for Arabs. Captives of wars were, usually, sent in garrisons where they were mostly converted, no matter for whatever reasons, but their descendants were declared free men.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, the need of protection for conquered regions also inclined Muslims to send them in garrisons where they were completely observed. Sometimes, they accepted Islām or otherwise, give themselves for armed or social services.<sup>30</sup>

The captives of wars were not given an equal status and employment in Arab society yet, they were not ignored by Muslim caliphs. Captives of wars, having special skills, were always a focus of Muslim caliphs. There were bureaucrats and tax collectors who received their recruitments in army. For instance, an Iranian *Bukhāriyah* was a captive of war and was a tremendous archer, was also recruited in army.<sup>31</sup> Besides, they were also declared slaves and mostly tangled in domestic affairs.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 25-27.

<sup>29</sup>Patricia Crone, *The Pay of Client Soldiers in the Umayyad Period*, 297.

<sup>30</sup>Patricia Crone, "The Early Islamic World", in Fred M. Donner, *From Arabian Tribes to Islamic Empire: Army State and Society in the Near East c. 600-850* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), 314.

<sup>31</sup>Patricia Crone, *War and Society in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, 314- 315.

<sup>32</sup>Patricia Crone, *The Pay of Client Soldiers in the Umayyad Period*, 285.

The peasants who gathered in *amsār* or garrisons were declared *dhimmīs*. Similarly, most of *dhimmīs*, who paid taxes and lived in rural areas, also moved to garrisons and accepted Islām.<sup>33</sup> Although their acceptance of Islām was due to several reasons, including financially firm life, however they were also recruited as soldiers. The ran-away peasants were also allowed to convert and were given a lot of advantages. For instance, they were exempted from taxes after conversion in Islām and were also enrolled as soldiers.<sup>34</sup>

After the war of Tustar, *Asāwira* were recruited in Muslim armies. The main commander of *Asāwira* was Sīyah al Uswarī who gathered his army to attack Muslims from Isfahān and Fārs.<sup>35</sup> A great number of *Asāwira* converted during the rule of Umayyad. *Asāwira* also became the part of Muslim army. They were very famous in Īrān probably for their courage and high ranks.<sup>36</sup> They were the landlords in different areas of Īrān such as Ahwāz.<sup>37</sup>

*Asāwira* were the important part of Iranian army. A band of *Asāwira* (soldiers) was always present between Qavīn and Daylam. They protected the people of Qavīn from the skirmishes of the people of Daylam.<sup>38</sup> They accepted Islām and took part in further Muslim conquests. They also demanded an equal status and stipends to Muslims. They consider it true that stipends should be according to the courage and bravery of a soldiers and not on the basis of Muslim and non-Muslim. Their demands were also accepted by the second

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 297-298.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 299-300.

<sup>36</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*. Vol. 2, 538-539.

<sup>37</sup>Fāriq, *Hazrat Umar (RA) Kay Sarkari Khutūt*, 216.

<sup>38</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*. Vol. 1, 456.



caliph of Islām. They were given highest pays and their lands were declared *ushrī* after their acceptance of Islām.<sup>39</sup>

Besides *Asāwira*, Iranians also had the armies known as *Al Īsābijah*, *Al Zutt* and *Al Andghar*. They also accepted Islām after *Asāwira*.<sup>40</sup> They also started living in Basra.<sup>41</sup> *Hamra*, a group of Iranians accepted Islām before and after the war of Qādsiya. Later, they also accepted Islām helped Muslims in further conquests.<sup>42</sup> They were settled in Hulwān and Sāmān (near Isfahān). It is said that the *shurtas* of Kufa, during the time period of Ziyād, were enrolled from *Hamra*.<sup>43</sup> About 680 AD, there were 20,000 *Hamra* present in Iraq.

Iranian warriors, such as *Hamra* and *Asāwira* had continued their separate identity under Arabs as *Asāwira* who were settled in Iraq, had, preserved their separate identity for over half century. A very interesting fact is that *Asāwira*, mostly, tried to remain impartial during Arab civil wars.<sup>44</sup> Likewise, after conquest, a number of non-Muslim Persian armies who joined Arab armed forces had included *Jund-i Shahanshāh* which means “Army of the king of kings”. They accepted Islām and were allowed to associate themselves with Arab tribes and to settle wherever they want. They were also enlisted for salaries. Similarly, the “foot-soldiers” of Daylam and *Hamra* also accepted Islām and joined Muslim armies.<sup>45</sup>

A very interesting fact is that the Iranian soldiers did not accept Islām independently rather, they converted in bands. If the officer of an army band accepted Islām, the whole

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 457.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 539.

<sup>41</sup>Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 5.

<sup>42</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, Vol. 1, 400- 401.

<sup>45</sup>Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 4-5.

band of soldiers followed him. For instance, a group of soldiers of Sūs who fought against Muslims but later made a peace treaty with them had accepted Islām only because of their officer Sabah (army officer/commander) who accepted Islām and took the protection of his army and later fought with his group against Iranians.<sup>46</sup> This revealed the behavior of the army and their strategic approach as well because they found it easier to convert and get relief rather than being killed in misery.

On the other hand, Caliph Umar (RA) also fixed the salaries of the soldiers in order to console and encourage them. That was the strategy of Caliph Umar (RA) who tried the Iranian armies to be loyal with them.

Clients participated in wars with Arabs. There were 100,000 clients who participated in Ibn-i Ash'ath's revolt. Similarly, a number of clients assisted Yazīd bin Muḥlab in his war of Jurjān.<sup>47</sup> Like pious caliphs, Umayyad rulers had to settle and deal with their clients efficiently so they adopted effective measures. They appointed the native officers in their respective regions which made it easy to control the people. For example, the Persian clients were administered by their own national named "Sanbakhtī".<sup>48</sup> Moreover, Hayyān Nabtī who himself a Daylamite, was the head of 7000 registered client soldiers.<sup>49</sup> When Hujjāj bin Yousaf was attacked by Al-Muttarif bin al-Mughira, Bashar

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<sup>46</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 359.

<sup>47</sup>Crone, *The Pay of Client Soldiers in the Umayyad Period*, 294.

<sup>48</sup>Husayn, *The Participation of Non-Arab Elements in the Umayyad Army and Administration*, 282.

<sup>49</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 236.

bin Marwān aided him with 1000 soldiers who were from Isfahān included Kurds.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, Hayyan Nabī's army was consisted on officially recruited Iranian soldiers.<sup>51</sup>

Iranians were also involved in the military activities of Arabs as there were people who either volunteered themselves as soldiers in civil wars with Arabs or recruited from government in crushing revolts. For instance, during the time period of Ibn-i Zubair (RA), Muhlab bin Abī Safrāh (the governor of Fārs) bring a huge band of soldiers from Fārs in order to crush the revolt of Mukhtar Thaqfī.<sup>52</sup> It may be assumed that they were volunteers or slave soldiers who had shown their loyalty to their masters.

As far as the involvement of Iranians in crushing revolts is concerned, when the people of Jurjān revolted against the Arab Government and Sa'īd bin Al Ās organized an army of *manzua'ah*<sup>53</sup> and *mawalī* to crush them<sup>54</sup>. It is most probable that these armies were from Tabristān or any other Iranian region. Moreover, on another time, Daylam provided 7000 newly converted Muslims to crush the revolt which shows that how much Iranians accepted Islām.

### 5.3 Payments to Soldiers

A soldier, during medieval times, had to fulfill two sorts of necessities. As he had to live without his family for a long time period and must leave something for his family so that

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<sup>50</sup>Husayn, *The Participation of Non-Arab Elements in the Umayyad Army and Administration*, 283.

<sup>51</sup>Crone, *The Pay of Client Soldiers in the Umayyad Period*, 296.

<sup>52</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīk-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 155.

<sup>53</sup>The army that worked voluntarily.

<sup>54</sup>Ibn i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh i Ibn i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 243-244.

they would be able to spend their lives comfortably. Secondly, he had to fulfill his personal needs, for instance the essential equipment for war and food.

During the time period of Caliph Umar (RA), Muslim army, in order to fulfill their sustenance needs, used to loot or plunder nearby villages of enemies. There was no proper food supply for army which could fulfill their need for foodstuff. But, after sometime, the addition of food department in Muslim army decreased the looting ratio to an extent.<sup>55</sup>

As far as the payments of Arab soldiers are concerned, *fay* was fixed for only conquerors.<sup>56</sup> Arab soldiers were paid, provincially, from the taxes (*fay*) collected from conquered regions.<sup>57</sup> The second Caliph of Islām also fixed payments for Iranians who were conquered and converted, for instance, Siyāh al Uswārī.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, during pious caliphate, army men received *atā* but for their military services, not as regular payments. Caliph Umar (RA) has given *atā* to the soldiers according to their participation in wars.<sup>59</sup> It is said that during Caliph Umar's (RA) time period, *atā* meant "past participation" reward. Yet, a soldier received salary of about 200 *dirhams* annually which, gradually, was increased to 300 than to 600. Later, they started receiving four fifth of the booty as the alteration of their payment.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> S. A. Q. Husaini, *Arab Administration*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Lahore: SH. Muhammad Ashraf, 1966), 66.

<sup>56</sup> Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 63.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>58</sup> Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 359.

<sup>59</sup> Masūdī, *Tārīkh-i Masūdī*, vol. 3, 641.

<sup>60</sup> Husaini, *Arab Administration*, 64.

Moreover, initially, after conquests, soldiers were given interesting packages of income so that they might get attracted and settle in garrisons. For instance, Kūfans and Basrans, both, had claims on the area of Khūzistān because they were promised for its *ḡay* by caliph Umar (RA). The avarice for getting full tax inclined them to struggle hard and later, they both claimed for Khūzistān.<sup>61</sup> The soldiers who participated in the war of Qādsiya, also, received regular payments.<sup>62</sup>

Caliph Umar (RA) also prefer those soldiers who remember Quran as he wrote to the commanders of garrisons to send him the names of “*ḥuffāz*” so that they could receive complimentary stipends. Moreover, they were also sent by the caliph to teach the locals.<sup>63</sup> On the other hand, the Umayyad caliphs had also paid a lot to develop their standing army. There are evidences which depicts that Umayyad caliphs paid 2,000,000 *dirhams* to Qahtanities to provide 2000 men for standing army.<sup>64</sup> Umayyad rulers enrolled 250,000 to 300,000 troops at the beginning of eight century.<sup>65</sup>

Besides, the Muslim soldiers were not allowed to keep private properties in conquered regions, they were depended on state. Military was also rewarded with fragments of lands which were known as *qatā'i*.<sup>66</sup> *Qatā'i* was given on “absolute ownership”. Inheritance and transfer both were prohibited in the case of these lands.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 3.

<sup>62</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūḥ-al Buldān*, vol. 2, 643

<sup>63</sup>Fāriq, *Hazrat Umar (RA) Kay Sarkari Khutūt*, 240.

<sup>64</sup>Husaini, *Arab Administration*, 154.

<sup>65</sup>Lindsay, *Daily Life in the Medieval Islamic World*, 11.

<sup>66</sup>Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 81.

<sup>67</sup>*Ibid.*, 82.

Moreover, *muqatillah*, a special army force of Caliph Umar (RA), also received regular pensions.<sup>68</sup>

Umayyad time period witnessed the underprivileged condition of army men as a lot of people had to fight without any payment of pensions.<sup>69</sup> During the rule of Amīr Muāwiyah (RA), many soldiers were deprived of their payments, the trend was followed by other Umayyad Caliphs, yet, Umar II had broken the ice and started paying 20,000 unpaid Umayyad soldiers.<sup>70</sup>

Caliph Umar (RA), on one hand, sent expeditions towards Īrān but on the other hand, was also careful for their ease and maintenance. He ordered Sa'ad bin abī Waqās to send army at naturally suitable places so that they can relax and to pay them stipends in time. Sa'ad bin abī Waqās wrote to caliph, after the conquest of Qādsiya that Muslims are enjoying on the sea shores and were enjoying and walking on roads. The caliph also ordered to give a part of seasonal crops to army.<sup>71</sup> Later on, Muhlāb bin abī Safrāh, during a war with Kharjities, received *kharāj* on sugarcane in order to pay his army.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, during Abdul Malik bin Marwān's time period, he donated the *pargana* of Fasā, Dār Abjard, *pargana* of Istakhar and the *kharāj* of Fārs to fulfill the army needs.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>Husaini, *Arab Administration*, 73.

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>71</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 57.

<sup>72</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 4, 465.

<sup>73</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 5, 290.

Muslim treaties also showed great concerns for Muslim army for instance, the treaty of Isfahān had the clause of arranging a ride for a Muslim soldier.<sup>74</sup> Another clause for Ārmenīa was to help Muslims or to pay *jizya*. But the essentialism of providing military assistance to Muslims was also the part of treaty.<sup>75</sup>

Caliph Umar (RA) paid his soldiers without any distinction, no matter they were Arab Muslims or newly converted Muslims. Moreover, the captives of wars, after declaring slaves, were mostly tangled in domestic affairs.<sup>76</sup> During the time period of second caliph of Islām, Sassanian armies who accepted Islām, received highest pays. Moreover, *dihqāns* were also allowed to keep their properties.<sup>77</sup> The prisoners of wars, who converted, were also paid and got the same rights like other Muslims.<sup>78</sup>

Trend changed during Umayyad time period as clients, always, were considered inferior to Arabs. This can be seen when one talked about the salaries of soldiers. It is certain that clients received low income as compare to Arabs and it is said that this system prevailed till the time of caliphship of Māhdi.<sup>79</sup>

Amīr Muāwiyah (RA) paid his client soldiers less than Arabs. The amount, during Amīr Mu'āwiyah's reign, which was paid annually, to client soldiers was 15 *dinars*. While

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<sup>74</sup>Hamīd Ullah, *Siyāsī Wathīqa Jāt*, 267-268.

<sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*, 286-287.

<sup>76</sup>Patricia Crone, *The Poy of Client Soldiers in the Umayyad Period*, 285.

<sup>77</sup>M. A. Shaban, *Islāmic History: A New Interpretation AD 600-750* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 47.

<sup>78</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-ul Buldān*, vol. 2, 648-650.

<sup>79</sup>Falih Husayn, *The Participation of Non-Arab Elements in the Umayyad Army and Administration*, 286.

Abdul Malik raised the amount to 20 and Hishām was honored to pay highest pays to client soldiers which was 30 dinars.<sup>80</sup> Amīr Mu'āwiyah (RA) paid volunteers for wars but at the end of war.<sup>81</sup> It is not clear that whether the volunteer soldiers of first *fitna* were paid or not.<sup>82</sup> Caliph Umar II, in his reign, had found 20,000 client soldiers who worked without receiving any payments or rewards. It is not correct to say that Umayyad soldiers worked without receiving any payments.<sup>83</sup> It is difficult to believe that someone worked for years without any output.

The increasing number of recruitments of soldiers in Muslims' army had converted the attention of Muslim caliphs towards the establishment of *diwāns*. A department for reservation of funds was established by Muslims which was known as *diwān al jund*. A *kātib* was also appointed who took all the records.<sup>84</sup> However, the time period of Pious Caliphs and Umayyad rulers can be differentiated by the alteration of payment procedures.

*Diwāns* were started by Caliph Umar (RA) on Sassanian basis and with the exception of Syria and Egypt, rest of the soldiers were paid in *dirhams*. During the seventh century, one dinar was equal to 10 *dirhams* but later, in eighth century, one *dinār* was equal to 20-30 *dirhams*. Moreover, *Asāwira* and *Hamra* received 2000 *dirhams* as payment.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>80</sup>Crone, *The Pay of Client Soldiers in the Umayyad Period*, 291.

<sup>81</sup>Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 18.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, 65.

<sup>83</sup>Crone, *The Pay of Client Soldiers in the Umayyad Period*, 284.

<sup>84</sup>Abd-al Aziz Duri, *Early Islamic Institutions: Administration and Taxation from the Caliphate to the Umayyads and Abbasids*, trans. Razia Ali, (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 167.

<sup>85</sup>Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 61.



Bukhāran captives also received pays from Ubaid ullah bin Ziyād.<sup>86</sup>Tawbā, who was from Sīstān, also received stipends from Sulaymān and Abdul Malik for his two sons.<sup>87</sup>

Besides the need for minting a high number of coins inclined Muslims to go with Sassanian silver *drachm* or Byzantine's gold *nomismata*. Consequently, the first coins minted in Sassanian cities, during the time period of Caliph Uthmān (RA), were on Sassanian patterns but with some modifications. A little inscription of *bismillah* or *jayyid* was imprinted on coins. Amīr Muāwiyah (RA) created little difference as the date, name of governor and place of minting was also imprinted on coins.<sup>88</sup>

The time period of Kharjities and their influence in regions can also be identified through the coins they minted in their rule. For instance, Qatrī bin Fujah minted coins about 688-695 in Fārs and Sīstān.<sup>89</sup>

Caliph Abdul Malik was the person who introduced currency reforms in 693-694 AD. A standard currency was introduced, however, the east still owned silver and Byzantine's gold and copper's coins. The date and place was still mentioned, however, the name of Caliph or governor was absent from coins. Moreover, there were two procedures of minting that the tax payer contributed their produce or the government used to mint the lump sum from tax collections. People contributed their produce in the areas where coins were minted and secondly, where government was involved in minting by tax collection in garrisons.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup>Patricia Crone, *The Pay of Client Soldiers in the Umayyad Period*, 287.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., 289.

<sup>88</sup>Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 68.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., 69.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., 69.

Booty was also used to mint coins as when Baykand was conquered, Qutayba ordered to mint coins from a gold idol. About 150,000 coins were extracted from that idol. During the time period of Hujjāj bin Yousaf, there were 20 mints in Īrān and Iraq, for instance, Ray, Isfahān, Hamdān, Sīstān, Kirmān, Fārs, Istakar, Dārabjard and Bīshapūr. Moreover, Ārmenīa, Āzerbaijān and Jazira were also minting places. These all places were garrisons as well.<sup>91</sup>

#### 5.4 Military Organization of the Arabs

Unlike Persians and Romans, who had organized their armies in pyramidal ranks, Arabs, before and after initial years of Islām, had a different military set up from its contemporary world. They used to fight in “tribal units” under their own tribal flags. There was no proper system of payments as well. Initially, they fought without payments yet, they got a due share in booty.<sup>92</sup> The army commanders of Muslims army were selected from tribal heads or *ashrāfs* who were influential and loyal and had the potential to lead the whole of the tribe in an organized way and who had the courage to organize and collect taxes from people under his command.<sup>93</sup> Arabs, though, had lack of sense of war organization, however, they were not inferior from their rivals who had lack of moral superiority. They were, therefore, aware of war tactics. It is also said that besides the continuous struggle of Arab armies, their luck also contributed to their victories as Ibn e Khaldūn said that “victory does not depend only on the strength of the armies....but also on luck and incident”.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>91</sup>Ibid., 70.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., 5-6.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., 21.

<sup>94</sup>Canard, *The Arab Expansion: The Military Problem*, 72-76.

Besides developing garrisons, Muslim caliphs also had concerns regarding the division of army. The right division of army was as important as to conquer an area. Caliph Umar (RA) shaped his army for the conquest of Īrān in a pyramidal form. The whole army was divided in ten parts. Every ten soldiers received a leader, then ten bands of ten soldiers received a leader further. There was further division in the form of the right wing, the left wing, center, *talbiyah*, chivalry, infantry and patrolling.<sup>95</sup> He also appointed *Itabā'* and there were also the judges and the officers who were responsible for the division of booty.

Moreover, army also had its experts. For instance, the Caliph Umar (RA) appointed Abdul Rehmān bin Bahilī on the conclusion and division of booty. Similarly, Salman Fārsi (RA) was appointed to form army and to identify the ways. Hilāl al Hajri was also appointed as a translator for Iranians and Ziyād bin Sufyan to conclude treaties.<sup>96</sup>

Arab army developed itself gradually and reached at its best during Umayyad time period. When we talk about the division of Muslim army we came to know that during pious caliphate, the Arab army was consisted of infantry (*Al rijāl*), cavalry (*Al Fursān*), archers (*Al Rumāt*), service corps (*Al Ghilmān*), scouts (*Al Tāliyah*), rear scouts (*Al Rid*), and Decurion (*Amīr al Ashrah*).<sup>97</sup> The army was consisted of center, a right wing which was known as *maimna*, a left wing known as *maysara* and *muqaddima* or vanguard.<sup>98</sup> The commander of army stayed in the center. Siege warfare was not common among Arabs rather they liked to fight openly. However, the early siege weapons of Muslims included

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<sup>95</sup>Hamīd Ullah, *Siyāsī Wathīqa Jāt*, 246.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., 247-248.

<sup>97</sup>Husaini, *Arab Administration*, 65.

<sup>98</sup>Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 23.

*manjñiq* and *dabāba*.<sup>99</sup> Umayyad army was too strong that to reach cavalry, enemy had to defeat infantry which was a wall of spears. The use of this technique became a common practice under Marwanid period.<sup>100</sup>

As Arabs started indulging themselves in other occupations, consequently, professional troops emerged during Umayyad time period which included both Arab and non-Arab elements. Eventually, the tribal control had shifted to direct military control.<sup>101</sup> The total Arab migrants in conquered regions numbered about 500,000, while these conquered regions consisted of about 30 million natives.<sup>102</sup> Eventually, Arabs were coerced to recruit non-Arabs for armed assistance. Consequently, the inclusion of non-Arab element increased in Arabs' army. Mostly, talented non-Arabs were recruited in army, for example, *Bukhāriyah* were recruited because they were brilliant archers.<sup>103</sup>

During Umayyad time Period, the sense for armed organization had developed as they, now, had proper food supplies which not only provide them food in time but also helped in saving it for future needs.<sup>104</sup> Umayyad's military organization was far better than previous caliphs as they knew the division of army between vanguard, center, Wings, rearguard, the distinction between high and low cavalry, baggage train, logistics and siege machines'.

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<sup>99</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 1, 470-471.

<sup>100</sup>Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 25.

<sup>101</sup>Patricia Crone, *The Early Islāmic World*, 316.

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*, 314.

<sup>103</sup>*Ibid.*, 314.

<sup>104</sup>Marius Canard, *The Arab Expansion: The Military Problem*, 71.

Moreover, the Umayyad army also possessed food depots and proper food supply in the form of herds of sheep. Local sheep flocks were also attacked in order to fulfill their food desires, for instance, before the battle of Qādsiya, Muslims attacked Fayyūm and Nahrain and caught a lot of camels and other flocks of sheep during *Ayyām al Laham*.<sup>105</sup> The Muslim conquest of Īrān had also preserved a lot of interesting facts including a main concern of Muslims to capture those Iranians who knew modern war tactics so that they would utilize them in their favor. Gradually, during Umayyad period, battalions of detainees also started appearing from Sufyanid period and an example could be seen when Iranian *Bukhāriah* had their own regiment in Arab army.<sup>106</sup>

During Umayyad time period, the concept of *shurta* was introduced. Initially, they were known as “choice troops”, but later came to be known as police force. They were under the command of *hāras* or commander of guards. *Shurat* were Arabs, while, *hāras* were mostly non-Arabs. The reason might be the commanding nature of non-Arabs and the experience of a well-organized government like Persians.<sup>107</sup> Another important department was introduced by Ubaidullah bin Ziyād was of *urāfa* (*ārif*) who were responsible for controlling the rebels and their activities in their areas. The assurance of absence rebels in their area was one of the most important responsibility of *urāfa*. The other important people were *arīd* who assigned the duty to check the activities of people who refused to fight with Kharjities.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>105</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2, 374.

<sup>106</sup>Patricia Crone, *The Pay of Client Soldiers in the Umayyad Period*, 286-287.

<sup>107</sup>Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 13.

<sup>108</sup>*Ibid.*, 22.

The armies settled in garrisons were known as “*muqātila*” while the armies in Kufa and Basra were known as “sevenths”.<sup>109</sup> The activities and life of *muqātila* was under the command of provincial officers who were responsible for them in their respective regions. There were almost 50,000 *muqātila* in western Īrān and Khorasan. When Yazīd bin Muḥlab attacked Jurjān, he had 100,000 *muqātila* in his army.<sup>110</sup>

There were certain other ranks of army for instance:

- *Musliha*: That part of army that remained away from army at a distance for particular reasons.<sup>111</sup>
- *Sawāif*: The part of Muslim army who protect the borders in summers.<sup>112</sup>
- *Manzūa 'h*: The part of army who worked voluntarily or without pay.<sup>113</sup>

### 5.5 Armaments used by the Arabs

Arabs were, comparatively, inferior in arms from Romans and Persians. However, high quality of arms were made in southern Arab including Yemen.<sup>114</sup> Arabs had a complete package of weapons, they not only cover themselves but their horses as well. The covered horse was known as *mujaffaf*.<sup>115</sup> Moreover, there were helmets commonly known as *bayda'* (egg) or sometimes *anf al bayda'* or helmet like a skull and spears or *rimah*, shields or *darāq* were used by a soldier. Coat mail, made of metal, was an important part of weapons.

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<sup>109</sup>Ibid., 7.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., 20.

<sup>111</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 231.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., 239.

<sup>113</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 243.

<sup>114</sup>Marius Canard, *The Arab Expansion: The Military Problem*, 70.

<sup>115</sup>Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 170.

Soldiers wore it on their body. Initially, it was used by Romans, however, it became an essential part of Roman and Sassanid empires. It was too expensive and soldiers wore it under a cloak. Coat mail was also passed through generations as a prize.<sup>116</sup>

Another weapon was *Al Mughāfir* which came down to the chest of soldiers. The word *Al Mughāfir* was used for coat of mail. *Dīr*, *halāq*, *jawshan* and *al hutamiya* were also used for it.<sup>117</sup> Arabs called body armor *la'ma* and the man who wore body armor was known as “*mustāla'mā fil hadīd*”.<sup>118</sup> Shields, made of wood or leather, also became the most important part of Arab Muslim army.<sup>119</sup> Stirrups, made of wood were initially used by Persians, however, Muhlab bin abī Safrāh used iron stirrups firstly against kharjities.<sup>120</sup> A lot of swords and two silver stirrups were found in northern Īrān which dated back to Sassanid times.<sup>121</sup>

Moreover, swords were also named in Arabs for instance, *hanafī* sword was named after Ahnaf bin Qais.<sup>122</sup> There short spears with long blade were known as *harbah*. Another weapon which was used by Kharjities and show their technological advancement was *hasak* or caltrops.<sup>123</sup> Arabs' bows or *qaws*, also known as *nabl*, were lighter than Persians bows or *nushshāb* which were comparatively heavier.<sup>124</sup> Archers played the most important part in Muslim army.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>116</sup>*ibid.*, 168.

<sup>117</sup>*ibid.*, 169.

<sup>118</sup>*ibid.*, 169.

<sup>119</sup>*ibid.*, 171.

<sup>120</sup>*ibid.*, 172.

<sup>121</sup>*ibid.*, 172-173, 176.

<sup>122</sup>*ibid.*, 173.

<sup>123</sup>*ibid.*, 176.

<sup>124</sup>*ibid.*, 177.

<sup>125</sup>*ibid.*, 10.

Wooden weapons were a symbol of distinction between slaves or poor and free men. Usually Bedouins, Kurds, Zanj and Nabti used these weapons as these were cheapest that everybody could afford. In Abbasid Revolution, these weapons were used as national symbol of lower class Iranians.<sup>126</sup>

The other weapons used by the army were:

- *Manjnīq*: Muslims had learnt the art of using *manjnīq* from Persians. Salman Fārsi (RA) used it firstly in Ta'if.<sup>127</sup>
- *Hindām*: Probably used to level walls.
- *Dabbābah*: A multi-store carriage for stone throwers, precursors and archers. Egyptians, firstly used *dabbābah*. Later on, copied by Greeks, Romans and later by Persians.<sup>128</sup>
- *Arāday*: A wooden house for archers.
- *'Urrāway*: a weapon like a small *manjnīq*.
- *Kubāsh*: It is an instrument made of wood and iron and used to destroy the huge walls.<sup>129</sup>

### 5.6 Garrisons Developed by the Arabs in Īrānian Regions

The north and northeastern areas of Īrān had due importance because of its strategic locations. Threats from Romans and Turks always persuaded Iranians (Persians) to have

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<sup>126</sup>Patricia Crone, "The Significance of Wooden Weapons in Al-Mukhtar's Revolt and the Abbasid Revolution", in ed. Fred M. Donner, *From Arabian Tribes to Islamic Empire: Army State and Society in the Near East c. 600-850* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), 176-177.

<sup>127</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 1, 470.

<sup>128</sup>*Ibid.*, 471.

<sup>129</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 230.



an eagle eye on its enemies. Moreover, after Muslim conquest of Īrān, these areas also provided a gateway for the conquests towards Roman Empire and Turks. For instance, Jazīra, Ārmenīā, Kirmān, and Āzerbaijān etc. Consequently, like Iranians (Persians), Muslims also took effective measures to save their empire and developed garrisons in all the strategically important areas of Īrān.

Before the arrival of Muslims, Iranians also developed garrisons to protect their territories for instance, Qasr-i Banī Maqātil was a garrison with his leader Nauman bin Qabīsa Al Ta'i.<sup>130</sup> Qādsiya was also a garrison under the rule of *Kisrā* and had a natural boundary or safety wall in the form of mountains.<sup>131</sup> Moreover, to control the revolts of Iranians, which could create problems to Muslims, it was essential to develop garrisons.

Arabs always fought in deserts. When Muslims conquered Īrān, they found geographically diverse areas as there were a lot of tricky mountains and on the other hand fertile lands, however, developed garrisons in all kinds of areas which were strategically important. For instance, Āzerbaijān, Ārmenīā and Tabristān were, mostly, mountainous regions. Besides, there was Ahwāz which was a mountainous as well as an agrarian area with fertile fields and Muslims used to get *kharāj* for their army from here. Moreover, Kirmān, another garrison, was an area of mountains, fertile land and also possessed a desert.

Caliph Umar (RA) divided the royal lands of *Kisrā* in five parts in which four parts were left for the settlement of army.<sup>132</sup> Moreover if a non-Muslim accept Islām and takes

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<sup>130</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2, 427.

<sup>131</sup>Hamīd Ullah, *Siyāsī Wathīqa Jāt*, 252.

<sup>132</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 45.

part in further conquests, he was also benefited with booty. People were settled by in *amsār* (garrisons) by Caliph Umar (RA). He attracted people towards garrisons by offering high pays. These garrisons were, than, populated with local armies which helped Muslims in further conquests.<sup>133</sup>

All the migrants in garrison cities were registered in *diwāns* as soldiers and received their pays on monthly or annual basis as their right. They got a lot of advantages as they were, except *zakāh*, exempted from taxes.<sup>134</sup> These soldiers were restricted to armed services and were not allowed to indulge themselves in other occupations such as agriculture or trade. However, the old soldiers were allowed to go and to join further occupations.

Caliph Umar (RA) also wrote to Sa'ad bin abī Waqās (RA) to develop observation posts in mountains and to settle the army near waterfalls and fertile lands.<sup>135</sup> Muslim the caliphs were also careful in developing garrisons and the deployment of army. The army was divided between the summer and the winter armies. For instance, Abdullah bin Abdul Malik took the promise from his army that was consisted on the people of Jazira to stay there for the whole winters.<sup>136</sup>

Garrisons were in different areas for instance, a garrison was developed by Muslims in Manāzar by Salma bin al Qīn. The whole of administration of Manāzar was controlled by Ghālib. Nahar Tīri was another garrison under the control of Kālib bin Wail Kalbi.

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<sup>133</sup>Patricia Crone, *The Early Islamic World*, 311.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 312.

<sup>135</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkhii Tabarī*, vol. 2, 328.

<sup>136</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 242.

There were more than one garrisons, developed by Muslims, in Ahwāz. The reason for developing more than one garrisons in Ahwāz was probably that all the expeditions, firstly stayed in Ahwāz and then moved for the conquests towards east or north. Kharjities also made it the central place and stayed there occasionally. They used to loot the weapons, so Ahwāz probably, was a treat for them. Muslims developed a lot of garrisons in Māh and the area between Māh and Nihavand. For instance, Muslims attacked in a grassland and looted a lot of weapons and developed a garrison over there named *Marj al Qila*. Another garrison near *Marj al Qila* was developed and the tribes of Ijl and Hanīfa were settled over there.<sup>137</sup>

A vale was also developed as garrison between *Marj al Qila* and Nihavand and it is interesting to know that it has populated with caravans. Probably, these caravans provided them food and fulfill their necessities. It is not essential that Muslims looted that caravans to seek some sort of benefit but probably, transaction was also the option. The name of this garrison was *Thnia al Rikāb*. It is very interesting to know that Muslims fixed the names of their garrisons on an event or use similes. *Thania al Rikāb* means the way of caravans. Similarly, another garrison was known as *Sin al Samīra* means the tooth of Samīra.<sup>138</sup>

There were several garrisons developed in the area of Dastabī and the administrators of these garrisons were Isma' bin Abdullah Zabī, Māhalhal bin Yazīd Tai, Samāk bin Ubaid Absi, Samāk bin Meharmah Asadī and Samāk Ansari. Nakhila was also a garrison.

<sup>137</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 179.

<sup>138</sup>Samīra was a lady of Arabia whose one tooth was large than others.

Bāb was a city between Tabristān and Bahr e Khizar and always provided a place of protection to Tabristān from Jurjān. The people of Caucasus used to raid in Īrān. Anūshewān built a wall and fixed heavy iron gates and appointed security guards over there. With the passage of time, people started living here and the city came to be known as Bāb or *Bāb al Abwāb*.<sup>139</sup> It was depopulated because of continuous warfare, so it was declared garrison and became the place where only army was settled. However, the people who had some sort of contact with army, whether in the form of traders or suppliers of arms, lived in the surroundings of Bāb.<sup>140</sup> The two most important garrisons where the armies from Kufa and Basra settled were Āzerbaijān and Ray.

Āzerbaijān was a region in which Muslims showed their interests to develop it as a garrison. Moreover, they directly controlled the garrisons of Dināwar, Sīrwān, Saymāra, Isfahān, Qum, Ray Qavīn and Ardbail.<sup>141</sup> A lot of people settled in garrisons in Īrān. For instance, about 691, 5000 people from Kufa came and settled in the garrison of Ray. They also collected the *fay* of Ray. Later, in 696 AD, many other small garrisons were developed and army men were settled over there for instance, 2000 in Isfahān, 3000 in Ray, 4000 in Kirmān.<sup>142</sup>

Muslims had a very interesting schedule regarding the settlement of army in these garrisons. There were six thousand soldiers in the garrison of Āzerbaijān, rather Ray had

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<sup>139</sup>Khūrshīd Ahmed Fāriq, *Hadhrat Uthmān (RA) Kay Sarkarī Khutūt* (Lahore: Wifāq Press, 1978), 158-159.

<sup>140</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 191-192.

<sup>141</sup> Micael G. Morony, "Iran in Early Islamic Period", in ed. Touraj Daryaee, *The Oxford Book of Iranian History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 217.

<sup>142</sup>Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 42.

about four thousand. These ten thousand soldiers were replaced every year with fresh army and every soldier got a chance to fight once in every four years.<sup>143</sup> For instance, Abdul Malik bin Marwān ordered, after a war with Kharjities, Bashar bin Marwān to return his army to Ray so that they could complete their fixed time span and then to replace fresh ones.<sup>144</sup>

There was also a garrison in Kirmān. There were almost four thousand soldiers at Kirmān's garrison at the time of Abdul Rehmān bin Al Ash'ath. Muslims also developed their armories over there. For instance, Caliph Ali (RA) developed his armory in Anbār and Ain al Timar. Thalbia also received an armory.<sup>145</sup> Moreover, during Abbasid revolution, Qehtaba found highest number of arms, horses and slaves in its garrison.<sup>146</sup>

The areas that were developed as garrisons were also used as buffer states and from there Muslims also send expeditions to other regions. For instance, Umar bin Habīra, who was the *walī* of Jazira during the time of Yazīd bin Abdul Malik, attacked many times on Roman regions from Ārmenīa and enslaved the people of the Roman Empire. Similarly, during 725, S'aīd bin Abdul Malik and Muslima bin Abdul Malik attacked from Jazira and captured Qaisariya. During 735 AD, Marwān Bin Muhammad attacked Roman areas from Ārmenīa and during 736 AD, Mu'awiyah bin Hisham, Sulaymān bin Hishām and Marwān bin Muhammad attacked Warqīs (Darnīs) from Ārmenīa. During 737, Marwān Bin Muhammad again attacked from Ārmenīa and reached at the capital of Khaqān.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>143</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 93), 320.

<sup>144</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 5, 129.

<sup>145</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 3 (2), 424.

<sup>146</sup>Abī Jafar Jarīr Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, trans. Syed Muhammad Ibrahim, vol. 6, (Karachi: Nafis Academy, n.d.), 520-521.

<sup>147</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 369-371.

Garrisons were developed in Askar Mukarram in Khūzistān, Shīrāz (Fārs) and Ard bail and Marāgha (Āzerbaijān).<sup>148</sup> Zaranj, the main town of Sīstān was also made a garrison.<sup>149</sup>

Beside outside conquests, the garrisons also provided army for crushing the revolts inside the state. For instance, Āzerbaijān refused to pay *kharāj* to Caliph Uthmān (RA), and consequently were crushed and received the *kharāj* of four lac dirhams.<sup>150</sup>

The armies and other people, who were settled in garrisons, in order to fulfill their economic needs started cultivation in their respective areas. (It should be remembered that they were not allowed to indulge themselves in agriculture as their armed services were the supreme priority of Arab government.) For instance, in 670 AD, there were 50,000 families which were settled in Merv and all of them started cultivating their areas and until 730 AD, only 15,000 families were left for purely armed services. Similarly, in Kimmān, Arabs claimed abundant lands, while the people from Kufa and Basra claimed the lands of Āzerbaijān and started farming in the region.<sup>151</sup>

Moreover, garrisons became a place for social, administrative and cultural assimilation.<sup>152</sup> All the taxes were collected in garrisons. On the other hand, garrisons were the places in which the largest interaction between upper and lower class was possible. A continuity of old culture and a birth of new syncretized culture having the elements of two or more societies was also witnessed in garrisons which effected both Arabs and Iranians

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<sup>148</sup>Husaini, *Arab Administration*, 159-160.

<sup>149</sup>Shaban, *Islamic History: A New Interpretation AD 600-750*, 85.

<sup>150</sup>Fāriq, *Hadhrat Uthmān (RA) Kay Sarkarī Khutūt*, 115-116.

<sup>151</sup>Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 48.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 48, 53.

in long term and made a start of new assimilated urban society. Caliph Umar (RA) also sent missionaries in garrisons.<sup>153</sup> Consequently, a new religious dimension was added to the social interaction of two societies turned the lives of both societies.

In nut shell, Muslims not only conquered Īrān but also developed garrisons and settled their armies in the lands of Īrān. The development in the organization of Arab's army and advancement in the use of weapons ensured a firm rule of Muslims in Īrān. Moreover, a cultural and intellectual blend of Arab Iranians had greatly influenced both the societies.

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<sup>153</sup>Hadgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 1, 209.

## Chapter 6

### Economy of Īrān under the Muslims

The people of medieval times, mostly depended on trade and agriculture for fulfilling their economic needs. People used to trade within their own areas or sometimes they travelled to far off regions for doing trade. Mostly trade was done by land routes, however sea also benefited people for trade. As far as trade of Arabs with Īrān is concerned, both had trade links with each other since ancient times.<sup>1</sup> Agriculture was another source of earning and people used to do agriculture and cultivate stuffs of their necessities. Industry was not as important as in present. There were small level industries in the towns. Moreover, the third main sources of income in the medieval times was revenue or tax. As the fact is that the medieval time is famous for wars, so a big source of earning was the conquest and the tax imposed on conquered people. The taxes had more importance as it were levied on the foreign traders as well as on conquered people.

When Caliph Umar (RA) decided to attack Īrān (Persia), he catch the attention of people by illustrating the wealth and natural resources of Īrān. The Muslim conquest of Īrān not only witnessed the Arab settlement and a syncretism of Arab Iranian culture but also prompted the economy of Īrān. It is right to say that Arab had deeply affected the economic condition of Īrān. They not only settled over there but also involved themselves in agriculture and trade. The industry of Īrān was also boomed after the arrival of Muslims in Īrān.

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<sup>1</sup>Bilgarāmī, *Tamaddun-i Arab*, 124.



Muslim played a very important role in developing industry, and agriculture of Īrān but with the passage of time, as the attitudes and economic condition of Arabs changed, there emerged a class stratification in Īrān. The development of *qanāt* system and *fulānabād* effected the whole society of Īrān.<sup>2</sup>

### 6.1 Fertility and Natural Resources of Īrān

Caliph Umar (RA) sent expeditions towards Syria and then captured the attention of people towards Īrān. He used to convince people by saying that the conquest of Īrān was the promise of Allah and that they had better opportunities of trade and other occupations in Īrān. The people of Arabia, mostly, were shepherds and indulged in the trade of livestock. Caliph Umar (RA) not only avarice them of good pastures but also of more occupations.<sup>3</sup> He also realized the Arabs that the Iranians were the people who captured all the economy of theirs and by conquering Īrān the doors of a rich economy will change their life.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, there are statements of Harqūs bin Zahīr al Sa'adī, after capturing Tustar, that he captured the lands of Hurmazān which were rich in natural resources.<sup>5</sup> When Muslims, during the time period of second Caliph Umar (RA), conquered Īrān, they imposed certain taxes on them. The second Caliph also gave instructions regarding the irrigated and unirrigated lands. The governors of the second caliph also received instructions about the divided and undivided lands. Industry was not focused initially, however some local industries had grown with the passage of time.

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<sup>2</sup> For details, see "Growth and Development of Industry in Iran under the Muslims".

<sup>3</sup> Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2, 271.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, 296.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn-i Kathīr, Abūl Fida 'Imāmd-al Dīn Damishiqī, *Tārīkh-Ibn-i Kathīr: Al-Badāya wa Nahāya*, trans. Akhtar Fateh Pūrī, vol. 6, (Karachi: Nafis Academy, 1989), 179.

It is evident that Īrān had abundance of fertile lands and natural resources. Moreover, there were a lot of industries and markets in Iranian regions. Ray was ancient economic center of Īrān.<sup>6</sup> Besides, the natural resources of Īrān also helped them in developing themselves in different provinces of Īrān. For instance, there was a largest lake of Īrān in Āzerbaijān (in the west of Tabraiz) known as Urmiya or Persian Chīchast.<sup>7</sup> The surrounded area of this lake had rich productive lands. Those lands were, most probably, used by Arab Muslim who, later became the landlords of their areas.

The river of Surkhāb, which flow from Tabraiz, was also surrounded by rich fertile lands. There were many fruits, corn and cotton produced in Tabraiz.<sup>8</sup> Maragha also had a lot of fertile lands, rich agriculture and cloth markets. The “perfumed melons” of Maragha, mentioned by Al Muqaddasi, were very famous.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the two rivers of Arran, *Nahr e Rass* and *Nahr e Kurr*, witnessed its fertility as a lot of fruits such as oranges, corn, lemons, and figs etc. were produced there.<sup>10</sup>

The abundant production of variety of foodstuffs also increased the revenue of Muslim Īrān. Furthermore, Ardbail, the capital city of Āzerbaijān was extremely fertile area and famous for honey. Al Miyānj also produced great qualities of fruits.<sup>11</sup> A lot of fruits were produced in Āzerbaijān but the area was famous for the production and high quality of grapes.<sup>12</sup> Hamdān was famous for the production of saffron. There was also the district between Hamdān and Zanjān known as A’lam, which was famous for vast

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<sup>6</sup>Spuler, *Iran in Early Islamic Period*, 13.

<sup>7</sup>Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 160.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 163.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 164-165.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 174-177.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 168-170.

<sup>12</sup>Muqaddasi, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions*, 329.

production of grapes, cotton and corn.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, Isfahān was a fertile as well as a commercial city. *Attabī* silk and cotton was produced and exported from Isfahān.<sup>14</sup> According to Al Muqaddasi, “it is the most pleasant town to live”.<sup>15</sup> It was a fertile area with a lot of fruits. According to Al Muqaddasi, Khūzistān was rich in fruits, silk and cotton cloth, gold, copper and zinc.<sup>16</sup>

## 6.2 Imposition of Taxes

When the Muslim conquered and settled in Īrān, they began to administer the different areas of Īrān and imposed several taxes. The Muslims followed the system of taxation of the Sassanid Empire. In ancient times, Iranians levied taxes on their subjects on the basis of sharecropping which also included a specific tax on a particular proportion of land. Later, Anūsherwān, after completion of population census, replaced the sharecropping system with land tax. He received taxes on crops, for instance, one *dirham* was collected on each *jarīb* (acre) on which wheat and barley and Persian dates were sown and on every six olive trees. Similarly, eight *dirhams* for every *jarīb* (acre) of grapes, seven *dirhams* on every *jarīb* (acre) of clover.<sup>17</sup>

It is important to know that disastrous lands were exempted from taxes during the Sassanid period. Moreover, Sassanid taxes were collective responsibility of a village. Another form of tax was *jizya*. Anūsherwān collected *jizya* in portions from conquered

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<sup>13</sup>Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 196.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, 203.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 234.

<sup>16</sup>Muqaddasi, *The Best Division for Knowledge of the Regions*, 358.

<sup>17</sup>Duri, *Early Islamic Institutions*, 90-91.

and common people. However, warriors, priests and the people below the age of 20 and above 50 were exempted from it.<sup>18</sup>

Caliph Umar (RA) followed the tax patterns of Anūsherwān, however, increased one or two *qafīz* because the extra amount was given to army. He also excluded all the taxes which were excluded by Anūsherwān.<sup>19</sup> Anūsherwān received *kharāj* from his subjects according to the heads and wealth of people, and, Muslim adopted the similar patterns of *kharāj*. However some instruction were strictly followed during Caliph Umar (RA) time period, for instance, the purchase of *kharāj* land was strictly prohibited.<sup>20</sup> Yet, *kharāj* and *jizya* became *fay* or common property for Muslims.<sup>21</sup> Caliph Umar (RA) imposed taxes on *dhimmīs* according to their class and convenience, for instance, upper class paid 48 *dirhams*, middle class paid 24 *dirhams* and lower class or poor paid 12 *dirhams* yearly.<sup>22</sup> Initially, Muslims received taxes as tribute, but later, they started collecting taxes on annual basis.<sup>23</sup> Caliph Umar (RA) received taxes in the form of kind like vinegar and wheat, yet, confined it to cash, later.<sup>24</sup>

During his time period, Caliph Umar (RA), imposed taxes on the irrigated lands. The taxes were imposed on different crops with different ratio.<sup>25</sup> For instance barley per *jarīb* was taxed by one to two *dirhams* annually, cotton five *dirhams* per *jarīb*, grapes 10 *dirhams* per *jarīb*, sesame eight *dirhams* per *jarīb* wheat four *dirhams* per *jarīb* and oasis was taxed 10 *dirhams* per *jarīb* annually. Caliph Umar (RA) also imposed taxes on the

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 91.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 91.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 95.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 96.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 100.

<sup>23</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 70.

<sup>24</sup>Duri, *Early Islamic Institutions*, 102.

<sup>25</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 389-390.

canals and the wells of Iranians. The reason behind imposing taxes was to avoid the misuse of canal water and the dominance of certain people. These taxes were less in number and the people had not faced any difficulty in paying these taxes. In fact, these taxes were less than the imposed taxes of Iranian emperors or Turks or Romans.

As far as *jizya* is concerned, the taxes were imposed only on adult males and the people who could have the power to pay. Moreover, the *dhimmīs* who participated in wars with Muslims, were exempted from *jizya*.<sup>26</sup>(They were given two choices either to participate in the war or to pay *jizya*. However, it was obligatory for *dhimmīs* to participate in the wars in order to help Muslims.)The Caliph assured them protection of their wealth, valleys, lands, liberty and everything as the alteration of *jizya*. In a letter, the Caliph Umar (RA) gave liberty to the people of Dahistān to pay *jizya* according to their earnings. The Caliph also appointed the officers who collected *jizya* and add their names in official registers. Moreover, the wealth and the amount of *jizya* of every province was written officially.<sup>27</sup>Every province had its treasury in which all these taxes were submitted. Caliph Uthmān (RA) said that he imposed taxes as according to the capacity of regions and its people. For instance Al Ray, Āzerbaijān, Isfahān and Qum.<sup>28</sup> Persians got pensions or stipend from Muslim government as well as from the tribes they associated themselves with.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Hamīd Ullah, *Siyāsī Wathīqa Jāt*, 286.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, 274-275.

<sup>28</sup>Durī, *Early Islamic Institutions*, 93-94.

<sup>29</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 63.

Muslims were exempted from *jizya*, yet, pay their taxes, like *'ushar*, from the revenue they acquired from Iranians.<sup>30</sup> Caliph Umar (RA) also imposed taxes on the lands which were under the ownership of Muslims. The Iranian lands that came under the ownership of Muslims after the conquest of *Īrān* were taxed with *'ushar*<sup>31</sup>. This was a good administrative step as Muslims were conquerors so there was a threat of dominance and corruption that was controlled by imposing taxes on the conquerors.

Moreover, the taxes were also imposed on the traders who come from areas other than *Īrān* or Arabia. They were bound to pay *'ushar* and that was imposed not only in *Īrān* but in all the Muslim conquered areas.<sup>32</sup> There were categories for the traders for instance, the Muslim traders paid 2 ½%, 5% was paid by *dhimmīs* and 10% by *harbīs*<sup>33</sup>. The Muslims were very lenient towards their subjects as the person who had a wealth less than 200 *dirhams* was exempted from taxes. It is also said that Muslims, on the ware of 40 *dirhams*, had to pay 2 ½ % tax, while *dhimmīs* had to pay 5% on the preparative of 40 *dirhams*.<sup>34</sup> Abū Mūsā Ash'ari (RA) informed Caliph Umar (RA) about the payment of taxes by Muslim merchants when they entered in *dār al harb*. Consequently, he started taking one half *'ushar* from non-Muslim merchants as well.<sup>35</sup> Later, he ordered that if non-Muslims merchants stayed in *dar al salām* for six months, they had to pay *'ushar*.

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<sup>30</sup>Duri, *Early Islamic Institutions*, 95.

<sup>31</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 391.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 391.

<sup>33</sup>*Harbī* is a non-Muslim person, although conquered but, did not live under the protection of Muslims. It is a counter name of *dhimmīs*.

<sup>34</sup>Fāriq, *Hadhrat Umar (RA) Kay Sarkārī Khutūt*, 223.

<sup>35</sup>Duri, *Early Islāmic Institutions*, 106.

While, the extension of their visit, for a year or more than it, will result in the reduction of tax (which will become half).<sup>36</sup>

The tax, levied on markets, was known as “*maks/mukus*”.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, Caliph Umar (RA) gave *atā* not only to Arab Muslim tribal nobility but also to Non-Muslims. For instance, two *dihqāns* received 2000 *dirhams* from Caliph Umar (RA).<sup>38</sup> The military leader also performed its duties as *āmil* or tax collector. Local *dihqāns* also collected taxes during Arab rule.<sup>39</sup> The main responsibility of *dihqāns* was to collect taxes from public. Kūfa, at first, was made the revenue gathering center for Āzerbaijān and Al-Jibāl, while Basra was the revenue gathering center for Khūzistān, Kirmān and Fārs.<sup>40</sup>

The Umayyad era witnessed a shift in economic policies of earlier Caliphs. There was an incident of a lady, Lailā Ukhilia who belonged to Ray.<sup>41</sup> She came to Hujjāj bin Yousaf and complained him for depressed economic conditions of her area. It was an agrarian area and because of lack of rains, starvation captured the economy and lives of people. On the other hand, the upper class of Ray, the Arabs spend their lives lavishly.<sup>42</sup> She requested him to send her to some rich family. The request was accepted but Lailā died in her way. Such sort of behavior was common among the Umayyads. Modifications in tax collection, occupation of lands and ruling structure of the Umayyads changed the entire society and economy of Īrān. Furthermore, the Umayyad declared conquered lands

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 107.

<sup>37</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 70.

<sup>38</sup>Duri, *Early Islāmic Institutions*, 167.

<sup>39</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 70.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 70.

<sup>41</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 1, 443.

<sup>42</sup>Masūdī, *Tārīkh-i Masūdī*, vol. 3, 213.

the property of conquerors.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, the strong hold of governors did not allow Amīr Muawiyah (RA) the proliferation of taxes. For instance, he tried to increase taxes on crops by increasing one *qairāt* on every crop but his governors refused to do so.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, Umayyad coin had no proper weight. They increased the weight of their coins and taxes as well.

The *mawalis* not only paid *jizya* but *kharāj* as well.<sup>45</sup> The increased taxes also became a burden for Iranian farmers who not only paid *kharāj* but also the traditional taxes of Sassanians, for instance, *ayyin*.<sup>46</sup> The result of increased taxes was that there was a great number of people, during Umayyad time period, who accepted Islām because of the reason that they were not able to pay taxes as the ratio of taxes increased to the previous tax ratio fixed by Pious Caliphs. These people automatically, after accepting Islām, were exempted from the taxes like *jizya* which was a huge support system for Muslims. Consequently, the received income of Muslims adopted a downward slope which decreased the outputs of Muslims. During the governorship of Hujjāj bin Yousaf, he exiled a lot of people from Kūfa and Basra. The reason was that his governors informed him about the downward trend of taxes because of conversions and settlement of *mawali* in urban areas.<sup>47</sup>

Moreover, the continuous warfare and disturbances created by *kharjities* in Iranian regions from the time of Umayyad Caliph Abdul Malik bin Marwān also affected the economy of Īrān. Unlike other Umayyad Caliphs, Caliph Umar bin Abdul

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<sup>43</sup>Duri, *Early Islamic Institutions*, 107.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, 108-109.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, 112-113.

<sup>47</sup>Tabarī, *Tārikh-i Tabarī*, vol. 5, 377.



Aziz was lenient towards his subjects as it is evident that during his time period, he ordered his governors to not to impose taxes on unirrigated lands as these were not equal to irrigated ones. Moreover, he also issued the orders regarding the receiving of taxes on irrigated lands to only 7% and to not receive the salaries of tax collectors from public.<sup>48</sup>

As Īrān had a vast area and a very rich empire so the tax collected from different Iranian provinces, whether in the form of *'ushar* or *jizya* or *kharāj* was high in number. The *kharāj* that was collected during the time period of the Caliph Uthmān (RA) was 800 *dirhams* annual. The people of Zaranj in Sajistān made peace treaty with Muslims on 2 lac *dirhams* annually and 2 lac slave women.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, "Bahira" was an island near Jurjān. It was a very rich area that after its conquest, Yazīd asked Idris bin Hanzala to count the wealth and grain but he was not able to do so. There was plenty of grains that were uncountable. The area was very rich in barley, rice, honey, grapes sesame and wheat.<sup>50</sup> The area was also rich in gold. Mughira bin Sha'ba was the governor of Caliph Ali (RA) and later, of Muawiyah as well. He received a lot of money from here in respect of taxes.<sup>51</sup>

Similarly, Jalūlā was a very rich area as the booty received from here had the amount of 3 crore. Muslims also found a lot of livestock here.<sup>52</sup> Likewise, Āzerbaijān was also a rich area as Amīr Muawiyah (RA) received one lac of *kharāj* annually from here. An important issue was the payment of *jizya* in currency. There were letters of Caliphs in which his governors signed treaties with Iranians on the payment of *jizya*. Now the

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<sup>48</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīk- i Tabarī*, vol. 6, 47.

<sup>49</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 1, 417.

<sup>50</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 244-245.

<sup>51</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh i Tabarī*, vol. 4, 38-40.

<sup>52</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh i Tabarī*, Part vol. 2 (3), 43.

question is that there were different weights as Iranian *dirham* had a different weight than Arabic. Even every province had his own weights.<sup>53</sup> The Iranian *dirhams* were known as “*Baghlia*”.<sup>54</sup> They used to transect through their coins.

### 6.3 Growth of Agricultural Sector in Īrān after Muslim Conquest

Like Arabian Peninsula, Īrān had diversity of areas. On one side, the areas were rich in mountains and natural waterfalls. On the other hand, there were fertile areas, rich in several crops. When Muslims conquered Īrān, the mountainous areas of Īrān were also used for cultivation for instance, Āzerbaijān and Jibāl. After the conquest of Īrān, Muslims used these lands for agriculture in better ways than Iranians. They not only continued cultivation on arable lands but also made barren lands useful or arable.

After Muslim conquest, Arab tribes settled in areas like Al-Ray, Isfahān and Qavīn. They built their houses over there and poured themselves in trade and agriculture. Consequently, these areas emerged as major cities of Īrān.<sup>55</sup> Sassanid did not know much agricultural techniques that is why their exports were also limited to a very few products. Mostly, nuts, dried fruits and saffron was exported.<sup>56</sup> However, after conquest, Muslims started growing the products of their needs.

Before its conquest, Caliph Umar (RA) was also aware of the fertility of Iranian regions as he wrote to Sa’ad bin Abi Waqās that Īrān is the land of natural beauty and

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<sup>53</sup>Hamīd Ullah, *Siyāsī Wathīqa Jāt*, 269-270.

<sup>54</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 2, 658-659.

<sup>55</sup>Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 47.

<sup>56</sup>Richard W. Bulliet, *Cotton, Climate, and Camels in Early Islamic Iran: a Moment in World History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 12.

loaded with natural waterfalls, and rivers.<sup>57</sup> He, most probably, wanted to involve his people in the economic activity of Īrān and to settle them over there. During the time period of Caliph Umar (RA), great conquests had paved way for immobilization of lands of Īrān and collection of taxes. There emerged different categories of lands, for instance, *waqf* lands or *fay al muslimīn*, or *habs* (mortmain) and *sadqa al muharrima* or absolute property of Muslims such as *dhimmīs* and *kharāj* lands.<sup>58</sup>

As far as the division of lands is concerned, it is plausible that Caliph Umar (RA) did not divide all the conquered land of Īrān among Arabs. Ali (RA) advised the Caliph to not divide all the lands as it would result in deprivation of the rights of future generations. Mu'az bin Jabal also insisted not to divide all the lands among the conquerors as it would possibly raise the status of particular families as land owners.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, if he had divided all the lands among conquerors, it would have become an inherited property.<sup>60</sup>

Furthermore, after conquest, Caliph Umar (RA), issued orders for the farmers. There were categories for the farmers who participated in the war against Muslims and secondly, those farmers who did not. Caliph Umar (RA) ordered his governors to left the farmers, who did not participate in the wars against Muslims, on their previous condition which means that he wanted the farmers to do their work without any difficulty or threat.

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<sup>57</sup> Hamīd Ullah, *Siyāsī Wathīqa Jāt* 248.

<sup>58</sup> Zia-ul Haq, *Landlord and Peasant in Early Islam* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1977), 187.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>60</sup> Duri, *Early Islamic Institutions*, 89.

On the other hand, there were orders for the farmers who participated in the wars against Muslims as they were captured by Muslims to be declared the captives of wars. It is probable that they were later involved in different occupations by Muslims as slaves or tenants. Caliph Umar (RA) also issued orders for the farmers who were involved in the wars but return to their lands after calling by Muslims. These people were declared *dhimmi*s. The caliph also said that if they did not return on the call of Muslims their lands were to be declared as booty.<sup>61</sup> In one of his letters, Caliph Umar (RA) said that the lands which were left by Iranians, were declared official and if on the call of Muslims, they did not return to their lands than these lands were considered a part of booty.<sup>62</sup>

There were lands that were left for the locals because Arabs lived in deserts and there were limited pieces of lands for agriculture. Moreover, the superiority of position also allowed Arabs to left the lands for locals. So when they conquered Īrān, Caliph Umar (RA) ordered them to left the lands for natives because they were excellent in cultivation and they could provide better ratio of production. For instance, Ahwāz received the similar instructions.<sup>63</sup>

As most of the Arabs were oblivious of agricultural techniques, so it would be a wise step to left the lands to their previous owners.<sup>64</sup> Moreover the dead lands were given to those who wanted to cultivate and make these lands arable.<sup>65</sup> There were Arabs who cultivated lands and the locals became their vassals. For instance, the Arabs settled in Āzerbaijān, started cultivation and the locals (Iranians) started working under their

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<sup>61</sup>Tabarī, *Traikh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 44.

<sup>62</sup>Hamīd Ullah, *Siyāsī Wathīqa Jāt*, 257.

<sup>63</sup>Fārūq, *Hadhrat Umar (RA) Kay Sarkārī Khutūt*, 216.

<sup>64</sup>Durī, *Early Islāmic Institutions*, 90.

<sup>65</sup>Fāriq, *Hadhrat Umar (RA) Kay Sarkārī Khutūt*, 302.

command.<sup>66</sup> Kirmān was also inhabited with Arabs who claimed abundant lands. Moreover, people from Kūfa and Basra also, in lust for lands, claimed their share and started agriculture in Āzerbaijān.<sup>67</sup>

Rich fertile lands were always a feast for Muslim army. They were served with *kharāj* and sometimes lands of Īrān were given to them. Caliphs also used to grant pieces of lands to army in order to fulfill their expenses. For instance, Abdul Malik bin Marwān, gave the *kharāj* of Fārs and the *pargana*<sup>68</sup> of Fasā, Darabjard and Istakhar to Muhlab bin abi Safrah so that he could be able to fulfill the expenses of army and to fight with Kharjities.<sup>69</sup> Similarly, Ibn e Zubair's governor of Hulwān, Sa'ad bin Hudhaifa bin Yamān received the taxes of all the *parganas* of Jibāl.<sup>70</sup>

Moreover, a problem was faced by the Umayyad Caliphs that the people who were settled in garrisons, started agriculture as occupation or became landlords. For instance, about 50,000 families were settled in Merv and until 730AD only 15,000 remained intact with military services, rest of the families became landlords.<sup>71</sup>

As far as *fay* is concerned, the concept came after capturing the lands of Banū Nadhīr.<sup>72</sup> It is said that during the time period of Caliph Abu Bakr (RA), the concept of *fay* was very simple as everything like taxes and booty was considered *fay*. Later Caliph

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<sup>66</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 2, 484.

<sup>67</sup>Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 48.

<sup>68</sup>Īrān was also divided in urban centers and villages. There were further division in the form of *pargana*. There were *parganas* of Dar Abjard, Fasa, Jibāl and Istakhar.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>69</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 5, 290.

<sup>70</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 4, 503.

<sup>71</sup>Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 48.

<sup>72</sup>Zia-ul Haq, *Landlord and Peasant in Early Islam*, (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1977),

Umar (RA) categorized it with religious preferences.<sup>73</sup> According to Malik bin Anas, all the *dhimmīs* or *unwah* lands will be fay lands while the owners of *sullah* lands will only pay *'ushar* as their lands will be *'ushri* lands.<sup>74</sup>

Later, during Umayyad time period, *dhimmīs* lands turned in to private lands and the tenants became slaves.<sup>75</sup> Abdul Malik and Walīd also allowed Muslims to purchase *kharāj* lands. A due part of *kharāj* was also replaced by *'ushar* only.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, Caliph Umar II also allowed the possession of *kharāj* lands.<sup>77</sup> Consequently, the ratio of revenue decreased during Umayyad time period.

As far as *sawāfi* lands are concerned, it included the lands owned by Khusraw and of Persian royal family, postal stations, fire temples of Persians, lands of those people who were killed in wars, wet lands, and lands of those people who migrated during wars, mills and all the lands which were declared as *sawāfi* lands by Khusraw.<sup>78</sup> According to Baladhurī, Muslims collected a great number of revenue from *sawāfi* lands as it reached 7, 00000 each year.<sup>79</sup>

One of the most important issue was the division of these royal lands. The lands that were under the ownership of *Kisrā*, were declared booty. The purchase and selling of these lands was prohibited by caliph Umar (RA). However, conquerors had the opportunity or authority to purchase and sell these lands with each other. But that was not possible

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid., 181-183.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 196.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., 197.

<sup>76</sup>Duri, *Early Islamic Institutions*, 114.

<sup>77</sup>Haq, *Landlord and Peasant in Early Islam*, 195.

<sup>78</sup>Duri, *Early Islamic Institutions*, 97.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., 98.

practically as all the forests, mountains and fields were under the ownership of *Kisrā*.<sup>80</sup> Thus Muslims declared the forests of Īrān pastures for their cattle as in the case of Sajistān.<sup>81</sup>

Moreover, all the lands of *Kisrā*, that were not divided and could not be divided, declared as the lands of Government. These lands were not only used for agriculture but also for the settlement of army. Caliph Umar (RA), divided these royal lands in five parts and left the four parts for army, the other remaining part was declared governmental.<sup>82</sup> There is possibility that these lands were irrigated by the locals or the settled Arabs.

Moreover, the army settled in the four parts of royal lands, was permitted to use the fifth part as well. So there is probability that army, in unusual circumstances, used these lands whether for revenue or for settlement. Amīr Muawiya fixed *sawāfi* lands for himself.<sup>83</sup> Yet, the concerted women of Īrān were allowed to retain their properties.<sup>84</sup>

The captured lands were used by the Muslims very well, as after the conquest of Tustar, the villages of Shaghar and Warūq received the newly built canals and irrigation by the Arabs.<sup>85</sup> The canals of Jazira, Muslihīn, Qādsiyah and Safar met at *Majma' ul Anhār* near Wasit.<sup>86</sup> There were fields of sugarcane in Ahwāz as it was irrigated area had a good water supply from the river of Tigris.<sup>87</sup> Many canals were also built in Ahwāz. Moreover, the uncultivated lands of Ahwāz were used by Muslims, they made these lands

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<sup>80</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 44-45.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., 227.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., 45.

<sup>83</sup>Duri, *Early Islamic Institutions*, 114.

<sup>84</sup>Jamsheed Choksy, *Women during the Transition from Sassanian to Early Islamic Times*, 54.

<sup>85</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 93-94.

<sup>86</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 156.

<sup>87</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 4, 465.



arable.<sup>88</sup> A famous canal was also built by Sa'eed bin Abdul Malik in Mūsā known as "Nahr-i Sa'īd".<sup>89</sup>

Arabs also divided the lands of Kirmān for cultivation, dig canals and made the water supply possible to the fields.<sup>90</sup> Kirmān was also a very fertile area. The people were also indulged in pasturing. There were also a lot of forests and at its conquest, Muslims received a lot of goats and camels in Kirmān. These camels were known as *bakht* which is the best quality of camels.<sup>91</sup> Similarly, the land of Abla was also rich in raisins.

Kaskar was another area that was fertile and rich in agriculture. Muslims divided the fields and gardens of Narsīyān (in Kaskar) with each other.<sup>92</sup> There were a lot of eatables that were received by Muslims. Abhar was another arable area.<sup>93</sup> Similarly, the lands of Sīsar were under "Kurds" who were landlords and used to cultivate their lands in Sīsar.<sup>94</sup>

#### 6.4 Growth and Development of Industry in Īrān under the Muslims

Industry provides a major share in the revenues of a country. Īrān, with diverse geography and attitude, had different types of industries and trade manners. Iranians developed their industries and trade links with its neighboring regions. There were also international markets in which traders from different regions came and sold their products. These markets had different categories which worked even after Muslim

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<sup>88</sup> Ibn-i Kathīr *Tārīkh Ibn-i Kathīr*, 180.

<sup>89</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūh al Buldān*, vol. 2, 488.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 562.

<sup>91</sup> Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 226.

<sup>92</sup> Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2, 297.

<sup>93</sup> Abhār was between Qavīn and Daylam.

<sup>94</sup> Balādhurī, *Futūh al Buldān*, vol. 1, 442.



conquest of Īrān. For instance, during the Umayyad rule, there was a market named “*sāmān e mutakhim*” in Isfahān where beautiful ladies were sold.<sup>95</sup> Khannāfas was a trading center/market where the traders from different areas like Madāin or Sawād came for trade.<sup>96</sup>

The industry of Īrān also flourished under Arab Muslims. They not only developed markets over there, but also exported a number of foodstuffs and cloth. For instance, there were a lot of markets in al Jibāl which were known as *kurkī*.<sup>97</sup> According to Muqaddasi, “Al Ray is the bride of world”.<sup>98</sup> It had rich fertile lands and wealthy merchants came in its markets. Ray also exported cloth.<sup>99</sup> Till the time of Al-Muqaddasi, the markets of Rām Hormuz were developed and there were gates closed at night.<sup>100</sup>

Moreover, Tabraiz, city of Āzerbaijān, according to Kazwīnī, was famous for velvet, woven stuffs and silks especially *atabi* silks.<sup>101</sup> Another city of Āzerbaijān was Marāgha, in which the village of Ushnuh was famous for horse and cattle trade in neighboring areas.<sup>102</sup> Marand, another town of Āzerbaijān was famous for red dyed cloth.

During the tenth century, Khunāj was one of the important commercial cities of Al-Jibāl. It was famous for the finest breeds of sheep and horses. Moreover, Yāqūt called

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<sup>95</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 5, 279.

<sup>96</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2, 308.

<sup>97</sup>Muqaddasi, *The Best Division for Knowledge of the Regions*, 333.

<sup>98</sup>*Ibid.*, 341- 345.

<sup>99</sup>*Ibid.*, 345.

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*, 367.

<sup>101</sup>Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 161.

<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*, 165.

it “the paper factory”.<sup>103</sup> While embroideries and carpets, robes of honors and cloaks, brocade and silk stuffs were made and exported from the city of Shīrāz.<sup>104</sup> Kazarūn was famous for the production of fine linen.<sup>105</sup> A lot of linen weavers were also present in Darīz. Kirmān was also famous for the production and export of sweet dates.<sup>106</sup>

As in Īrān, mostly, there were mountainous areas so it is certain that Īrān had mines rich in iron and other metals. For instance, the industry of iron was most demanding because of army need of Iranians. There were, probably, local industries of iron and also a great number of labors who used to make these weapons. It is an obvious fact that Iranians, during the wars with Muslims, came with completely covering their bodies with iron. They had weapons (swords, armors and others) and body covers of iron. Muslims considered them the mountains of iron as their bodies were completely shining and covered with iron.

In Umayyad era, Abu Muslim Khorāsānī used to made “armors” and sell it in Isfahān, Jazira, Jibāl and Mūsāl. There were industries of weapons in Jazira as well as there were houses of Weapons constructed by Muslims.<sup>107</sup> Pottery and arms like swords and spears were also exported from Kirmān to other areas.<sup>108</sup>

Moreover, it can be said that Īrān was rich in metals and precious stones other than iron. Their weapons, dresses, ornaments and even their furniture was decorated with these precious stones and gold. There are a lot of evidences in which Muslims found

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<sup>103</sup>Ibid., 224-225.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., 293.

<sup>105</sup>Muqaddasi, *The Best Division for Knowledge of the Regions*, 383.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid., 412.

<sup>107</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 6, 347.

<sup>108</sup>*The Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. “Kirman”

bundles of precious stones and gold. For instance, Muslims found an artificial camel in Jalūlā with a rider who was made of gold and the camel was full of precious stones. Similarly, a mule was captured by Muslims that was loaded with precious cloths, ornaments and a mule that was loaded with the cloths of *Kisrā* made of silk and gold.<sup>109</sup>

Early Muslims, probably, made a very less use of these precious stones by extracting them from mines but the ratio increased when Umayyads came in power. Their lavish lifestyle witnessed the increased use of these precious stones in their lives. Azd joined weavers of Merv during Umayyad time period.<sup>110</sup> Irān exported silver in the form of coins, plates, cups and bowls towards north.<sup>111</sup>

The Persian rulers and their nobility used to wear gold and silver ornaments. After conquest, Arabs also found abundance of gold work on the cloaks and dresses of Persian rulers. It is obvious that Irān was also rich in these metals. Al-Muqaddasi gives the accounts that there were many gold and silver mines in Irān. For instance, Tabraiz had abundance of gold mines.<sup>112</sup> The city of Al-Shīz possessed gold mines.<sup>113</sup> There was abundance of iron and silver mines in Kirmān.<sup>114</sup> Moreover, a lot of salt and copper was exported from the salt lake of Āzerbaijān.<sup>115</sup> Similarly, Muslims rebuilt Hamdān after its conquest. There were huge markets of goldsmiths and others in Hamdān.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>109</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2, 503.

<sup>110</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 166.

<sup>111</sup>*Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>112</sup>Muqaddasi, *The Best Division for Knowledge of the Regions*, 333.

<sup>113</sup>Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 224.

<sup>114</sup>Muqaddasi, *The Best Division for Knowledge of the Regions*, 413.

<sup>115</sup>Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 160.

<sup>116</sup>*Ibid.*, 194.

There was also the trade of honey as it was produced in the mountainous areas. During Caliph Umar's (RA) time period, people used to sell honey. There are evidences that from a vale of Hamdān, people used to travel to other areas by taking away honey.<sup>117</sup>

As far as the development of industry is concerned, it is said that Muslims embraced the industries of Īrān.<sup>118</sup> For instance, the buildings of Īrān were very famous and rich in enameling. Arabs not only learnt enameling but also made pointed domes.<sup>119</sup> Arabs always used to make round shaped domes. Muslims also adopted Iranian style of decorating buildings. Enameling and decoration are the two elements that were adopted by Arabs. The conquest of Īrān increased its trade as a lot of artcrafts were also exported to northwest Arabia.<sup>120</sup>

Beside the construction of buildings and tiles, several roads were also constructed in Īrān. The roads provided better communication and witnessed a good trade. The city of Manazar (Ahwāz) was considered as the junction of roads.<sup>121</sup> However the people of Manazar, mostly, were farmers. Bridges were made by Arabs in Wārsān.<sup>122</sup> The construction of roads increased the trade and revenue of Muslims. The bridge known as "*pul i khuda i afarīn*" was built in 636 AD in Āzerbaijān.<sup>123</sup> Moreover, there passed a road from al Jibāl which connected Ray and Āzerbaijān directly. The chief road of Al-Jibāl was known as Khorasan road which connected different areas for instance, it passed

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<sup>117</sup>Tabarī, *Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, vol. 2 (3), 159.

<sup>118</sup>Bilgarāmī, *Tamaddun i Arab*, 306.

<sup>119</sup>*Ibid.*, 307.

<sup>120</sup>Marius Canard, "The Arab Expansion: The Military Problem, 89.

<sup>121</sup>Fāriq, *Hadhrat Umar (RA) Kay Sarkārī Khutūt*, 216.

<sup>122</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 2, 484.

<sup>123</sup>Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 167.

from Hulwān to Kirmisīn to Hamdān than to Savah than to north Ray than to outside Al-Jibāl finally connecting to Khorasan.<sup>124</sup>

Furthermore, the glass industry of Iranians was very famous and old. It is said that they were famous in making of glass vessels and the enameling on these vessels made them extra ordinary. Mostly, glass vessels were used by upper class of the ruling ones.<sup>125</sup> They used to made crockery as well. The crockery also received the decorated works. They also used to make decorated tiles, mostly used in the palaces of *Kisrā*. These industries were flourished by Iranians and Arabs. These trends or signs of lavish life could be seen in the Umayyads. Persians had a common habit of drinking wine in bowls which shows that a variety of bowls were made in Īrān.<sup>126</sup>

Leather and cloth industry was also focused by Muslims. During the battle of Jasar, the flag used by Iranians was made up of the skin of tiger.<sup>127</sup> There is possibility that people of Īrān also used to make carpets or other royal accessories with tiger skin. Additionally, Persian rugs were famous from the time of Alexander the great and woolen rugs and silk master pieces were also exported.<sup>128</sup> The carpets industry of Īrān also flourished that the Arabs also admired their carpets.

The industries of silk, wool and cotton were famous from very early times of Īrān. The produced clothes were exported to Khorasan and other areas. Cloaks were made from goat's hair. Moreover, the turbans of Bam were exported to Egypt and Irāq.<sup>129</sup> As

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<sup>124</sup>Ibid., 227-230.

<sup>125</sup>Bilgarāmī, *Tamaddun i Arab*, 658.

<sup>126</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 41.

<sup>127</sup> Ibn-i Kathīr, *Tārīkh Ibnii Kathīr*, 77.

<sup>128</sup>Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia*, 184.

<sup>129</sup>*The Encyclopædia of Islam*, s.v. "Kirman"

far textile industry is concerned, cotton, wool, silk and linen were produced in Īrān. Merv was the first region in which cotton seeds were used.<sup>130</sup> India also exported cotton to Central Asia.

The Sassanid emperors and elite used to wear sophisticated silk with embroidered patterns of animals or their heroes which was imported from China.<sup>131</sup> However, these patterns were changed after the arrival of Muslims in Īrān. On the other hand local Iranians mostly wore wool.<sup>132</sup> When Arab Muslims arrived in Īrān, there was limited production of cotton in Iranian regions.<sup>133</sup> The reason behind was probably limited commercial importance. Most of the Iranians used to wear linen or silk so cotton was cultivated to a limited proportion. Silk, linen and cotton was produced by different methods in which cotton was the easier one.<sup>134</sup> However, after conquest, cotton became the best commercial product. As far as Arabs are concerned, mostly, nomads used to wear wool which they prepared, only for themselves, from animal's hair.<sup>135</sup>

The perfumes were also made on local level. The lavish life of Iranians is a known fact which definitely included different perfumes. There were people who used to make perfumes. The perfumes were definitely extracted from flowers which show that there was also cultivation of flowers in Īrān. An Arab, Idris, is reported to have business of perfumes and settled with his family in Jabal.<sup>136</sup> Nihāvand was famous for perfumes. Fārs was always famous for the production of diverse *ittar* especially the *ittar* of red

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<sup>130</sup>Bulliet, *Cotton, Climate, and Camels in Early Islamic Iran*, 6.

<sup>131</sup>*Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>132</sup>*Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>133</sup>*Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>134</sup>*Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>135</sup>*Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>136</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūh-al Buldān*, vol. 1, 446.

rose.<sup>137</sup> Jūr was famous for the production of red roses. Rosewater was exported to China, Egypt and Khorāsān etc. It is said that Jūr also produced palm flower water other than rose water.<sup>138</sup> Shāhpur, the other city of Īrān, was also famous for perfumed oils.

As after conquest, Arabs started settling in Iranian regions and cultivation of arable or non-arable lands was also appreciated so many new families emerged as landlords or owners of specific land areas. A system of *qanāt* or underground canal system started in these areas. The construction of *qanāt* required a huge area with abundance of labor, resources and time. The production with *qanāt* or underground canal system was much more than with rainfall or any other irrigation system. Consequently, the profit was also increased. Most of the Arabs, who started living in abandoned areas, constructed *qanāts*, started agriculture and hired many vassals or tenants. Mostly, these Arabs cultivated cotton which was a summer crop.<sup>139</sup> (There were two types of crops grown in Īrān; summer crops as cotton, produced by Arab Muslims and winter crops as wheat and barley grown by Iranians).<sup>140</sup> Arabs, outside India, were the first who wear cotton on such a wide scale.<sup>141</sup>

Another important aspect of construction of *qanāts*, hiring of labor, production of cotton or a particular crop and the dominancy of an Arab family in a particular area was that new villages started emerging on their names, for instance *fulānabād*. The owner of

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<sup>137</sup>Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 293.

<sup>138</sup>*Ibid.*, 293.

<sup>139</sup>Bulliet, *Cotton, Climate, and Camels in Early Islamic Iran*, 15-16.

<sup>140</sup>*Ibid.*, 15-16.

<sup>141</sup>*Ibid.*, 49.



*fulānabād* became the rulers of their area who not only provide occupations but also rations for their workers and material to build their houses.<sup>142</sup>

A very important fact behind the production of cotton by Muslims was religious obligations.<sup>143</sup> There were a lot sayings of Prophet (PBUH) in which wearing silk was prohibited for men. The Prophet (PBUH), himself used to wear cotton. The Sassanid *harīr* (silk cloth) or figured silk which was known as *dibāj* was prohibited for Muslim men.<sup>144</sup> On the other hand, cotton, linen or wool were acceptable for Muslims. That is why the production of cotton, after Muslim conquest of Īrān, increased to a great extent. However it is a fact that cotton production achieved a high commercial importance during the Abbasid time.

### 6.5 Weights

Like Sassanid rulers, Muslims also minted coins. Umayyad Caliph Abdul Malik was the first person who minted Islamic coins. Ibn-i-Habīra tried to maintain it as pure during Yazīd bin Abdul Maik's time period. Later during the reign of Hisham bin Abdul Malik, Khalid Qasrī tried the coins to be pure. Yousaf bin Uṃar was the person who was the most conscious to maintain these coins as pure. The coins of Umayyads were known as Habīria, Khalidiya and Yousafiya respectively.<sup>145</sup> Some people had a view that Mus'ab bin Zubair also minted coins.

In 685 AD, the first coins were minted by the companions of Ibn-i Zubair (RA), on which Muhammad Rasūl Allah was engraved. These coins were minted in Bīshapūr

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<sup>142</sup>*Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>143</sup>*Ibid.*, 46-47.

<sup>144</sup>*Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>145</sup>Ibn-i Khaldūn, *Tārīkh-i Ibn-i Khaldūn*, vol. 2, 183-184.



(Fārs). Later another Umayyad coin was minted in Fārs and Muhammad Rasūl Allah was the “standard feature of numismatic inscription” of Arabs.<sup>146</sup> Arabic scripted gold and silver coins were introduced by Caliph Abdul Malik.<sup>147</sup> Umayyad’s minting city was Dastabā.<sup>148</sup> The Umayyads also kept their treasury in Bardha’a.<sup>149</sup>

Non Arabs had different weights. There was a weight known as “*misqāl*”. The weight of “*misqāl*” was different in certain regions for instance, a *misqāl* could be of 20 *qairāt*, 12 or 10 *qairāt*. It was different in their respective areas. The Arabic coin was of 14 *qairāt*.

Another weight was “*madd*” which, according to the people of Irāq, was 2 *ratal* and according to the people of Hijāz it was of 1 1/3 *ratal*. *Kailja* was the weight used for grains. It is equal to 600 to 640 kg. *Qist* was a measure equal to the one half of *sā* or 1.4/1.7 liters or between 1 and 1.6 k.gs.<sup>150</sup>

#### Products of Al-Jibāl

| Areas     | Agricultural Products            | Textile   | Precious Metals | Other Products                              |
|-----------|----------------------------------|---|-----------------|---|
| Ray       | Peaches,<br>Watermelon,<br>Plum, | Munayyar,<br>Dyed blue<br>cotton,<br>Striped<br>cloaks. | —               | Combs, Bowls, Large Needles,<br>Handicrafts |
| Tabristān | —                                | —   | —               | Wood known as <i>Khalānj</i>                |

<sup>146</sup> Patricia Crone, *Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islām* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 25.

<sup>147</sup> Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies*, 61.

<sup>148</sup> Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 220.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

<sup>150</sup> Duri, *Early Islamic Institutions*, 101.

|                |  |                            |               |   |
|----------------|--|----------------------------|---------------|---|
| <b>Qavīn</b>   | Mint   | Leather sacks,<br>Garments | Gold<br>Mines | Bows of archery, Arrows,                    |
| <b>Qum</b>     | Saffron  | Cloth                      | —             | Chairs, Bridles, Stirrups                   |
| <b>Qāshān</b>  | Dried dates,<br>Tarragon,<br>Dairy<br>products,<br>Vegetables. | —                          | —             | Long necked bottles                         |
| <b>Isfahān</b> | Cloaks   | Over<br>cloaks             | —             | Salted Meat, padlocks.                      |
| <b>Hamdān</b>  | Saffron,<br>corn, cotton                                       | —                          | Tin           | Cheese, skin of foxes and marten,<br>Boots. |

### Products of Fārs

| <b>Areas</b>        | <b>Agricultural<br/>Products</b>   | <b>Textile</b>                                | <b>Precious<br/>Metals</b> | <b>Other<br/>Products</b>                               |
|---------------------|--|---|----------------------------|---|
| <b>Ghundijān</b>    | —  | Carpets,<br>Cushions,<br>Curtains             | —                          | —   |
| <b>Shahpūr, Jūr</b> | —  | —   | —                          | Rosewater and<br>other<br>waterflowers<br>perfumed oils |
| <b>Jarham</b>       | Olives and all<br>types of fruits  | Long Carpets,<br>Prayer Carpets,<br>Curtains, | —                          | —   |
| <b>Sabūr</b>        | Oils of Lilly,<br>Violet, Palm,<br>NarcisSūs, Iris,<br>Myrtle,<br>Marjoram,<br>Citron and<br>Oranges and<br>Fruits | —   | —                          | —   |
| <b>Arrajān</b>      | Syrup of<br>Raisins, figs,<br>Olives   | Woolen cloth<br>and Napkins,<br>Towels        | —                          | Soaps   |
| <b>Mahrubān</b>     | Fruits   | Waterskins                                    | —                          | Fish  |
| <b>Siniz</b>        | —  | Embroided<br>Cloth                            | —                          | —   |

|                  |  |  |   |  |
|------------------|--|--|---|--|
| <b>Sirāf</b>     | —  | Towels, Veils of Linen   | Pearls  | —  |
| <b>Dārabjard</b> | Oranges, Lemon, Nuts, Dates, Aromatic seeds, Finest Jasmine. | All types and quality of Cloth, Carpets, Needlework Curtains,                              | Silver mines                                  | Perfumes                                   |
| <b>Furj</b>      | —  | Rugs, <i>Barrakān</i> Cloth, Curtains, Munayyar Fabrics                                    | —   | —  |
| <b>Fasā</b>      | —  | Silk, Blankets Rugs, Towels, Silk Coverlets, <i>Sharābiyya</i> Cloth, Howda Blankets, Rugs | —   | Tables                                     |
| <b>Istakhar</b>  | Rice   | Veils, colth, waterskin, Diver's condiments,   | —   | Special Shoes known as " <i>Shimshik</i> " |
| <b>Niriz</b>     | Saffron  | —  | Magnesium Stone, Iron, White Clay, Black Clay | —  |

#### Products of Khūzistān

| Areas             | Agricultural Products     | Textile  | Precious Metals | Other Products |
|-------------------|---------------------------|--|-----------------|----------------|
| <b>Sūs</b>        | Sugar cane, Grapes        | Finest Silk and other clothes                              | —               | —              |
| <b>Tustar</b>     | Fruits, Vegetables, Melon | Clothes, Rugs, Silk Brocades, Hawda Blankets, Cotton Cloth | —               | —              |
| <b>Al Askar</b>   | —                         | Cloth, Fabrics of Hamp, Scarfs                             | —               | —              |
| <b>Basina</b>     | —                         | Curtains   | —               | —              |
| <b>Qurqub</b>     | —                         | Blankets   | —               | —              |
| <b>JundiSabūr</b> |                           |  |                 | Pickles        |

|  |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|
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### Products of Kirmān

| Areas  | Agricultural Products | Textile  | Precious Metals       | Other Products  |
|--------|-----------------------|--|-----------------------|---|
| Bām    | —                     | Turbans, Scarfs, <i>Taylasāna</i> , Fine Cloth | —                     | Chairs, <i>Tutly</i> (Zinc and its Oxide) and known as "Tubular". |
| Sīrjan | —                     | Cloth Making                                   | —                     | —   |
| —      | Sweetest Dates        | —  | Iron and Silver Mines | —   |

### Products of Āzerbaijān

| Areas        | Agricultural Products | Textile                          | Precious Metals | Other Products |
|--------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Bardha'a     | Figs                  | Finest Silk Cloth, Curtains      | —               | Fish, Soaps    |
| Dabīl        | —                     | Cloth and Rugs of Wool, Cushions | —               | —              |
| Ardbail      | —                     | —                                | —               | Honey          |
| Tabraiz      | —                     | —                                | —               | —              |
| Bāb al Abwāb | —                     | Cotton Cloth                     | —               | —              |

### Weights and Measures

|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <b>Weights/ measures</b> |  |
| <i>Habbah</i> (Grain)    | Equal to the two grains of barley  |
| <i>Qairāt</i> (Carot)    | Equal to four <i>habbas</i> .  |
| <i>Daniq</i>             | 2 ½ <i>Qairāt</i> or 20 grains of barley.  |
| <i>Mithqāl</i>           | Each dinar was one <i>mithqāl</i> and one <i>mithqāl</i> was equal to 10/7 <i>dirhams</i> and each <i>dirham</i> weighted 6 <i>daniq</i> . |

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>Uqiyah</i> (Ounce) | Weighted about 1/12 of English pound.              |
| <i>Rital</i>          | Weighted one pound                                 |
| <i>Mann</i>           | Equal to two <i>rital</i>                          |
| <i>Nuwāt</i>          | Equal to 20 <i>Uqiyah</i>                          |
| <i>Qintār</i>         | Equal to 1200 <i>Uqiyah</i> or 100 <i>ritals</i> . |
| <i>Buhār</i>          | Equal to 300 <i>ritals</i> .                       |

## CONCLUSION

One of the important questions asked for the present study in the beginning was to identify the region of Īrān or Fārs during the medieval ages. The word Īrān, to some extent, was confusing as there were detailed discussions in the relevant sources on Persia rather than Īrān. Thus, it was quite difficult to identify Īrān and the areas included in it. Before the arrival of Arab Muslims, a vast area was ruled by the Persian kings. These areas were, later, divided between Īrān, Irāq, Khorāsān, Ārmenīā, Jurjān and Tabristān etc. There is vague information that which areas were included in Īrān and which were the part of Irāq, Syria and Khorāsān after the Muslim conquest.

However after thoroughly going through the sources, and following the discussion of certain historians, it becomes evident that Muslims have used the word of Īrān for some specific regions. For finding those regions, the present study has developed some units of measurement. Thus, through looking at the measures of the appointment of governors, collection of taxes and the dialects or languages of the regions, the study has identified a rough estimation of the areas of Īrān and concluded with evidence that the areas of Āzerbaijān, Kirmān, Fārs, Khūzistān, Al-Jibāl and Tabristān were the part of Muslim Īrān.

During the period of Caliph Umar, Arab Muslims started conquering different regions of Īrān after the conquest of Irāq. Gradually, a lot of areas were conquered. However, it is evident that all the regions of Īrān were not conquered during the reign of Caliph Umar (RA). Some of the areas like Fārs and Tabristān were conquered during the period of Caliph Uthmān (RA).

Immediately after the conquest of Īrān, the Arab Muslims started settling in Īrān. It is significant to know the reasons behind the permanent settlement of Arab Muslims in Īrān. Different factors tempted the Muslims to settle in Īrān. It is important to know that Arabs were always inspired by the wealth of Īrān and even, before the conquest of Īrān, Caliph Umar (RA) tempted the Muslim army for the wealth and resources of Īrān. Consequently, after its conquest, the Arab Muslims settled in different regions of Īrān which were either agriculturally rich or had developed markets. For instance, Fārs was an agriculturally rich area and was also a developed commercial area which was connected to the other regions of Īrān as well. Moreover, Khūzistān, Qazvīn, Tushtar and Hulwān were also rich agricultural areas and also had great production of fruits and vegetables. The areas of Azerbaijan and Khūzistān were also rich in precious metals.

Besides, one of the other important reasons for the settlement of Arabs was the consolidation and protection of border areas. That is why, garrisons were developed and Arab armies and other tribes were settled over there. It can also be observed that most of the tribes which were settled by Arabs in Īrān were warrior tribes. For instance, Banī Abd Qais, Banī Rabīya, Banī Tay, Banī Tamīm and Banī Taghlab etc.

There were two types of migration or settlement in Īrān. The tribes who were settled by the Government or Caliph, and the people who were settled independently in certain regions. The tribes of Banī Azd, Banī Tamīm, Banī Taghlab, Banī Rabīya, Banī Asad, Bnaū Amr bin Mālik, Banū al ‘Amm, Banī Tay, Banī Bajīla, Banī Hamdān, Banī Taghlab, Banī Awad, Banī Kinda, Banī Amir bin Luwa’i and Tayam ul Lāt were settled in different regions of Īrān by Caliphs or Conquerors. While some other people also settled with their families as individuals.

The Arabs settled in Īrān as conquerors/soldiers and their army units were based on tribal formation, thus the initial migrants were military men settled in tribal factions. A lot of garrisons were developed in strategically important areas, for instance, Āzerbaijān, Kirmān, Isfahan, Qazvin, Ray and Tabristān etc. The Arabs were offered highest pays and attractive packages thus they were pleased to settle in these garrisons. Caliph Umar (RA) also settled them in fertile areas which most probably increased the number of Muslim armies in Iranian regions. A very important effect of these settlements was that they socially assimilated themselves with Iranian slaves or others and new patterns of society and culture were introduced to them.

It is the fact that, in the initial years of outward conquests, the Arabs fought for booty and were always ready to get their share. Beside their religion, a great part of their enthusiasm was developed on their fervor for booty. Consequently, as the conquests increased the proportion of booty, Arab Muslims became more enthusiastic to conquer more areas. Moreover, the wealth of Īrān was always an appeal to Arab Muslims so they were easily attracted to conquer it. Later, as the proportion of conquests and booty or wealth increased, the need for new recruitments increased.

A lot of recruitments were done occasionally, for instance, during the Umayyad period, a lot of expeditions were sent towards north and northeast of Īrān which inclined Umayyad governors to make forceful recruitments. Most of the times, the undesirable people became prey of these governors. Moreover, slaves and other volunteers were also recruited for expeditions or to curb revolts.

Besides, before the Muslim conquest of Īrān, there were Iranian armies which were converted to Islām and were appointed in garrisons. These army groups included *Asāwira*,



Bukhariya and *Hamra*. *Jund-i shahanshāh* was also an important military band of *Kisrā* who later converted to Islām. Moreover after Muslim conquest of Īrān, these groups fought for Arab Muslims in different conquests.

The average Arab soldier as well as the non-Arabs were paid. Initially they were paid in the form of booty. Later, Caliph Umar (RA) also fixed payments (*atā*) for the soldiers. Besides getting *atā* from the caliph, they were also rewarded with fragments of lands which became a huge source of food and revenue for them. Gradually, Umayyad caliphs started paying their soldiers less as compared to the pious caliphs which decreased their eagerness to fight inside or outside the Muslim empire.

As far as the administration of Īrān was concerned, the caliphs ruled the area through their governors. The Caliphs were concerned about their governors and observed their activities. For instance, Caliph Umar (RA) appointed governors and was very strict to them. However, the history also witnessed some lenient policies of caliphs. The leniency of Caliph Uthmān (RA) had made governors to work with their own desires. However, as the time passed away, the tussle between Caliph Ali (RA) and Amīr Muawiya had developed uncertainty as both had tried to expel each other's governors. Consequently, a warlike situation had surrounded the Muslim empire and people from conquered regions had refused to pay *kharaj*. However, the Marwanid time period again witnessed concord, and the consolidation of the empire by the Caliph Abdul Malik resulted in the appointment of strict governors who held their control on the affairs of Īrān.

The Arabs' development of garrisons and settlement of tribes in Īrān had also effected the relationship of both with each other. Before the advent of Islām, Arab and Iranians, both had a multi relationship with each other as friends and foes. After conquest,

the assimilation of both cultures and the relationship of rulers and subjects witnessed a diversity in nature.

The reign of Caliph Umar witnessed a leniency towards his Iranian subjects. He replaced the word of *jizya* with charity because it was humiliating for Iranians and they felt dishonored. Caliph Umar (RA) also gave great respect to the royal families of *Kisrā* and Iranian aristocracy. Those who accepted Islām, were given equal rights to Muslims, as well as, they were also appointed in different regions to collect taxes and to take care of their respective regions. These aristocrats, who were *dihqans* and *marzabans*, were well aware of the nature of Iranian people and actively controlled people and collected taxes. For instance, Hurmazān, who was appointed in his own areas from where he collected taxes and sent them to Medina.

A very important fact is that the *dihqans* of eastern Īrān were more powerful than the western Īrān. Therefore, the appointment of Iranian officials was strategically a wise decision as they could effectively control their own areas. Moreover, these aristocrats and the people from royal families of *Kisrā* also received payments which discouraged them to revolt against Muslim empire.

Another important aspect of Arab Iranian relationship was the acceptance of Islām by Iranians. The people of Iran from all the classes, either aristocrats or army men and men or women, accepted Islām. Furthermore, the people of Īrān not only converted but also adopted the Arab names and associated themselves with some Arab tribe. Consequently, it became difficult to identify the exact conversion ratios. Unlike pious caliphs, the Umayyad rulers gave a very low status to their converted subjects. They had to pay taxes like non-Muslims and were treated as low grade citizens.

Besides, the rebellion of Iranians in different phases also throw light on Arab Iranian relations. The period of Caliph Umar (RA) had not witnessed a lot of rebellions, probably, because of the broken and shaken pride of Iranians and their power. Yet, as the time passed away, and a tussle for power had started amongst Arabs, Iranians took the advantage of these circumstances. The internal disturbances, the continuous change of governors and the low status of newly converted Muslims had urged Iranians to revolt against Arabs.

A new group or sect, known as Kharjities, also emerged between the tussle of Caliph Ali (RA) and Muawiya (RA) which always disturbed the Umayyad caliphs and time and again raised revolts. They also get shelter and a great support from Iranians. The Arab settled tribes in Īrān had also joined Kharjities and assisted them in their revolts.

Besides, as Arabs settled in Īrān in different forms and developed their colonies and garrisons over there, they also had a great contribution in developing the economy of Īrān. Most of the times, tax was the biggest source of income for Muslim. However, as the passed away and Muslims developed a firm hold in Īrān, they indulged themselves in industry and agriculture which boosted their economic condition.

The industry of Īrān was flourished after the arrival of Muslim in Īrān. Different sorts of cloth, rugs and accessories were manufactured in Īrān. There were huge markets and trading centers in Iranian regions which increased the revenue of Īrān. The Iranian manufactured goods were exported in different areas as well. Besides the development of industry and a rise in trade, Arabs were also involved in agriculture. As they were not very well aware of agricultural techniques so they were, mostly, converted in landlords and started ruling their lands which were cultivated by their slaves or peasants. The fertility,

availability of natural resources and the development of canals in Iranian regions had also contributed in enhancing the landlords and peasants culture in Īrān. A class stratification also emerged in these regions which had long lasting effects on later generations.

In a nutshell, the Arab Muslims not only conquered Īrān but also contributed a lot in developing its different regions. Besides getting a lot from Īrān, they not only introduced Arab culture to Iranians, but also adopted their culture and syncretized it with their own. Moreover, they also constructed canals, buildings, and bridges and added a lot to enrich the economy of Īrān.

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