The Decline of a Power in Khurāsān and Transoxiana in the Period of Umayyad Caliphate

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Introduction

In the period of Umayyad Caliphate, Khurāsān had a much wider region, everywhere east of western of Persia, stretching from Gurgān and Kūṁis in the southeastern Caspian region to Badakhshān and Tukhārīstan on the upper Oxus and Bāmiyān in the Hindū Kush. As for Transoxiana, it bordered Khurāsān and Khwārazm in west and Badakhshān in south along parts of the Oxus.¹

The Arabs conquered Khurāsān to Oxus in 22/642-643 in the period of the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khattāb² and attempted to conquer Transoxiana in the years after 51/671, in the period of Umayyad Caliphate. Khurāsān and Transoxiana were generally ruled by a governor who had been appointed by the Viceroy of ʿIraq. The Arabs, as rulers, failed to control over Khurāsān and especially Transoxiana until the appointment of Qutaiba b. Muslim there as governor by the Viceroy of ʿIraq and Khurāsān Hajjāj b. Yūsuf in the

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period of Umayyad Caliph Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik. Because the Arab tribes quarrelled with each other as from Yazid b. Mu‘awiya became caliph. Basran troops, and especially the men of the North Arab or Kaisi tribes of Tamim and Bakr, among the Arab tribes were prominent in the overrunning of Khurasan and Transoxiana, though in the governorship of al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufra (78-82/697-702), considerable numbers of that governor’s fellow-tribesmen of the Yamanı Azd were settled there.3

As from the period of the Umayyad Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwán to the period of Caliph Sulaiman b. ‘Abd al-Malik, Oajjaj had the power to appoint governors in more than half of the empire, and started a certain school of governors, which outlived him by many years, and which was rightly called the Oajjaj school and its members were named the swords of Oajjaj.4

In the period of the Caliph Walid, Oajjaj attained peak of his power and much influenced on him. Thus even Governor of the 6ijaz ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, who would be appointed as caliph after Sulaiman b. ‘Abd al-Malik, was overcome by Oajjaj. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz had been in correspondence with the Caliph Walid that Oajjaj had tyrannized over the ‘Iraqians, of which Oajjaj had been informed. Thereupon Oajjaj informed the Caliph Walid about the fact that the bandits of ‘Iraq took shelter in the 6ijaz whose governor was ‘Umar. Consequently the Caliph Walid supported Oajjaj against ‘Umar who was from Umayyad dynasty, and dismissed him in Sha‘ban 93/May 712 from governorship of the 6ijaz. By the advice of Oajjaj, the Caliph Walid divided governorship of 6ijaz into two parts, Mecca and Medina; and appointed Khalid b. ‘Abdallah to Mecca, and ‘Uthmán b. Ōaiyān to Medina as governors.5

Oajjaj took much precaution against possible threats to cause harm his influence on the bureaucracy of the Umayyads. Even he intervened the appointment of heirship apparent. In this way he tried to have an influence on the next caliph. As an instance of this, Oajjaj attempted on the dismissal of Sulaiman b. ‘Abd al-Malik from heirship apparent, who was brother of the Caliph Walid, and the appointment of ‘Abd al-‘Aziz who was son of the Caliph Walid as heir apparent instead, and tried to satisfy the ministers and high officials in this respect.6 But neither Oajjaj’s life nor Caliph Walid’s

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3 See more information Hasan Kurt, Orta Asya’nın İslâmlama Süreci (Buhâra Örneği), (Ankara 1998), 143-159.
5 al-Ubârî, VI, 481-482.
were enough to dismiss Sulaiman b. 'Abd al-Malik from heirship apparent. In that term Qutaiba b. Muslim ruled Khurasan and Transoxiana as governor of Hajjaj. He ended quarrel among the 'Arab tribes in Khurasan, and urged them to conquer the lands of Transoxiana. So 'Arab tribes under Qutaiba conquered many lands of Transoxiana including Tokharistan, Bukhara, Ualiqan, Shumān, Kish, Nasaf, Khwārazm, Samarqand, Shāsh, Ferghāna, Kashgar.7

This success for Qutaiba was by virtue of Hajjaj. Therefore he was one of the most loyal men to the school of Hajjaj and was more faithful to him than to the Umayyad Caliph Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik. When Hajjaj died in 95/714, Qutaiba suspected that he would be dismissed from the governorship of Khurasan and stopped the campaign of Shāsh and come back to Merv, the centre of 'Arab military operations in Khurasan. But the Caliph Walid wanted him to remain in governorship duty.8 Moreover the tribe of Qutaiba, Bāhila, and the tribe of Hajjaj, Thaqīph, were relatives and branches of Qais tribe. But since Qutaiba wasn’t the leader of his tribe, he had hardly any influence over them. In addition, his tribe Bāhila was more powerless to the other tribes. There was also no any special army under him except the soldiers of tribes.9 As a result of that loyalty to Hajjaj, Qutaiba at most had supported in his attempts on the dismissal of Sulaiman from heirship apparent. However, in the end, Sulaiman was able to become caliph, and a new period began in the Umayyad Caliphate. But at the beginning of this period, bloody struggles happened in Khurasan and Transoxiana, and the Hajjaj school declined in this region.

Qutaiba b. Muslim’s Struggle to Remain in Khurasan as Governor

The appointment of Sulaiman b. 'Abd al-Malik to the caliphate was the beginning of the end in governorship for Qutaiba. As an important member of Hajjaj school, Qutaiba reacted to this appointing and compared the Caliph Sulaiman to Yazīd b. Sarwān who was famous with his stupidity, and said that Habarqaqt al-'Aishi, or the stupid member of 'Āisha, became your caliph. 'Ubārī and Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī narrated this nickname as Habarqaqt al-Qāisi, or a stupid person from the Qais tribe. It was said that Yazīd b. Sarwān fed only fleshy camels, not lean ones, and told that he couldn’t heal

8 al-'Ubārī, VI, 492.
9 al-'Ubārī, VI, 424.
ones God healed. Likewise Qutaiba asserted that Sulaiman b. 'Abd al-Malik donated to the wealthy, not the poor.\(^{10}\)

Although Qutaiba thought that he would be dismissed from his office, he tried not to panic at the beginning of caliphate of Sulaiman. According to 'Ali b. Mu'ammad al-Madaini, Qutaiba wrote the Caliph Sulaiman three letters and gave them an envoy, who was from his tribe, to take away the Caliph. In the first letter, Qutaiba was congratulating him on his being appointed as caliph. In the second one, he was writing about the lands which he conquered, and his victory in the wars, and his consideration among the native kings in Khurasan and Transoxiana, and how they avoid him. In addition, he criticized Yazid b. al-Muhallab whose governorship after him was possible. Because Qutaiba had been appointed to the governorship instead of al-Muhallabids by 'Ajjaj, Viceroy of 'Iraq and Khurasan. He thought that Yazid b. al-Muhallab, whose relation with the Caliph Sulaiman was very sincerely, would be appointed as governor of Khurasan instead of himself. In the third one, Qutaiba was determining that he didn't recognize the Caliph Sulaiman as caliph. Considering that Yazid would be before the Caliph, Qutaiba said to his envoy: “Give the first letter to the Caliph. If he reads it and shows it to Yazid, give the second one. If he makes it clear to Yazid, give the third one to the Caliph, but if not, do not.” Abü 'Ubaida Ma'mar b. Muthanna differently narrated the contents of letters. According to him, Qutaiba wrote about his achievements, and criticized Yazid in the first letter. In the second one, he praised Yazid. In the third one, he threatened the Caliph Sulaiman, expressed his determination not to recognize his caliphate, and stated his intention to fight against him.\(^{11}\)

When compared to the narrative of Abü 'Ubaida, the narrative of al-Madaini seems relatively more realistic. Because it was more reasonable that Qutaiba was firstly in praise of the new Caliph, and he secondly mentioned their successful activities and his consideration among the native kings in Khurasan and Transoxiana. However, it doesn't matter whether the narrative of al-Madaini was true or Abü 'Ubaida's; both of them referred Qutaiba wanted the new Caliph Sulaiman to let him to remain in his office. In

\(^{10}\) al-Baladhuri, 615; al-‘abar, VI, 509; Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, Kitab al-Futuh, (Beirut 1987), IV, 194.

\(^{11}\) al-‘abar, VI, 506-508. According to Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, after the appointment of Yazid b. al-Muhallab as the governor of Khurasan, Qutaiba b. Muslim firstly sent a letter to the Caliph Sulaiman b. Abd al-Malik congratulating him on his appointment as caliph and afterwards the three letters in question. See Ibn A'tham al-Kufi, IV, 187-192. Whereas, according to the other sources, Yazid b. al-Muhallab was firstly appointed as the governor of 'Iraq, secondly as the governor of Khurasan about a year later.
addition, it was not uncommon that Qutaiba competed with Yazid for the governorship of Khurasan. Because Yazid had governed Khurasan and Transoxiana before Qutaiba did, and had been dismissed from governorship and had been blamed to have embezzled and had been fined 6,000,000 dirham and had wanted Sulaiman, the heir apparent of the Caliph Walid, to protect for himself. Sulaiman b. 'Abd al-Malik had taken him under his protection against Oajjaj, and had requested the Caliph Walid to forgive the fine of 6,000,000 dirham for Yazid. This request had been accepted by the Caliph. In conclusion, Yazid had been a close friend to Sulaiman in the course of time. It was clear that Yazid normally had supported him as heir apparent of Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik.

According to the narrative of al-Madaini mentioned above, although Sulaiman b. 'Abd al-Malik, the new Caliph, had read all of the three letters and been angry about the manner of Qutaiba, he ratified his governorship in Khurasan. But Qutaiba had had a prejudice that he would have been dismissed by the Caliph Sulaiman, and rebelled against him without waiting for his decision. Qutaiba proclaimed that he didn't recognize Sulaiman as caliph, and demanded the 'Arab tribes support him against Sulaiman. At this time Qutaiba received information about his ratification, but he had an opinion that it was impossible to avoid the rebellion and to give credit to the Caliph Sulaiman for his loyalty. Even according to al-Baladurî, Qutaiba was anxious about the fact that this ratification was temporal, and that Sulaiman would tried to make him and the 'Arab tribes in Khurasan to give homage.

Whatever Sulaiman intended for, in any case, it seems that he did not behave sentimentally, but in the responsibility of a statesman about the governorship ratification of Qutaiba. Because the Caliph Sulaiman at least temporarily did not react against the supporting of Qutaiba his being dismissed from heirship apparent. In spite of the threatening letters, he ratified the governorship of Qutaiba. It seems that as a new caliph, Sulaiman firstly considered that he must control the whole country as it was. In addition, Qutaiba was the most successfull governor among the ones who had governed until that time in Khurasan and Transoxiana, and he had been able to control the region. If affirmatively seen and totally evaluated, the letters referred that Qutaiba wanted to govern successfully as before he did.

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12 al-Üabarî, VI, 448-453.
13 al-Üabarî, VI, 508-509.
14 al-Baludurî, 616.
Therefore taking successful governing of Qutaiba into consideration, the Caliph Sulaiman could have probably forgiven his mistaken behaviour.

The Death of Qutaiba b. Muslim

Qutaiba b. Muslim accepted the opinion of ‘Abdallah b. Muslim, his brother, and didn’t wait for the decision of the new Caliph, Sulaiman b. ‘Abd al-Malik, and rebelled against him. But the ‘Arab tribes of Khurasan left Qutaiba alone, whereas Qutaiba had expected them to help him against the new Caliph. Qutaiba was so angry at this behaviour of ‘Arab tribes, including Ahl al-‘Aliye, Bakr b. Wael, Tamîm, Qais, Azd that he insulted hurtfully them. In this period there were 9000 of Ahl al-‘Aliye, 10.000 of Tamîm, 4000 of ‘Abd al-Qais, 10.000 of Azd, 7000 of Bakr b. Wael, 7000 of Mawâli as soldiers in Khurasan. Therefore Qutaiba’s behaviour made him these ‘Arab tribes enemies. Even his family was not able to tolerate Qutaiba’s behaviour against ‘Arab tribes, and said that he left himself alone. Qutaiba said that he was very angry at their insensibility in the appointment of Sulaiman as caliph. But his apology wasn’t able to calm ‘Arab tribes. The anger of ‘Arab tribes with Qutaiba were connected with the events which had happened in the past. Firstly ‘Arabs in Khurasan had quarrelled with each other until the governorship period of Qutaiba, and acted together generally for their self-interest. In addition there was some crisis made pause in Qutaiba’s powerful period. For example Qutaiba had killed some people of the Ahtamids tribe who was the subgroup of Tamîm tribe. Therefore Tamîm tribe had wanted to revenge for the dead. Wakî b. Abî Süd, the leader of Tamîm tribe, was so angry with Qutaiba that he even had stopped regular prayers saying “How I pray to God who didn’t become angry with Qutaiba who killed our sons?” Qutaiba had dismissed Wakî

15 al-Baladhuri, 617; al-‘Ubâri, VI, 512; Ibn A’tham al-Kûfî, IV, 193-197.
16 al-Baladhuri, 615-616.
19 Ibn A’tham al-Kûfî, IV, 197.
20 al-Baladhuri gives us a detailed account of some members of Ahtamids’ being killed. According to him, Qutaiba had appointed Abdallah b. al-Ahtam as his deputy in Marw. But Abdallah b. al-Ahtam had been tried to discredit him in the eye of ‘Ojjaj, Viceroy of Iraq and Khurasan. For the first time Qutaiba hadn’t considered some information given him important, and he had blamed informers to be jealous of the deputation of Abdallah b. al-Ahtam. There had been also Bashir, one from the nearest relatives of Abdallah b. al-Ahtam, among the informers. However Qutaiba had obtained the letters Abdallah al-Ahtam had written to Hajjaj, and had wanted to severely punish Abdallah b. al-Ahtam but hadn’t caught him. Therefore Qutaiba had executed nine persons from the sons of
from the leadership of Tamīm tribe since he had led his relatives to revenge, and had appointed ērīr b. Īqār al-ēabbi21 instead of him.

Qutaiba had also punished Iyās b. ‘Abdallāh, the governor of Khwārazm, and Īayān al-Nabāū, the commander of Mawālid22, or client, soldiers since they had been unsuccessful in their duties. Therefore Haiyān had been longing for revenge on him.23

The sons of Soghdian kings supported Qutaiba besides his family and relatives. These Soghdians continued his supports although they were tried to be separated by Haiyān al-Nabāū and many other persons.24 Qutaiba was aware of the reliability of Soghdians. Therefore because of his fear of Sulaiman b. ‘Abd al-Malik, while he had campaigned to seize Kashgar in 96/715 just before the Caliph Walīd had died, he had led his family to Samarqand and made them dwell there; and he had settled an army unit under a Mawālid commander called as al-Khwārazmī in the passageway of Oxus, according to Ibn Aṭham al-Kūfi in Nishāpur, so that he had controlled the passage to Transoxiana. Ibn Aṭham narrated that al-Khwārazmī had informed Qutaiba the appointment of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab as governor of ‘Irāq.25 Qutaiba had threatened ‘Arab tribes in Khurāsān that if they didn’t side with him, he would want Mawālid soldiers to help him against them.26

Thus it appeared that the decision of ŌaJJāj to enlist Mawālid was appropriate. But Mawālid were considered as second class soldiers in comparison with ‘Arabs, and weren’t able to get a share of booties at wars since they were not registered in drāwīn, or roll of the ‘Arab warriors. For this reason Mawālid and ‘Arabs could not unite to form one-community. If it could be formed, the whole Mawālid would have probably supported Qutaiba, and ‘Arabs wouldn’t have revolted against him, or the revolt couldn’t have been suppressed before long.27 But because of ŌaJJāj’s profit gaining aim in short period, Mawālid policy wasn’t able to be developed. Therefore the
Islamization process of Transoxiana wasn’t able to be completed, and also the life of Qutaiba and the government stability couldn’t be kept safe.

Consequently ‘Arab soldiers more than 50,000 became enemies of Qutaiba. His rivals had a chance that they couldn’t have before. ‘Arabs severely reacted against both that he was in rebellion against the new caliph Sulaiman b. ‘Abd al-Malik, and that he insulted them. They agreed on overturning from his governorship. But there was a possibility that a struggle could happen among the ‘Arab tribes. However it’s powerless, the tribe of Qutaiba, Bāhila, was the subgroup of Mu‘ār tribe which was much powerful in Khurāsān. Therefore although being much angry with Qutaiba, Mu‘ārids could support him while other ‘Arab tribes were trying to overturn him. So as to prevent that support, they elected Wakī b. Abī Sūd as leader for the movement, who was from Tamūm of Mu‘ār.28

Wakī was very happy to be elected as leader, and accepted it. But he was a sincere friend of ‘Abdallah b. Muslim, the brother of Qutaiba. They were entertaining themselves and drinking together most of the time. Even ‘Abdallah couldn’t believe that Wakī was the leader of ‘Arab rebels.29 Wakī tried secretly to unite people under him. Qutaiba was informed about the intrigue of Wakī. Qutaiba called him, but Wakī didn’t want to meet him. So Qutaiba attempted to forcibly bring him but he couldn’t. Because Wakī and his large following attacked to kill Qutaiba. There were only Bāhila tribe and, according to Ibn A’tham, Qais–Aīlān tribe under Qutaiba. As a consequence of the bloody clash between them, Qutaiba and many of his relatives were killed. According to Abū ‘Ubaida, Wakī hanged the bodies of men killed to the number of 11.30

The rebellion of ‘Arab tribes surprised the natives of Khurāsān. One of them said to ‘Arabs: “If Qutaiba had been our leader and died among us, we wouldn’t have behaved as you did. On the contrary we would have put him into a coffin, and when campaigned we would have requested him to help us for victory. Nobody else could be successful as governor in Khurāsān. However, you showed him ingratitude.” The Ispāhbad of Ḫabaristan compared Qutaiba with Yazid b. al-Muhallab, who had governed Khurāsān in 97/716, and said that the rebellion of ‘Arabs surprised him and that

29 al-Ḫabar, VI, 512-513.
30 al-Baladhurī, 618-619; al-Ḫabar, VI, 510-516; Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī, IV, 199-201.
Qutaiba seemed to the natives so magnificent that fettered Qutaiba in a distant dungeon would have more influence than Governor Yazid.\textsuperscript{31}

**Governorship Struggle after Qutaiba b. Muslim**

‘Arab tribes weren’t reconciled by ending of the clash, and insecurity in Khurasan and Transoxiana continued. It was an important problem who the new governor would be, and there were many candidates for this. For example after the clash came to an end, Wakī’ b. Abī Sūd sought the cut head of Qutaiba and his seal, but wasn’t able to find them. They were very important to prove that he killed Qutaiba, since they would facilitate his appointment as governor. Thus Bukair b. Wishāh, the governor of Khurasan of Umayyad Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, had claimed that he had killed Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulami, the governor of Khurasan of Abdallāh b. Zubair, for holding his governance in 72/691, and sent ‘Abd al-Malik his cut head.\textsuperscript{32} Therefore Wakī’ threatened with a clashing if the cut head of Qutaiba and his seal was handed over him. Accordingly in consequence of seeking it appeared that they were obtained by ‘Abdallāh b. Ōavzan, the leader of Azd tribe; and they were handed over Wakī’. It seems that the leader of Azd tribe also tried to govern. Wakī’ sent the Caliph the head of Qutaiba by a delegation, including ‘Arab tribes except for Tamīm tribal, his relatives.\textsuperscript{33} This refers that Wakī’ holded moderate political opinions, although he had a strong desire to hold government. Thus he both wanted to give the Caliph Sulaiman impression of the fact that all tribes agreed on his appointment as governor and honoured them. In addition, he kept his promise which he made Ōayyān al-Nabaūr, the leader of Mawālī, during which it was planned to clash against Qutaiba,\textsuperscript{34} and appointed him to control over the river of Balkh (Oxus) surroundings and to collect its tax.\textsuperscript{35}

He forbade plundering of Bāhila, the Qutaiba’s tribe, and ordered the rebels to give things plundered before forbidding back. According to Ibn A’tham, he executed a man for plundering by cutting his head.\textsuperscript{36}

After the death of Qutaiba, it was uncertain which policy was needed by new Umayyad Caliphate. Because the event had been out of control of

\textsuperscript{31} al-Ūabari, VI, 519.
\textsuperscript{33} al-Baladhuri, 618; al-Tabari, VI, 518, 526; Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī, IV, 204.
\textsuperscript{34} al-Ūabari, VI, 518.
\textsuperscript{35} al-Ūabari, VI, 512.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī, IV, 205.
Caliphate. However, even temporarily there wasn’t any problem since the rebels recognized Sulaiman as caliph. Therefore the new Caliph didn’t intervened Waki to control over Khurasan and Transoxiana. Accordingly Waki behaved as if a legal governor. He appointed Abü Miçadlı Lâöiq b. Ünumaid in Marw by the agreement of rebels, and declared that Qutaiba had increased prices but he himself would reduce them and a pair of scales would be four dirhems from next day on and he would execute the men who would increase price and he would never abandon this decision. As mentioned by Shaban, the high inflation was a natural situation in the period of Qutaiba. Because a considerable amount of booty was obtained in wars and the countryside was also deprived of its needed manpower; which created a war economy, to use a modern term, and changed the balance between the supply and demand.

Peace and security began to appear in Khurasan nine months after the death of Qutaiba, and so the situation of Waki was reviewed by the Caliph and his rulers. Because the Caliph Sulaiman had disliked the being killed of Qutaiba out of his order. Accordingly he had spoken to the delegations, who had brought the cut head of Qutaiba, with great dislike. Thus later, the Caliph Sulaiman ordered the governor of Khurasan, whom he appointed, to arrest Waki, if Qutaiba had not rebelled against him. On the other hand the agreement of rebels about the leadership of Waki was only with the elash against Qutaiba, but not with his governorship. They saw him as a tribal leader.

As mentioned above, at first disappearance of Qutaiba’s cut head and his seal also confirms this reality.

At the beginning the Caliph Sulaiman thought to appoint ‘Abd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab as the governor of Khurasan. But Yazîd b. al-Muhallab attempted to be appointed the governorship of Khurasan via ‘Abdallâh b. al-Ahtam, and, according to Abü ‘Ubaida Ma‘mar b. Muthannâ, gave him 100,000 dirhams. ‘Abdallâh b. al-Ahtam claimed during the interview with the Caliph Sulaiman that Waki was very rough and naturally a bedouin. Whereas Waki, as mentioned above, had protected the tribe of ‘Abdallâh b. al-Ahtam not to suffer at his hands against Qutaiba, and accordingly had

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37 al-‘Ubarî, VI, 512.
38 Shaban, 71.
39 al-‘Ubarî, VI, 519.
40 al-‘Ubarî, VI, 527.
41 al-‘Ubarî, VI, 511.
42 al-‘Ubarî, VI, 524-525.
43 al-Baladhurî, 619.
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been dismissed from the leadership of Tamîm. However, it seems that 'Abdallah b. al-Ahtam was hardly grateful and faithful to him. In conclusion, the Caliph Sulaiman appointed Yazîd b. al-Muhallab the governorship of Khurasan, as well as 'Iraq's.44

At first Yazîd deputized Khurasan his son Mukhallad. So Mukhallad come to there in 97/716, and went over the income and expenditure accounts of Wakî, and accordingly blamed him and his officers to embezzle, and arrested them. Thus both Qutaiba, who rebelled against the new Caliph Sulaiman, and Waki', the leader of rebels against Qutaiba, declined from power. The Caliph Sulaiman appointed a governor, who entirely belonged to him.

Conclusion

Some events occurred during the Qutaiba b. Muslim's struggle for staying in power helped us draw some conclusions about this period. In this context, after his death, the political order which Hajjâj, who had died one year earlier than Qutaiba's death, had established through Qutaiba came to an end. Qutaiba's death not only pointed out that it was very difficult for a governor who had lost the popular support in the period in question to keep his position after the power, which he rested on, came to an end, but also showed that his successful works and the possibilities provided for the people were not sufficient to gain popular support. In addition, it put forward that he should have regarded their sentiments. Indeed, when Qutaiba insulted the 'Arabs since they did not support him in his revolt against the new caliph Sulaiman, it led them to disregard the successes and the solidarity provided by him in the past. Despite all efforts of Waki', the leader of revolt against Qutaiba, he failed to be appointed to the governorship of Khurasan. This showed that the central administration had not a positive view on a leader who seized the power out of its control, even he proclaimed his obedience to it. Because for the Caliph it was more suitable to appoint a person who entirely owed his power to him as a governor than to appoint such a person, namely Waki' b. Abî Süd. For one who took power through a coup may be, more or less, convinced that he seized the power with his own hand. And this may weaken the authority of caliph in the region in question. Indeed, the Caliph, soon after the death of Qutaiba, reappointed Yazîd b. al-Muhallab there, whom Hajjâj had dismissed from the governorship of Khurasan. In conclusion, a new power period appeared in Khurasan and Transoxiana.

44 al-Úabârî, VI, 523-526, 528; Ibn A'tham al-Kûfi, IV, 197-207.