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TURKS IN EARLY MUSLIM SERVICE

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For over a millennium, about 850 to 1900, Turks dominated the military and political life of the central Muslim lands. Although few in number, they consistently managed to conquer and rule the other peoples of this area. They not only held power in regions adjacent to their homeland, the Central Asian steppe, but even in distant countries. That is, they not only ruled northern India, Iran, and Anatolia for long periods, but also such remote areas as southern India, the Yemen, and Egypt. Turks founded many of the great dynasties of Islam, such as the Seljuks, Mamluks, Mughals, Safavids, and foremost of all, the Ottomans. Under the Ottomans, Turks ruled such distant areas as Algeria and the Sudan.

Although the reasons for the Turkish military and political predominance over other Muslims are too complex to discuss here, we can trace the Turks' first rise to power in an Islamic setting. Turkish domination did not begin during the very first years of Islam; nor did it suddenly occur in the reign of al-Mu^ctaṣim (218-27 / 833-42), as is commonly thought. Rather, Turks played a small but growing role from the 50 / 670's on. The following pages trace this development from its beginnings to its florescence under al-Mu^ctaṣim.

The history of Turks in early Muslim service divides at al-Ma'mūn's accession in the year 198 / 813. Before then, Turks had only a moderate role in Muslim governments and armies ; from that date on they acquired enormous significance.

In reference to the first two centuries of Islam, the term "Turk" as used by Arabic and Persian sources presents difficulties. The Muslim authors mean different things by the term, depending on their era, proximity to Inner Asia, and knowledge of that region. It can overlap in meaning with other ethnic names (e.g. "Soghdian, Khazar, Farghanian"). Modern scholars have concluded that the term had a very wide meaning in the early centuries : "all the non-Persian peoples of the East;"¹⁾ "any non-Persian people north-east of the Oxus ;"²⁾ "a person who spoke Turkish ;"³⁾ "nomads of the Central Asian Steppes."⁴⁾

Despite the vague and wide meaning of the word "Turk," the following pages discuss only persons specifically identified as Turks, since it was soldiers by that name who eventually acquired control of the central Abbasid government shortly after the death of al-Mu^ctaṣim.

By "Muslim service," I mean the armies, courts, and governments of the Muslims.

A number of secondary works deal with the Turks from the time of al-Mu^ctaṣim;⁵⁾ little work has been done on their earlier role in Muslim countries.⁶⁾

THE FIRST TURKS, 54-1988 / 674-813. Although the earliest certain date for a Turk in Muslim service is 60 / 680, it appears likely that Turks fought in numbers for the Muslims already a few years earlier. In 54 / 674 ^cUbaydallāh b. Ziyād, the Umayyad governor of Khurasan, vanquished the city of Bukhara and its Turkish allies.⁷⁾ A year later, on being appointed governor of Basra, he took with him 2,000 or 4,000 of the Bukharan captives as slaves.⁸⁾ These captives formed a military unit known as the *Bukhāriya* which was famed for the skill of its archers.⁹⁾

It is unclear whether the *Bukhāriya* were slaves or free men;¹⁰⁾ it is also unclear how many of them were Turks. The fact that Turks fought with Bukhara against the Muslims implies that they made up a portion of the captives; the excellence of the *Bukhāriya* at archery confirms this likelihood, since Turks have always been renowned for their skill at shooting arrows. Further support for this idea comes from the first specific mention of a Turk in Muslim service, for he was a freed slave of ^cUbaydallāh b. Ziyād; most likely he belonged to ^cUbaydallāh's *Bukhāriya* corps.

This first Turk was a *mawlā* (freed slave) named *Rashīd*; in 60/680 he executed an ally of al-Ḥusayn b. ^cAli b. Abī Ṭālib, an enemy of the Umayyads.¹¹⁾ Six years later comes the first specific mention of a Turk fighting for the Muslims; he was a slave (a *ghulām*) who participated in the tribal warfare of Khurasan on the side of *Tamīm*.¹²⁾

When Qutayba b. Muslim faced a revolt by his Arabian soldiers in 96/715, he threatened them with his non-Arabian troops. The following passage comes from his speech to the rebellious soldiers:

"Who are the archers, those who with their arrows shot by sure hands can hit the eye of the enemy and sew his eyelids to his socket?"

Then the princes and nobles of Persia, the Turkish nobles, as well as those of Soghdia, Badeghi, Tokharistan, and Khurasan got up. They numbered more than 10,000 men, all of them capable archers who never missed the mark.

Pointing to them, Qutayba said "... they are braver than the Arabians."¹³⁾

Although highly respected as soldiers, this passage indicates that Turks had not distinguished themselves from other Central Asian groups by 96/715.

Just two years later the Muslims had an opportunity to acquire Turkish troops but passed it up. When they reached a truce with the pagan ruler of Tabaristan one of the conditions stipulated that "he deliver to them 500 Turks who had killed many Muslims and who then had taken refuge with him." Rather than incorporate these Turks into the Umayyad armies, the Muslims executed them.¹⁴⁾

Some 35 years went by before the next mention of Turks in Muslim service; in 123/741

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a Soghdian leader from Khurasan, Muqātil b. ʿAlī traveled to Damascus to tell Caliph Hishām about conditions in Khurasan. On this trip, Muqātil b. ʿAlī commanded a force of 150 Turks.¹⁵⁾ Two years later, when Muqātil b. ʿAlī was appointed sub-governor of Amul, he and several other new appointees received instructions from Naṣr b. Sayyār, the governor of Khurasan ; in the event of Naṣr's expulsion from Merv, they should import Turks and cross into Transoxiana.¹⁶⁾ Although this passage is not entirely clear, some Turkish military role can be adduced.

Rebellious Umayyads killed Caliph al-Walīd II and his family in 126/744 ; a *mawlā* "said to be Turkish" executed a grandson of al-Walīd's.¹⁷⁾

What role did Turks have in the Abbasid takeover ? An historian of Turkish soldiers writes that "it may be assumed with certainty that Turkish units fought in Abū Muslim's army,"¹⁸⁾ though the sources (including the recently available *Akhbār ad-Dawla al-Abbāsiya*) do not substantiate this statement.¹⁹⁾ Further, I have found no mention of Turks in the service of the first Abbasid caliph, Abū'l-Abbās.

The first mention of a Turk in Abbasid service comes only in the reign of the second caliph, al-Mansūr ; in 137/754 Zuhayr b. at-Turkī was governor of both Hamadhan and Mosul.²⁰⁾ This made him the first person of Turkish origins to hold a high position in Muslim service. Pseudo-Deyonosios Telmaḥriya', a Syriac chronicler, informs us of Turks in al-Mansūr's army.²¹⁾ Another source states that at his death al-Mansūr left 40,000 *mawlās*²²⁾ and it is safe to assume that a good many of them were Turks.

Perhaps more important than their numbers, Turks under al-Mansūr became trusted servants. Ḥammād at-Turkī typified this new aspect. He had an important role in the building of Baghdad ;²³⁾ he fought the ʿAlid rebel al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī in 169/785 (one account reports that Ḥammād himself killed al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī) ;²⁴⁾ he served al-Mansūr personally as head of his bodyguard, chamberlain, and aide-de-camp (even taking care of such menial duties as saddling al-Mansūr's horse) ;²⁵⁾ finally, Ḥammād took charge of taxation in the Sawād region (*taʿdīl as-sawād*).²⁶⁾ Ḥammād appears to have been the first Turk with all-around importance in a caliph's entourage. Muslim writers noted both al-Mansūr's heavy use of Turks and Ḥammād's special importance :

Al-Mansūr was the first caliph to acquire Turks. He acquired Ḥammād and al-Mahdi [his successor; on him, more below] had Mubārak. Subsequent caliphs and everyone else followed them in this practice.²⁷⁾

The Turks did not stop increasing in numbers and eventually they overpowered the Abbasids.²⁸⁾

All evidence points to al-Mansūr as the first Muslim ruler to bring substantial numbers of Turks into his service. A clue to al-Mansūr's relations with his Turks may be gleaned from his statement about a Turkish slave who later served as governor of Egypt : "He is a man who fears me, not God !"²⁹⁾

Turks continue to appear in al-Mahdi's reign (158-69/775-85). The man who feared al-Mansūr more than God served as governor of Egypt in the years 162-64/779-80 ; it is worth noting that not only was he a slave, but so were his brother and father ; and his mother was the aunt of the king of Tabaristan.³⁰⁾ A Turk led a rebellion in Fars ; this man was related to a *khādim* (eunuch ?) in the caliph's service, Faraj al-Khādim at-Turkī (and they aided each other).³¹⁾ Turks fought in large numbers for the Muslims probably for the first time in 160/777 when they fought the Khārijī rebel ʿAbd as-Salām

al-Yashkari.³²⁾

When al-Mahdi's son al-Hādī came to power in 169/785, he had to spend the first ten months of his reign fighting the rebel al-Husayn b. ʻAlī in Arabia. The *mawlā* Mubārak at-Turkī was one of several Abbasid commanders.³³⁾ al-Hādī thought he did not show enough vigor against the rebel and confiscated some of Mubārak's property.³⁴⁾ As noted above, Ḥammād at-Turkī also fought for the caliph in this campaign and is reported by one source to have killed al-Husayn b. ʻAlī.³⁵⁾

Occasional mention of Turks in service continues through Hārūn ar-Rashīd's reign (170-93/786-809). Faraj al-Khādim at-Turkī governed Tarsus in the first year of his rule.³⁶⁾ Since Turks were ever associated with warfare, it comes as a surprise to hear of the Turkish *mawlā* who was a religious scholar ; he lived in Egypt and died there in 181/797.³⁷⁾ The first mention of Turks in ceremonial occasions comes at about this time ; when ambassadors arrived from India bearing gifts :

Hārūn ar-Rashīd ordered the Turks into two rows and armed them so heavily that only the pupils of their eyes showed. Then he let the ambassadors enter.³⁸⁾

A Turk relates an anecdote about the caliph and his vizier in 187/803.³⁹⁾ as Töllner points out, this man must have been close to either the caliph or the vizier to be able make this report.⁴⁰⁾ The first Turkish support for a sectarian movement came in 193/809 when they helped the rebel Rāfiʻ b. Layth ; this support was short-lived, however, for the Abbasid commander split the Turks from Rāfiʻ, so they fled and weakened him.⁴¹⁾ Finally, Hārūn ar-Rashīd's received 1,000 or 4,000 (presumably Turkish) slaves from Khurasan as *kharāj* (general tax or land tax).⁴²⁾

AL-MA'MŪN AND AL-MU'TASIM, 198-227/813-842. With the accession of al-Ma'mūn, the Abbasid use of Turks, and especially Turkish slaves, jumped. For reasons I have tried to establish in my work on military slavery,⁴³⁾ al-Ma'mūn faced a crisis of military manpower when he came to the throne and he solved it by recruiting large numbers of soldiers as slaves :

al-CUyūn wa'l-Hadā'iq : "When [al-Ma'mūn] reached Baghdad [in 204/819], he bought some of his soldiers in the market".⁴⁴⁾

al-Qazwīnī : "It is said that [Yaḥyā b. Aktham, a high official under al-Ma'mūn] made efforts to collect handsome youths so serve as slaves (*mamlūks*) of the caliph [al-Ma'mūn]. He said to them : 'If not for you, we would not be believers' [i.e. your defense of us keeps our religion safe]."⁴⁵⁾

an-Nuwayrī : al-Ma'mūn "was the first to take Turks into his service. [As a result] their price increased to the point that it cost 100,000 or 200,000 dirhams to purchase one of them."⁴⁶⁾

al-Maqrīzī : al-Ma'mūn "increased buying Turks so that their price rose to the point that he purchased a single slave (*mamlūk*) for 200,000 dirhams."⁴⁷⁾

It is worth noting that some sources (such as the first two quoted above) refer to the purchase of slaves in general and others (such as the latter two) specifically to Turkish slaves. It would appear that Turks made up the most important group of slaves, though without predominating.

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From the first, al-Ma'mün's younger brother, the future Caliph al-Mu'taşim, took an active part in the acquisition of military slaves, serving as al-Ma'mün's deputy.

Ibn Qutayba : "Al-Ma'mün ordered his brother Abū Ishaq [al-Mu'taşim] to acquire Turks, so he imported them [as slaves]."⁴⁸⁾

So great was al-Mu'taşim's role that some accounts lost sight of all the rulers who employed Turks before him :

Bal'amî : "He was the first Abbasid caliph to take Turks into his service."⁴⁹⁾

al-Maqrîzî, as-Suyûti, an-Nahrawâlî : "He was the first to enter Turks on the Military Register."⁵⁰⁾

Al-Mu'taşim acquired this reputation by making a concerted effort to recruit Turks. Samarcand, a renowned slave trade center,⁵¹⁾ served as his main source.⁵²⁾ The slaves had probably been captured first by local traders and rulers, then sold to agents of the Abbasids.⁵³⁾ One of those agents, a man called Ja'far al-Khushshâkî, recounted his activities :

Al-Mu'taşim sent me during the reign of al-Ma'mün to Samarcand, to Nûh b. Asad [the Samanid ruler there, 204-27/819-42] to purchase Turks. I presented him each year with a number of them.⁵⁴⁾

Al-Mu'taşim already began acquiring Turks, with al-Ma'mün's encouragement, right after the end of the civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma'mün. In 199/815 he purchased İtâkh, possibly his first Turkish slave.⁵⁵⁾ Al-Ma'mün received slaves from Samarcand already by 200/816.⁵⁶⁾ In 204/819⁵⁷⁾ al-Ma'mün "bought some his soldiers in the market" of Baghdad.⁵⁸⁾ Al-Mu'taşim purchased İtâkh, Ashnâs, Waṣif, and Simâ ad-Dimashqî, all prominent figures in his own reign, in Baghdad.⁵⁹⁾ He acquired Ashnâs and Bughâ al-Kâbir already during al-Ma'mün's caliphate.⁶⁰⁾ Yet, despite these early purchases, one account states that al-Mu'taşim began acquiring Turks in 220/835.⁶¹⁾

Besides the organized purchase of Turks from Samarcand, the caliphs captured Inner Asian steppe peoples. In 211-12/826-27 al-Ma'mün received 2,000 Ghuzz Turks as captives from Kabul.⁶²⁾ The early Tahirid governors of Khurasan owned numerous slaves which they presumably had captured (since the caliphs would surely not tolerate their purchasing slaves). Talha b. Tâhir (governor 207-13/822-28) could give away 80 *mamlûks* on a single occasion;⁶³⁾ cAbdallâh b. Tâhir (governor 213-30/828-45) sent as yearly tribute over 44 million dirhams and either 1012 slaves (*raqiq*) or 2,000 Ghuzz Turks captured in Khurasan.⁶⁴⁾ The governor in Samarcand Nûh b. Asad, also sent slaves as part of his annual tribute to the caliph.⁶⁵⁾

As a result of these many efforts, the caliphs al-Ma'mün and al-Mu'taşim collected large numbers of slaves. Al-Ma'mün had a sufficient number at his disposal to sent 400 handsome *mamlûks* to ride in the service of a favorite cadi and high official;⁶⁶⁾ one source says he had in all 70,000 slaves.⁶⁷⁾ While al-Ma'mün still lived, al-Mu'taşim had three or four thousand slaves;⁶⁸⁾ after his death al-Mu'taşim had 4,000, 8,000, 18,000, 38,000, 50,000 or 70,000 slaves.⁶⁹⁾ Whatever the exaggeration of these figures, they point to the great efforts which the two caliphs made to collect Turkish slaves.

Turks did not achieve a predominant military role yet by al-Ma'mūn's reign. They fought for him in the civil war against his brother al-Amin, usually under the command of Tāhir b. al-Husayn.⁷⁰⁾ Al-Amin lamented his losses and claimed that if only Tāhir joined his side, the Turks and Daylamis could plot against him but they would fail ;⁷¹⁾ this both confirms the Turkish presence and pays tribute to their military abilities. Rashīd at-Turkī led troops to Upper Egypt in 216/831.⁷²⁾ Al-Jāhīz recounts seeing a hundred Turkish cavalrymen line either side of a road for al-Ma'mūn while on campaign. He was especially impressed by the fact that nearly all of them withstood an intense midday heat to remain on horseback.⁷³⁾

Besides soldiers, we also hear of two Turks serving the Abbasids as cooks during al-Ma'mūn's caliphate ; one worked for the father a vizier and the other for al-Mu'taşim.⁷⁴⁾ When he died, al-Ma'mūn was buried in a house which had formerly belonged to one of his Turkish eunuchs.⁷⁵⁾

Al-Mu'taşim's close association with Turks began already in al-Ma'mūn's reign. As early as 202/818, when fighting a Khārijī rebel, he had a bodyguard of Turkish slaves and one of them saved his life.⁷⁶⁾ When he went to Egypt in 213/828, 4,000 Turks accompanied him ; they then left with him two years later.⁷⁷⁾

On coming to power in 218/833, al-Mu'taşim delegated much of his power to several Central Asians. The annals of his reign echo with their names : Ashnās, Ītākh, Bughā al-Kabīr, Waṣīf, and al-Afshīn.⁷⁸⁾

It was Ashnās⁷⁹⁾ who defended al-Mu'taşim in the incident mentioned above ; he saved the future caliph from an assailant's knife.⁸⁰⁾ Ashnās undertook two expeditions for al-Ma'mūn ; in 215/830 he led Abbasid troops against the Byzantines and two years later he led them in Egypt.⁸¹⁾ When al-Mu'taşim came to power, he appointed Ashnās governor of Egypt.⁸²⁾ Ashnās retained this title for some years without actually living in or presiding over Egypt. Indeed, the chroniclers ignore him almost completely when recounting the history of Egypt during his tenure. It appears that al-Mu'taşim wished to honor Ashnās with the governorship without losing his presence at the court. In 223/838 Ashnās led a variety of units on the way both to the battle of Amorium in Anatolia and on the return.⁸³⁾ Again honoring Ashnās, al-Mu'taşim allowed him to sit on a throne (*kursī*) in 225/840.⁸⁴⁾ A year later Ashnās went on the pilgrimage to Mecca and al-Mu'taşim paid him a yet greater honor by giving him control of every region through which he passed between Samarra and Mecca.⁸⁵⁾ Accordingly, he is sometimes known as the governor of Syria, al-Jazira, and Egypt,⁸⁶⁾ though again he never ruled those provinces. Ashnas died in 230/845.⁸⁷⁾

Ītākh,⁸⁸⁾ originally a cook, came to al-Mu'taşim in 199/815.⁸⁹⁾ In 222/837 he joined the long campaign (220-23/835-38) against the Iranian rebel Bābāk.⁹⁰⁾ A year later he led the right wing to Amorium and then the Turks and Farghanians at the battle there.⁹¹⁾ In 225/840 he became governor of the Yemen, but that same year we also have a report that he stood guard at al-Mu'taşim's doorway,⁹²⁾ so this too was probably an honorary appointment. Two years later he fought a rebel near Mosul.⁹³⁾ Soon after al-Mu'taşim's death he acquired the important position of governor of Khurasan ;⁹⁴⁾ al-Mutawakkil had him executed in 234/849.⁹⁵⁾

First mention of Bughā al-Kabīr⁹⁶⁾ comes in 210/825 when he took possession of someone else's lands.⁹⁷⁾ He brought relief to the Abbasid troops fighting Bābāk in 220/835 and a year later led troops on his own.⁹⁸⁾ Both to and from Amorium he led the rearguard ;⁹⁹⁾ and he served al-Mu'taşim as chamberlain (*ḥājib*).¹⁰⁰⁾ After al-Mu'taşim's reign, Bughā al-Kabīr filled several important positions

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and died in 248/862.¹⁰¹⁾ One account says he loved warfare and died at over 90 (lunar) years ;¹⁰²⁾ if true, then Bughā al-Kabīr was already an adult when acquired by al-Mu^ctaṣim.

Waṣif¹⁰³⁾ had a role at Amorium and served al-Mu^ctaṣim as chamberlain ;¹⁰⁴⁾ however, like Bughā al-Kabīr, his most important positions came after al-Mu^ctaṣim's death. Waṣif died in 253/867.¹⁰⁵⁾

Al-Afshīn,¹⁰⁶⁾ who was al-Mu^ctaṣim's most prominent general, already led military campaigns for al-Ma'mūn.¹⁰⁷⁾ Under al-Mu^ctaṣim he directed the battle against Bābāk and fought in the conquest of Amorium.¹⁰⁸⁾ We shall not dwell on his important career and fascinating downfall, however, for although two sources call him a Turk,¹⁰⁹⁾ he came from Farghana, an Iranian cultural region, and was not usually considered Turkish.¹¹⁰⁾

Several other lesser-known Turks also had leading positions ; Sīmā ad-Dimashqī, Sīmā ash-Sharābī, and Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. Danfash served al-Mu^ctaṣim as chamberlains ;¹¹¹⁾ Bashīr at-Turkī led Farghanian troops in an ambush against Bābāk in 222/837.¹¹²⁾

Anonymous Turks filled a variety of military roles : some became bodyguards, either for the caliph or for others ;¹¹³⁾ Turks guarded Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī in 210/825 and they fought at Amorium.¹¹⁴⁾ They played a major part in the conspiracy of al-Ma'mūn's son al-Abbās against al-Mu^ctaṣim.¹¹⁵⁾ For example, Ashnās was to be assassinated by a fellow Turk, his drinking companion.¹¹⁶⁾ When the conspiracy failed, it was again Turks who executed one of its leaders in 223/838.¹¹⁷⁾ Al-Afshīn sent a Turkish *mawlā* to kill one of Bābāk's men in 222/837.¹¹⁸⁾

Turks provided personal services for al-Mu^ctaṣim. On one occasion, he called for İtākh to bring him dates ;¹¹⁹⁾ a Turkish slave eunuch swatted flies from al-Mu^ctaṣim's head.¹²⁰⁾ Turks served other persons too in non-military ways.¹²¹⁾

Perhaps most indicative of the favor bestowed on the Turks was the fact that al-Mu^ctaṣim raised one of them, al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān, with his own son Ja^cfar, the future Caliph al-Mutawakkil.¹²²⁾ The close relationship between these two lasted for decades and al-Fatḥ played a vital role in al-Mutawakkil's reign.¹²³⁾

This survey should establish two points : (1) Turks served Muslim rulers, governments, and armies before al-Mu^ctaṣim's reign while (2) they gained far greater importance during his reign. In light of the Turkish usurpation of Abbasid power soon after al-Mu^ctaṣim's death, it is worth noting that the Turks showed no signs of disobedience or ambition during al-Mu^ctaṣim's lifetime ; yet he granted them so much power that within a few years of his death they effectively controlled the Abbasid caliphate.

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(Footnotes)

1. H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests in Central Asia* (London, 1923), p. 10.
2. P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (9th ed. rev. : New York, 1967), p. 210.
3. R. N. Frye and A. M. Sayılı, "Turks in the Middle East before the Saljuqs," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 63 (1943), p. 196.
4. O. S. A. Ismail, "Mu^ctaṣim and the Turks," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 29 (1966), p. 13. V. Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marvazi on China, the Turks and India* (London, 1942), p. 92 notes that "Turks" include "Finno-Ugarian and Slavonic Peoples of Eastern Europe."
5. Notably : (1) P. G. Forand, "The development of military slavery under the Abbasid caliphs of the ninth century A. D. (third century A. H.), with special reference to the reigns of Mu^ctaṣim and Mu^ctadid." (Ph. D., Princeton University, 1962).
 - (2) S. Hamdi, "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des türkischen Einflusses im Abbāsidenreich bis Mutawakkil." (Ph. D., University of Tübingen, 1954).
 - (3) Ismail.
 - (4) H. Töllner, *Die türkischen Garden am Kalifenhof von Samarra* (Bonn, 1971).

Despite its title, D. Ayalon's "Military reforms of the Caliph al-Mu^ctaṣim—their background and consequences", (Jerusalem, 1963 . Mimeographed) hardly mentions the Turks.

I have not seen the first part of H. D. Yıldız, "Abbasiler devrinde Türk kumandanları," *İstanbul Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 1 (1973). Part II is in *idem.*, 2 (1974), pp. 51-58 and deals with İtākh, a Turkish leader who began his career in al-Mu^ctaṣim's time. I also know nothing more about his unpublished Ph. D. thesis than its title, "Mu^ctasim devrinde Abbasî İmparatorluğu."
6. Some works which deal with Turks in early Muslim service include :
 - (1) Ş. Günaltay, "Abbas oğulları imparatorluğunun kuruluş ve yükselişinde Türklerin rolü," *Belleten*, 6 (1942), pp. 177-205.
 - (2) J. Karabacek, "Erstes urkundliches Auftreten von Türken," *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, , 1(1887), pp. 93-108.
 - (3) Z. al-Kitābchī, "at-Turk fī mu'allifāt al-Jāḥiẓ wa makānāthum fī' t-tārīkh al-Islāmī ilā awāṣīt al-qarn ath-thālith al-hijri." (Ph. D., University of Karachi, [date not available]).
 - (4) E. Mainz, "Die Türken in der klassischen arabischen Literatur," *Der Islam*, 21 (1973), 279-85.
7. al-Balādhūrī, *Futūh al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), p. 411 ; at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh ar-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et al. (Leiden, 1879-1901), 2. 169.
8. al-Balādhūrī, p. 410 ; Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1885), p. 191 ; Narshakī, *Tārīkh-i Buldān*, tr. R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 37 ; Yāqūt, *Mu^cjam al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866-72), 1. 522.
9. at-Ṭabarī, 2. 170.
10. al-Balādhūrī, p. 376.
11. at-Ṭabarī, 2. 268.
12. at-Ṭabarī, 2. 698.
13. Bal^cami, *Tarjama-yi Tārīkh-i Tabarī*, tr. H. Zotenberg, *Chronique de Tabari* (Nogent-le-Rotrou, 1867-74), 4. 209. So far as I can tell, this passage is not found in at-Ṭabarī. See al-Balādhūrī 424.
14. Ibn A^ctham, *Kitāb al-Futūh*, ed. M. cAbd al-Mu^cid Khān et al. (Hyderabad, 1388/1968-), 7. 293.
15. at-Ṭabarī, 2. 1719.
16. at-Ṭabarī, 2. 1767.

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17. at-Tabārī, 1805.
 18. Töllner 14.
 19. Günaltay's article on this subject turns up very little.
 20. at-Tabārī, 3. 118.
 21. *Makhtebānūt*, tr. J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahre* (Paris, 1895), 4. 72.
 22. ar-Rashīd b. az-Zubayr, *adh-Dhakhā'ir wa't-Tuḥaf*, ed. M. Ḥamīdullāh (Kuwait, 1959), p. 213.
 23. at-Tabārī, 3. 276-80.
 24. Abū'l-Faraj al-İsfahānī, *Maqātil at-Tālibiyīn*, ed. S. A. Saqr (Cairo, 1368/1949), p. 451.
 25. at-Tabārī, 3. 280, 309, 392 ; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-Dhahab*, ed. M. M. cAbd al-Ḥamīd (5th ed. : Cairo, 1393/1973).
 26. al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa'l-Kuttāb*, ed. M. Saqā (Cairo, 1357/1938), p. 134.
 27. ath-Thā'if al-Ma'ārif, ed. I. al-Abyārī and H. K. aş-Şayrafī (Cairo, 1960), p. 20.
 28. Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Qasīdat Ibn cAbdūn*, ed. M. S. al-Kurdī (Cairo, 1340), p. 285.
 29. al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāh wa Kitāb al-Quḍāh*, ed. R. Guest (Leiden, 1912), pp. 122-23.
 30. *Ibid.*
 31. al-Jahshiyārī, p. 151 ; at-Tabārī, 3. 604 calls him at-Turkī.
 32. Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Kitāb at-Tārikh*, ed. S. Zakkar (Damascus, 1967-68), p. 701.
 33. at-Tabārī, 3. 562.
 34. *Ibid.* 3. 563. That property may have been the land-grant (*qaṭīcā*) Mubārak owned in Baghdad mentioned in al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1892), p. 253. Mu-bārak must have been very rich, for he could grant a million dirham loan. (at-Tabārī, 3. 981, al-Jahshiyārī, p. 100)
- For al-Hādī's anger, see Abū'l Faraj al-İsfahānī, p. 452. Yaqūt's report on 3. 852 that Mu-bārak killed al-Ḥusayn b. cAlī appears to have confused Mu-bārak with Hammād.
35. Abū'l Faraj al-İsfahānī, p. 451.
 36. at-Tabārī, 3. 604.
 37. Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *an-Nujūm az-Zāhirā*, ed. A. Z. al-cAdawī *et al.* (Cairo, 1348-92/1929-72), 2. 103. A freed slave from Farghana became an expert on *ḥadīth* and a poet (Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld [Göttingen, 1850]), p. 270).
 38. Ibn cAbd Rabbih, *al-cIqd al-Farīd*, ed. A. Amin *et al.* (Cairo, 1940-53), 2. 203.
 39. at-Tabārī, 3. 683.
 40. Töllner, p. 18.
 41. at-Tabārī, 3. 775.
 42. Ibn Ḥamdūn, *at-Tadhkira*, 2. 234, cited by Hamdi, p. 9, fn. 3.
 43. "From Mawla to Mamluk : the Origins of Islamic Military Slavery" (Ph. D., Harvard University, 1978), pp. 184-88.
 44. *al-cUyūn w'al-Ḥadā'iq*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1869-1871) in *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, p. 379.
 45. al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-cIbād* (Beirut, 1389/1969), p. 318.
 46. Quoted on p. 255 in an editor's footnote to al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*.
 47. al-Maqrīzī, *an-Nizāc wa't-Takħāṣum*, ed. G. Vos (Leiden, 1888), p. 63.
 48. Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, ed. T. cUkāsha (Cairo, 1969), p. 391. This quote is missing from Wüstenfeld's edition.
 49. Bal'cami, 4. 524.
 50. al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb as-Sulūk*, ed. M. Ziyāda (Cairo, 1935-1973), 1. 16 ; as-Suyūtī, *Tārikh al-Khulafā'*, ed. M. M. cAbd al-Ḥamīd (3rd ed.: Cairo, 1383/1964), 24 ; an-Nahrawālī, *al-A'clām*

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bi-A^clām Bayt Allāh al-Harām, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1272/1857), p. 123.

Another indication of this comes from Yāqūt 4. 454 ; Mubārak, who was al-Mahdī's favorite, is incorrectly called the *mawlā* of either al-Mu^ctaṣim or al-Ma'mūn.

51. al-Muqaddasī, *Ahsan at-Taqāsim fī Ma^crifat al-Aqālīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1877), p. 278.
52. al-Ya^cqūbī, p. 255 ; Ibn Hawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Ard*, ed. J. H. Kramers (Leiden, 1939), p. 468 ; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-^cIbar* (Bulaq, 1284), 3. 257 ; Ibn Taghīrī Birdī, *an-Nujūm az-Zāhirā* (Cairo, 1929-72), 2. 233 ; *an-Nahrawālī*, p. 123.
53. al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad b. Tūlūn*, ed. M. K. ^cAlī (Damascus, 1358/1939), p. 34 calls Tūlūn a captive (*sabi*).
54. al-Ya^cqūbī, pp. 255-56.
55. at-Tabarī, 3. 1383.
56. al-Balawī, p. 34 ; Ibn Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam* (Hyderabad, 1357-59), 5. 71 ; Ibn Khallikān, *Waṭfīyāt al-A^cyān*, ed. I. ^cAbbās (Beirut, 1968-72), 1. 173.
57. "When he reached Baghdad," i.e. in 204/819.
58. *al-^cUyūn wa'l-^cHadā'iq*, p. 379.
59. al-Ya^cqūbī, p. 256.
60. Bal^camī, 4. 534.
61. Ibn Taghīrī Birdī, 2. 233.
62. Ibn Khurdadhbih, *al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1889), p. 37.
63. Tayfūr, *Kitāb Baghdād*, ed. H. Keller (Leipzig, 1908), p. 172.
64. al-Muqaddasī, p. 340 and Ibn Khurdadhbih, p. 39.
65. al-Balawī, p. 33 ; Ibn al-Jawzī, 5. 71 ; Ibn Khallikān, 1. 173 ; Ibn Taghīrī Birdī, 3. 1.
66. al-Qazwīnī, p. 318.
67. Ibn Dīḥya al-Kalbī, *an-Nibrās fī Tārīkh Khulafā' al-^cAbbās*, ed. ^cA. al-^cAzzawī (Baghdad, 1365/1946), p. 65.
68. al-Ya^cqūbī, pp. 255-56 ; al-Kindī, p. 188-89 ; Ibn Taghīrī Birdī, 2. 208-09.
69. al-Mas^cūdī, 4. 53 ; Ibn Taghīrī Birdī, 2. 233 ; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'n-Nihāya* (Cairo, 1348-58), 10. 296 ; Bar Hebraeus, *Makhtebānūt Zabhnē*, ed. and tr. E. W. Budge, *The Chronography of Gregorus Abu'l-Faraj* (London, 1932), 1. 140 ; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* (Cairo, 1931), 3. 346 ; ar-Rashīd b. az-Zubayr, p. 214 ; al-Qazwīnī, p. 385 ; Yāqūt, 3. 16.
70. at-Tabarī, 3. 799, 891.
71. al-Mas^cūdī, 3. 419.
72. al-Kindī, p. 192.
73. al-Jāhīz, *Manāqib al-Atrāk* in *Majmū^cāt ar-Rasā'il*, ed. M. as-Sāsī al-Maghribī (Cairo, 1324), p. 37.
74. Tayfūr, p. 217, 268 ; at-Tabarī, 3. 1234, 1383.
75. at-Tabarī, 3. 1140 ; al-Mas^cūdī, *at-Tanbīh wa'l-Ashrāf*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1894), p. 190 calls him a Turk.
76. at-Tabarī, 3. 1017 ; Miskawayh, *Tajārub al-Umam*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1869-71) in *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, I. 438 ; Abū Zakariyyā Yazīd al-Azdī, *Tārīkh al-Mawṣil*, ed. A. Ḥabībā (Cairo, 1967), p. 352.
77. al-Kindī, p. 188-89 ; Ibn Taghīrī Birdī, 2. 208-09.
78. al-Mu^ctaṣim himself considered these men (naming them all but Bughā al-Kabīr) as his most important agents (at-Tabarī, 3. 1327).

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79. Ashnās is called a Turk : at-Tabarī, 3. 1017, 1306, 1338 ; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-Dhahab*, 4. 55, 60 ; al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 259 ; al-Ya'qūbī, *at-Tārīkh* (Beirut, 1960), 2. 475, 479, 481 ; Bal'ami, 4. 524 ; Ibn Taghīrī Birdī, 2. 243, 245, 255-56, 274 ; Miskawayh, p. 438 ; Ibn Khallikān, 3. 89 ; Abū Zakariyā Yazid al-Azdi, p. 352 ; Ibn al-Adīm, *Zubdat al-Halab min Tārīkh al-Halab*, ed. S. ad-Dahhān (Damascus, 1951-1968), 1. 69.
- Ghulām*: all the references in note 76.
- Mamlūk*: al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 256.
- Mawlā*: Yāqūt, 3. 16.
- Mawlā amīr al-mu'minīn* (on this term, see "From Mawla to Mamluk," pp. 128-33) : P. Balog, *Umayyad, Abbāsid and Tūlūnid Glass Weights and Vessel Stamps* (New York, 1976), pp. 240-43 (five examples).
80. See the references at note 76.
81. at-Tabarī, 3. 1103 and al-Kindī, p. 192.
82. al-Kindī, p. 194 ; Ibn Taghīrī Birdī, 2. 229 ; Abū Zakariyā Yazid al-Azdi, p. 416.
83. To Amorium : (Vanguard) at-Tabarī, 3. 1236 ; al-Ya'qūbī, *at-Tārīkh*, 2. 475 ; (cavalry) at-Tabarī, 3. 1241 ; (infantry) al-'Uyūn wa'l-Hadā'iq, p. 393 ; (left wing) at-Tabarī, 3. 1244. From Amorium : (right wing) at-Tabarī, 3. 1260 ; (rearguard) at-Tabarī, 3. 1261-62.
84. at-Tabarī, 3. 1302 ; al-'Uyūn wa'l-Hadā'iq, p. 404.
85. at-Tabarī, 3. 1318.
86. Ibn al-Adīm, 1. 69.
87. at-Tabarī, 3. 1338.
88. Itākh is called a Turk: at-Tabarī, 3. 1306, 1327 ; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj adh-Dhahab*, 4. 60 ; al-Ya'qūbī, *at-Tārīkh*, 2. 479, 481, 485 ; Bal'ami, 4. 524 ; Ibn Taghīrī Birdī, 2. 243, 255, 265, 274.
- Khazar* : at-Tabarī, 3. 1383 ; Ibn Taghīrī Birdī, 2. 276.
- Ghulām* : at-Tabarī, 3. 1383.
- Mamlūk* : al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 256 ; Ibn Taghīrī Birdī, 2. 276.
- Mawlā amīr al-mu'minīn* : Balog, pp. 246, 248. On his career, see Yıldız.
89. at-Tabarī, 3. 1234, 1383 ; Abū Zakariyā Yazid al-Azdi, p. 424.
90. at-Tabarī, 3. 1195.
91. at-Tabarī, 3. 1236, 1250.
92. at-Tabarī, 3. 1303, 1307, 1327.
93. at-Tabarī, 3. 1322.
94. al-Ya'qūbī, *at-Tārīkh*, 2. 479.
95. at-Tabarī, 3. 1383-87 ; Ibn Taghīrī Birdī, 2. 276.
96. Bughā al-Kabīr is called a Turk : at-Tabarī, 3. 1313 ; al-Ya'qūbī, *at-Tārīkh*, 2. 478 ; Ibn Taghīrī Birdī, 2. 218, 327.
97. at-Tabarī, 3. 1085.
98. at-Tabarī, 3. 1174, 1186-93.
99. Abū Zakariyā Yazid al-Azdi, p. 427 ; at-Tabarī, 3. 1261.
100. al-Mas'ūdī, *at-Tanbīh*, p. 356 ; Eutychius, *Tārīkh al-Majmū'a*, ed. L. Cheicho *et al.* (Beirut, 1906-09), 2. 61 (but not on page 284).
101. at-Tabarī, 3. 1506 ; Ibn Taghīrī Birdī, 2. 327.
102. Ibn Taghīrī Birdī, 2. 327.
103. Waṣīf is called a Turk : at-Tabarī, 3. 1351, 1479, 1531, 1559, 1687 ; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Muhabbar*, ed. E. Lichtenstädter (Hyderabad, 1361/1942), p. 260 ; al-Ya'qūbī, *at-Tārīkh*, 2. 478

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- Ibn Taghři Birdī, 2. 327, 338, 340; Eutychius, 2. 61-62.
- Mamlūk : al-Ya᷇qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, p. 256; Ibn Taghři Birdī, 2. 340.
- Mawlā : *al-᷇Uyūn wa'l-Hadā'iq*, pp. 409-10; Ibn ḨAbd Rabbih, 5. 121; at-Tabari, 3. 1481.
- Mawlā amīr al-mu'minīn* : at-Tabari, 3. 1484-85; al-Balādhūrī, p. 235.
104. A role at Amorium : at-Tabari, 3. 1237.
- As hājib : al-Ya᷇qūbī, *at-Tārīkh*, 2. 478; *al-᷇Uyūn wa'l-Hadā'iq*, pp. 409-10; Ibn Ḩabib, p. 260; Ibn ḨAbd Rabbih, 5. 121; Eutychius, 2. 61.
105. al-Ya᷇qūbī, *at-Tārīkh*, 2. 502; Ibn Taghři Birdī, 2. 338, 240.
106. Al-Afshīn is called a Turk : *Masālik al-Mamālik*, ed. M. J. de Geoje (Leiden, 1870), p. 292; J. Saint Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie* (Paris, 1818-19), 1. 344 relying on the Armenian historians.
- Mawlā* : ad-Dīnawārī, *al-Akkhār at-Tīwāl*, ed. A. M. ḨAmīr and G. ash-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1960), p. 403.
- Mawlā amīr al-mu'minīn* : al-Qalqashandī, *Šubḥ al-As̄hā* (Cairo, 1913-22), 6. 404.
107. at-Tabari, 3. 1105, 1106.
108. at-Tabari, 3. 1170-1234, 1236-56.
109. See note 106 above.
110. Al-Afshīn's trial, at-Tabari, 3. 1303-18, is permeated with the fact of his Iranian culture ; note especially 3. 1312 and 1315.
111. al-Ya᷇qūbī, *at-Tārīkh*, 2. 478; Ibn ḨAbd Rabbih, 5. 121. Muḥammad b. Hammād b. Danfash's name seems to indicate that his father was already a Muslim.
112. at-Tabari, 3. 1215-16.
113. at-Tabari, 3. 1076, 1289.
114. at-Tabari, 3. 1076, 1250; *al-᷇Uyun wa'l-Hadā'iq*, p. 394.
115. at-Tabari, 3. 1267; Miskawayh, pp. 501-12.
116. at-Tabari, 3. 1257, 1266.
117. at-Tabari, 3. 1265.
118. at-Tabari, 3. 1194.
119. at-Tabari, 3. 1325.
120. al-Mas̄ūdī, *Murūj adh-Dhahab*, 4. 50.
121. Abū'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, (Bulaq, 1284-85), 7. 155.
122. Ibn Taghři Birdī, 2. 325.
123. O. Pinto, "Al-Fath b. Ḥāqān, favorite di al-Mutawakkil," *Revista degli studi orientali*, 13 (1931-32), pp. 133-49.

Erratum:

After submitting this article to press, the author became aware of a mistranslation. Please ignore the quote from *al-᷇Uyun wa'l-Hadā'iq* above notes 44 and 58.