The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXV

The End of Expansion

TRANSLATED BY KHALID YAHYA BLANKINSHIP

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XXV

The End of Expansion:

THE CALIPHATE OF HISHĀM

A.D. 724-738/A.H. 105-120

The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī

(Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XXV

The End of Expansion

translated
by

Khalid Yahya Blankinship

University of Washington

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided into 38 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the original in the Leiden edition appear on the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission *(isnād)* to an original source. The chains of

transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, according to Ibn Ḥumayd–Salamah–Ibn Isḥāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Ibn Isḥāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabarī's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others which cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.

Ehsan Yar-Shater

Contents

Translator's Foreword

This volume of Ṭabarī's history covers the first fifteen years of the caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-120/724-738), which represents nearly the last epoch of universal political unity in Islamic history and of apparent political stability under the Umayyads. Ṭabarī's general subject is the history of Islam and its universal caliphate, which reached its widest extent at this time. Thus one might hope for a comprehensive treatment in this volume of the lands under Hishām's rule, but this is not the case. A historian covering such a large geographical area must be selective, and Ṭabarī must be thanked for giving us as much as he has. But his interest is confined in this volume almost entirely to the East, particularly Khurāsān and Iraq, with even metropolitan Syria brought in mainly to show the relationship of these two provinces to the seat of Umayyad power. Not only is North Africa almost entirely ignored, as throughout Ṭabarī generally, but so are Egypt, Arabia, and Western Iran. This seems to be a conscious selection on the writer's part, as local sources for these areas were apparently available. Like most ancient histories, Ṭabarī's work is also somewhat limited in the way it covers even the provinces it is concerned with, by stressing the noble and ruling elements rather than the common people, for example, or by evincing more interest in wars and battles than in peaceful developments. However, this deficiency is perhaps less than that often met with in similar chronicles of ancient or medieval history, as much social and economic information can be gleaned from the pages of the

present volume. In this respect Ṭabarī's narratives may prefigure more modern historical concerns. And Ṭabarī's own special interests, such as campaigns in Khurāsān, enjoy by far the best coverage available in any source and are thoroughly dealt with.

Ṭabarī's value as a historian depends heavily on the value of his sources, as his own input is mainly limited to the selection and arrangement of the material. He quotes extensively from the works of historians of the end of the second and the beginning of the third century of the hijrah, prominent among whom are, in order of frequency of quotation, Madā'inī (d.215/830), Wāqidī (d.207/822), Abū 'Ubaydah (d.210/825) and al-Haytham b. 'Adī (d.207/822). These men were born around the beginning of 'Abbasid rule and thus were able to hear the accounts of other eyewitnesses to the period covered by the present volume. Frequently however, their accounts came through intermediate transmitters who probably had often written them down some time before the later historians included them in their works. In either case, the likelihood of the accuracy of Ṭabarī's narratives relating to Hishām's reign is enhanced by the relatively short time between the events and their being written down and by the fact that living eyewitnesses or contemporaries to the events were used as informants for the written sources Ṭabarī used.

Indeed, the narratives themselves here show less tendentiousness than is found in some other parts of Ṭabarī, such as in the material drawn from Sayf b. 'Umar. Hishām, though so hated by the 'Abbāsid revolutionaries that his corpse was exhumed, hacked up and crucified, is not painted in the blackest of colors here, which lends some credibility to Ṭabarī's accounts. For example, on his pilgrimage to Mecca in 106/725, Hishām is shown unwilling to curse 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (p. 1483), he piously leads the prayers over recently deceased religious personages, one a grandson of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and he greets the grandson of Abū Bakr in a friendly manner (p.1472). Khālid al-Qasrī, the great viceroy of the East, receives a mixed treatment, evidently a composite from different sources. Each governor of Khurāsān is also dealt with from various points of view, not wholly unfavorably. Thus Ashras al-Sulamī is nicknamed both "the Perfect" (p. 1504) and "Frog" (p. 1505), showing opposite views about him. Interestingly, both reports come through Madā'inī, and their respective tribal sources,

the Muḍar and the Bakr, reveal that these are expected partisan opinions. Also, al-Junayd al-Murrī, though probably rightly condemned by Khurāsānī poets for the disastrous Battle of the Defile (pp. 1553-9), is favorably portrayed elsewhere (pp. 1533, 1565).

This does not mean, though, that Ṭabarī's accounts are free from bias. Indeed, many of the competing tribal accounts are violently biased against their rivals. But the author shows no favoritism for one group over another, as he quotes from all the different tribal factions.

A notable tendency of this section of Ṭabarī, and not unique to him among the sources, is his heavy reliance for Hishām's reign on Khurāsānī sources, which tend to exalt Khurāsānī personages and army units at the expense of others, especially the Syrians. Naṣr b. Sayyār, for example, is always seen in a favorable light and his self-congratulatory poetry extensively quoted. The sufferings of the Khurāsānī troops are graphically portrayed in the various battles. But the Khurāsānīs do also sometimes come in for criticism. Al-Mujashshir al-Sulamī, who had an extremely long career as a Khurāsānī notable, usually is shown giving good advice to the amirs (e.g., p. 1544) but on the day of Kharīstān is ridiculed by Asad al-Qasrī for his timidity (p. 1608).

Probably the most problematic accounts are those telling about early ʿAbbāsid missionary work, as this was carried on in secret and as embarrassing facts were probably early suppressed. Certain statements, such as the accusations levelled against ʿAmmār or ʿUmārah b. Yazīd ("Khidāsh") are probably false (p. 1588). Otherwise, the brave martyrs of the ʿAbbāsid movement are gloriously portrayed (pp. 1501-3). But the coverage of the movement is uneven and must be read in conjunction with other sources, such as the anonymous and immensely important *Akhbār al-Dawlah al-ʿAbbāsiyyah*.

The literary quality of Ṭabarī's history also deserves consideration. Though some lines consist of dry chronicling of events, the bulk of the text contains lively, exciting war narratives that make fascinating reading, conveying a vibrant portrayal of the feelings of the participants. Outstanding among these are the detailed accounts of the campaigns of Kamarjah (pp. 1516-25), the Defile (pp. 1531- 59) and Kharīstān (pp. 1593-1618), which reveal the desperation felt by the Muslims in their long struggle with the Turks.

Ṭabarī's text is also punctuated by poetry, especially that relating to the battles and their results. Startling the reader with their graphic imagery and stirring language, the poems by the otherwise unknown al-Sharʿabī al-Ṭāʾī and Ibn ʿIrs al-ʿAbdī (pp. 1554-9) convey the poets' impression of the exhaustion and desperation the Muslims felt after the Battle of the Defile, as well as of their rage toward their commander. Contrasting with this virile poetry is the elaborate literary language of the court, with its complex parallelisms epitomized by the long letters sent by Hishām to Khālid al-Qasrī and the Umayyad notable the latter had insulted (pp. 1642-6). Although flowery and carefully constructed rather than spontaneous, these too are not ineffective in getting their message across. Even if they turn out to be inauthentic compositions of somewhat later date, like the speeches of Thucydides, they do still clearly represent the development of the chancery style so widely met with in official writing in the Muslim world for a long time after.

Analyzing the contents of this volume reveals the fewness of the subjects Ṭabarī has chosen to dwell on, which in turn discloses his purpose. He has opted to treat narrow areas in depth while totally omitting much else, rather than to spread himself thin over the whole territory of Dār al-Islām. Dealing with the reign of Hishām, he has concentrated with a singleness of purpose on painting the background of the ʿAbbāsids' advent to power, although events in other provinces such as North Africa were significant. Hence the desperate conditions of the Khurāsānīs receive top billing, while even Iraq and Syria are mainly subordinated to events in the far eastern province where ʿAbbāsid rule arose.

In fact, the fifteen years covered by this volume were indeed ones of epic struggle, as the Muslim caliphate seemed to be fighting for its very life. Hishām's reign witnessed the state's resources stretched to the breaking point. The furious Turkish onslaught of 102-19/720-37 detailed by Ṭabarī left the Khurāsānī Arab tribal regiments decimated, even though the enemy was finally defeated. A continuous series of hard-fought battles including the relief of Qaṣr al-Bāhilī 102/720, the Day of Thirst 106/724, Kamarjah 110/728, the Day of the Defile 113/731, and Kharīstān 119/737, along with many others mentioned by Ṭabarī and possibly others not mentioned, such as the fall of Samarqand possibly in 113/731,

led to high Muslim losses. It is most notable that after the Day of the Defile, many Khurāsānī tribal surnames never again appear as part of the army in Khurāsān, leading one to suppose they had been annihilated or their men had given up fighting. Some Khurāsānī troops remain, of course, but their divisions are now parallelled by Syrian ones. Thus it appears, particularly from Ṭabarī's emphasis, that the Day of the Defile was practically a turning point in the war with the Turks, at least as far as the Khurāsānīs were concerned and, despite the army being rescued, was a Pyrrhic victory at best. Elsewhere, the period had witnessed only a year previously in 112/730 the destruction of al-Jarrāḥ al-Ḥakamī in the Caucasus, another big, or possibly bigger, disaster in which even the commander, a famous general, was slain. Ṭabarī describes this only briefly, however, as he also does with regard to the annual campaigns against the Byzantines, some of which were also disastrous for the Muslims, such as that of 113/731 (p. 1560). Unmentioned are the festering troubles in North Africa and the defeat of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ghāfiqī at Balāṭ al-Shuhadā' in France in 114/732, where the Muslim advance into Europe was permanently checked. These military crises on virtually every front belie the apparent calm inside the boundaries of the Muslim caliphate and must have contributed heavily to releasing the pent-up internal forces that would bring down the Umayyads.

Indeed, Ṭabarī reveals the actual internal instability of the state under Hishām, despite the general outward calm on the surface. Crises in Khurāsān resulting from backsliding on the promised removal of tax burdens from the *mawālī*, the non-Arab Muslims, as described in this volume, had their parallels elsewhere, for example, in North Africa under Yazīd b. Abī Muslim. Failure to deal effectively with the problem led ominously to the revolt of al-Ḥārith b. Surayj from at least 116/734 onward. In Iraq, small Khārijite revolts occurred, whose leaders are often given the stature of heroes. Most remarkable is the government's frightened overreaction, which lays bare a jittery state of mind, despite the smallness of the revolts themselves. Also, the cruel punishments meted out to rebels and heretics by the Umayyad government in this period stick in the reader's mind, as Ṭabarī doubtless intended, and further point to the frenzied alarm it felt.

That all is not well with the state is also emphasized by the ap-

parent corruption of the governors. As governorships were often briefly held, they seem to have been looked on as an opportunity to get rich, as in the story of Ziyād b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Ḥārithī (pp. 1468-71). This possibility gains support from the frequent torturing of ex-governors by their successors in order to get them to disgorge their wealth. In the present volume, this befell ʿUmārah b. Ḥuraym al-Murrī (p. 1565), the successor of al-Junayd, ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbdallāh (p. 1581) and Khālid al-Qasrī (e.g., pp. 1654-5). In addition ʿUmar b. Hubayrah and Muslim b. Saʿīd at least felt the threat of similar treatment (pp. 1485, 1488). The vast estates amassed and sums of money supposedly embezzled by Khālid al-Qasrī also paint for us an extravagant picture of exploitation of an office for one's own benefit and that of one's retainers (pp. 1641-2, 1648, 1654-5).

If all this is to find any explanation aside from personal greed, it must be sought in the realm of tribal party politics. As the spoils system then at work allowed every new governor to fill all posts with political appointees from his own party, his own supporters and retainers would inevitably clamor for such posts. And this indeed seems to have been the fate of Khālid al-Qasrī, who is shown almost broke after having distributed all his gains to his party (p. 1651).

The downfall of Khālid in 120/738 after more than fourteen years as viceroy of the East is another epochmaking, watershed event to which Ṭabarī devotes considerable attention. Unfortunately, in spite of the numerous possible causes cited in these pages, the exact reason for his dismissal cannot be discerned with certainty, but it is highly likely that Ṭabarī has not included all of the background of this important change. Some of the reasons alleged, such as slighting comments made by Khālid about Hishām or the former's insulting behaviour toward Ibn ʿAmr b. Saʿīd (pp. 1642-7), are too trivial to be the cause, though altogether they may have presented an uppitiness the Umayyads found provoking. The financial reasons are perhaps important, especially given a possible financial crisis caused by the vast scale of military operations in Hishām's reign. This may have led him to demand much greater fiscal accountability and stringency than was the case in previous reigns, which in turn may have left Hishām with his lasting reputation for avarice. But it is also probable that partisan disputes in

the Umayyad house itself, perhaps extending to the Syrian army leadership, had much to do with Khālid's dismissal. It is unlikely that the death of Maslamah b. ʿAbd al-Malik only five months before Khālid's downfall was irrelevant to that event. Maslamah, the elder statesman of the Umayyad house, himself deprived of the succession owing to his being the son of a concubine, had always been a guiding and restraining influence, and Khālid probably would not have held the governorship of Iraq for fourteen years without his approval. Hishām had been unable to alter the succession in favor of his own son over Maslamah's opposition, and with Maslamah gone might have been more willing to bow to family pressures to remove Khālid, which Ṭabarī alludes to (pp. 1646, 1655-6). Whatever the case, the subject needs further study. It is Khālid's long rule that gives the period some of its outward appearance of stability, just as his sudden exit from the political stage at the end of this volume, along with the death of his brother Asad in the same year, foreshadows the Umayyads' own collapse shortly afterwards.

Khālid's replacement as viceroy of the East was the fanatical Qaysī Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaqafī. His appointment and harsh acts against the opposing Yamanī faction nearly completed the total breakdown in the ability of the two groups to live in peace in the same state. Such factionalism had already appeared at al-Barūqān early in Hishām's reign in 106/724 in a clash between the Muḍar and the Yaman-Rabīʿah (pp. 1473-7). In fact, the increasing tribal factionalism is one of the salient motifs of Hishām's reign. It not only took place between the dominant Syrians and the provincial Arabs, such as the Khurāsānīs, as we have pointed out already, but was often more virulent between the Qays or Muḍar and Yaman-Rabīʿah factions inside each province and apparently throughout the caliphate, as it is attested in Ṭabarī or elsewhere in Khurāsān, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, North Africa and Spain, for Hishām's time or shortly thereafter. The underlying basis of it has been much discussed, for example, by Wellhausen[1], Shaban[2] and Crone.[3] Generally it has been felt that such widespread rivalries and disor-

1. Wellhausen, *Arab Kingdom*, 180-2, 201-2, 208-11, 259-61, 322, 326, 328-9, 359-60 and passim.
2. Shaban, *Islamic History*, 120-4, 146, 152, 154-5, 170-1.
3. Crone, *Slaves*, 37-48.

ders must have a more immediate effective cause than mere tribal feuding and that the tribes in any case do not represent primeval social groups but rival army units or political factions. This belief receives support from the ability of certain tribes to change their membership in the larger groupings almost at will, like the seemingly opportunistic Bāhilah in 106/724 (pp. 1473-7). Originally from southeastern Arabia near the Gulf, perhaps near Abū Ẓabī, this large tribe became great with Qutaybah b. Muslim, the inveterate Qaysī (d. 96/715), but here, only a few years later, Qutaybah's brother is leader of the Yaman-Rabī'ah faction, the Bāhilah now claiming to belong to the Banū Ma'n, part of the Yamanī Azd. Additionally, the Raba'ī Taghlib try to claim them. In each case, a genealogy is provided justifying their factional membership. Another example is Asad al-Qasrī's beating of the leaders of each of the four major tribal groupings in Khurāsān (pp. 1498-1500) and then wrongly being accused of tribal favoritism. Here the Khurāsānīs' resentment toward the central government is more important than tribal divisions among themselves.

But certain observations are in order before tribal group feeling is dismissed as a motivation. First, throughout Ṭabarī's history of the Umayyads all persons, whether in the military or not, are usually identified by their tribal *nisbah*, the badge of membership in one of the 200 or more primeval or at least pre-Islamic tribes of Arabia. Non-Arabs also have this membership as clients *(mawālī)* of one tribe or another. Although a certain amount of intermarriage was possible, often for political reasons, this did not strongly affect the feeling of belonging to a patrilineal descent in a particular primeval tribe. Thus, although Naṣr b. Sayyār's mother was from the Raba'ī Taghlib and his two known wives from the Tamīm, his own loyalty to the Layth is shown by the number of his close associates from that tribe. Suffice it to say that membership in a smaller tribal group was in this period the main means of social identification inside the Muslim community. The larger tribal groupings were more artificial, although not wholly so, as they also tended to go back to defined geographical areas in Arabia. But they too took on a strong tribal coloration replete with ethnic feeling that prevailed right down to the end of the Umayyad rule and recurred sporadically thereafter. That certain tribes changed their larger groupings does not mean that

most did so. The Bāhilah's finding their way back to membership in the Ma'n of the Yamanī Azd shows only their understandable reversion to the group of their original geographical neighbors in Arabia after they were unnaturally sundered from them by Qutaybah's service to al-Ḥajjāj and the opportunity that gave him to promote his tribe to better status. Finally, it might well be wondered whether the Muḍar tribes on the whole were not more nomadic and the Yaman more sedentary and whether that did not play a role in forming their attitudes originally and contributing to their rivalry and mutual aversion across the caliphate. This is also a subject for further study.

I would like to thank the Ṭabarī Translation Project for the opportunity to participate in their great enterprise. I would especially like to thank Professor Jere L. Bacharach of the University of Washington for his generous help in all phases of the translation and especially for the many helpful suggestions he made to improve both the wording of the text and the quality of the notes. I would also like to thank Professor Jacob Lassner for his painstaking editing of my text. Further, I would like to express my gratitude to Ali Bakr Hassan of the Arabic Language Academy in Cairo and the University of Washington who helped to elucidate certain obscure words and passages in the Arabic. Deepest thanks is also due to April Richardson of the University of Washington who kindly typed the manuscript and bore with me through numerous subsequent corrections and emendations. Last but not least, I wish to thank my wife, may Allah bless her heart, who gave me moral encouragement and urged me on to complete the work in the shortest time possible.

Khalid Yahya Blankinship

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The Events of the Year

105

(JUNE 10, 723—MAY 28, 724)

The Caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik [1466]

In this year, Hishāni b. ʿAbd al-Malik was made Caliph in the latter part of Shaʿbān [105] (January 3–31, 724). He was then some months beyond his thirty-fourth birthday.

According to ʿUmar b. Shabbah[1] —ʿAlī[2] —Abū Muḥammad al-Qurashī,[3] Abū Muḥammad al-Ziyādī, al-Minhāl b. ʿAbd al-Malik and Suḥaym b. Ḥafṣ al-ʿUjayfī:[4] Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik was born the year Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr was slain, that is the year 72 (691). His mother was ʿĀʾishah bt. Hishām b. Ismāʿīl b. Hishām b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm. As she was retarded, her family ordered her not to speak to ʿAbd al-Malik until she gave birth. She would pile up pillows and then climb on one of them, driving it as if it were a steed. She would also

1. Abū Zayd ʿUmar b. Zayd (nicknamed Shabbah) b. ʿUbayd b. Rayṭah, the mawlā of the Banū Numayr c. 172(788)–262(876). Well-known historian and traditionist from al-Baṣrah. See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 125; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 345.

2. That is, al-Madāʾinī.

3. Possibly Abū Muḥammad b. Dhakwān al-Qurashī. Compare isnāds in Ṭabari, II/2, 209–10.

4. Abū al-Yaqẓān ʿĀmir b. Abī Muḥammad Ḥafṣ, the mawlā of the Banū ʿUjayf. Nicknamed Suḥaym. Famous genealogist and historian of the Tamīm as well as other Muḍarī tribes. Died 170(786) or 190(806). See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 106–7; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 266–7; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 235.

buy frankincense and, after chewing it up, she would mold out of it images which she would then set on the pillows. Having given to each image the name of a slave girl, she would call out, "O so-and-so," and so on. ʿAbd al-Malik later divorced her because of her retardedness. When ʿAbd al-Malik went out to fight Muṣʿab and killed him, the news of the birth of Hishām reached the Caliph. Looking upon his birth as a good omen, he named the child Manṣūr, but the mother gave him the name of her father, Hishām. ʿAbd al-Malik did not oppose that, and he thus became Hishām. He was given the patronymic Abū al-Walīd.

[1467] According to Muḥammad b. ʿUmar[5] —his informants: The Caliphate came to Hishām while he was at al-Zaytūnah[6] at his residence on a small estate of his there. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar saw it himself and regarded it as small. (There) a postal rider brought Hishām the staff and ring of office, and he was saluted as Caliph, whereupon he rode from al-Ruṣāfah[7] until coming to Damascus.

Bukayr b. Māhān and the ʿAbbāsid Revolutionaries

In this year Bukayr b. Māhān[8] came from Sind, where he had been serving as a translator for al-Junayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.[9] When al-Junayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was removed from office, Bukayr came to al-Kūfah, having with him four bars of silver and one of gold. There he met Abū ʿIkrimah al-Ṣādiq,[10] Maysarah,[11] Muḥammad

5. That is, al-Wāqidī.

6. A Syrian desert retreat of Hishām, it was believed to be on or near the Euphrates, but possibly may be identified with Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī near al-Qaryatayn between Palmyra and Damascus. See *EI*^{2}, s.v. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, III, 163.

7. Thought to be Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī between Palmyra and al-Raqqah, it was Hishām's favorite residence. See *EI*^{2}, s.v. Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharqī; *EI*^{1}, s.v. al-Ruṣāfa.

8. Abū Hāshim al-Hurmuzfarrahī, the mawlā of the Yamanī Banū Musliyah. From the village of Hurmuzfarrah in the Marw oasis, he was the chief agent of the Hāshimiyyah in al-Kūfah until his death about 127(745). See *EI*^{2}, s.v. Bukayr b. Māhān.

9. Al-Murrī, wrongly called Ibn ʿAbdallāh in *EI*^{2}. Governor of Khurasan 111(729)-116(734). See *EI*^{2}, s.v. Djunayd b. ʿAbd Allāh; Crone, *Slaves*, 98.

10. Abū ʿIkrimah Ziyād b. Dirham al-Sarrāj al-Ṣādiq, the mawlā of the Hamdān, who assumed the kunyah of Abū Muḥammad for purposes of secrecy. See note 120; also Ṭabari, III/2, 1358, 1453; *Akhbār al-Dawlah*, 191–2, 203–5; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 136–7.

11. Abū Rabāḥ (or Riyāḥ) al-Nabbāl, also al-Raḥḥāl, the mawlā of the Azd. See