

The History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXVI

The Waning
of the
Umayyad Caliphate



TRANSLATED BY CAROLE HILLENBRAND

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ
AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XXVI

The Waning of the Umayyad Caliphate

PRELUDE TO REVOLUTION

A.D. 738-745 / A.H. 121-127



The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī
(Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa'l-mulūk)

VOLUME XXVI

The Waning of the Umayyad Caliphate

translated and annotated
by

Carole Hillenbrand

University of Edinburgh

State University of New York Press

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Preface



THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'rikh 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 here into thirty-eight 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 Ishāq means that al-Ṭabarī received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Ishāq, 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 that 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.



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Abbreviations



Arch. Or.: Archiv Orientální

BEO: Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas

EI¹: Encyclopaedia of Islām, first edition.

EI²: Encyclopaedia of Islam, second edition.

JA: Journal Asiatique

JESHO: Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient

JHS: Journal of Hellenic Studies

JSS: Journal of Semitic Studies

RSO: Rivista degli studi orientali

SI: Studia Islamica

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Translator's Foreword



The years 121–26 (738–44), which are covered in this volume, saw the outbreak of savage internecine struggles between members of the ruling Umayyad family in Syria. Once the towering figures of the Umayyad caliph Hishām, presented in the sources as a most able if somewhat unattractive and parsimonious figure, and his redoubtable governor in Iraq, Khālīd al-Qasrī, had died, the process of decay at the center of Umayyad power, the ruling family itself, was swift and devastating. Al-Walīd II, his cousin Yazīd b. al-Walīd and Yazīd's brother Ibrāhīm all ruled as caliph within the space of little more than a year, and when finally their distant cousin, the shrewd and seasoned politician Marwān b. Muḥammad, made his move from Armenia to seize power in Syria, he was not able to arrest the impetus of the forces of opposition that were gathering momentum against the Umayyads and that were shortly to culminate in the 'Abbāsīd revolution.

In its account of these momentous years, al-Ṭabarī's history concentrates on three major areas of the Islamic world: Syria, the center of Umayyad power; the garrison town of al-Kūfah in Iraq, and the eastern provinces of Khurāsān and Transoxiana. It is worthy of note that Spain, North Africa, Egypt, and the Ḥijāz are barely mentioned at all.

Al-Ṭabarī records the end of Hishām's reign in exhaustive detail, and with a rich store of biographical anecdotes, before turning his attention to the notorious life-style of al-Walīd II, both before and after his accession to the caliphate. In spite of al-Ṭabarī's protestations that he has omitted many of the scabrous

stories about al-Walid (cf. p. 1775), he gives a detailed account of this talented, if slightly deranged, member of the Umayyad family on whom subsequent 'Abbāsid anti-Umayyad propaganda fell with particular weight.

Al-Ṭabarī chronicles at great length the events surrounding the last years of the Prophet Muḥammad's great-great-grandson, Zayd b. 'Alī, his various litigation proceedings, his unsuccessful rebellion and his death in al-Kūfah, and finally, the hounding and eventual murder in Khurāsān of Zayd's son, Yaḥyā. Turning further to the east, al-Ṭabarī records in detail the activities of the last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār.

To what extent al-Ṭabarī's selection of his material for these five crucial years is dictated by the availability of historiographical, oral, and archival sources, or by a deliberate emphasis on these three geographical areas, it is impossible to say. The reader cannot, however, dispute the undeniable importance of the events chronicled by al-Ṭabarī for an understanding of the manifold elements of disaffection against the Umayyads which shortly afterward erupted into revolution.

What of the sources on which al-Ṭabarī draws for his account of the events in these three main geographical areas? For his coverage of the Umayyad caliphs—Hishām, al-Walid II, and Yazid III—in Syria, al-Ṭabarī relies heavily on reports from al-Madā'inī (died probably in 228/843), through the latter's pupil Aḥmad b. Zuhayr (died 279/892), a Ḥanbalī from Baghdad whose work *al-Ta'rikh al-kabīr* (extant only in fragmentary form) was a direct source for al-Ṭabarī.

For his narrative of events in Iraq, for the torture and death of Khālīd al-Qasrī at the hands of Yūsuf b. 'Umar and especially for the lengthy accounts of the litigation and rebellion of Zayd b. 'Alī, al-Ṭabarī's major source is Abū Mikhnaf (died 157/774), usually through reports transmitted by Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (died 204 or 206/819 or 821). The importance accorded by Abū Mikhnaf to the rebellion of Zayd b. 'Alī probably sprang more from geographical factors than religious conviction. The Kūfan historian naturally gave thorough coverage of local events without necessarily revealing a Shī'ite bias. Indeed, Abū Mikhnaf's account of Zayd's marriage in al-Kūfah (pp. 1685–86) could be

construed as slightly derogatory to him. Nor, moreover, does al-Ṭabarī opt to omit this episode, as does al-Balādhurī.

Al-Ṭabarī uses reports of Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, quoting either Abū Mikhnaf or other unspecified sources. Hishām al-Kalbī was also a Kūfan and had access to material both from Abū Mikhnaf and from his own father, Muḥammad al-Kalbī. Hishām's son, al-'Abbās, who is known to have been an informant for al-Balādhurī, may well have been the missing transmitter through whom al-Ṭabarī derived the information, if it was passed on orally.

For his material on Khurāsān and Transoxiana, all of al-Ṭabarī's attributed reports come from al-Madā'inī, a historian who was highly praised by 'Abbāsīd and later Muslim scholars as an authority on events in the eastern Islamic world. Much of the information provided by al-Madā'inī in al-Ṭabarī's coverage of these years is not extant in any other sources. The material is therefore difficult to assess: sometimes it is very lacunary and on other occasions the anecdotes are full and have the flavor of composite accounts or folk tales.

This section of al-Ṭabarī's history contains a number of interesting chancery or *inshā'* documents which, if authentic (and they probably are), have considerable value. These include the correspondence between the caliph Hishām and his heir-apparent, al-Walīd, which records the deterioration in their relationship (pp. 1746–49). For this correspondence there are parallel versions in the *Ansāb* and the *Aghānī*. By far the most challenging of these documents (and of daunting difficulty to the translator) is the elaborate and lengthy epistle of al-Walīd, designating his two young sons as his successors (pp. 1756–64). It is clear that the text is corrupt in a number of places and there is no other extant version with which to compare it. Nevertheless, in spite of its verbal conceits, contorted style, and tedious length, it is at times a *tour de force*, an arousing and persuasive piece of early Arabic rhetorical prose.

The poetry in this volume is of varying quality, most of it poor. The arrangement of the lines of verse is often unsatisfactory and probably on occasion out of sequence. Rising above the mediocre, however, is the fine poetry that is attributed to al-Walīd II himself

and that was edited by Gabrieli from the texts of al-Ṭabarī, al-Iṣfahānī, and Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi.

My remarks on the manuscripts of al-Ṭabarī's history, which form the basis of this section of the Leiden edition, must inevitably be limited, since I have not had the opportunity to view the manuscripts personally. M. J. de Goeje, who took over from D. H. Müller the task of editing these pages, used three manuscripts—those in Oxford (O), the British Museum (BM), and Berlin (B)—for most of this section of the text (pp. 1667–1811). Thereafter he was limited to only two (BM and B), since the Oxford manuscript had come to an end (pp. 1811–25). For the final pages he had only one manuscript (O), as the British Museum manuscript had also finished (p. 1825).

Considerable help is provided by other parallel sources at certain points in this section of al-Ṭabarī's text. The *Kitāb al-'uyūn wa-al-ḥadā'iq fī akhbār al-ḥaqā'iq*, edited by M. J. de Goeje and P. de Jong under the title *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum* (and abbreviated in this volume as *Fragmenta*) covers much of the material on the Umayyad caliphs. Many of the details of the relationship between Hishām and al-Walīd and of the brief caliphate of al-Walīd, provided by al-Ṭabarī, are also to be found in al-Iṣfahānī's *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*. The wording of the *Ansāb* is almost always identical with that found in the later *Fragmenta*.

For the events concerning Zayd b. 'Alī and his son Yahyā, there are parallel, often identical, accounts to be found in the *Ansāb* and in al-Iṣfahānī's *Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*. For Khurāsān and Transoxiana there is, however, a paucity of early extant sources which would help to clarify a number of obscurities in the relevant part of al-Ṭabarī's text. There are only Narshakhī's *History of Bukhārā*, which gives an account of the murder of the Bukhār Khudāh very like that of al-Ṭabarī (pp. 1693–94), and al-Dīnawarī's version of the exploits of al-Kirmānī (pp. 1858–66), which at times diverges considerably from al-Ṭabarī's account.

The basis of the translation provided here has been the Leiden text. Although there are a number of unsolved textual difficulties, de Goeje's editing achievement with its full critical apparatus still excites admiration even after the lapse of a century. The Cairo edition of al-Ṭabarī has also been consulted throughout. At

times it has helped in the clarification of textual problems. On other occasions it has been found to make changes in the text without satisfactory explanation.

There is a considerable corpus of secondary scholarly literature which helps to throw light on this crucial section of Umayyad history. The general reader is directed to G. R. Hawting's recent book, *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate. A.D. 661-750*, for a clear and balanced account of the Umayyads. Further detailed accounts can be found in the pioneer works of Wellhausen, Gibb, and Gabrieli and in the more recent studies of Shaban. For the topography of al-Kūfah, the work of Massignon is still useful, if taken in conjunction with the more recent researches of Djāit.

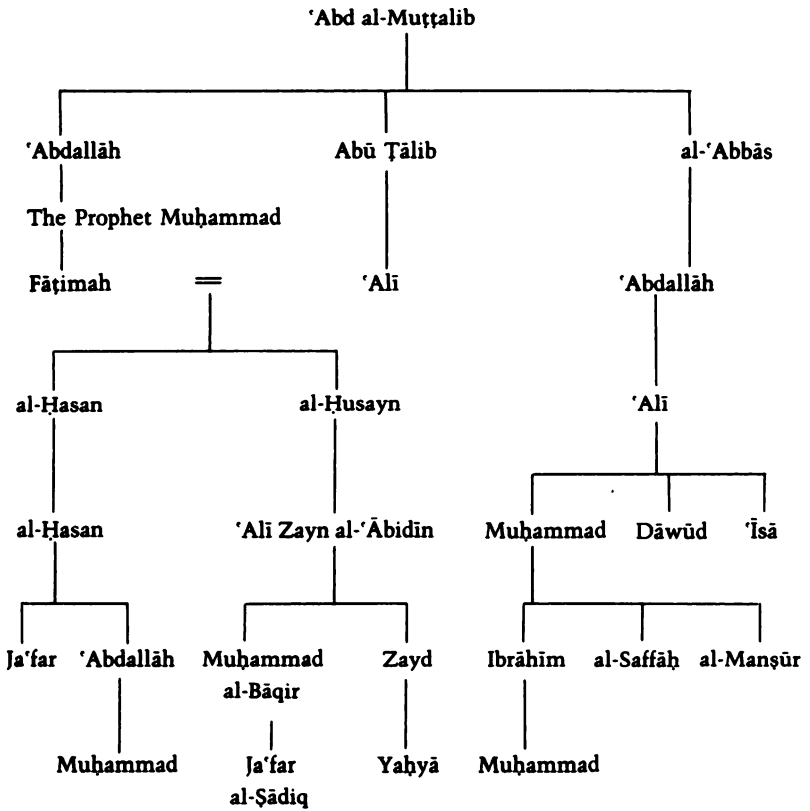
Several small miscellaneous points require brief mention. All quotations from the Qur'ān have been made from *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran*, translated by M. Pickthall (London, 1957). Often in the translation names or nouns have been provided instead of pronouns to clarify the narrative, and I have freely used synonyms for the ubiquitous 'said' and 'came.' Bolder changes of word order or other points of translation have been explained in the footnotes. It was not possible to identify all the personalities and place names mentioned in this section of al-Ṭabari's text, but the notes cover the great majority of these.

Finally, I should like to thank those who have helped with the task of producing this volume. I am most grateful to Mrs. Mona Bennett for her meticulous and patient typing of the translation and footnotes. Warm thanks also go to Dr. 'Abd al-Mu'nim al-Zubaydī, who gave unstintingly of his vast expertise and knowledge to help with the clarification of the substantial quantity of poetry in this volume. Without his help certain of the verses would have remained obscure. My colleague, Dr. M. F. El-Shayyal, read through the whole of the translation and made many valuable suggestions. I would also like to acknowledge the help given to me by Dr. James Allan; by my brother-in-law Dr. Peter Hillenbrand, who advised me on Hishām's alleged angina; by Dr. Ian Howard, who advised me on a number of points of detail; and by Dr. Martin Hinds and Dr. Patricia Crone, who gave me access, just before I completed this book, to the relevant sections of their new book, *God's Caliph*. Martin Hinds also gave me

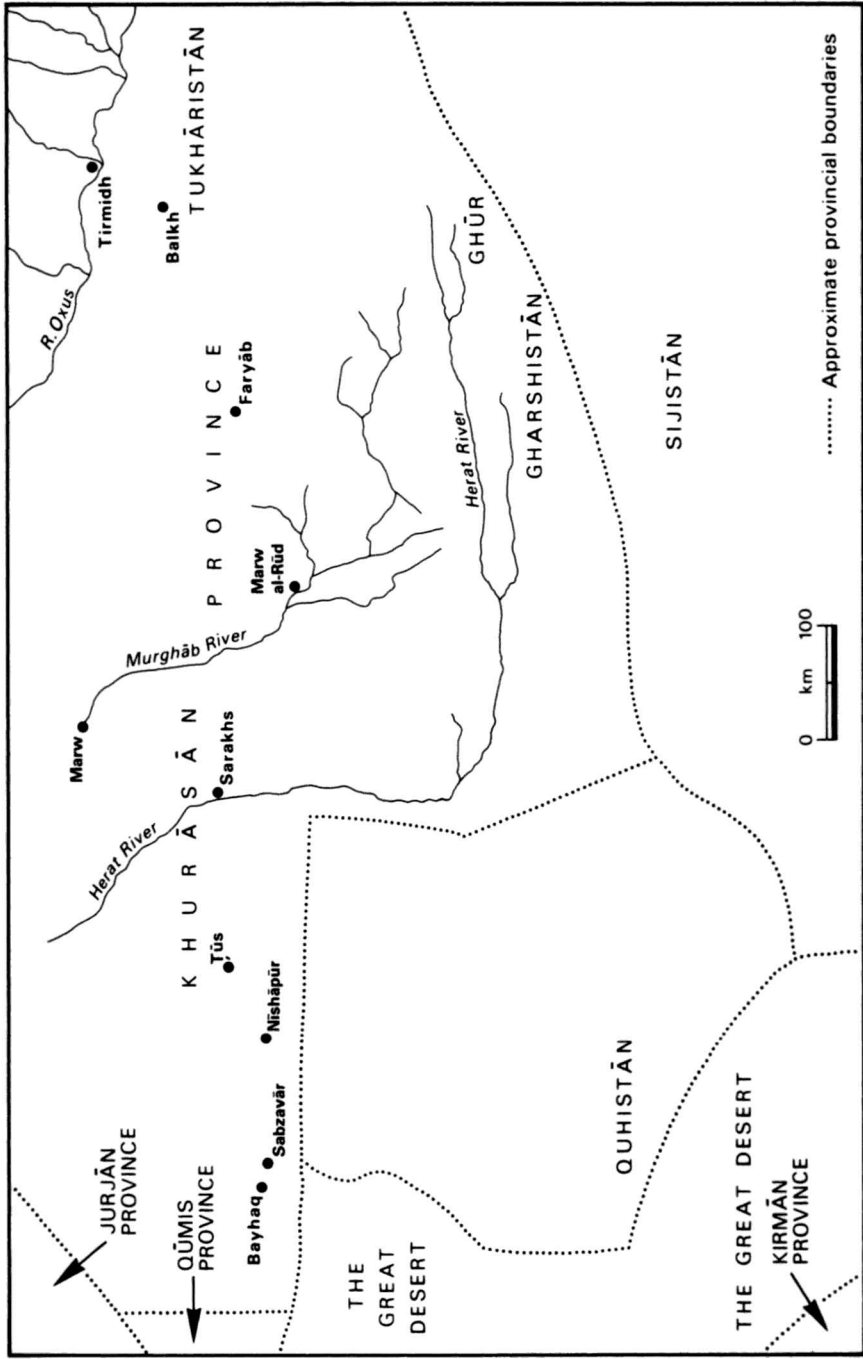
other helpful information on certain detailed points in the text. Above all, I should like to thank Professor Edmund Bosworth for his constant willingness to help with advice and moral support; and my husband, Dr. Robert Hillenbrand, for his most valuable criticisms and comments.

Carole Hillenbrand

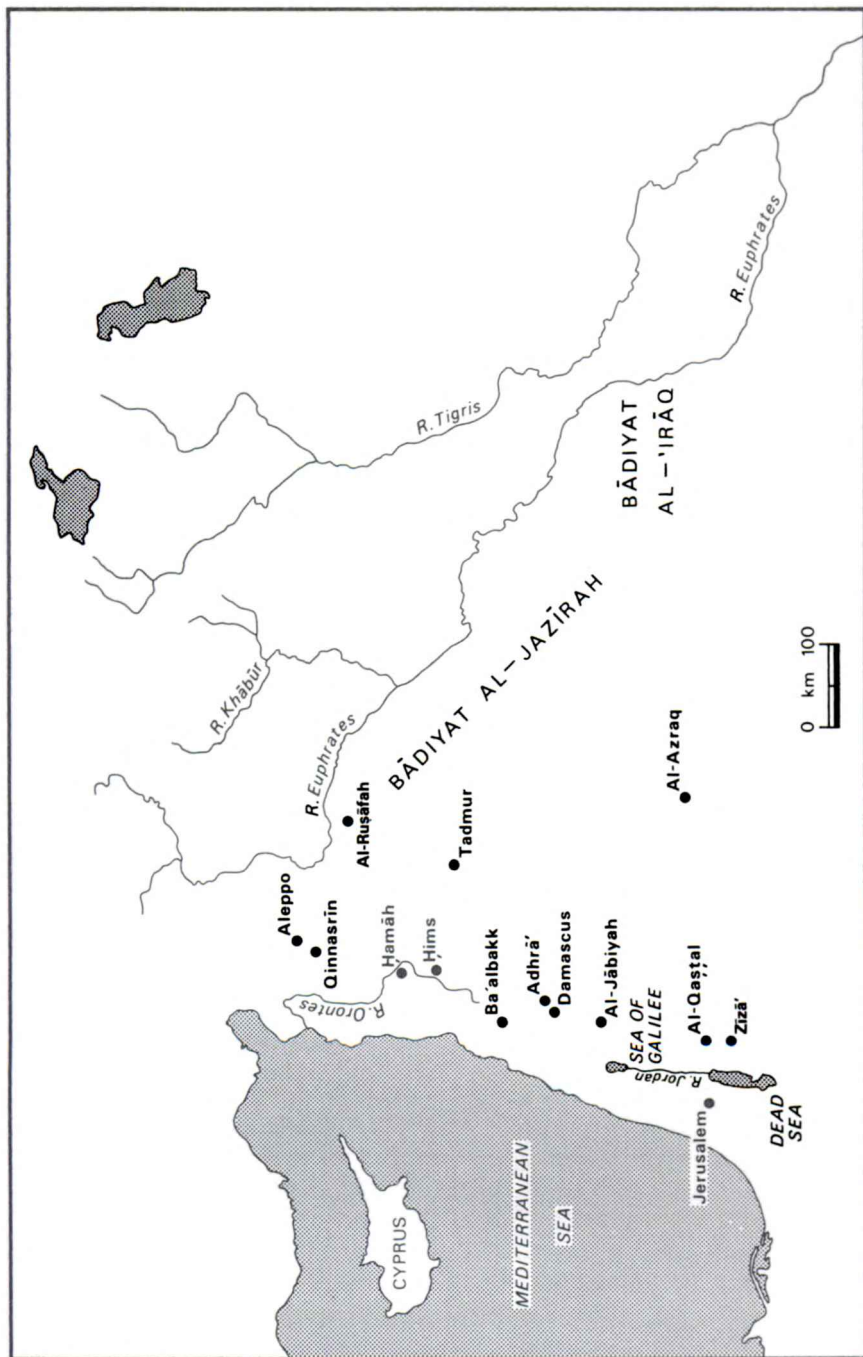
Table II. Genealogy of the Prophet's Family (The Shī'ah and the 'Abbāsids)



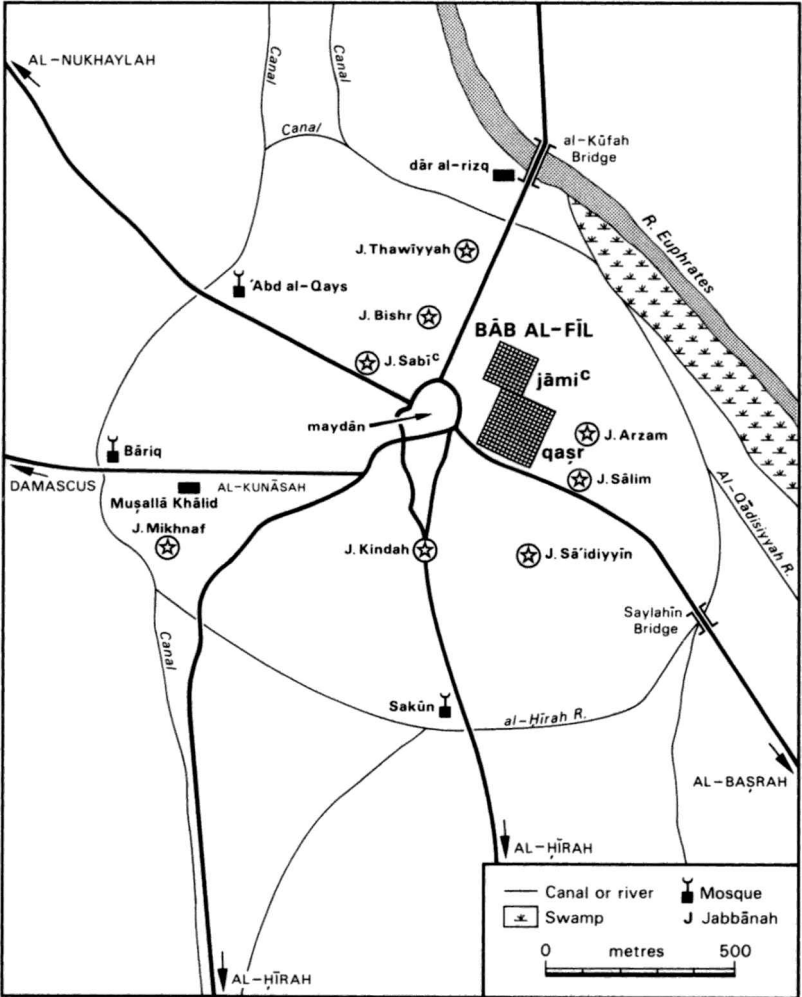
The names shown here are only those of importance to this volume of al-Ṭabarī's history.



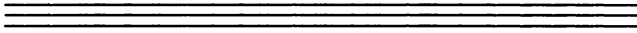
Map I. Khurāsān



Map III. Syria in the Umayyad Period



Map IV. Al-Kūfah and Its Environs



The Caliphate of Hishām



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The Events of the Year

[1667]

121

(DECEMBER 18, 738–DECEMBER 6, 739)



Among the events taking place during this year were the raid into Byzantium of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik,¹ during which he conquered Maṭāmīr,² and the raid into the country of the Lord of the Golden Throne³ by Marwān b. Muḥammad.⁴ Marwān captured

1. There is some confusion in the sources as to which Maslamah conducted this raid. It is more likely that the Umayyad commander concerned here was the experienced Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik who had conducted a number of campaigns into Asia Minor and Armenia and had been governor of the Jazīrah, Armenia, and Āzərbayjān. This is the view of Ibn Khayyāt (II, 367) and al-Ya'qūbī (*Historiae*, II, 395). For the career of Maslamah b. 'Abd al-Malik, cf. Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 136ff; Wellhausen, 316–19; Crone, 125.

2. The word *maṭāmīr* means underground caves or cellars, often used for storing corn (cf. Freytag, 381). Here, however, Maṭāmīr appears to be a specific place, probably identifiable with the famous caves in Cappadocia. This is the name given to them by E. Honigmann (*Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches*, 45–46). Brooks definitely thinks Maṭāmīr is a place name ("The Arabs in Asia Minor (641–750) from Arabic sources," *JHS* XVIII (1898): 201).

3. *Šāhib sarīr al-dhahab*. The area of the Sarīr whom Wiet identifies as the Avars was visited by Ibn Rustah some time before 290 (902) and is to be identified as Daghestan. According to Ibn Rustah, "the king possesses a golden throne (*sarīr*) and a silver throne." The people were thus named because of the throne story. Cf. Ibn Rustah, *Les Atours*, trans. by G. Wiet, 165; *Hudūd*, 447–50; V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband*, 167–68.

4. Since 115 [733–34] Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān had been governor of

his fortresses and laid waste his land. He submitted to Marwān, having agreed to give him as *jizyah*⁵ one thousand slaves.⁶ Marwān took a pledge from him on that basis and reinstated him in control of his territory.

In this year al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad was born.⁷

In this year Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was killed.⁸ Al-Wāqidi⁹ said this was in Ṣafar 121 (January 17–February 14, 739), whilst Hishām b. Muḥammad (al-Kalbī)¹⁰ claimed that he was killed in Ṣafar 122 (January 6–February 4, 740).

*The Reason for [Zayd b. 'Alī's] Death, an Account of
His Circumstances, and the Cause of His
Rebellion*¹¹

[1668] According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī¹²—'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh:¹³ Zayd b. 'Alī, Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib¹⁴ and Dāwūd b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās¹⁵ went to see Khālid b. 'Abdallāh,¹⁶ when he was governor of Iraq. Khālid gave them

Armenia, whence he conducted raids into the Caucasus. Cf. Ibn Khayyāt, II, 367; al-Ṭabarī, II, 1431–32. For an account of his career, cf. Shaban, *Islamic History*, I, 144–45, 160–64; Wellhausen, 370–96.

5. Poll-tax payable to the Muslims by the "People of the Book." For a fuller definition, cf. *EP*², s.v. (C. Cahen). Cf. also n. 105 and n. 107.

6. Literally, "one thousand heads."

7. Al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh, the brother of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr. Cf. *EP*², s.v. (K. Zetterstéen).

8. Cf. the genealogical table of the 'Alids.

9. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi (130–207/748–823), the famous historian and author of the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*. Cf. Duri, 37; *EL*¹, s.v. (J. Horowitz).

10. Abū al-Mundhir Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, an important and prolific scholar of history and genealogy. Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 205–13; Sezgin, I, 268, 271; Duri, 146–48.

11. For other accounts in primary sources of the rebellion of Zayd b. 'Alī, the great-great-grandson of the Prophet, cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 229–59; al-İṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 127–51; Ibn A'tham, V, 108–25; al-Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, II, 390–91; *Fragmenta*, 92–100; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, V, 467–71.

12. The famous historian and genealogist, d. 206 (821) or 207 (822). Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 216–19; Duri, 53–54; Sezgin, I, 272.

13. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh b. al-Rabī'ah, a *muḥaddith*. Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, I, 68.

14. Cf. the genealogical table of the 'Alids.

15. Cf. the genealogical table of the 'Abbāsīds.

16. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī had been appointed governor of Iraq in 105 (723–24) or 106 (724–25). Cf. al-Ṭabarī, II, 1471. He fell from power in 120 (738), so this incident must have occurred before that date.

money and they returned to Medina. When Yūsuf b. 'Umar¹⁷ became governor, he wrote to Hishām listing their names and telling Hishām what Khālid had given them.¹⁸ Yūsuf also mentioned that Khālid had bought land in Medina from Zayd b. 'Alī for ten thousand dīnārs and that he had then handed the land back to Zayd. Hishām¹⁹ wrote to the governor of Medina²⁰ asking him to send the men to him. This he did. Hishām questioned them and they admitted that they had been given money, but they denied everything else. Then Hishām asked Zayd about the land (in Medina) and he denied the allegation. The men then took an oath before Hishām and he believed them.

According to Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī—Abū Mikhnaf:²¹ The affair of Zayd b. 'Alī began as follows. Yazīd b. Khālid al-Qasrī²² claimed that he was owed money from Zayd b. 'Alī, Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Dāwūd b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf al-Zuhri and Ayyūb b. Salmah b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī. Yūsuf b. 'Umar wrote about them to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. Zayd b. 'Alī was at that time in al-Ruṣāfah²³ in litigation with the sons of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib about the *ṣadaqah* of the Prophet of God²⁴ and Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī was with Zayd. When the letters of Yūsuf b. 'Umar reached Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, he wrote to the men concerned

For Khālid's career, cf. Gabrieli, *Califfato*, 5–34; *EP*², s.v. (G. R. Hawting); al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 53–63; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, II, 275 ff.

17. Yūsuf became governor on the dismissal of Khālid al-Qasrī. Cf. Dinawari, 339; *Fragmenta*, 92. For the career of Yūsuf b. 'Umar, cf. *EP*¹, s.v. (K. V. Zetterstéen); Hawting, 82–83, 96–97.

18. *Bi-mā ajazahum bihi*. Cf. line 2, *fa-ajazahum*.

19. Umayyad caliph, ruled 105–25 (726–43). Cf. *EP*², s.v. (F. Gabrieli).

20. Ibrāhīm b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī, the maternal uncle of the caliph Hishām.

21. The famous genealogist and historian (d. 157/774). Cf. U. Sezgin, *Abū Miḥnaf*; Duri, 43–44.

22. There is confusion in the sources as to whether it was Khālid, his son Yazīd, or both who made the allegations. Whichever of the two made the claims about the money did so under torture. Cf. Ibn A'tham, VIII, 108; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil*, 133; *Fragmenta*, 93.

23. Hishām's preferred place of residence. Cf. the fuller discussion in n. 426.

24. *Fī ṣadaqat rasūl Allāh*. This phrase is used in other sources. Cf. Shaykh al-Mufīd, 402; *Fragmenta*, 92. Zayd was appointed by his brother Muḥammad to represent the Ḥusaynids in litigation against the Ḥasanids. Later on, al-Ṭabarī uses the term *wuqūf* 'Alī when probably referring to the same litigation. Cf. n. 35. Cf. *EP*², "Fadak" (L. Vecchia Vaglieri); Hrbek, "Muḥammads Nachlass und die Aliden," 145, 148; *EP*¹, "Ṣadaqa" (T. H. Weir).

[1669] stating that Yūsuf b. 'Umar had written to him about a sum of money which Yazīd b. Khālid claimed they owed him. They denied it, so Hishām said to them: "We will send you to Yūsuf so that he may bring you and your accusers together." Zayd b. 'Alī said to Hishām: "I implore you by God and kinship not to send me to Yūsuf b. 'Umar." Hishām said: "What is it that you fear from Yūsuf b. 'Umar?" Zayd said: "I am afraid that he will act aggressively toward me."

Hishām replied, "Yūsuf cannot do that," called his scribe, and wrote to Yūsuf b. 'Umar as follows:²⁵ "Now when these persons come to you, bring them and Yazīd b. Khālid al-Qasrī together; if they admit the allegations made against them, send them to me. If they deny them, ask Yazīd for proof. If he does not produce the proof, then following the afternoon prayer make them swear in the name of the One God that Yazīd b. Khālid al-Qasrī did not entrust them with any deposit and that he is entitled to nothing from them. Then let them go." They said to Hishām: "We are afraid that Yūsuf will go against your letter and will act aggressively toward us." Hishām said: "Not at all! I will send one of the guards with you to make sure that Yūsuf carries out this order and expedites the matter." They said: "May God reward you for honoring the ties of kinship! You have judged fairly." Then Hishām sent them to Yūsuf but he kept back Ayyūb b. Salmah, because Hishām's mother was the daughter of Hishām b. Ismā'īl b. Hishām b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīrah al-Makhzūmī, and Ayyūb was one of Hishām's maternal uncles. So the caliph did not want him involved at all in that suspicious matter.²⁶

[1670] When they came to Yūsuf, they were ushered into his presence. Yūsuf sat Zayd b. 'Alī near him and questioned him in a kindly manner. Then he asked the men about the money and they all denied it, saying: "Yazīd did not leave any money with us nor is he owed anything from us." Then Yūsuf brought Yazīd b. Khālid out (of prison) to them and he put him and them together. Yūsuf said to Yazīd: "This is Zayd b. 'Alī and this is Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī and this is so-and-so and this is so-and-so against

25. Cf. al-İşfahānī, *Maqātil*, 135; Ibn A'tham, VIII, 109.

26. *Qarf*. The variant reading from MSS. BM and O, *qadhif* ("calumny"), also makes good sense.