

**SHURṬA CHIEFS IN BAṢRA IN THE UmayyAD PERIOD:
A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL STUDY¹**

**LOS JEFES DE LA ŠURṬA DE BASORA DURANTE EL
PERÍODO OMEYA: UN ESTUDIO PROSOPOGRÁFICO**

MICHAEL EBSTEIN

Hebrew University of Jerusalem

The article describes some of the functions and characteristics of the *shurṭa* in the Umayyad era, through an analysis of the men who served as *shurṭa* chiefs in Baṣra during this period. The *shurṭa*, as is shown in the article, was an important body which helped the Umayyad regime and its regional governors in Iraq and Baṣra to consolidate the Umayyad governmental system. The *shurṭa* offered the governor of Baṣra personal protection and was at the same time a symbol of his authority and power. It was responsible for the maintenance of public order and security in Baṣra and dealt with individuals who transgressed common religious norms. Another important duty performed by the *shurṭa* in Baṣra and nearby areas was to fight against different groups of *khawārij* as well as various other rebels and oppositional forces. In the article, attention is drawn to political and social issues such as the *ashrāf* and their traits; intertribal conflicts; marital ties, etc. By discussing these different subjects, the arti-

El artículo describe algunas de las funciones y características de la *shurṭa* durante la época omeya, por medio de un análisis de los hombres que sirvieron como jefes de la misma en Basora durante este período. La *shurṭa*, tal y como se explica en el artículo, era una institución importante que ayudaba al régimen omeya y sus gobernadores regionales en Iraq y Basora, en su tarea de consolidar el sistema gubernamental omeya. La *shurṭa* ofrecía protección personal al gobernador y era, a su vez, un símbolo de su autoridad y poder; era responsable del mantenimiento del orden público y la seguridad y se ocupaba de los individuos que transgredían las normas religiosas comunes. Otra tarea importante de la *shurṭa* en Basora y zonas cercanas era la de luchar contra los distintos grupos de *jawāriy*, además de otros rebeldes y fuerzas opositoras. En el artículo se llama la atención sobre distintos temas políticos y sociales, tales como los *ashrāf* y sus características, conflictos intertribales, lazos matrimoniales, etc. El artículo presenta estos temas con el objetivo de reintroducir un

¹ This article is based on a MA thesis written under the supervision of Professor Michael Lecker from the Arabic Language and Literature Department in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The data presented here is based on work which was carried out for the Jerusalem Prosopography Project, a project founded and directed by Professor Lecker. I wish to thank the latter for his comments on this article and for his assistance throughout my work. I would also like to thank Professor Amikam Elad and Professor Ella Landau-Tasserón for their important comments on this article.

cle aims to reintroduce an often ignored method into the research field of early Islamic history — prosopography.

Key words: *Shurṭa*; Umayyads; Baṣra; Tribes; *Ashrāf*; Prosopography.

método muchas veces olvidado en el campo de investigación de la historia temprana del islam: la prosopografía.

Palabras clave: *Šurṭa*; omeyas; Basora; tribus; *ašrāf*; prosopografía.

The following article aims at portraying some of the functions and characteristics of the *shurṭa* in Umayyad times, through an analysis of the men who served as *shurṭa* chiefs in Baṣra during this period.² It will be shown that the *shurṭa* was an important body which assisted the Umayyad regime and its regional governors in Iraq and Baṣra in consolidating the Umayyad governmental system. Attention will also be drawn to political and social issues relevant to this system and the society in Umayyad Baṣra, issues that are reflected in the literary evidence concerning the *shurṭa* chiefs discussed here. In addition to these goals, the current article aims at reintroducing an often ignored method into the research field of early Islamic history — prosopography. The article, so I hope, will demonstrate both the necessity of this tool and its advantages. Prosopography, in short, entails the biographical analysis of a given group of individuals from various aspects: genealogy, marital relationships and progeny, political, military or administrative offices, estates and economical activity, political and religious loyalties, etc. The information gathered can serve as a basis for a more theoretical discussion concerning political, military, economic or social issues.³ Thus, rather than dealing with the difficult questions concerning the Islamic beginnings in a direct manner, prosopography can tackle these ques-

² It should be noted that the use of the term “chief” does not truly reflect the terminology of the Arabic sources. In these sources one will usually find statements such as *wa-kāna ‘alā shurṭatihi/shurāṭihi* (“and so and so was in charge of his *shurṭa/shurāṭ*”, i.e. the governor’s *shurṭa*); or, *wa-wallā shurṭatahu/shurāṭahu* (“and he appointed so and so to be in charge of his *shurṭa/shurāṭ*”). Even the term *šāḥib al-shurṭa* is used quite infrequently, at least as regards Baṣra in the Umayyad period. Nevertheless, I chose the term “chief” in order to facilitate the reading of this article. It should also be noted that the sources employ the terms *shurṭa* (the singular form) and *shurāṭ* (the plural form) intermittently. However, I did not find any difference in meaning between these two forms.

³ For a more detailed discussion of prosopography, its advantages and disadvantages, see Stone, L., “Prosopography”, in F. Gilbert and S.T. Graubard (eds.), *Historical Studies Today*, New York, 1972, 107-140, reprinted in Stone, L., *The Past and the Present Revisited*, London, 1987, 45-73.

tions indirectly — through a discussion of concrete issues such as genealogy, marital ties, offices, estates, etc.

Since its development in the first half of the twentieth century, the prosopographical method was implemented and applied in different fields of research, including the history of the Roman and Byzantine Empires, the history of France, the United States, England, and more. In the field of Islamic history, different studies have been written in diverse areas such as the history of medieval Muslim Spain and the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods. However, as regards early Islamic history, there are only few prosopographical studies, the main one being that of P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*.⁴ Indeed, early Islamic history — the life of the Prophet, the period of the first four Caliphs, and the Umayyad and ‘Abbāsīd periods — is still in need of further prosopographical research. Moreover, modern technology offers new and sophisticated ways of searching for and organizing the numerous details contained in the classical Arabic

⁴ Crone, P., *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*, Cambridge, 1980; on the need for prosopographical studies in the field of early Islamic history see also Kennedy, H., *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State*, London, 2001, xi-xii. On the prosopography of the Byzantine and Roman Empires see Rebenich, S., “Mommsen, Harnack and the Prosopography of Late Antiquity”, *Medieval Prosopography*, 17, 1 (1996), 149-167; Martindale, J.R., “The Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire”, *Medieval Prosopography*, 17, 1 (1996), 169-191. On the prosopography of France, England, and the United States see Nelson, J.L., Pelteret, D.A.E. and Short, H., “Medieval Prosopographies and the Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England”, in A. Cameron (ed.), *Fifty Years of Prosopography: The Later Roman Empire, Byzantium and Beyond*, Oxford, 2003, 155-167. For examples of prosopographical research in the field of Islamic studies see Sublet, J., “La prosopographie arabe”, *Annales*, 25 (1970), 1236-1239; Gilliot, C., “Prosopography in Islam: an Essay of Classification”, *Medieval Prosopography*, 23 (2002), 19-54; Motzki, H., “The Role of Non-Arab Converts in the Development of Early Islamic Law”, *Islamic Law and Society*, 6, 3 (1999), 293-317; Nawas, J., “The Birth of an Elite: Mawālī and Arab ‘Ulamā’”, *JSAI*, 31 (2006), 74-91; see also the reference to Bulliet’s studies in Donner, F.M., “Tribal Settlement in Basra during the First Century A.H.”, in T. Khalidi (ed.), *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, Beirut, 1984, 119, n. 7; Marín, M., “Biographical Dictionaries and Social History of al-Andalus: Trade and Scholarship”, *Scripta Mediterranea*, 19-20 (1998-1999), 239-257; *idem*, “Biography and Prosopography in Arab-Islamic Medieval Culture”, *Medieval Prosopography*, 23 (2002), 1-17; Voll, J., “Old Ulama Families and Ottoman Influence in Eighteenth-Century Damascus”, *American Journal of Arabic Studies*, 3 (1975), 48-59; Gilbert, J., “Institutionalization of Muslim Scholarship and Professionalization of the Ulama in Medieval Damascus”, *Studia Islamica*, 52 (1980), 105-134; Petry, C.F., *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1981; Chamberlain, M., *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350*, Cambridge, 1994.

literary sources. The results and analyses in the current article are based on information gathered and organized in a computerized database constructed for the study of early Islamic history. This database, the Jerusalem Prosopography Project (more precisely, the section entitled: Prosopography of Early Islamic Administration), aims at establishing a comprehensive repository of data concerning the people and groups that helped shape the political system, army, and administration during the formative period of Islam.⁵

The Origin of the *Shurṭa*

It seems that in its original etymological context, the term *shurṭa* designated an elite combat unit which was sent to battle at the head of other units. According to the Arab lexicographers, the unit called *shurṭa* was highly motivated and its members pledged not to return from battle unless victorious, thus expressing their willingness to die in battle.⁶ In the historical sources the term *shurṭat al-khamīs* is found, i.e. the *shurṭa* which formed the vanguard part of the army. The *shurṭat al-khamīs* was an elite unit sent to battle before other units, and it seems to have existed under the fourth Caliph ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (35/656-40/661). This unit consisted of a few thousand loyal warriors who were prepared to sacrifice their lives for ‘Alī.⁷

⁵ See <http://micro5.msc.huji.ac.il:81/JPP/v3> (22.12.2009); for details concerning access to this site the reader may refer to jppfeedback@gmail.com; see also Lecker, M., “The Prosopography of Early Islamic Administration”, *JSAI*, 34 (2008), 529-533.

⁶ See Ibn Manẓūr, Muḥammad b. Mukarram, *Lisān al-‘arab*, Beirut, 1955-1956, VII, 329-330 (s.v. “sh.r.ṭ.”); Lane, E.W., *An Arabic-English lexicon*, London, 1863-1893, s.v. “sh.r.ṭ.”; Lecker, M., “Shurṭat al-khamīs and Other Matters: Notes on the Translation of Ṭabarī’s Ta’rīkh”, *JSAI*, 14 (1991), 278, n. 4-5. For other views concerning the original etymological meaning of *shurṭa* see Tyan, E., *Histoire de l’organisation judiciaire en pays d’Islam*, Leiden, 1960, 574, 578; Donner, F.M., “The Shurṭa in Early Umayyad Syria”, in M.A. Bakhit and R. Schick (eds.), *The Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilad Al-Sham during the Umayyad Period: Proceedings of the Third Symposium*, ‘Ammān, 1989, English section II, 251 n. 15; Rashid, A.M., *The Role of the Shurṭa in Early Islam*, Doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Edinburgh, 1983, 2-4, 7-13; Darādkeh, S., “Al-Ḥaras wa-l-shurṭa fī ṣadr al-islām (ilā nihāyat al-dawla l-umawiyya)”, *Dirāsāt*, XIV, 4 (1987), 74-77. Tyan and Rashid (following the opinion of Schacht) believe that the term *shurṭa* has its origin in Latin; cf. Morony, M.G., *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, Princeton, 1984, 91-93.

⁷ Lecker, “Shurṭat al-khamīs”, 276-280; Rashid, *The Role of the Shurṭa*, 237-239; Darādkeh, “Al-Ḥaras”, 74-77. The term *khamīs* is explained by the Arab lexicographers

In addition to this type of *shurṭa*, namely an elite combat unit participating in battle, there existed during ‘Alī’s reign, and even earlier at the time of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān (23/644-35/656), another type of *shurṭa*. The latter was placed under the command of the Caliph in al-Madīna and under the command of his governors in Fuṣṭāṭ, Kūfa, and Baṣra.⁸ During the Umayyad period and the early ‘Abbāsīd one, the *shurṭa* continued to exist both as an elite combat unit participating in battle and as an armed urban unit under the command of the Caliph in Damascus (or in Iraq) and under the command of his governors in the different garrison towns.⁹

in relation to the five parts that formed the army: the vanguard, the central part, the left and right flanks, and the rearguard. However, the term might have its origin in Southern Arabic; see Donner, “The Shurta”, 250, n. 14; Lecker, “Shurṭat al-khamīs”, 277, n. 3; cf. Arazi, A. and Elad, A., “L’Épître à l’Armée: Al-Ma’mūn et la seconde Da’wa”, *Studia Islamica*, 66 (1987), 30-31 (I would like to thank Professor Amikam Elad for this reference); and Tyan, *Histoire de l’organisation*, 578.

⁸ Although its duties during this period cannot be inferred from the sources, it may be assumed that the *shurṭa* under discussion was responsible for keeping the public order and security and that it formed a means of enforcement in the hands of the Caliph and his governors. See Rashid, *The Role of the Shurta*, 19-26; Tyan, *Histoire de l’organisation*, 577; Darādkeh, “Al-Ḥaras”, 77-78; cf. Donner, “The Shurta”, 247-251; Noth, A., *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study*, L.I. Conrad (collab.) and M. Bonner (transl.), Princeton, 1994, 53. Donner rejects the validity of the reports concerning the existence of the *shurṭa* at the time of ‘Uthmān. Following Noth, Donner claims that had the *shurṭa* existed during the time of ‘Uthmān, surely its members would have prevented ‘Uthmān’s assassination. However, this argument can be refuted: the anarchy caused by the siege around the Caliph’s residence in al-Madīna may have prevented the *shurṭa* from functioning properly. Alternatively, the members of the *shurṭa* may have changed their loyalties and joined the besiegers. Thus, in 64/683 (during the second *fitna* or civil unrest, see n. 62 below), ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād b. Abīhi (the governor of Baṣra) was forced to seek the protection of the Azd and eventually had to flee from Baṣra, despite the fact that he had a *shurṭa* unit under his command. The head of the *shurṭa* at the time seems to have been ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥiṣn of the Tamīm (see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chief 6 and the references given there). It should be recalled that during the second *fitna* the Tamīmīs withdrew their support of ‘Ubayd Allāh. Finally, Zayd b. Julba of the Tamīm was in charge of the *shurṭa* in Baṣra during the reign of ‘Uthmān (see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chief 1). This proves that the *shurṭa* did exist at the time of ‘Uthmān, at least in Baṣra.

⁹ On the *shurṭa* in Damascus see Donner, “The Shurta”, 251-262. On the *shurṭa* as an elite combat unit participating in conquests and the suppression of rebellions during the above mentioned periods see al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ‘A.A. al-Ṭabbā’ and ‘U.A. al-Ṭabbā’ (eds.), Beirut, 1957, 557-558; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashraf XI*, M.F. al-‘Azm (ed.), Damascus, 1996-2002, 557; ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā, “Risāla fī naṣīhat walī l-‘ahd”, in M. Kurd ‘Alī (ed.), *Rasā’il al-bulaghā*, Cairo, 1946, 173-210; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 248, n. 474; Elad, A., “The Ethnic Composition of the ‘Abbāsīd Revolution: a Reevaluation of Some Recent Research”, *JSAI*, 24 (2000), 279-

Few studies have been written concerning the *shurṭa* either in Umayyad times or in later times, and works that do deal with this subject lack the prosopographical element.¹⁰ This element is quite crucial for the understanding of the Umayyad *shurṭa*: the number of *shurṭa* chiefs in this article alone amounts to about 40 (!). Thus, an analysis of the *shurṭa* (or of any other political, military and administrative body) should include at least some elements of prosopographical nature.

1. The *Shurṭa* in Umayyad Baṣra: Functions and Duties

The *shurṭa* in Baṣra was a central and essential component of the Umayyad governmental system in this town and in nearby areas. The *shurṭa* existed in Baṣra as early as the time of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, and was present in this town until the fall of the Umayyad regime.¹¹ The functions of the *shurṭa* listed below were not defined at the time as the official duties of the *shurṭa*, nor were they true of every *shurṭa* chief throughout the Umayyad period. Rather, they are the sum of the diverse activities performed by various *shurṭa* chiefs in Umayyad Baṣra, as reflected in the literary evidence pertaining to them.

To begin with, the *shurṭa* offered the governor personal protection and at the same time was a symbol of his rule, authority, and power. Thus, in formal processions, the *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra used

280; Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 112; Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation*, 589. It is possible that the urban *shurṭa* units in the different garrison towns were originally formed on the basis of the elite combat units that participated in the Islamic conquests under the command of the governors. After the establishment of the garrison towns and following their development, the functions of these elite units were transformed into those of urban armed forces at the disposal of the governors. See also Rashid, *The Role of the Shurta*, 21-22, 110-115.

¹⁰ Darādkeh's article and Rashid's thesis (which has never been published) are good examples of this. Donner's "The Shurta in Early Umayyad Syria", though prosopographical, deals only with the *shurṭa* chiefs in Damascus. The chapter dedicated to the *shurṭa* in Tyan's *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire* is too general, dealing with various periods and different geographical areas. Morony (*Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 91-96) and Kennedy (*The Armies of the Caliphs*, 13-14) naturally devote only a few pages to discuss the *shurṭa*.

¹¹ Some *shurṭa* chiefs are known to have had deputies (*khalīfa*) who replaced them as *shurṭa* chiefs when they were absent from Baṣra; see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chiefs 6-6a, 18-18a, 21, 32-32a, 38-39 and the references given there.

to walk or ride a horse in front of the governor while holding a *ḥarba*, i.e. a short spear or lance. It seems that the *shurṭa* members themselves also used to carry *ḥirāb* (pl. of *ḥarba*).¹² Beyond this, the *shurṭa* was responsible for the maintenance of public order and security in Baṣra, as is seen in reports concerning *shurṭa* chiefs 6, 7, 12, 21, 30.¹³ According to these reports, the *shurṭa* dealt with criminals such as thieves and brigands, and there is even evidence of the *shurṭa* dealing with intertribal feuds involving homicide (see the references given for *shurṭa* chief 7). However, some types of criminals and the punishments afflicted upon them in reports concerning *shurṭa* chiefs 6 and 21 seem to be literary topoi: the punishments in these cases are described as being equivalent to the crimes that

¹² See, for example, al-Jāhiz, 'Amr b. Baḥr, *al-Bayān wa-l-Tabayīn*, 'A. al-S.M. Hārūn (ed.), Cairo, 1998, II, 256; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf IVa*, M. Schloessinger and M.J. Kister (eds.), Jerusalem, 1971, 184 (where the *shurṭa* is not mentioned explicitly), 188, 192; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashraf XII* (al-'Azīm), 365-367; al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad b. Jarīr, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, Leiden, 1879-1901, second series I, 77-79, 90; Ibn 'Asākir, 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, Beirut, 1995-1998, XV, 5-8. According to some of these sources, the *shurṭa* members also held 'umud or *a'mida* (pl. of 'amūd or 'amūd), clubs that may have had an iron head; see also Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon*, s.v. "'m.d."; al-Qalqashandī, Aḥmad b. 'Alī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī ṣinā'at al-inshā*, M.H. Shams al-Dīn (ed.), Beirut, 1987-1988, I, 473; Crone, P., "The Significance of Wooden Weapons in Al-Mukhtār's Revolt and the 'Abbāsīd Revolution", in I.R. Netton (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth*, Leiden, 1999-2000, 177; Elad, "The Ethnic Composition", 279, n. 176. On the significance of the *ḥarba* as a symbol of power and authority see also Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rikh*, S. Zakkār (ed.), Damascus, 1968, I, 411 and II, 682-683, 750; al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 862, third series I, 193; al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo, I, 126-127 (in "Kitāb al-ṣalāt" / "abwāb sutrat al-muṣallī"); Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, IV, 219 and XV, 400; Darādkeh, "Al-Ḥaras", 70-71; Bonner, M., "Al-Khalīfa al-Marḍī: the Accession of Hārūn Al-Rashīd", *JAOS*, 108, 1 (1988), 87 n. 54. For possible Sasanian antecedents to this custom see Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 92-93; Rashīd, *The Role of the Shurṭa*, 11-12; for pre-Islamic Arab antecedents see Goldziher, I., *Muslim Studies*, S.M. Stern and C.R. Barber (transl.), London, 1967, I, 159; Robertson Smith, W., *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Boston, 1963, 202-203.

¹³ *Shurṭa* chief 6: al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 76-77; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf IVa*, 171-172 ('Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn instead of 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥiṣn). *Shurṭa* chief 7: al-Farazdaq, Hammām b. Ghālīb, *Dīwān*, Beirut, 1960, II, 187-188; Jarīr b. 'Aṭīyya, *Naqā'id Jarīr wa-l-Farazdaq*, A.A. Bevan (ed.), Leiden, 1905-1912, I, 78-80 and II, 768. *Shurṭa* chief 12: al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 809-810. *Shurṭa* chief 21: Ibn Qutayba, 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo, 1925-1930, I, 16. *Shurṭa* chief 30: al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf VIIi*, Kh. 'Athāmina (ed.), Jerusalem, 1993, 117-118; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, Th. 'Ukāsha (ed.), Cairo, 1981, 611. For another report in which the *shurṭa* appears to be responsible for keeping public order, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf IVa*, 159.

caused them. Thus, a man who flooded a sown field is said to have been drowned in retribution by the *shurṭa* chief; a man who burnt a court down was burnt alive; and so on.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the fact that reports containing such topoi are related to *shurṭa* chiefs 6 and 21 and not to other *shurṭa* chiefs indicates that these specific *shurṭa* chiefs had indeed dealt effectively with a severe chaotic situation. This assumption is further corroborated by the historical context of their appointments: both *shurṭa* chiefs were appointed by two new and powerful governors (Ziyād b. Abīhi and al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, respectively) after periods of weak government and relative unrest.

The *shurṭa* also dealt with individuals who offended and transgressed what seem to have been the common religious, moral, or legal norms. In the sources one may find such examples as the dispersal of a crowd gathered around poets who were involved in mutual public satirizing, and the destruction of the poets' courts (*dār*, pl. *dūr*); the preventing of wailing women from performing their activities; the imprisonment of debtors who had not paid their debts; the stoning to death of an adulteress; the forcing of family members to accept the verdict of a *qāḍī* concerning a dispute between them; the investigation of Muslims who (according to one problematic version) allegedly had not paid their *zakāt* or legal alms; and the coercion of new converts into circumcising themselves.¹⁵ The pun-

¹⁴ See also al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 74-75.

¹⁵ Poets: Jarīr, *Naqā'id*, II, 683 (*shurṭa* chief 11); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf V*, Sh.D. Goitein (ed.), Jerusalem, 1936, 278. Wailing women: al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XI* (al-'Azm), 432-433. Debtors: Muḥammad b. Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut, 1960-1968, VII, 25 (where in one version *shurṭa* chief 27 is said to have been the governor), 198 (*shurṭa* chief 30); Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, I, 16 (*shurṭa* chief 21); the statements regarding the imprisonment of debtors and the flogging of an alleged brigand seem to reflect a true historical reality, see the reference given to Schneider's article in the following footnote). An adulteress: Jarīr, *Naqā'id*, II, 830-831 (*shurṭa* chief 21). A Family dispute: Wakī', Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Ḥayyān, *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, Beirut, 1992, I, 308-309 (*shurṭa* chief 27). Legal alms: Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, X, 508 (*shurṭa* chief 33; this version is problematic, cf. Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, II, 22). New converts: al-Bukhārī, *al-Adab al-mufrad*, Beirut, 1349 h., 183 ("bāb al-khitān li-l-kabīr"; *shurṭa* chief 30). On the Islamic attitude towards poetry see Kister, M.J., "The Sīra Literature", in A.F.L. Beeston *et al.* (eds.) *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, Cambridge, 1983, 357-361; on the attitude towards wailing women in Islam see Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 228-238. Maintaining the religious norms is still, to this day, one of the duties of the *shurṭa* in Saudi Arabia; see Cook, M., *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought*, Cambridge, 2000, 184 n. 119.

ishments carried out by the *shurṭa* thus included the destruction of courts, imprisonment, flogging (at times to death), execution, and crucifixion after death.¹⁶ At times some of these punishments were carried out in accordance with the orders of the governor, but at other times the *shurṭa* chiefs seem to have been acting on the basis of their own personal decisions. This last observation casts some doubt on Schacht's theory regarding the relationship between the *shurṭa* and the *qādī*. According to Schacht, only in the 'Abbāsīd period did the *shurṭa* gradually encroach on the jurisdiction of the *qādīs* as regards criminal law. However, it seems that this was partially true already in Umayyad times.¹⁷

Another significant duty performed by the *shurṭa* in Baṣra was to fight different groups of *khawārij* located in the town or in nearby areas (al-Ahwāz, for example).¹⁸ These groups posed a threat not

¹⁶ See, in addition to the references given in the previous note, al-Jumahlī, Muḥammad b. Sallām, *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shu'arā'*, M.M. Shākir (ed.), Cairo, 1974, I, 339 (the imprisonment of an oppositional poet by *shurṭa* chief 30); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVi*, I, 'Abbās (ed.), Wiesbaden, 1979, 388 (the execution, presumably of a *khārijī*); *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVa*, 150-153 (the crucifixion of *khawārij*, presumably by the *shurṭa*); *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIi*, 117-118 (the flogging to death of a brigand and then his crucifixion by *shurṭa* chief 30), 118-120 (the flogging of pious men by *shurṭa* chief 30); *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XII* (al-'Azm), 365-367 (the flogging and imprisonment of an oppositional pious man by *shurṭa* chief 23; see also Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, XV, 5-8); al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 809-810 (the flogging and execution of brigands by *shurṭa* chief 12). On the imprisonment and flogging to death of 'Umar b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr (*shurṭa* chief 27) by Mālik b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd (*shurṭa* chief 30), see the references given in appendix 1 *shurṭa* chief 27. 'Umar b. Yazīd had opposed Khālīd al-Qasrī and Mālik b. al-Mundhir, see section 5 below. On imprisonment in Islamic law (especially in connection with debtors), see Schneider, I., "Imprisonment in Pre-Classical and Classical Islamic Law", *Islamic Law and Society*, 2 (1995), 157-173. It should be noted that although the *shurṭa* was responsible for delivering the culprit to jail (*sijn*, *habs*), the jail itself (at least in the period discussed here) was operated by a *sajjān*; see also Rashīd, *The Role of the Shurta*, 21, 124-128; cf. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation*, 612-614 (where the office of *sajjān* is not mentioned).

¹⁷ See Schacht, J., *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford, 1964, 50. For more discussions concerning the relationship between the *shurṭa* and the *qādī* see Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation*, 595-616; Rashīd, *The Role of the Shurta*, 37, 99-103; Darādkeh, "Al-Ḥaras", 85-86.

¹⁸ See, for instance, Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 262-263 (*shurṭa* chief 6; on the by-name "Abū l-Sha'thā" see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XI*, ed. al-'Azm, 236); al-Ṭabarī, second series, I, 91, 162-163 (*shurṭa* chief 5); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVi*, 388-390 (*shurṭa* chief 8; see also al-Mubarrad, Muḥammad b. Yazīd, *al-Kitāb al-kāmil*, Leipzig, 1864-1892, ed. Wright, II, 602-604); *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVa*, 149-153; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VI* (al-'Azm), 518-519 (*shurṭa* chiefs 17-18; cf. *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf I*, Cairo, M. Ḥamīd Allāh (ed.), 1959, 500), 608-610 (*shurṭa* chief 23); Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b.

only to the public order and security, but also to the Umayyad legitimacy to power. In addition to the struggle against the *khawārij*, the *shurṭa* acted on behalf of the governor against other rebellions as well (such as the rebellion of the *Zanj*, the black slaves from East Africa) and against various oppositional forces during the second and third *fitnas* (or periods of civil unrest, approximately from 64/683 until 73/692 and from 126/744 until 132/750, respectively).¹⁹ Lastly, the *shurṭa* was used in order to persecute political and religious adversaries such as poets or pious men who criticized the governor or the *shurṭa* chief himself.²⁰

In sum, the *shurṭa* in Baṣra played an important and central role in consolidating the Umayyad governmental system in this town and in nearby areas. The significance of the *shurṭa* chief himself is reflected in some reports according to which the *shurṭa* chief occasionally replaced the governor during the latter's absence from Baṣra (an act known as *istikhlāf*, and hence the term *khalīfa* — deputy). The *shurṭa* chief was therefore virtually second in rank to the governor.²¹ It is reasonable to assume that at least some of the functions enumerated above were also carried out by *shurṭa* units in other garrison towns and areas during the Umayyad period.²²

Hibat Allāh, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, M. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (ed.), Cairo, 1959-1964, IV, 77-79 (*shurṭa* chief 5) and V, 87-88; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Yūsuf b. 'Abd Allāh, *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rifat al-aṣḥāb*, 'A.M. al-Bijāwī (ed.), Cairo, 1960, II, 653-654 (*shurṭa* chief 5).

¹⁹ The rebellion of the *Zanj* referred to here is not the famous rebellion of the 'Abbāsīd period, but an earlier rebellion which took place during the Umayyad period in Furāt al-Baṣra (in Baṣra's vicinity). It is thus evident that when necessary, the *shurṭa* of Baṣra was used to repress rebellions even outside of Baṣra. See al-Jāhīz, "Fakhr al-sūdān 'alā l-bīḍān", in 'A. al-S.M. Hārūn (ed.), *Rasā'il al-Jāhīz*, Cairo, 1979, I, 190-192 (*shurṭa* chiefs 18-18a); Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 611 (*shurṭa* chief 39); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VI* (al-'Azīm), 414-416 (*shurṭa* chiefs 18-18a); al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 680-684 (*shurṭa* chief 11; cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf V*, 243-246), 798-799 (*shurṭa* chief 11), 801-804 (*shurṭa* chief 14). On the rebellion of the *Zanj* see Popovic, A., *The Revolt of African Slaves in Iraq in the IIIrd/IXth Century*, L. King (transl.), Princeton, 1998, 22-23. On the second and third *fitnas* see n. 62, 66 below.

²⁰ Al-Jumāhī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 339, 347-350 (*shurṭa* chief 30); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIi*, 118-120 (*shurṭa* chief 30); *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XII* (al-'Azīm), 365-367 (*shurṭa* chief 23; see also Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, XV, 5-8). On the killing of 'Umar b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr (*shurṭa* chief 27) by his rival Mālik b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd (*shurṭa* chief 30), see in section 5 below.

²¹ See the references given in appendix 1 *shurṭa* chiefs 5, 11, 18, 23. It seems that this practice of *istikhlāf* was more common in Egypt; see Rashid, *The Role of the Shurta*, 67-69.

²² For reports that confirm this assumption, see Rashid, *The Role of the Shurta*, 30, 34-35, 38-40, 54-55, 85-89, 94-95, 103-124.

2. Developments during the Umayyad Period

Although there is evidence in the sources which points to the existence of the *shurṭa* in Baṣra at the time of ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī, little is known about the functions of this unit or the developments in its structure and size during this early period. However, it is evident from the sources that under the rule of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (41/661-60/680) and especially during the governorship of Ziyād b. Abīhi (over Baṣra from 45/665 and over Baṣra and Kūfa from 50/670 until 53/673), the *shurṭa* underwent its “formative period” as regards structure, size, and duties. In an attempt to deal with the anarchy which had prevailed in Baṣra, Ziyād is said to have enlarged the *shurṭa*, and to have had its chief and members walk in front of him carrying the *ḥirāb* for the first time. Ziyād originally had two men function jointly as chiefs of the *shurṭa* in Baṣra.²³ Although some of the reports that discuss Ziyād’s actions in connection with the *shurṭa* belong to the genre of *awā’il* (“firsts”) and are therefore problematic,²⁴ nevertheless there is no reason to doubt that anarchy indeed had prevailed in Baṣra up to Ziyād’s appointment and that Ziyād did perform changes concerning the size and functions of the *shurṭa* in order to deal with this anarchy. Thus, together with other units established by Ziyād at the time,²⁵ the *shurṭa* was responsible

²³ The two men were ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥiṣn and al-Ja’d b. Qays; see the references given in appendix 1 *shurṭa* chiefs 6, 6b. There are different reports concerning the size of the *shurṭa* in Baṣra, and it seems that the number of its members was not fixed but rather varied from time to time and from incident to incident. Thus, the sources state that Ziyād himself originally fixed the number of the *shurṭa* members at 4000 (see the references given in appendix 1 *shurṭa* chief 6) while other reports concerning different incidents in Baṣra give smaller numbers (see, for example, al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf IVa*, 151, where the number 500 is given). Moreover, at times, even tribesmen in Baṣra who did not belong to the *shurṭa* participated temporarily in its activities; see, for example, *ibid.*, 150-153; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashraf VI* (al-‘Aẓm), 415. The number 4000 is of course a topos and also appears in connection with the *shurṭa* in Kūfa (see Darādkeh, “Al-Ḥaras”, 90; cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 393). However, it may indicate a small to medium size unit — smaller than a big military unit but bigger than the *shurṭa* units outside Iraq, such as in al-Madīna. See Rashid, *The Role of the Shurta*, 142-144 (where according to one report the *shurṭa* members in al-Madīna numbered 200 men); Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*, 198-200; Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, xii-xiii, xvi n. 7, 19-21.

²⁴ On *awā’il* see Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*, 104-108.

²⁵ Such as the *rābiṭa* and the *‘asas*; see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf IVa*, 192 (cf. al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 79, where the *rābiṭa* is said to have been formed on

for maintaining the public order and security in Baṣra and was also in charge of fighting different groups of *khawārij*. Ziyād, as is clear from the sources, was indeed successful in his attempt to enforce order and security in Baṣra.²⁶ It should be noted in this context that the *shurṭa* itself is not mentioned in the sources as one of the institutions first established by Ziyād. It is only the changes performed by Ziyād in relation to the *shurṭa* that are enumerated as *awā'il*. This seems to lend credibility to the reports under discussion here.

The manner in which the *shurṭa* chiefs in Baṣra were appointed throughout the Umayyad period may shed light on the dynamics of the Umayyad governmental system. During the Sufyānid period, the *shurṭa* chiefs were appointed by the governors of Baṣra themselves (see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chiefs 1-8). This was also the case during the transition from the Sufyānid period to the Zubayrid one (9), at the beginning of the Zubayrid period (10), during the transition from this period to the Marwānid one (16), and at the beginning of the Marwānid period (17-18). In fact, during these times, there was no fixed or permanent office of “governor of Iraq”. Thus, Ziyād b. Abīhi and his son 'Ubayd Allāh functioned at first as governors of Baṣra alone, and only at a later stage were they appointed as governors of both Baṣra and Kūfa (Ziyād in the year 50/670 and 'Ubayd

the basis of the *ḥaras*); al-'Askarī, al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh, *al-Awā'il*, Beirut, 1987, 204. The *rābiṭa* was a small cavalry unit numbering 500 men at the time of Ziyād and reaching up to 1000 men in later times, according to different reports. It was stationed in various locations in Iraq during the Umayyad period and in the early 'Abbāsīd one. Its main task (though not the only one) was to fight groups of *khawārij*; see Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon*, s.v. “r.b.ṭ.”; Athamina, Kh., “Non-Arab Regiments and Private Militias during the Umayyad Period”, *Arabica*, XLV (1998), 373-374; Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 49-50, 98, 112; Elad, A., “Review of J. A. Williams’s translation of al-Ṭabarī, The Early 'Abbāsī Empire”, *Journal of Semitic Studies*, XXXIV (1990), 347-348. The '*asas* was presumably a unit responsible for night patrolling. According to other reports, the '*asas* was established by Abū Bakr or 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; see *EP*, “‘Asas”, I, 687 (the editors); Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon*, s.v. “‘.s.s.”; Rashid, *The Role of the Shurta*, 18; Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation*, 577, 590 (where the '*asas* is portrayed as being part of the *shurṭa*; cf. Darādkeh, “Al-Ḥaras”, 69-74, 77). However, it seems more reasonable therefore that Ziyād was responsible for establishing the '*asas*, in an attempt to deal with the prevailing anarchy.

²⁶ See also Wellhausen, J., *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, M.G. Weir (transl.), London, 1973, 127-130; Hawting, G.R., *The First Dynasty of Islam: The Umayyad Caliphate AD 661-750*, London and Sydney, 1986, 45 n. 11; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 94-95.

Allāh in 60/679-680).²⁷ Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr too was appointed at first as governor of Baṣra alone; yet he continued to appoint the *shurṭa* chiefs in Baṣra after he had been appointed as governor of both Baṣra and Kūfa (circa 68/687).²⁸ Under al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, who functioned from the inception of his career in Iraq in 75/694 as governor of Iraq, the *shurṭa* chiefs in Baṣra were appointed directly by him.²⁹ In other words, towards the end of the Zubayrid period and especially during the Marwānid one, the governmental system — be it the Zubayrid one or the Marwānid one — witnessed a process of centralization and an enhancement of its direct control over garrison towns such as Baṣra.³⁰ The *shurṭa* chiefs in this town were appointed by the governor of Iraq himself, not by the governors of Baṣra. At first, al-Ḥajjāj appointed one and the same man over both the *shurṭa* in Kūfa and the *shurṭa* in Baṣra (see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chief 21). This appears to be an attempt on al-Ḥajjāj’s part to enhance his control over these garrison towns. After the establishment of Wāsiṭ, al-Ḥajjāj moved to this new garrison town where a Syrian army (*ahl al-Shām*) and a Syrian *shurṭa* unit were placed under his command, while the *shurṭa* chiefs in Baṣra continued to be appointed directly by him.³¹ This centralized manner of government continued during most of the Marwānid period, under governors of Iraq such as Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik, ‘Umar b. Hubayra, and Khālīd al-Qasrī. These governors, like al-Ḥajjāj, were responsible themselves for appointing the *shurṭa* chiefs in Baṣra.³² However, under governor of Iraq Yūsuf b. ‘Umar and especially during the third *fitna* (approximately 126/744-132/750), during the collapse of the Umayyad governmental system, the *shurṭa* chiefs were appointed by the governors of Baṣra and Kūfa and not by the

²⁷ *EP*, “Ziyād ibn Abīhi”, XI, 519-522 (Hasson); *ibid.*, “‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād”, X, 763 (Robinson).

²⁸ See appendix 1, *shurṭa* chiefs 11-13, 14(?), 15(?) and the references given there.

²⁹ See appendix 1, *shurṭa* chiefs 18-19, 21-23, 25, 27. In one instance in which the governor of Baṣra did appoint the *shurṭa* chief, al-Ḥajjāj intervened and had the appointment cancelled (*shurṭa* chief 20).

³⁰ On the centralization of the Marwānid period see Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 58-71; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 37-41.

³¹ See Khalīfa, *Ta’rikh*, I, 410-411. On Wāsiṭ see Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 62, 67; on *ahl al-shām* see Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 30-35.

³² See appendix 1, *shurṭa* chiefs 26-33 and the references given there.

governors of Iraq.³³ This change indicates the decentralization of Umayyad rule and indeed the loss of Umayyad control over these garrison towns.

Another interesting (albeit obscure) development regarding the *shurṭa* has to do with the unit known as *aḥdāth*. From the data concerning *shurṭa* chiefs 27, 30, 32, 35 (see appendix 1), one can conclude that *circa* 102/721 the *aḥdāth* unit was brought under the command of the *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra (*shurṭa* chief 27). However, there is no evidence that the *aḥdāth* had existed in Baṣra prior to this date, nor is there any information regarding its duties, functions, or composition during this period. Mālīk b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd (*shurṭa* chief 30) is also said to have been in charge of the *aḥdāth*; under Bilāl b. Abī Burda (*shurṭa* chief 32), this unit was separated from the *shurṭa*, only to be rejoined to it under al-Miswar b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abbād (*shurṭa* chief 35).³⁴

3. The *Shurṭa* Chiefs in Umayyad Baṣra: Traits and Patterns

The majority of the *shurṭa* chiefs in Baṣra during the Umayyad period were members of the Arab tribes that populated this garrison town (see appendix 1). These tribes resided in five different quarters in Baṣra known as *akhmās* (pl. of *khums*), according to their tribal affiliation: the *khums* of *ahl al-‘āliya*,³⁵ the *khums* of the Tamīm, the *khums* of the Bakr b. Wā’il, the *khums* of the ‘Abd al-Qays, and the *khums* of the Azd.³⁶ Thus, the *shurṭa* in Baṣra — an essential

³³ See appendix 1, *shurṭa* chiefs 34-39 and the references given there.

³⁴ See also Elad, “Review”, 347; on the *aḥdāth* in later periods see *EP*, “Aḥdāth”, I, 256 (Cahen); Tyan, *Histoire de l’organisation*, 574-575; concerning the ‘Abbāsīd period see al-Ṭabarī, third series I, 378, 459 (cf. Khalīfa, *Ta’rīkh*, II, 666), 492.

³⁵ *Al-‘Āliya* is the name of the areas between al-Madīna and Najd, or between Najd and Tihāma/Ḥijāz. Among the tribes that inhabited these areas were those that were considered to be descendants of Muḍar (such as the Quraysh) and descendants of Qays-‘Aylān. These tribes (or groups of them) settled in Baṣra, in the *khums* of *ahl al-‘āliya*. See al-Ḥamawī, Yāqūt b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, Beirut, 1955-1957, IV, 71 (s.v. “al-‘āliya”); Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon*, s.v. “.l.w.”; Lecker, M., *The Banu Sulaym: a Contribution to the Study of Early Islam*, Jerusalem, 1989, 90, n. 133; al-Ṭabarī, second series III, 1381-1382.

³⁶ On the *akhmās* of Baṣra see Pellat, C., *Le milieu baṣrien et la formation de Ḡāḥiḥ*, Paris, 1953, 22-34; Massignon, L., “Explication du plan de Basra (Irak)”, in F. Meier (ed.), *Westöstliche Abhandlungen: Rudolf Tschudi zum Siebzigsten Geburtstag*,

component of the Umayyad governmental system in this town — was in the hands of the Arab tribes. The *shurṭa* chiefs may therefore be seen as forming part of the *ashrāf*, i.e. the leaders of the Arab tribes who formed a mediating class and a link between the Umayyad government and the tribesmen themselves.³⁷ In this way the Umayyad regime benefited from utilizing the tribal forces in Baṣra for its own needs and interests, while the *shurṭa* chiefs themselves gained access to financial and political resources and were thus able to influence the Umayyad governmental system.³⁸ However, entrusting the *shurṭa* to the Arab tribes also meant that at times of severe tribal conflict and political unrest — such as the second and third *fitnas* (approximately 64/683-73/692 and 126/744-132/750, respectively) — this unit and its chiefs inevitably became involved in the conflict. The Umayyad governmental system therefore lacked an independent and efficient means of enforcement, precisely in times when it was most needed.³⁹

Nearly all of the *shurṭa* chiefs in Baṣra were Arabs and not *mawālī* (pl. of *mawlā*, in the sense of non-Arab clients of Arab tribes).⁴⁰ Notably and in contrast to this, many of the personal *ḥaras* chiefs of the Umayyad Caliphs in Damascus seem to have been *mawālī*.⁴¹ The reason for this difference probably lies in the person-

Wiesbaden, 1954, 157-161; Donner, “Tribal Settlement in Basra”, 97-120; al-ʿAlī, S.A., *Khīṭaṭ al-Baṣra wa-mintaqatuḥā*, Baghdad, 1986, 81-104; see also Donner, F.M., *The Early Islamic Conquests*, Princeton, 1981, 226-245; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 236-239, 245-250; Naji, A.J. and Ali, Y.N., “The Suqs of Basrah: Commercial Organization and Activity in a Medieval Islamic Town”, *JESHO*, XXIV, 3 (1981), 298-301.

³⁷ See also Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, xi-xii, 14, 37-38.

³⁸ Though it stands to reason that the *shurṭa* chiefs received a special salary for the office they occupied, I found no reports on this issue. See, however, one report concerning the relatively high grant given to a *shurṭa* chief in Kūfa in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf V*, 176-177 (100000 Dirhams); cf. Rashid, *The Role of the Shurta*, 141-142; Darādkeh, “Al-Ḥaras”, 92; Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 59-95.

³⁹ Cf. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 31. On the second and third *fitnas* see n. 62, 66 below.

⁴⁰ One exception is al-Jaʿd b. Qays (see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chief 6b), who was however quickly removed from office as *shurṭa* chief. His failure to hold on to this office obviously stemmed from his lack of tribal support in terms of men, horses, and arms.

⁴¹ Presumably, the *ḥaras* was responsible for the personal protection of the Caliphs, i.e. a “praetorian guard”. There are also reports according to which the *ḥaras* chief was responsible for the *khātam* (the seal or signature ring) of the Caliph. For examples of *mawālī* who were *ḥaras* chiefs of the Umayyad Caliphs and the early ʿAbbāsīd ones, see Khalifa, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 276, 395-396, 419, 432 and II, 469, 545, 555, 562, 684-689; al-

al loyalty of these *mawālī* to the Caliphs, as opposed to the loyalty of the Arab *ashrāf* to their own tribes. However, it is not clear whether the Umayyad governors used to appoint *ḥaras* chiefs for themselves on a regular basis, whether these were Arabs or *mawālī*, and what exactly their duties were.⁴² There is no information regarding the *shurṭa* members themselves — whether they were Arabs, *mawālī*, or both. It is likely that the *shurṭa* chiefs were responsible for recruiting the members of the *shurṭa* from their own tribes; since the tribes in Baṣra consisted of Arabs and *mawālī*, it is reasonable to assume that the *shurṭa* too consisted of Arabs and *mawālī*.⁴³

Family connections and tribal ties between the *shurṭa* chiefs in Baṣra and the governors of Baṣra/Iraq or between the *shurṭa* chiefs and the Banū Umayya played a significant role, though not a central one, in the appointment of different men to this office.⁴⁴ Other

Ṭabarī, second series I, 205, III, 1649; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, XXI, 95, XL, 159, XLVIII, 213 and LXIII, 295; al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Beirut, 1984-1988, X, 142; Darādkeh, “Al-Ḥaras”, 85 (where no proper distinction is drawn between the *shurṭa* and the *ḥaras*). On the *ḥaras* see also Tyan, *Histoire de l’organisation*, 593; Donner, “The Shurta”, 257-258; Rashid, *The Role of the Shurta*, 151-155; Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 13-14.

⁴² Ziyād b. Abīhi is said to have had a *ḥaras* chief who was an Arab (Shaybān b. ‘Abd al-Shams or b. ‘Abd Allāh of the Banū Sa’d b. Zayd-Manāt b. Tamīm). However, according to another version, Shaybān was in charge of the *rābiṭa*, not the *ḥaras*; see al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 79; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVa*, 149, 178, 192; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XI* (al-‘Aẓm), 483; Ibn Durayd, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, *al-Ishtiḳāq*, ‘A. al-S.M. Hārūn (ed.), Cairo, 1958, 253. Other Umayyad governors are said to have had *ḥaras* chiefs who were *mawālī*; see, for example, al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIi*, 242-243; al-Ṭabarī, second series III, 1649-1650; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, VII, 261; anonymous, *Kitāb al-‘uyūn wa-l-ḥadā’iq fī akhbār al-ḥaqā’iq (al-juz’ al-thālith)*, De Goeje (ed.), Leiden, 1871, 58.

⁴³ I found only one report concerning an Arab *shurṭa* member, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVi*, 389-390; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XII* (al-‘Aẓm), 212; cf. al-Mubarrad, *Kitāb al-kāmil*, II, 602-604. On the other hand, in Baṣra there were non-Arab residents who had military capabilities. Thus, the Persian *asāwira* (heavy armed cavalry) joined the Muslim Arabs during the first conquests and were joined to the Banū Sa’d b. Zayd-Manāt b. Tamīm; see Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom*, 397, 406, 410; Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 5, 15, n. 26, 36; Lecker, M., “Tamīm”, in *idem*, *People, Tribes, and Society in Arabia around the Time of Muḥammad*, Burlington, 2005, 75, 79; Donner, “The Shurta”, 258. Regarding the *shurṭa* in Kūfa, there is clear evidence that the Persian soldiers called *al-ḥamrā* did form part of the *shurṭa*. The *ḥamrā* were allies (*ḥulafā’*) of the Tamīm; see Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 94-95, 197; Athamina, “Non-Arab Regiments”, 348-355, 365-366; see also Rashid, *The Role of the Shurta*, 156.

⁴⁴ Thus, ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī l-Aswad al-Du‘alī/al-Dīlī of the Kināna was in charge of his father’s *shurṭa* in Baṣra (see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chief 2). Ḥabīb b. Shihāb belonged to the Banū Nājiya, who enjoyed a good and close relationship with the Umayyad regime

factors were also significant in the appointment of *shurṭa* chiefs: their status as tribal leaders or their belonging to families and tribal groups that enjoyed a high status or a position of leadership among their tribes;⁴⁵ their previous support of the Umayyad regime or the governor of Başra/Iraq; their connections with family members of the governor; their religious status and reputation; or otherwise personal qualities that seem to have been suitable for this office.⁴⁶ In addition, military capabilities and tribal support in terms of men, horses, and arms were obviously also significant in this context.

The marital ties of some *shurṭa* chiefs in Başra during the Umayyad period reveal an interesting network of intertribal relations. These marital ties between the different tribes of Başra (see appendix 2)

and claimed to be descendents of the Banū Sāma b. Lu'ayy of the Quraysh (3a). In addition, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz, governor of Başra under whom Ḥabīb served as *shurṭa* chief, belonged to the Banū 'Abd al-Shams of the Quraysh. Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī (3b), who served (according to some opinions) under 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz as the *shurṭa* chief, was a relative of the latter on his mother's side. The family and tribe of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ghaylān al-Thaqafī (4) enjoyed good trade relations and marital ties with the Umayyads even prior to the advent of Islam. Yahyā b. Mubashshir, the deputy of 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥiṣn (6a), hailed from the same tribal group as the latter (the Banū Tha'laba b. Yarbū' of the Tamīm). 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Qays b. Nawfal's family (15) had marital ties with the Zubayrids. Ḥafṣ b. Ziyād b. 'Amr al-'Atakī was the deputy of his father, Ziyād b. 'Amr (18-18a). The nephew of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Ubayd b. Ṭāriq (21) was his deputy in Kūfa. Sufyān b. al-Za'l (24) belonged to the Azd, the same tribe as that of the governor under whom he officiated, 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab (23). The same is true of 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥakam (26) and Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. The Banū Usayyid of Tamīm, from whom hailed 3 *shurṭa* chiefs (25, 27, 38), had close relations with the Quraysh prior to the advent of Islam (see the references given for *shurṭa* chief 25). Yazīd b. Muslim b. 'Amr b. Muslim (40) belonged to the same family as that of Salm b. Qutayba b. Muslim, the Banū Wā'il b. Ma'n of the Bāhila. On marital ties in general between the *ashraf* and the Umayyad regime see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 32, n. 223.

⁴⁵ *Shurṭa* chiefs 1, 3b(?), 4, 8-10, 15-16, 18, 22-25, 27-28, 30-32, 36-38, 40.

⁴⁶ Thus, Samura b. Jundab fought on Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān's side in Ṣiffīn before being appointed as the *shurṭa* chief in Başra. He was also considered by some to have been a companion of the Prophet (a *ṣaḥābī*), and this seems to have assisted him in his appointment. 'Abd Allāh (b. 'Abd Allāh) b. al-Ahtam assisted Ḥumrān b. Abān in gaining control over Başra. Ziyād b. 'Amr and many of the "Masāmi'a" (the family members of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Misma' b. Shihāb) supported the Umayyads during the second *fitna*. 'Ikrima b. Rib'ī was a close associate of Bishr b. Marwān. Muḥammad b. Ribāt was an associate of al-Ḥajjāj's sister, Zaynab. Muḥammad b. Wāsi' and presumably Muḥammad b. Wakī' b. Abī Sūd were pious men and ascetics; likewise, Bilāl b. Abī Burda was a grandson of a *ṣaḥābī* and a son of a *qādī*. Finally, the personalities of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Ubayd b. Ṭāriq and 'Umar b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr are said to have impressed al-Ḥajjāj. See the references given in appendix 1 *shurṭa* chiefs 5, 16, 18-22, 27, 32, 34, 36.

underscore the complexity of the relationship between the Azd, 'Abd al-Qays and Bakr b. Wā'il (the last two were considered to be descendants of Rabī'a) on the one hand, and the Tamīm and Qays tribes (descendants of Muḍar) on the other. The relationship between these tribes was therefore not only one of strife and feuds, but also one of a complex social and political nature. The marital ties between the various tribes and the offspring that were born from them generated intricate familial, tribal, and political loyalties.⁴⁷ In addition, it seems that a small group of Arab women in Baṣra enjoyed a relatively independent status: they married or married themselves to various prominent men, thus influencing the political and social dynamics in Baṣra. At least one of these women played a more direct role in the political activities of the Umayyad period.⁴⁸

The families of various *shurṭa* chiefs in Baṣra maintained their power and influence for some time during the Umayyad period and in certain cases even in the 'Abbāsīd one. Thus, some *shurṭa* chiefs had sons who also served in this office (see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chiefs 18a, 20?, 27, 31, 35, 38-39). Various *shurṭa* chiefs had descendants who played a role in the religious and cultural life in Baṣra and elsewhere in the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd times; some had descendants who played military roles or held political and military offices during these periods.⁴⁹ Various *shurṭa* chiefs and their fam-

⁴⁷ Thus, for instance, members of a certain tribe at times might request assistance from their relatives on their mother's side (*akhwāl*); see Robertson Smith, *Kinship*, 185-188.

⁴⁸ See appendix 2, especially paragraphs 3-4. On 'Ātika bint al-Mulā'a's activity against Mālik b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd see n. 68 below. Relatively independent Arab women who married various men existed also in pre-Islamic times; see Kister, M.J., "On Strangers and Allies in Mecca", in *idem*, *Concepts and Ideas at the Dawn of Islam*, Burlington, 1997, 124 (on Khadija); cf. Ibn Ḥazm, 'Alī b. Aḥmad, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, 'A. al-S.M. Hārūn (ed.), Cairo, 1962, 389-390. In addition, marital ties between the Tamīm and Quraysh (see appendix 2, paragraphs 9, 11) were a natural continuation of the pre-Islamic relationship between these two tribes; see Kister, M.J., "Mecca and Tamīm", *JESHO*, III, 2 (1965), 157-160; *idem*, "On Strangers", 120-126. Finally, the involvement of al-Ḥajjāj in the setting up of some marriages indicates the political importance of marital ties in Umayyad Baṣra; see Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḫ madīnat Dimashq*, XLIII, 517 and LXIX, 179; Ibn al-Kalbī, Hishām b. Muḥammad, *Nasab ma'add wa-l-yaman al-kabīr*, N. Ḥasan (ed.), Beirut, 1988, I, 118; al-Isfahānī, Abū l-Faraj 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, 'A. al-A. Muḥannā and S. Jābir (eds.), Beirut, 1992, VI, 211-212.

⁴⁹ Religion and culture: descendants of *shurṭa* chiefs 3b(?), 5, 12, 16, 32, 38 (see the references given in appendix 1). Political and military activities or offices: descendants of *shurṭa* chiefs 8, 11-12, 16, 18, 20(?), 38, the "Masāmi'a" (22) and members of 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Muḥallab's family (23).

ily members were in possession of estates that were either granted to them by the Umayyad governors (*qaṭī'a*) or were obtained by them through other means.⁵⁰ This indicates that at least some of the *shurṭa* chiefs were wealthy enough to gain tribal support and recruit men as *shurṭa* members under their command.

Many *shurṭa* chiefs in Başra played a military role in the intertribal feuds or participated in the rebellions during the Umayyad period, before or after their service as *shurṭa* chiefs. Some *shurṭa* chiefs served under Umayyad governors in official military offices either before or after their service as *shurṭa* chiefs in Başra.⁵¹ Various *shurṭa* chiefs were appointed as governors in different areas outside of Başra after their service as *shurṭa* chiefs in this town; some were appointed as governors of Başra itself.⁵² The office of governorship was obviously more valued than the office of *shurṭa* chief: only one *shurṭa* chief was appointed as governor of Başra prior to his service as a *shurṭa* chief in this town (see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chief 28), and only three *shurṭa* chiefs were governors outside of Başra prior to their appointment as *shurṭa* chiefs in this town (5, 16?, 38). In addition, only one *shurṭa* chief had served in an administrative office (a secretary, *kātib*) before he was appointed as a *shurṭa* chief (19). It is thus clear that the office of *shurṭa* chief was essentially of a military character (and not of an administrative one): the *shurṭa* chiefs in Umayyad Başra were expected to have military capabilities. Moreover, various *shurṭa* chiefs held different offices after their service as *shurṭa* chiefs, suggesting that the office of *shurṭa* chief offered its occupants a certain degree of social and political mobility. *Shurṭa* chiefs who did not hail from important families or tribal groups were thus able to advance their own careers and at the same time to achieve power and influence for their families

⁵⁰ These estates included land property (*shurṭa* chiefs 6, 9, 11, 18, and the “Masāmi'a”), watering or irrigation canals (*nahr*; *shurṭa* chiefs 3a, 32, and the “Masāmi'a”), courts (*dār*, pl. *dūr*; *shurṭa* chiefs 5, 21), and markets (5, 32). A few *shurṭa* chiefs were involved in wine trade (5?, 21, 32).

⁵¹ A military role in intertribal feuds or participation in rebellions: *shurṭa* chiefs 1, 3b(?), 5, 11, 18-23, 30, 35, 38 (see the references in appendix 1). Official military posts: *shurṭa* chiefs 3b(?), 9, 11, 13, 18.

⁵² Governors outside of Başra: *shurṭa* chiefs 3b(?), 9, 12, 16, 25, 32a, 38; governors of Başra: 3b(?), 4-5, 23, 29(?), 32.

and tribal groups.⁵³ If we include the *shurṭa* chiefs among the *ashrāf* of the Umayyad period, then it appears that the *ashrāf* were not always descendants of hereditary leading families nor did they necessarily hail from large and important tribal groups.⁵⁴

A most significant trait of the *shurṭa* chiefs and indeed of the *ashrāf* in general was their constant shifting of political loyalties in accordance with personal and tribal interests.⁵⁵ This opportunism is contrasted in the Arabic sources with the pure idealism and unblemished sincerity of the *khawārij* and various rebels or claimants to the Caliphate such as al-Mukhtār and Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. While the latter are portrayed as being loyal to their causes and religious-political ideals, the *ashrāf* are depicted as being faithful only to their tribal ties and economical wellbeing.⁵⁶ The fact that the *ashrāf*

⁵³ *Shurṭa* chiefs who did not hail from important families or tribal groups: *shurṭa* chiefs 5-7, 11-14, 17, 19-21, 26, 29, 33-34, 39. 'Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn serves as a good example: the "Ḥabīṭāt" were not considered a strong group among the Tamīm. Nevertheless, 'Abbād managed to achieve some degree of power and influence for his family (see *shurṭa* chiefs 11, 35). Six Tamīmī *shurṭa* chiefs belonged to the 'Amr b. Tamīm branch (11, 25, 27, 35, 38-39), while only three belonged to the stronger and more dominant Sa'd b. Zayd-Manāt b. Tamīm branch (1, 16, 21). The Bāhila, who are not generally considered to be an important tribe (see Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom*, 429-430, 443-444; cf. Donner, "Tribal Settlement in Basra", 108), produced three *shurṭa* chiefs (12, 28, 40).

⁵⁴ Cf. Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 36; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 31-32.

⁵⁵ Thus, various *shurṭa* chiefs had supported the Umayyads during the Sufyānid period, but later supported Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr; some had supported the latter but after his fall transferred their allegiance back to the Umayyads (see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chiefs 3b?, 6a, 11, 13, 30). Himyān b. 'Adī (9) had served under "Babba", then under the *khawārij* in Baḥrayn, transferred his allegiance to the Umayyads, and finally joined the rebellion of Ibn al-Ash'ath. Ziyād b. 'Amr (18) had fought with Muṣ'ab against al-Mukhtār in the battle at Ḥarūrā', fought against Muṣ'ab at Jufraṭ Khālid, then transferred his allegiance back to Muṣ'ab, and finally betrayed him shortly before his fall. 'Ikrima b. Rib'ī (19) had supported Muṣ'ab, then the Umayyads, and later joined the rebellion of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Jārūd. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Misma' b. Shihāb (22) had intended to join the rebellion of Ibn al-Ash'ath, decided not to do so after he had been bribed by the governor of Baṣra, and finally did join the rebellion after al-Ḥajjāj had forced him to give back the bribe-money. Other *shurṭa* chiefs who served the Umayyads also joined the rebellion of Ibn al-Ash'ath (11, 21). Yet others who served the Umayyads later joined the rebellion of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (23, 26). On the rebellions of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Jārūd, Ibn al-Ash'ath, and Yazīd b. al-Muhallab see Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom*, 231-250, 257-263, 312-318; Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 67-71, 73-76; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 115; *EP*, "al-Ḥadjdīdj b. Yūsuf", III, 40 (Dietrich); *ibid.*, "Ibn al-Ash'ath", III, 715-719 (Veccia Vaglieri); *ibid.*, "Muhallabids", VII, 359 (Crone). On the battle at Jufraṭ Khālid see n. 94 below.

⁵⁶ See, for example, al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 822-823; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf* V, 245, 332-333; cf. Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 56; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 32.

constantly switched their loyalties in the period under discussion contributed to the instability of the Umayyad governmental system which was based mainly on these *ashrāf*.

4. Tamīm

The data concerning the *shurṭa* chiefs in Baṣra (see appendix 1) reveals a relatively high number of Tamīmīs (14) among the *shurṭa* chiefs. It is evident that the Tamīmīs maintained their power in this context throughout the Umayyad period: Tamīmī *shurṭa* chiefs can be found from the earliest times to the fall of the Umayyad regime. In addition, the Tamīmī *shurṭa* chiefs did not belong to one single branch, but rather hailed from various Tamīmī branches.⁵⁷ Of course, tribal denominations such as “Tamīm” and “Tamīmī” are methodologically problematic; I will address this subject towards the end of this article (see section 5).

The reliance of the Umayyad governors on the Tamīm began as early as ‘Uthmān’s rule (see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chief 1) and continued during the Sufyānid period under Ziyād b. Abīhi and his son ‘Ubayd Allāh, during the second *fitna* (approximately 64/683-73/692), in the Marwānid period under al-Ḥajjāj, and again towards the end of the Umayyad period.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the Tamīmīs served in other political and military offices as well throughout the Umayyad period and even in the ‘Abbāsīd one — in southern Iraq, ‘Umān, Baḥrayn, and in the east (namely Khurāsān). In the ‘Abbāsīd times various Tamīmīs functioned as *shurṭa* chiefs under different Caliphs, while other Tamīmīs functioned as *shurṭa* chiefs in Kūfa and Baṣra.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Three *shurṭa* chiefs belonged to the Sa’d b. Zayd-Manāt b. Tamīm (1, 16, 21); five belonged to the Mālik b. Zayd-Manāt b. Tamīm (three to the Yarbū’ b. Ḥanzala b. Mālik b. Zayd-Manāt, 6-6a, 36, and two to the Mālik b. Ḥanzala b. Mālik b. Zayd-Manāt, 7, 20); and six belonged to the ‘Amr b. Tamīm (11, 25, 27, 35, 38-39).

⁵⁸ See appendix 1, *shurṭa* chiefs 6, 6a, 7, 11, 16, 20-21, 25, 27, 35, 36, 38-39. Shaybān, the head of the *ḥaras* or *rābiṭa* in Baṣra under Ziyād, was also a Tamīmī, as was his deputy, Balj b. Nushba (see the references in n. 42 above). On Ziyād b. Abīhi and the Tamīm see also Lecker, “Tamīm”, 80, n. 626.

⁵⁹ The Tamīmīs were also active in the religious and cultural spheres. See Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 23-24; Lecker, “Tamīm”, 80-81; Elad, A., “Aspects of the Transition from the Umayyad to the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate”, *JSAL*, 19 (1995), 108; Tsafirir, N., *The History of an Islamic School of Law: the Early Spread of Ḥanafism*, Cambridge, 2004, 30-31.

The Tamīmīs were a dominant and important tribe already in pre-Islamic times. As Kister has shown, the Tamīmīs had political, economical, and marital ties with the Quraysh. These relations no doubt assisted the Tamīmīs after the advent of Islam in securing for themselves significant positions and a high status in the Arab-Muslim state. In addition, the large number of Tamīmīs was a crucial factor in their dominance during the formative period of Islam. The Tamīmīs who settled in Baṣra enjoyed a tribal, military, and economical hinterland in the areas west and south-west of Baṣra, where other Tamīmīs resided.⁶⁰ The Tamīmīs also absorbed non-Arab military elements (such as the *asāwira*, see n. 43 above) that enhanced their military potential. All these factors contributed to the dominance of Tamīm in the period under discussion here.

5. Intertribal Conflicts

The information gathered concerning the *shurṭa* chiefs reflects the intertribal tensions and conflicts characteristic of the Umayyad times. These tensions and conflicts — especially those relevant to the Marwānid period — are commonly known as the Qays-Yaman conflict. In Baṣra, the conflict between the Qays and Yaman was paralleled by the conflict between the tribes of Muḍar (Tamīm and Qays) on the one hand, and the tribes of the Azd and Rabī'a (Bakr b. Wā'il and 'Abd al-Qays) on the other. It is not my intention to describe the history of these conflicts; this issue has been sufficiently addressed in modern research.⁶¹ Rather, I will demonstrate how these conflicts are reflected in the data concerning the *shurṭa* chiefs in Umayyad Baṣra.

⁶⁰ Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm", 113-162; Lecker, "Tamīm", 56, 68, n. 536.

⁶¹ Crone, P., "Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad Period Political Parties?", *Der Islam*, LXXI, 1 (1994), 1-57; *idem*, *Slaves on Horses*, 34-36, 42-48; Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 53-55, 73-76, 82-83, 93, 96, 102; Kennedy, H., "The Origins of the Qays-Yaman Dispute in Bilād Al-Shām", in M.A. Bakhit (ed.), *The Fourth International Conference on the History of Bilad al-Sham: Proceedings of the Second Symposium*, 'Ammān, 1987, English and French Papers I, 168-174. On the Qays-Yaman conflict in Khurāsān see Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom*, 201-202, 397-491; Sharon, M., *Black Banners from the East*, Jerusalem, 1983, 54-71; *idem*, *Revolt: The Social and Military Aspects of the 'Abbāsīd Revolution*, Jerusalem, 1990, 25-63; cf. Massignon, "Explication", 166-170.

Regarding the Sufyānid period, I have found no evidence of any conflict between the Qays and Yaman or between Muḍar and the Azd and Rabī'a. This is to be expected, since these conflicts emerged in full intensity only during the second *fitna* and in the Marwānid period. In the Sufyānid period, there were no *shurṭa* chiefs of the Azd or Rabī'a tribes, only ones of the Tamīm and Qays (see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chiefs 3a-8). This indicates that the Tamīm and Qays were the dominant tribes in Baṣra during the Sufyānid period. However, by the second *fitna*, the Tamīm and Qays seem to have lost some of their dominance: while three *shurṭa* chiefs belonged to the Tamīm and Qays (11-12, 16) and one or three *shurṭa* chiefs belonged to the Asad b. Khuzayma of Muḍar (13, 14?, 15?), there were by now already two *shurṭa* chiefs who hailed from the Bakr b. Wā'il (9) and the Quḍā'a (10) — although the latter tribe only received its “southern” (Yamanī) genealogy during this period. Indeed, it was during the second *fitna* that the Qays-Yaman conflict emerged as did the conflict in Baṣra between the Muḍar and the Azd and Rabī'a tribes. One should remember that the Azd-ʿUmān had just emigrated to Baṣra towards the end of the Sufyānid period. Having settled in this town, the Azd-ʿUmān formed an alliance (or, according to some opinions: renewed the alliance) with the Rabī'a tribes against the Muḍar.⁶² The conflict between the Muḍar and the Azd/Rabī'a during this period is reflected in the literary evidence pertaining to various *shurṭa* chiefs who participated in the intertribal feuds of the second *fitna*.⁶³ Later on, under al-Ḥajjāj, a balance between the Muḍar and the Azd/Rabī'a seems to have been successfully maintained. Thus, four *shurṭa* chiefs who served under al-Ḥajjāj belonged to the Tamīm (20-21, 25, 27), while four others hailed from the Azd (18-18a, 23, 24) and two from the Bakr b. Wā'il (19, 22). Although it is clear that the strength of the Azd had grown considerably, nevertheless it is also clear that al-Ḥajjāj did not prefer any one tribe or group

⁶² On these intertribal conflicts and other events in Baṣra following the death of the Caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya (approximately from 64/683 until 73/692), see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVi*, 396-427; al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 433-466; Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom*, 209-210; Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 54-55. On the emigration of the Azd-ʿUmān see also Pellat, *Le milieu basrien*, 24; Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 248-249; cf. Donner, “Tribal settlement in Basra”, 106.

⁶³ See appendix 1, *shurṭa* chiefs 3b, 9, 11, 18, 22, 30 and the references given there.

of tribes over the others.⁶⁴ Conversely, from the death of al-Ḥajjāj onwards, there is a clear polarization as regards the tribal affiliation of the governors of Iraq or Baṣra and the *shurṭa* chiefs they appointed. Thus, under governors of Iraq and Baṣra who were Qaysīs or pro-Qaysīs there were five *shurṭa* chiefs of the Tamīm and Qays (27-28, 35, 38-39) and only one of the Azd (34); while under governors of Iraq and Baṣra who were Yamanīs or pro-Yamanīs there were eight *shurṭa* chiefs of the Azd, Rabī'a, and Yamanī tribes (26, 29-33, 37) and only one of the Tamīm (36).⁶⁵ The conflict between the Muḍar and the Azd/Rabī'a in this later part of the Marwānid period is also reflected in reports concerning various *shurṭa* chiefs who played military roles in the intertribal clashes of the third *fitna* (approximately 126/744-132/750).⁶⁶

As Crone has shown (see n. 61 above), the conflict between the Qays and Yaman and between the Muḍar and Azd/Rabī'a was essentially a struggle between tribal factions over limited resources — military and political offices, the income and revenues that these yielded, etc. This is illustrated in the story of Mālik b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd of the 'Abd al-Qays (see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chief 30) and 'Umar b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr of the Tamīm (27). According to the sources, 'Umar had objected to the appointment of Khālīd al-Qasrī to the governorship of Iraq by the Caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (105/724-125/743). It seems that Khālīd al-Qasrī was perceived by Qaysīs and Tamīmīs as being pro-Yamanī and anti-Qaysī.⁶⁷ In ad-

⁶⁴ See also Crone, "Were the Qays and Yemen", 12, 51.

⁶⁵ Qaysī governors or pro-Qaysī ones: Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik of the Banū Umayya; Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī, Firās b. Sumayy al-Fazārī, and 'Umar b. Hubayra l-Fazārī; Abū l-'Āj Khathīr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sulamī and Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī; Salm b. Qutayba b. Muslim al-Bāhilī and Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī. Yamanī governors or pro-Yamanī ones: Yazīd b. al-Muhallab al-'Atakī; Abān b. Ḍubāra al-Ḥimyarī, Bilāl b. Abī Burda al-Ash'arī, and Khālīd al-Qasrī; 'Amr b. Suhayl and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz of the Banū Umayya. On the pro-Yamanī appointments of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab during his governorship in Iraq and during his rebellion, see Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh*, I, 420, 430, 427 and II, 482; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf VII* (al-'Azam), 255; al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 1283; Crone, "Were the Qays and Yemen", 18.

⁶⁶ See appendix 1, *shurṭa* chiefs 35-39 and the references given there. On the third *fitna* see Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom*, 370-396; Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 90-103.

⁶⁷ The Qasr (descendants of the Bajīla) were a Yamanī tribe. On Khālīd al-Qasrī see EF, "Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī", IV, 925-927 (Hawting); Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom*, 326-336, 357-362; Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 81-83.

dition, 'Umar's objection to Khālid's appointment — which was expressed bluntly in the presence of the Caliph himself — was due to the fact that 'Umar had lost his position as the *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra. 'Umar may have even aspired to be appointed himself as governor of Iraq. However, despite 'Umar's objection, Khālid al-Qasrī was appointed as governor of Iraq, and eventually (presumably in the year 109/728) 'Umar was killed by Mālik b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd, the new appointee of Khālid al-Qasrī to the office of the *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra. The killing of 'Umar, who hailed from the Tamīm, by Mālik b. al-Mundhir of the 'Abd al-Qays (Rabī'a) ignited the conflict between the Muḍar (Tamīm and Qays) and the Rabī'a tribes, both in Baṣra and in Syria. Though the Caliph himself managed to contain the conflict and prevent its full outbreak by imprisoning Mālik,⁶⁸ the memory of 'Umar's murder at the hands of Mālik lingered on and was revived during the third *fitna*. The fact that the conflict between the Qays and Yaman was essentially a struggle between tribal factions over limited resources is also apparent in the literary evidence concerning al-Miswar b. 'Umar b. 'Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn of the Tamīm. The latter was dismissed in 126/744 from his office as the *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra by the new governor, 'Amr b. Suhayl of the Banū Umayya. Shortly afterwards, towards the end of the year 126, a violent conflict broke out in Baṣra between al-Miswar and 'Amr b. Suhayl. Al-Miswar, who had been rounding up support for the future Caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad, was joined by groups of the Tamīm, Bāhila and 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a (the two latter were Qaysī tribes); while 'Amr b. Suhayl was backed by groups of the Azd, Rabī'a, and Quraysh, as well as by elements from the Syrian army (*ahl al-Shām*).⁶⁹ Clearly then, disputes over offices that entailed political power and financial revenues were intertwined with intertribal hostilities and tensions.

⁶⁸ It is said that 'Ātika bint al-Mulā'a, 'Umar's wife, traveled with prominent men from the Tamīm to Damascus, where she managed to convince the Caliph to imprison Mālik b. al-Mundhir. She was assisted in Damascus by important Qaysī elements (she herself hailed from a Qaysī tribe, see appendix 2, paragraphs 3-4). Mālik b. al-Mundhir eventually died in prison, and according to some he was murdered by the Qaysīs. On the conflict between Mālik b. al-Mundhir and 'Umar b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr see the references given in appendix 1 *shurṭa* chief 27.

⁶⁹ See references in appendix 1 *shurṭa* chief 35. Al-Miswar was also supported by al-Ḥakam b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr, see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chief 38.

However, the intertribal conflicts of the periods hitherto discussed did not preclude the occurrence of intratribal disputes. Since the tribal factions themselves comprised of complicated networks of tribal groups, families, patrons and clients, allies and *mawālī*, disputes naturally existed among fellow tribesmen as well. Indeed, examples of such disputes are to be found in the literary evidence pertaining to various *shurṭa* chiefs in Umayyad Baṣra.⁷⁰ Tribesmen can be involved in clashes with other tribes, and at the same time struggle with their own fellow tribesmen over tribal leadership. In this context, one may ask if there is really any meaning to such tribal names such as “Tamīm”, “Qays”, “Muḍar”, “Rabī’a”, “Yaman”, etc. These terms that abound in the Arabic sources pose a difficult methodological problem, since it is clear that these designations are often too general. A source might employ the term “Tamīm” in relation to a certain intertribal dispute, when in fact only one or a few tribal groups of Tamīm are involved.⁷¹ However, it seems to me that the above mentioned terms are significant in the context discussed here. Although the most important tribal unit in terms of the Arab’s daily life was much smaller than the large tribal

⁷⁰ A couple of examples will suffice. During the second *fitna*, in the battle at Jufirat Khālīd (see n. 94 below), Ziyād b. ‘Amr of the Banū l-‘Atīk of the Azd (appendix 1 *shurṭa* chief 18) fought with Mālīk b. Mīsmā’ b. Shihāb of the Banū Jahḍar of Bakr b. Wā’il in support of Khālīd b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd of the Banū Umayya. Other elements of the Azd (such as the family of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra of the Banū l-‘Atīk) and Bakr b. Wā’il (such as the family of Shaqīq b. Thawr, see appendix 2, paragraph 2) supported Muṣ’ab b. al-Zubayr. ‘Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn of the Tamīm (*shurṭa* chief 11) supported Muṣ’ab while other Tamīmīs fought alongside the pro-Umayyad forces. Thus, in addition to the conflicts between the Azd and Bakr b. Wā’il on the one hand and the Tamīm and Qays tribes on the other, there were also intratribal disputes: Ziyād b. ‘Amr struggled with al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra over the leadership of the Azd or Banū l-‘Atīk, and Mālīk b. Mīsmā’ b. Shihāb struggled with Shaqīq b. Thawr over the leadership of the Bakr b. Wā’il (or parts of the Bakr b. Wā’il). Likewise, during the third *fitna*, al-Miswar b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn of the Tamīm (35) was supported by Tamīmī groups, the Bāhila and ‘Amīr b. Ṣa’ṣa’a; while ‘Amr b. Suhayl of the Banū Umayya was backed by groups of the Azd, Rabī’a, and Quraysh, as well as by elements from the Syrian army. However, at a certain stage the dominant Banū Sa’d b. Zayd-Manāt b. Tamīm withdrew their support of al-Miswar and transferred it to another Tamīmī. See the references given in appendix 1 *shurṭa* chiefs 18, 22-23, 35; cf. Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 93.

⁷¹ Donner, F.M., “The Bakr ibn Wā’il Tribes and Politics in Northeastern Arabia on the Eve of Islam”, *Studia Islamica*, 51 (1980), 5-38; Landau-Tasseron, E., “Asad from Jāhiliyya to Islām”, *JSAI*, 6 (1985), 1-28; *idem*, “Alliances among the Arabs”, *Al-Qanṭara*, XXVI, 1 (2005), 141-173; *idem*, “Tribes and Clans”, in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, V, 363-368.

groups called “Tamīm”, “Qays”, “Muḍar”, and so on, nevertheless at certain times these latter designations were indeed significant to the tribesmen. These terms were sufficiently meaningful to cause much of the strife and clashes of the second and third *fitnas*.

One last question in need of addressing is whether the dispute between the Qays and Yaman (or between the Muḍar and Azd/Rabīʿa) was solely a military phenomenon, as is often suggested in modern research. Crone, for example, states that “[...] the antagonism between Qays/Muḍar and Yaman was a military phenomenon. We hear of it in connection with governors, generals, soldiers and their diverse appointees, not in connection with traders, craftsmen or peasants”.⁷² However, it seems to me that the Arabic historical sources are far less interested in traders, craftsmen or peasants than in the Arab elite. For that reason, one should not draw historical conclusions from the lack of information regarding the “common people”. In addition, drawing a distinction between “military” Arabs of the Umayyad period and “civilian” Arabs is problematic. Although there was a “professional” army in the Marwānid period, or rather a standing army (*ahl al-shām*), nevertheless the members of this army were tribesmen, as were the rest of the Arabs who populated the garrison towns. Among these Arabs were the *shurṭa* chiefs and their men, who also took part in the Qays-Yaman conflict. Furthermore, as has been shown in this article, the antagonism between the Qays and Yaman seems to have been more than just a military phenomenon. This antagonism was relevant to many if not the majority of the tribesmen, be they governors, “professional” soldiers, *shurṭa* chiefs, wives of *shurṭa* chiefs, or poets.⁷³ Finally, the numerous Arab tribes that immigrated to Iraq and Syria (or that resided in these areas prior to the advent of Islam) were extremely diverse. They differed from one another in various aspects: the climate and

⁷² Crone, “Were the Qays and Yemen”, 42-43, 53; see also Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 62-63.

⁷³ On ‘Ātika bint al-Mulā’a see n. 68 above. On al-Farazdaq’s active role in igniting the intertribal conflict following ‘Umar b. Yazīd b. ‘Umayr’s death, see the references given in appendix 1 *shurṭa* chief 27. Even Ḥasan al-Baṣrī is said to have condemned Mālik b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd and to have called ‘Umar b. Yazīd a *shahīd* (see references in appendix 1 *shurṭa* chief 27). Thus, the Qays-Yaman conflict was also significant in cultural terms, as is seen in the central role it occupies in ‘Abbāsīd poetry; see Elad, “Aspects of the Transition”, 121-125.

geographical conditions to which they had been accustomed, their culture and political tradition, their nomadic way of life (or their non-nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life), their language and dialects, even their ethnic background, their physical appearance, and their occupations.⁷⁴ These factors contributed to the formation of intertribal differences and tensions. Following the cultural, social, economical, and political changes caused by Islam and the early conquests, and once the diverse Arab tribes had settled next to each other in the garrison towns and other areas, the intertribal differences and tensions tended to erupt at certain crucial times during the Umayyad period, namely the second and third *fitnas*.

6. Methodological Conclusions

Prosopography is not without its own problems and limitations (see n. 3 above). Thus, the data concerning the *shurṭa* chiefs in Umayyad Baṣra is not complete. The sources provide much information regarding certain *shurṭa* chiefs but only scanty evidence regarding others. Exact dates of appointments and the duration of terms in office are lacking for various *shurṭa* chiefs. Nevertheless, the prosopographical method applied in this study has yielded several conclusions and observations that shed light on the functions and role of the *shurṭa* in Baṣra, as well as on political and social issues relevant to the Umayyad period.

Crone correctly states that “The obvious way to tackle early Islamic history is [...] prosopographical. To the extent that the pages of the Muslim chronicles are littered with names, prosopography is of course nothing but a fancy word for what every historian of that period finds himself to be doing. But early Islamic history has to be almost *exclusively* prosopographical...”.⁷⁵ In the current context, prosopography would best be viewed as a sophisticated tool for organizing the numerous details scattered throughout the vast corpus of classical Arabic literature. Once information is organized in a

⁷⁴ On this diversity see, for example, Hoyland, R.G., *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam*, London and New York, 2001 (see also the rich bibliography provided there on pp. 256-315); Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 214-264; see also Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom*, 234, n. 1, 399.

⁷⁵ Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 16-17.

prosopographical manner, the material contained in the classical sources and the story they tell can be read in a more “objective” light and perhaps be fairly judged. Thus, in the context of this article, the lists of functionaries provided by the sources and the terms that are used to designate the offices discussed here seem to be generally reliable. The use of the term *shurṭa* by the sources is not anachronistic but rather depicts a true historical reality. This can be proven by the relationship between the terms *shurṭa* and *aḥdāth* (see p. 116 above). The latter term appears only in connection with several *shurṭa* chiefs of the latter Umayyad period (see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chiefs 27, 30, 32, 35). Were the use of this term anachronistic, it would have appeared in connection with earlier *shurṭa* chiefs as well. The same is true of the term *ḥaras* (see n. 41 above): there is no confusion between this term and the term *shurṭa* in the reports dealing with the *shurṭa* chiefs in Baṣra.⁷⁶

To summarize, adoption of the prosopographical method will undoubtedly contribute to the study of early Islamic history. Scholars in this field should regard prosopography as an indispensable tool in their work.

⁷⁶ On the methodological problems pertaining to lists of functionaries and the terms that are used to designate various offices see Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*, 52-53, 96-104; Donner, “The Shurṭa”, 247. For a few statements that indicate the historical reliability and historical “consciousness” of the sources in the context discussed here, see Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, XLIX, 402-403, 406-408 (*kāna mina l-nabī ṣ bi-manzilati ṣāḥibi l-shurṭati mina l-amīri* — “His position with regard to the Prophet was similar to that of the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* with regard to the governor”); Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, III, 284 (*wa-kāna wardānu min ‘amri bni l-‘Āṣi bi-manzilati ṣāḥibi l-shurṭati mina l-amīri kāna lā ya’malu shay’an ḥattā yushāwirahu*; s.v. “Sūq wardān” — “Wardān’s position with regard to ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ was similar to that of the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa* with regard to the governor: he [‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ] did not do anything before consulting him [Wardān]”); al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 12 (*qāla fa-aqāma busrun bi-l-Baṣrati sittata ashhurin thumma shakhaṣa lā na’lamuhu wallā shurṭatahu aḥadan* — “Busr remained in Baṣra for six months and then he left; we have no knowledge of him appointing anyone over his *shurṭa*”). These statements indicate that the office of *shurṭa* chief was perceived by the classical sources in its correct historical context, and that information regarding *shurṭa* chiefs (at least in Baṣra) was not invented or fabricated.

Appendix 1: A List of the *Shurṭa* Chiefs in Baṣra in the Umayyad Period⁷⁷

1) Zayd b. Julba of the Banū ‘Āmir b. ‘Ubayd b. Muqā’is / Tamīm, served under ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz of the Banū ‘Abd Shams / Quraysh, governor of Baṣra at the time of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān during the years 29/649-650-35/656.⁷⁸

2) ‘Aṭā’b. Abī l-Aswad of the Banū l-Du’il/al-Dīl / Kināna, served under his father Abū l-Aswad, governor of Baṣra at the time of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, most likely in 37/657 or/and in 40.⁷⁹

3a) Ḥabīb b. Shihāb of the Banū Nājiya, served under ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz, governor of Baṣra at the time of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān during the years 41/661-44/664.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ The references given below contain basic information on the genealogy of the various *shurṭa* chiefs, their families and offspring, careers and offices (including those of family members and offspring), participation in rebellions or intertribal disputes, estates, and tribal status. For marital ties see also appendix 2.

⁷⁸ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf XI* (al-‘Az̄m), 395-398, 420-421, 440; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishṭiqāq*, 248; al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 15; al-İşfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, VIII, 394-395; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’riḫ madīnat Dimashq*, XIX, 341-342; al-‘Asqalānī, *al-İşāba fī tamiyīz al-şahāba*, ‘A.M. al-Bijāwī (ed.), Cairo, 1970-1972, II, 645-646; al-Şafādī, Khalīl b. Ayyak, *Kitāb al-wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, İstanbūl, 1931-2004, XV, 26-27. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz served once more as governor of Baṣra under Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, but Ibn ‘Asākir states that Zayd b. Julba served as the *shurṭa* chief when Ka’b b. Sūr was the *qādī* in Baṣra. According to different sources, Ka’b b. Sūr held this office during the Caliphates of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ‘Uthmān, and was killed in the Battle of the Camel; see, for example, Ibn Sa’d, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 91-93; Wakī’, *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, I, 274-283. On ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir see also *EP*, “‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir”, I, 43 (Gibb).

⁷⁹ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, Ḥasan, N. (ed.), Beirut, 1986, 152; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf X* (al-‘Az̄m), 37, 44-45; Ibn Sa’d, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*, V, 46 and VII, 99; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’riḫ madīnat Dimashq*, XXV, 176-211; Ibn al-Qifṭī, ‘Alī b. Yūsuf, *Inbāh al-ruwāt ‘alā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, M. Abū l-Faḍl İbrāhīm (ed.), Cairo, 1950-1955, I, 4-9, 21 and II, 380-381; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 185; al-‘Asqalānī, *al-İşāba*, III, 561. On Abū l-Aswad see also Khalīfa, *Ta’riḫ*, I, 231, 233; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf IVa*, 169; al-Ṭabarī, first series VI, 3390, 3448, 3453-3456, 3473-3474; al-İşfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, XII, 346-351.

⁸⁰ Al-Zubayrī, al-Muṣ’ab b. ‘Abd Allāh, *Kitāb nasab Quraysh*, E. Lévi Provençal (ed.), Cairo, 1953, 13, 440; al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 15; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 504. On the Banū Nājiya see also Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 113-116; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf I*, 46-47; al-Bakrī, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, *Mu’jam mā sta’jama min asmā’ al-bilād wa-l-mawāḍi’*, M. al-Saqqā (ed.), Cairo, 1945, I, 46; al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, *Kitāb al-inās fī ‘ilm al-ansāb*, I. al-Ibyārī (ed.), Cairo, 1980, 115-119, 123; al-İşfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, X, 247-250 and XXIII, 221; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj*, III, 120-151; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 12-13, 173-174; Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, V,

3b) Qays b. al-Haytham of the Banū 'Awf b. Imru' al-Qays / Sulaym: according to some opinions, he and not Ḥabīb b. Shihāb served under 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz.⁸¹

4) 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. Ghaylān of the Banū Mu'attib / Thaḳīf, served under al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Allāh of the Azd, governor of Baṣra at the time of Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān during the first four months of 45.⁸²

5) Samura b. Jundab of the Fazāra, served under Ziyād b. Abīhi of the Thaḳīf, governor of Baṣra at the time of Mu'āwiya from 45/665 and governor of Baṣra and Kūfa from 50/670 until his death in 53/673.⁸³

6) 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥiṣn of the Banū Dībārī b. 'Ubayd / Tamīm, served under Ziyād b. Abīhi, Samura b. Jundab, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr

250 (s.v. "Nājiya"), 320 (s.v. "Nahr Ḥabīb"); Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 174; Kister, M.J. and Plessner, M., "Notes on Caskel's *Gamharat an-nasab*", *Oriens*, 25 (1976), 56, n. 38, 59-60; Kister, M.J., "Some Reports Concerning Al-Ṭā'if", *JSAI*, 1 (1979), 13-17; *EP*, "Al-Kharrīt b. Rāshid al-Nādī", V, 19 (Pellat).

⁸¹ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 401; Khalifa, *Ta'riḫ*, I, 176, 178, 196, 240; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf IVi*, 405, 413-414, 422-423, 462-472; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashraf IVii*, 'A. al-'A. al-Dūrī and 'I. 'Uqla (eds.), Beirut, 2001, 544-545; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashraf V*, 243-246, 255-273, 344-345; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashraf XII* (al-'Azam), 283-284, 286-288; *idem*, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 569, 574-576; al-Ṭabarī, first series V, 2831-2833 (Hubayra instead of al-Haytham), 2904-2906, second series I, 15, 17, 65-66, 68-69, 79, 189, 240, 433, 444-447, II, 680-684, 720, 725-726, 748-749, 798-799, 806, 813; Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, II, 41-42; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 262; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḫ madīnat Dimashq*, XXVIII, 10-14; al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, VI, 565-566.

⁸² Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 385-392; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf IVa*, 137, 209-210; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashraf IVi*, 479; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashraf XII* (al-'Azam), 419-421; al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 71, 166, 171-172; al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, XIII, 222-227, 229-231; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, III, 1197, 1256; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḫ madīnat Dimashq*, XXXI, 298-300 and XLVI, 303-306; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 266-269; al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, IV, 669-670 and V, 330-336; Lecker, M., "Thaḳīf", in *idem*, *People, Tribes, and Society in Arabia*, 84-87.

⁸³ Samura served alternately as the deputy governor of Ziyād in Baṣra from 50/670 until 53/673, during the periods in which Ziyād was absent from this town. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 439; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*, VI, 34 and VII, 49-50; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, Lichtenstaedter (ed.), Hyderabad, 1942, 295; Khalifa, *Ta'riḫ*, I, 260; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiqāq*, 282-283; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 305; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf IVa*, 137, 182-184, 209, 213, 241; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashraf XII* (al-'Azam), 130-132; *idem*, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 532; al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 79, 87, 90-91, 158, 162-163, 166; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj*, IV, 77-79; al-'Askarī, *al-Awā'il*, 204; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, II, 653-655; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḫ madīnat Dimashq*, XXXI, 299, LX, 289-290 and LXVIII, 127; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 259, 362; al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb*, II, 80, III, 116 and IV, 173.

b. Ghaylān, and ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād b. Abīhi, governors of Baṣra during the years 45/665-64/683-684.⁸⁴

6a) Yaḥyā b. Mubashshir of the Banū Rabī‘a b. Ḥaṣaba b. Aznam b. ‘Ubayd b. Tha‘laba b. Yarbū‘ / Tamīm, was the deputy *shurṭa* chief of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥiṣn during the governorship of ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād.⁸⁵

6b) Al-Ja‘d b. Qays, served with ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥiṣn as *shurṭa* chief under Ziyād b. Abīhi, but was removed from this office after a short while.⁸⁶

7) Hubayra b. Ḍamḍam of the Banū Mujāshi‘ b. Dārim / Tamīm, served under Ziyād b. Abīhi.⁸⁷

8) Numayla b. Mālīk of the Banū ‘Āmir b. Numayr, served under ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād b. Abīhi.⁸⁸

9) Himyān b. ‘Adī of the Banū Sadūs b. Shaybān / Bakr b. Wā‘il, served under “Babba” (‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal) of the Banū Hāshim / Quraysh, governor of Baṣra for a short while in

⁸⁴ Concerning Samura see the previous note. After Ziyād’s death, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. Ghaylān had served as governor for half a year from 54/674 to 55/675, after which ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād was appointed as governor of Baṣra. See Khalīfa, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 249, 262-263, 322; al-Jāhīz, *al-Bayān*, II, 256 (al-Taghlibī instead of al-Tha‘labī); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVa*, 171-172 (‘Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn instead of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥiṣn), 188, 192; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XI* (al-‘Azm), 236; al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam*, II, 86; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *al-Akhbār al-muwaffaqiyyāt*, S.M. al-‘Ānī (ed.), Baghdad, 1972, 307-308 (al-Ḥuṣayn instead of Ḥiṣn); al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 76-79, 91, 166, 172, 187, 436-437; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj*, XVI, 204.

⁸⁵ Jarīr b. ‘Aṭīyya, *Sharḥ Dīwān Jarīr*, M.L.‘A.A. al-Ṣāwī (ed.), Cairo, 1935, 124; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *al-Akhbār*, 536-537; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf V*, 341, 345, 349; al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 806, 813.

⁸⁶ Al-Ja‘d claimed to hail from the Banū l-Namir b. Qāsiṭ (of the Rabī‘a tribes), but this claim was not accepted by all; it is possible therefore that he was a *mawlā*, perhaps a captive or a son of a captive from ‘Ayn Tamr (as was Ḥumrān b. Abān, see n. 96 below). See the references in n. 84 above; see also Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, I, 98; Jarīr, *Dīwān*, 225; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiqāq*, 335; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVa*, 186; al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 168-169, 186, 188; cf. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 340-341; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 401.

⁸⁷ Al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, II, 187-188 (‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād b. Abīhi instead of Ziyād b. Abīhi); Jarīr, *Naqā‘id*, I, 78-80 and II, 768; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XI* (al-‘Azm), 50-51, 136; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, IV, 484-485 (s.v. “Kinhal”).

⁸⁸ Ibn Mākūlā, ‘Alī b. Hibat Allāh, *al-Ikmāl fī raf‘ al-irtiyāb ‘an al-mu‘talīf wa-l-mukhtalīf min al-asmā’ wa-l-kunā wa-l-ansāb*, ‘A. al-R. al-Ÿamānī (ed.), Hyderabad, 1962, I, 516 (Qushayr instead of Numayr); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 378 (al-Aṣamm instead of Numayla); al-Marzubānī, Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān, *Mu‘jam al-shu‘arā’*, F. Krenkow (ed.), Cairo, 1354 h., 44, 256, 514; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVi*, 388; al-Ṭabarī, second series III, 1719-1723, 1725.

64/683 or 65/684 after the death of the Caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya and the fleeing from Baṣra of 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād b. Abīhi.⁸⁹

10) Jundab b. Sinān of the Banū Ka'b b. Zuwayy / the Banū Nahd / Quḍā'a, served under "al-Qubā'" (al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Rabī'a) of the Banū Makhzūm / Quraysh, governor of Baṣra for 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr sometime during the years 64/683-67.⁹⁰

11) 'Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn of the Banū l-Ḥārith b. 'Amr b. Tamīm (the "Ḥabīṭāt"), served under "al-Qubā'" and under Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, governors of Baṣra for 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr during the years 64/683-71/72/690/691.⁹¹

12) Muṭarrif b. Sīdān of the Banū Ji'āwa/Jāwa / Bāhila, served under Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr in Baṣra after the latter had been appointed as governor of both Baṣra and Kūfa *circa* 68.⁹²

⁸⁹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVi*, 405-406, 417-418, 422-423, 426; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VI* (al-'Aẓm), 296, 426, 442; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIIi*, M. al-Ya'lāwī (ed.), Beirut, 2002, 255, 268; *idem*, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 509; al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 444-448, 464-466, II, 1046. On the nisba "al-Sadūsī" see al-Sam'ānī, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad, *al-Ansāb*, 'A.A.'U. al-Bārūdī (ed.), Beirut, 1988, III, 235-238; on the high status of the Banū Sadūs b. Shaybān among the Bakr b. Wā'il see Donner, "The Bakr ibn Wā'il Tribes", 20.

⁹⁰ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, II, 731; on the tribal status of the Banū Zuwayy see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 446-447. There were members of the Quḍā'a who resided in Baṣra, see Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 24. For the various governors in Baṣra during the Zubayrid period and the different dates given for their governorships see Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 325; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVi*, 400, 407, 426-427; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf V*, 255-257; al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 463-465, 580, II, 717, 750-753, 783, 796-798, 813; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, *al-Futūḥ*, N. Zarzūr (ed.), Beirut, 1986, VI, 369-373; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, XI, 437, 443-447.

⁹¹ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 260-261; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiqāq*, 202; Jarīr, *Naqā'id*, II, 606, 626-627, 683; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 222; Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 369; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'arīf*, 414; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVa*, 150-153; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVi*, 413-414; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf V*, 243-246, 253, 277-278, 281-282, 285-286, 334, 345; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VI* (al-'Aẓm), 83, 403-404, 443, 504, 553, 562, 564-565, 568; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XI* (al-'Aẓm), 413, 556-558, 560; *idem*, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 513, 556-558; al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 680-684, 720-723, 725-726, 733-734, 738-739, 748-749, 798-799, 807, 852-853; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, VII, 94, 97; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 207, 213; cf. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 52, 80-81; Lecker, "Tamīm", 63.

⁹² Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiqāq*, 274; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf V*, 279, 284; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIIi*, 124; *idem*, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 539-540; al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 809-810; Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Wafayāt al-a'yān wa-ambā' abnā' al-zamān*, I. 'Abbās (ed.), Beirut, 1968-1972, I, 155; al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 258; on the Bāhila see also Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 479; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 245-247; *EP*, "Bāhila", I, 920-921 (Caskel).

13) Bishr b. Ghālib of the Banū Wāliba b. al-Ḥārith / Asad b. Khuzayma, was appointed by Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr after Muṭarrif b. Sīdān as *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra.⁹³

14) Khidāsh b. Yazīd, presumably of the Asad b. Khuzayma, served under Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr during the battle at Jufirat Khālid (in 69/688, 70/689, or 71/690-691).⁹⁴

15) 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qays b. Nawfal of the Banū Naṣr b. Qu'ayn b. al-Ḥārith / Asad b. Khuzayma, served under Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr.⁹⁵

16) 'Abd Allāh (b. 'Abd Allāh) b. al-Ahtam of the Banū Minqar / Tamīm, served under Ḥumrān b. Abān, governor of Baṣra for a short time in 71 or 72 (after the fall of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr).⁹⁶

⁹³ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 177; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf V*, 176-177, 279; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashraf X* (al-'Azm), 109; al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 919, 923, 925. From some of these sources one can infer that Bishr b. Ghālib originated in Kūfa and indeed lived there, at least after Muṣ'ab's fall. It seems that the majority of the Asad b. Khuzayma resided in Kūfa, not in Baṣra; see Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishṭiqāq*, 501; al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, I, 138; *EP*, "Asad", I, 683-684 (Kindermann); Massignon, "Explication", 161; Pellat, *Le milieu basrien*, 23.

⁹⁴ It is not clear whether Khidāsh was in charge of the *shurṭa* in Baṣra or served as *shurṭa* chief solely during the above mentioned battle. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf IVi*, 470-472; al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 801-804; Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, VI, 369-373; cf. al-Mubarrad, *Kitāb al-Kāmil*, I, 113. On the battle at Jufirat Khālid and the various dates given for it, see Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḫ madīnat Dimashq*, XVI, 122-128; *EP*, "Masāmi'a", VI, 640 (Crone); *ibid.*, "Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr", VII, 649-650 (Pellat); Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom*, 190-191.

⁹⁵ It is not clear whether he served in this office in Baṣra or Kūfa. Other members of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's family officiated as *shurṭa* chiefs in Kūfa later on during the Umayyad period and at the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd one. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 174-175 ('Abd al-Raḥmān b. Nawfal instead of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qays b. Nawfal); Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*, III, 100-101; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf X* (al-'Azm), 100-101; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 194 ('Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qays b. Manẓūr b. Qays b. Nawfal).

⁹⁶ There is some confusion in the sources concerning the names 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ahtam and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ahtam: it is not clear whether they refer to two different persons (i.e. father and son) or to one and the same person. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 232; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 403-404; al-Jāhīz, *al-Bayān*, I, 355-356; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf IVi*, 472; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashraf VIIIi*, R. Baalbaki (ed.), Beirut, 1997, 49-93, 137-138; al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 817-818, 1218 (cf. al-Ya'qūbī, Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb, *Ta'riḫ*, Leiden, 1969, II, 354; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 597-599), III, 1308-1312; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḫ madīnat Dimashq*, XXVII, 107-110; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 217; al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb*, IV, 270 and XI, 172; *EP*, "Amr b. al-Ahtam", I, 450-451 (Wensinck and Pellat); *ibid.*, "Khālid b. Ṣafwān", IV, 927 (Pellat); Lecker, "Tamīm", 58. Ḥumrān was not an Arab but a *mawlā* (perhaps of Jewish origin) who had been captured in 'Ayn Tamr, and later managed to gain power and influence under the Umayyads; see al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 345-347; Lecker, M., "Al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ", in *idem*, *People, Tribes, and Society in Arabia*, 16-23.

17) Al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād of the Banū Yashkur b. Bakr b. Wāʿil, served under Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd of the Banū Umayya, governor of Baṣra under ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān in 71/72-73/74.⁹⁷

18) Ziyād b. ʿAmr of the Banū l-ʿAtīk / Azd, served under Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh after al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād's death. He also served as *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra in 75/694 and/or in 76/695 under al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, governor of Iraq.⁹⁸

18a) Ḥafṣ b. Ziyād b. ʿAmr of the Banū l-ʿAtīk / Azd, was the deputy *shurṭa* chief of his father.⁹⁹

19) ʿIkrima b. Ribī of the Banū Mālik b. Taym Allāh / Bakr b. Wāʿil, served under Bishr b. Marwān (brother of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik), governor of Kūfa after the fall of Ibn al-Zubayr and governor of both Kūfa and Baṣra from 73/74 until his death shortly afterwards. It seems that ʿIkrima continued to serve as the *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra for a short time in 75/694 under al-Ḥajjāj, governor of Iraq.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VI* (al-ʿAz̄m), 518; on the Banū Yashkur see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 308-309. On the governorships of Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh and Bishr b. Marwān (who was appointed as governor of both Baṣra and Kūfa in 73/74, eventually residing in Baṣra) see Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 341, 345, 384; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVi*, 466-467; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf V*, 351; al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 853-854; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, X, 253-266. According to Khalīfa and al-Balādhurī, Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh served again as the governor of Baṣra after the death of Bishr b. Marwān, until the appointment of al-Ḥajjāj in 75/694.

⁹⁸ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, II, 468; Jarīr, *Naqāʾid*, II, 749-751; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *al-Akhhbār*, 546, 550, 558; al-Jāhīz, “Fakhr al-sūdān”, I, 190-192; Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 410 (where the order of the *shurṭa* chiefs is confused) and II, 632; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf I*, 500; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVi*, 396-398, 413-414, 424-425, 463; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf V*, 202, 244-245, 259, 282, 332, 341, 346, 348-349; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VI* (al-ʿAz̄m), 414-416, 444, 452, 519, 584-585; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XI* (al-ʿAz̄m), 427-428; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XII* (al-ʿAz̄m), 313, 347; al-Ṭabarī, first series VI, 3180, 3201, 3203-3204, second series I, 461-462, II, 682-683, 808, 920, 923-924, 973, III, 1387-1388, 1405-1406, third series I, 385, 568; Wakīʿ, *Akhhbār al-quḍāt*, II, 57; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, LVIII, 155-156; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 370-371; al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Isāba*, I, 201; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 121.

⁹⁹ See the references given in the previous note.

¹⁰⁰ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, I, 49; *idem*, *Jamharat*, 522; al-Jumahī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 484-486; al-Jāhīz, “Kitāb al-bighāl”, in *Rasāʾil al-Jāhīz*, II, 295, 299; Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 347-348; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf V*, 170, 172-173, 349; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VI* (al-ʿAz̄m), 192; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-ʿiqd al-farīd*, A. Amīn, A. al-Zayn and I. al-Ibyārī (eds.), Cairo, 1940-1953, I, 340 and VI, 98; al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 667, 853; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj*, IV, 178-179; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, XLI, 50-51 and XLVIII, 63-64. It seems that ʿIkrima originated and lived in

20) Muḥammad b. Ribāṭ of the Banū Zuhayr b. Fuḡaym / Tamīm, served for a short time in 75/694 under al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb al-Thaqafī, governor of Baṣra for al-Ḥajjāj.¹⁰¹

21) ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Ubayd b. Ṭāriq of the Banū ‘Abshams (‘Abd Shams) / Tamīm, served under al-Ḥajjāj in Kūfa and then as the *shurṭa* chief in both Kūfa and Baṣra, from 75/694 and possibly until 78.¹⁰²

22) ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir b. Misma’ b. Shihāb of the Banū Jaḥdar b. Ḍubay’a b. Qays b. Tha’laba / Bakr b. Wā’il, served under al-Ḥajjāj in Baṣra after the dismissal of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Ubayd b. Ṭāriq and until the outbreak of Ibn al-Ash’ath’s rebellion, which took place in 80-82/699-701 or 80-83/699-702.¹⁰³

Kūfa, although the sources state clearly that ‘Ikrima followed Bishr as his *shurṭa* chief when the latter moved to Baṣra. As for al-Ḥajjāj, he arrived at Kūfa as governor of Iraq in 75/694 (his deputy governor in Baṣra was al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb al-Thaqafī). However, in the same year he moved to Baṣra; see al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 863, 872-873; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIII*, 334-335.

¹⁰¹ According to some sources, Muḥammad b. Ribāṭ was appointed for the second time by ‘Umar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī (governor of Iraq for Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik in 102/103-105/724) as the *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra under governor Firās b. Sumayy al-Fazārī. However, on the basis of other sources it is possible to infer that it was his son, Ribāṭ (presumably called “Durust”) b. Muḥammad b. Ribāṭ who was appointed as *shurṭa* chief by ‘Umar b. Hubayra. See Khalīfa, *Ta’rīkh*, II, 488; al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān*, II, 284; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VII* (al-‘Az̄m), 212, 253; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIII*, 324-325 (where it is stated that Muḥammad b. Ribāṭ died during al-Ḥajjāj’s governorship); *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XI* (al-‘Az̄m), 166-167; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XII* (al-‘Az̄m), 383; al-Ḥafḥānī, *Kitāb al-aḡḥānī*, VI, 211-212; *idem*, *Maqātil al-ṭālibiyyīn*, A. Ṣaqr (ed.), Cairo, 1949, 318; cf. al-Mubarrad, *al-Ta’āzī wa-l-marāthī*, Kh. al-Manṣūr (ed.), Beirut, 1996, 126-127; Lecker, “Tamīm”, 72, n. 568. On the Banū Fuḡaym see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 229. On al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb see Khalīfa, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 384-385, 414; Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, VII, 95; al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 872, 1182; Ibn ‘Asākīr, *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, XV, 3-5; on ‘Umar b. Hubayra see *EP*, “Ibn Hubayra”, III, 802 (Vadet); Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 107.

¹⁰² ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was dismissed by al-Ḥajjāj after he had quarreled with al-Mughīra b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī ‘Aqīl al-Thaqafī, the governor of Kūfa and a relative of al-Ḥajjāj; al-Mughīra was appointed to this office in 78. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 246-247; Jarīr, *Naqā’id*, II, 830-831; Khalīfa, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 410; Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, I, 16; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf I*, 503-504; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VI* (al-‘Az̄m), 401-402; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VII*, 222; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIII*, 327-328, 335; Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ*, VII, 79-81; al-Ḥillī, Abū l-Baqā’ Hibat Allāh, *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyya fī akhbār al-mulūk al-asadiyya*, Ṣ. Darādkeh and M. Khresāt (eds.), ‘Ammān, 1984, I, 243. On al-Mughīra b. ‘Abd Allāh see Khalīfa, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 385; al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 1032-1033. It is possible that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān originated in Kūfa. The sources state that when ‘Abd al-Raḥmān stayed in Kūfa as its *shurṭa* chief he would leave a deputy *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra; and when he was in Baṣra he would leave a deputy *shurṭa* chief in Kūfa (who was his nephew, Mawdūd).

¹⁰³ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, I, 62; Khalīfa, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 370, 387, 410 (‘Āmir b. Mismā’

23) ‘Abd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra of the Banū l-‘Atīk / Azd, was appointed by al-Ḥajjāj after ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir b. Misma’ as the *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra under al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb, until 86.¹⁰⁴

24) Sufyān b. al-Za’l of the Banū Sulaym / Azd, served in 86 under ‘Abd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab, deputy governor of al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb in Baṣra.¹⁰⁵

25) Yazīd b. ‘Umayr of the Banū Usayyid/Usayd / Tamīm, was appointed by al-Ḥajjāj after ‘Abd al-Malik b. al-Muhallab (presumably in 86), and also served under Qaṭan b. Mudrik al-Kilābī (of the Banū Kilāb b. Rabī’a b. ‘Āmir b. Ṣa’ṣa’a, a Qaysī tribe), governor of Baṣra for al-Ḥajjāj *circa* 93.¹⁰⁶

26) ‘Uthmān b. al-Ḥakam / b. Abī l-Ḥakam of the Banū Hunā’a / Azd, served in Baṣra in 96/715 under Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, governor of Iraq, and in 97/715-716 under al-Jarrāḥ b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥakamī (of the Banū l-Ḥakam b. Sa’d al-‘Ashīra b. Madhhij, a Yamanī tribe), deputy governor of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab in Iraq. He

b. Mālik instead of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir b. Misma’ b. Shihāb) and II, 664; al-Jumāhī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 356; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVi*, 396, 465, 473, 477-478; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VI* (al-‘Azm), 443-444; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIi*, 125-126, 130, 257; al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 460, II, 822-823, 1062, 1065, III, 1381-1382; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 320-321; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, XXXVII, 169-172, XLV, 387-388, LVI, 497-500 and LVIII, 155-158; Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, III, 125 (s.v. “al-Zābūqa”); Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 116-118; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 33. On the rebellion of Ibn al-Ash’ath see n. 55 above.

¹⁰⁴ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, II, 466; Khalīfa, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 410 (where the text is garbled; cf. Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, XLV, 387-388); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VI* (al-‘Azm), 608-610; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VII* (al-‘Azm), 226-228, 230-232, 244-245, 273-274; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIIi*, 335; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XII* (al-‘Azm), 365-367, 397; al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 1100, 1141-1142, 1182, 1208-1210, 1282-1283, III, 1381, 1395-1397, 1413; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, XV, 5-8; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 367-371; Hinds, M., *An Early Islamic Family from ‘Oman: Al-‘Awtabī’s Account of the Muhallabids*, Manchester, 1991, 26, 60, 72-75; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 133-135; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 32.

¹⁰⁵ Sufyān’s family members seem to have enjoyed some degree of tribal leadership. Thus, his father, al-Za’l, met with Mu’āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, presumably at the head of a tribal delegation (*wafd*); see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVa*, 58-59. On the Banū Sulaym of the Azd see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 381.

¹⁰⁶ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 270; Khalīfa, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 410; al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, I, 168; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIIi*, 388; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIIi*, 332; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 210; on the Banū Usayyid see also Kister, “On Strangers”, 120-126; Lecker, “Tamīm”, 64-65. On the governors of Baṣra under al-Ḥajjāj see Khalīfa, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 406-407, 414; al-Ṭabarī, second series II, 1191, 1208, 1266; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, XV, 4, XXXIV, 174-175 and LIII, 98.

served again in 101/720 under Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, during the latter's rebellion in Baṣra.¹⁰⁷

27) 'Umar b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr of the Banū Usayyid / Tamīm, was appointed in 93 (according to the orders of al-Ḥajjāj) as the deputy *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra under his father, Yazīd b. 'Umayr. He was appointed as the *shurṭa* chief and *aḥdāth* chief in Baṣra by Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik (brother of the Caliph Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik), governor of Iraq *circa* 102.¹⁰⁸

28) Sharīk b. Mu'āwiya of the Banū Qutayba b. Ma'n / Bāhila, was appointed towards the end of 102 or at the beginning of 103 by 'Umar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī, governor of Iraq, as the *shurṭa* chief under Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥarashī (of the Banū l-Ḥarīsh b. Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a), governor of Baṣra.¹⁰⁹

29) 'Uqba b. 'Abd al-A'lā of the Banū l-Kalā' / Ḥimyar, was appointed in 106/725 by Khālīd al-Qasrī, governor of Iraq, as *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra under governor Abān b. Ḍubāra of the Banū Yazan (or Dhū Yazan) of Ḥimyar.¹¹⁰

30) Mālīk b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd of the Banū Anmār / 'Abd al-Qays, was appointed after 'Uqba b. 'Abd al-A'lā by Khālīd al-Qasrī and served from 106/725 presumably until 109. He was in charge of both the *shurṭa* and *aḥdāth* in Baṣra.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh*, I, 427; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VII* (al-'Aẓm), 255; *Kitāb al-'Uyūn wa-l-ḥadā'iq*, 59; on the Banū Hunā'a see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 379-380.

¹⁰⁸ Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh*, I, 410; al-Jumaḥī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 352-359; al-Mubarrad, *Kitāb al-Kāmil*, I, 68; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIi*, 105-106, 116, 120-126, 130; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIIi*, 382-385; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIIi*, 332; al-Ṭabarī, second series III, 1417, 1468, 1495-1496; al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, II, 414, VIII, 79, XIII, 295 and XXI, 382-383; Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, I, 308-309; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, XLV, 387-392 and LXIX, 243-245; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, V, 107-108 (s.v. "al-Marghāb").

¹⁰⁹ It seems that Sharīk held this office for a short period until sometime in 103. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VII* (al-'Aẓm), 211-212; cf. Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh*, II, 483; Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, II, 14-15 (where the text is garbled). The Banū Qutayba b. Ma'n were considered one of the two strongest branches of the Bāhila, together with the Banū Wā'il b. Ma'n; see the relevant references in n. 92 above. -On Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik and 'Umar b. Hubayra see also Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh*, II, 473-475, 482-484; al-Ṭabarī, second series III, 1417, 1436.

¹¹⁰ 'Uqba, who was from Damascus, was a member of *ahl al-Shām*. See Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh*, II, 520, 535; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, XL, 503; but cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIi*, 116-117; al-Ṭabarī, second series III, 1471, 1487, 1491, 1495, 1506. On al-Kalā' see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 433-438. According to some, Khālīd al-Qasrī was appointed as governor of Iraq in 105/724.

¹¹¹ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 585-586; *idem*, *Nasab*, I, 101-104; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-*

31) Misma' b. Mālik b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd of the Banū Anmār / 'Abd al-Qays, served for a short time in 109 under Khālid al-Qasrī as the *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra.¹¹²

32) Bilāl b. Abī Burda b. Abī Mūsā of the Ash'ar (a Yamānī tribe), was appointed in 109 by Khālid al-Qasrī as the *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra. In 110 he was appointed by Khālid as the governor of Baṣra, its *qādī*, the *shurṭa* chief, and the *aḥdāth* chief. He served in these offices until 120/738, when Khālid was removed from his office as governor of Iraq. At a certain point during his term in office, Bilāl appointed other men as the *shurṭa* and *aḥdāth* chiefs (see below).¹¹³

32a) Zuray' b. Yazīd b. al-Taw'am of the Banū 'Ā'ish b. Mālik / Bakr b. Wā'il, was the deputy *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra (presumably) under Bilāl.¹¹⁴

33) Al-Za'l b. 'Urwa of the Banū Ṭarūd b. Qudāma b. Jarm b. Rabbān / Quḍā'a, served under Bilāl as the *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra.¹¹⁵

Ṭabaqāt, V, 559-561 and VII, 86-87; Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 287 and II, 520, 535; al-Jumaḥī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 339, 347-350, 353, 356; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 611; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVi*, 473, 477-478; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VI* (al-'Azm), 443; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIi*, 116-121, 125-132, 163-164, 186-189; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIIi*, 382-383; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIii*, 324-325; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf X* (al-'Azm), 348-349; al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 192, 240-241, II, 823, 1487, III, 1381, 1387, 1487, 1491, 1495-1496, 1506; al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aḡḡānī*, XXI, 313, 316, 333-339, 380-382; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, LVI, 500-503 and LX, 281-286; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 296; al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, I, 441-443; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 115-116; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 33.

¹¹² Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, X, 512 and LVI, 501; al-Mizzī, Yūsuf b. al-Zakī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā' al-rijāl*, B.'A. Ma'rūf (ed.), Beirut, 1984-1992, IV, 268.

¹¹³ It seems that Bilāl originated in Kūfa. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, I, 340; Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 72, 126, 155, 180, 194 and II, 498, 520, 535, 537, 543; Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, II, 22-41, 408-411; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIi*, 116, 132-150, 161, 217-218, 235-236, 249; *idem*, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 492, 507, 509; al-Ṭabarī, first series IV, 1983, V, 2551, 2679, 2802, second series III, 1506, 1526, 1593, 1657-1658; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 397-398; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, X, 507-520, XXI, 116, XXVI, 43-61 and XXXII, 14-103; al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, IV, 212-214; *idem*, *Tahdhīb*, V, 137, 237, 362; *EP*, "Al-Ash'arī, Abū Burda", I, 693-694 (Schacht); *ibid.*, "Al-Ash'arī, Abū Mūsā", I, 695-696 (Veccia Vaglieri); Najī and Alī, "The Suqs of Basrah", 300, 306.

¹¹⁴ Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 508; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, X, 513 (where Zuray' is said to have been in charge of Bilāl's 'asas); al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, IV, 269-270; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, XXXII, 124-130; on the Banū 'Ā'ish b. Mālik see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 315-316.

¹¹⁵ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, II, 693, 699 (printed al-Wa'l b. 'Ar'ara); al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān*,

34) Muḥammad b. Wāsi' of the Banū Ziyād b. Shums / the Banū Ghālīb b. 'Uthmān b. Naṣr b. Zahrān / Azd, served under Abū l-'Āj Kathīr b. 'Abd Allāh of the Sulaym, governor of Baṣra from 120/738 until 121 or 122 for Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī, governor of Iraq.¹¹⁶

35) Al-Miswar b. 'Umar b. 'Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn of the Banū l-Ḥārith b. 'Amr b. Tamīm (the "Ḥabiṭāt"), was in charge of the *shurṭa* and *aḥdāth* in Baṣra circa 126/744.¹¹⁷

36) Muḥammad b. Wakī' b. Abī Sūd of the Banū Ghudāna b. Yarbū' / Tamīm, was appointed in 126/744 by 'Amr b. Suhayl of the Banū Umayya as the *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra. He served in this office for a short time.¹¹⁸

37) Al-Minhāl b. Ḥātīm b. Suwayd b. Manjūf of the Banū Sadūs b. Shaybān / Bakr b. Wā'il, was appointed towards the end of 126 as the *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra by 'Amr b. Suhayl, after the latter had dismissed Muḥammad b. Wakī'.¹¹⁹

II, 94; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIi*, 136; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XI* (al-'Azm), 124-125; Jarīr, *Naqā'id*, I, 369-370 and III, 118; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, X, 508 (cf. Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, II, 22); on the Banū Ṭarūd b. Qudāma see also Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 174, 451-452. On the Qudā'a in Baṣra, see n. 90 above.

¹¹⁶ Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh*, II, 556 (where it is clear that Abū l-'Āj himself appointed Muḥammad b. Wāsi'); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIi*, 253; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIIi*, 86-87; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIii*, 188; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, LVI, 138-175; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 384-385; al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, Beirut, 1982-1996, VI, 121-123; al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb*, IX, 441-442. On Abū l-'Āj see Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh*, II, 535; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIi*, 255; al-Ṭabarī, second series III, 1326-1327, 1666-1667, 1789-1790.

¹¹⁷ Al-Miswar seems to have been appointed to this office sometime before 126/744, during the governorship of Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī in Iraq (120/738-126/744), since in 126/744 he was dismissed by 'Amr b. Suhayl, governor of Baṣra under 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (governor of Iraq; both were of the Banū Umayya). Al-Miswar may have held this office again for a short time after the struggle with 'Amr b. Suhayl and until the appointment of Salm b. Qutayba b. Muslim as governor of Baṣra (in 127, 128 or 129). See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 260-261; Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh*, II, 578, 615; Wakī', *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, II, 44 (only the office of *aḥdāth* is mentioned); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf II*, 527-528; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf III*, 'A. al-'A. al-Dūrī (ed.), Wiesbaden, 1978, 175; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf V*, 185; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VII* (al-'Azm), 177-183, 248-249; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIIi*, 295; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XI* (al-'Azm), 558-559; al-Ṭabarī, second series III, 1383, 1875 (only the office of *aḥdāth* is mentioned); Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 207, 213.

¹¹⁸ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 220; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VII* (al-'Azm), 178-180; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XI* (al-'Azm), 238-242; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 415-416; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 226 (where Muḥammad is said to have been a *nāsik*, i.e. a pious man or an ascetic); cf. Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh*, II, 578.

¹¹⁹ The dismissal of Muḥammad b. Wakī' and the appointment of al-Minhāl by

38) Al-Ḥakam b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr of the Banū Usayyid / Tamīm, was appointed as *shurṭa* chief in Başra by Salm b. Qutayba b. Muslim of the Bāhila, governor of Başra under Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra of the Fazāra (governor of Iraq for Marwān b. Muḥammad from 127, 128 or 129 and until 132).¹²⁰

38a) Bakkār b. Ḥudayr of the Banū Ḍabba was the deputy *shurṭa* chief of al-Ḥakam b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr.¹²¹

39) Ibn Rālān (al-Faḍl b. 'Āṣim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān) of the Banū Māzin b. Mālik b. 'Amr b. Tamīm, was the deputy *shurṭa* chief of al-Ḥakam b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr and replaced him as the *shurṭa* chief in Başra when the latter was killed. He seems to have served in this office until 132.¹²²

40) Yazīd b. Muslim b. 'Amr b. Muslim of the Banū Wā'il b. Ma'n / Bāhila, served under Salm b. Qutayba b. Muslim, either at the end of the Umayyad period or in the 'Abbāsīd one.¹²³

'Amr b. Suhayl resulted from the tribal conflict between 'Amr b. Suhayl and al-Miswar b. 'Umar b. 'Abbād. See Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, I, 55-56; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 113; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVi*, 391; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVii*, 544-545; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf V*, 171, 287, 343; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VI* (al-'Azm), 406; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VII* (al-'Azm), 178-180, 249; al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 443; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 318; al-'Asqalānī, *Tahdhīb*, I, 42 and VII, 291.

¹²⁰ Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 270; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf III*, 172-173; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIII*, 380-382; al-Ṭabarī, second series III, 1663; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādī, Aḥmad b. 'Alī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, M.'A. al-Q. 'Aṭā (ed.), Beirut, 1997, XIV, 387-388. On Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra and the various dates given for his governorship see Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 578, 623; Wakī, *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, II, 44; al-Ṭabarī, second series III, 1913, 1984, 2017, third series I, 11.

¹²¹ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf X* (al-'Azm), 349. The tribes of Ribāb that included the Banū Ḍabba had an alliance with the Banū Sa'd b. Zayd-Manāt b. Tamīm and resided in the *khums* of the Tamīm; see *EP*, "Ḍabba b. 'Udd", II, 71-72 (Caskel); Pellat, *Le milieu başrien*, 24; cf. Lecker, "Tamīm", 78.

¹²² Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat*, 264; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāq*, 203; Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 611, 623; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf III*, 172-173, 176; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIII*, 300-301. Ibn Rālān's son, 'Āṣim, also officiated as a *shurṭa* chief in Başra during the Caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd.

¹²³ Salm b. Qutayba b. Muslim served as governor of Başra for the second time during the reign of al-Manşūr. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 245-246; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XII* (al-'Azm), 202; cf. Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, XXII, 146-155. On the Banū Wā'il b. Ma'n and the Bāhila see n. 92, 109 above.

Appendix 2: Marital Ties of the *Shurṭa* Chiefs and their Family Members

1) The daughter of Samura b. Jundab (see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chief 5), Umm Thābit, was married to al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī.¹²⁴

2) Himyān b. 'Adī (*shurṭa* chief 9) of the Banū Sadūs b. Shaybān / Bakr b. Wā'il was married to Umm Bakr, the daughter or descendent of Shaqīq b. Thawr al-Sadūsī. Like Himyān, Shaqīq too hailed from the Sadūs b. Shaybān. He was one of leaders of the Bakr b. Wā'il during the Sufyānid period, until the rise of Mālik b. Misma' b. Shihāb to tribal leadership among the Bakr b. Wā'il. The marriage to Umm Bakr thus granted Himyān important political and social ties among the Bakr b. Wā'il and among the Rabī'a tribes in general.¹²⁵

3) Al-Mulā'a bint Zurāra b. Awfā hailed from the Banū l-Ḥarīsh b. Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a, one of the Qaysī tribes that resided in Baṣra. Zurāra was a known *tābi'i* in Baṣra and functioned as a *qādī* in this town under different governors. Al-Mulā'a was married to various prominent men from different tribes: al-Furāt b. Mu'āwiya al-Bakkā'i (Banū l-Bakkā' too belonged to the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a); Murra l-Kattān of the Banū Kābiya b. Ḥurqūṣ b. Māzin b. Mālik b. 'Amr b. Tamīm; 'Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥabaṭī, also a Tamīmī (see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chief 11); al-Ḥuṣayn b. Quṭba l-Ghassānī; Muḥammad b. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra of the Banū l-'Atīk / Azd; and Bishr b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd of the Banū Anmār / 'Abd al-Qays.¹²⁶ These prominent men were important political and military figures in Umayyad Baṣra.

¹²⁴ Al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, IX, 263; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, LXIX, 295-296.

¹²⁵ Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 318; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VI* (al-'Az̄m), 442; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, XXIII, 146-152. On the family of Mālik b. Misma' b. Shihāb (the uncle of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Misma' b. Shihāb, *shurṭa* chief 22) see the references given in appendix 1 *shurṭa* chief 22.

¹²⁶ See the references in the next footnote. On Zurāra see Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 444; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*, VII, 150; al-Ṭabarī, second series I, 79, 172, II, 873, 940. On Murra al-Kattān see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XI* (al-'Az̄m), 568. On the Banū l-'Atīk and the Banū Anmār, both significant tribal groups in Baṣra, see the references given in appendix 1 *shurṭa* chiefs 18, 23, 30. On Muḥammad b. al-Muhallab see also al-Ṭabarī, second series III, 1381-1383, 1399, 1402, 1405.

4) 'Ātika, the daughter of al-Mulā'a from her marriage with al-Furāt b. Mu'āwiya, was also married to various prominent men in Başra: 'Umar b. Yazīd al-Usayyidī of the Tamīm (appendix 1 *shurṭa* chief 27) and the well-known Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, the brother of the aforementioned Muḥammad b. al-Muhallab.¹²⁷

5) Gharā' bint Dirār b. al-Qa'qā' b. Ma'bad b. Zurāra hailed from the Banū 'Udus b. Zayd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Dārim b. Mālik b. Ḥanzala b. Mālik b. Zayd-Manāt b. Tamīm. She was married to various prominent men in Başra such as Muslim b. 'Amr of the Bāhila (the father of the famous Qutayba b. Muslim), 'Abbād b. al-Ḥuşayn al-Ḥabaṭī of the Tamīm, and Muqātil b. Misma' b. Shihāb (brother of Mālik b. Misma' b. Shihāb) of the Banū Jaḥdar b. Ḍubay'a / Bakr b. Wā'il.¹²⁸

6) Al-Ra'ūm bint Sa'īd b. Iyās b. Hāni' b. Qabīşa hailed from the Banū Abī Rabī'a b. Dhuhl b. Shaybān b. Tha'laba of the Bakr b. Wā'il. According to the *Aghānī*, she was married to various prominent men in Başra: 'Āmir b. Misma' b. Shihāb (brother of Mālik b. Misma' b. Shihāb and the father of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir b. Misma' b. Shihāb, see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chief 22) of the Banū Jaḥdar / Bakr b. Wā'il; Muḥammad b. al-Muhallab of the Banū l-'Atīk / Azd; 'Abbād b. al-Ḥuşayn al-Ḥabaṭī (*shurṭa* chief 11); and the famous Qutayba b. Muslim of the Bāhila. According to Ibn Ḥazm, al-Ra'ūm was married to 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād b. Zabyān of the Banū Taym Allāh b. Tha'laba / Bakr b. Wā'il; to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd (brother of Mālik b. al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd, *shurṭa* chief 30) of the Banū Anmār / 'Abd al-Qays; to Muḥammad b. al-Muhallab; to Qutayba b. Muslim; and finally to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Iyās b. Abī Maryam of the Banū Ḥanīfa.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Al-Jumaḥī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 355-356; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf XI* (al-'Azm), 120; al-Işfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, XIII, 295-297; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Kitāb al-'iqd*, VI, 96-98; al-Şafādī, *Kitāb al-wāfi*, XVI, 556-557; cf. Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḫ madīnat Dimashq*, XLV, 390 and LXIX, 243. In these sources, al-Mulā'a and her daughter 'Ātika are portrayed as independent and prominent women. Poets are said to have composed love poems for these women as well as for Nā'ila, 'Ātika's daughter.

¹²⁸ Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 453. On Dirār b. al-Qa'qā' see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf XI* (al-'Azm), 48. On the "Masāmi'a" see the references in appendix 1 *shurṭa* chief 22; on Muqātil b. Misma' see also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf VI* (al-'Azm), 84, 518, 521.

¹²⁹ Al-Ra'ūm was therefore nicknamed *umm al-akhmās*. See Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 453; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*, I, 24-25; al-Işfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, VIII, 313; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 324.

7) Jahdam b. ‘Abbād b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥabaṭī of the Tamīm (see appendix 1, *shurṭa* chief 11) was a prominent man in Baṣra. His daughter married Yazīd b. Juday’ al-Kirmānī of the Banū Mālik b. Fahm b. Ghanm b. Daws / Azd. Juday’ played a central role in the leadership of the Azd in Khurāsān towards the end of the Umayyad period, during the outbreak of the intertribal clashes and the ‘Abbāsīd revolution.¹³⁰

8) Al-Ḥalāl bint Qays b. Nawfal, presumably the sister of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qays b. Nawfal, was married to al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām. This marital tie to the Zubayrid family may explain why ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was appointed as the *shurṭa* chief under Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr (see *shurṭa* chief 15 and the references there).

9) ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ahtam of the Banū Minqar / Tamīm (it is not clear whether this is *shurṭa* chief 16 himself or perhaps his father) was appointed by ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib as governor of Kirmān. ‘Abd Allāh’s daughter, Umm Ḥabīb, married al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. According to another version, it was the daughter of ‘Amr b. al-Ahtam who married al-Ḥasan. In any case, it is clear that ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ahtam’s family had political and marital ties with ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and his family.¹³¹

10) Misma’ b. Mālik b. Misma’ b. Shihāb (the cousin of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir b. Misma’ b. Shihāb, *shurṭa* chief 22) hailed from the Banū Jaḥdar b. Ḍubay’a b. Qays b. Tha’laba of the Bakr b. Wā’il. Like his father, Mismā’ had a close relationship with the Umayyads: his sister, ‘Amra, was married to Umayya b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd of the Banū Umayya (the brother of Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd, governor of Baṣra in 71/72-73/74). Misma’ assisted Umayya b. ‘Abd Allāh in receiving the appointment to the office of governor of Khurāsān and Sijistān in 73. The “Masāmi’a” were loy-

¹³⁰ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VI* (al-‘Azm), 474; *idem*, *Ansāb al-ashrāf XI* (al-‘Azm), 558 (where according to one opinion, Juday’ hailed from the Banū l-‘Atīk of the Azd). On Juday’ see also Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom*, 484-491; Hawting, *The First Dynasty*, 87-88, 107-108; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 57; *idem*, *The Social and Military Aspects*, 34-37, 43-47, 76, 92.

¹³¹ According to one version, when al-Ḥasan died, various prominent men from the Quraysh tried in vain to marry Umm Ḥabīb: Yazīd b. Mu’āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (before he became Caliph); ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām; Sa’īd b. al-‘Ās; and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf II*, W. Madelung (ed.), Beirut, 2003, 164; Ṭayfūr, Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir, *Kitāb balāghāt al-nisā’*, B.Y. Habūd (ed.), Ṣaydā, 2001, 163-164.

al to the Umayyads during the second *fitna*; as a result, various members of this family (including Misma' b. Mālik b. Misma' b. Shihāb, his son, and 'Āmir b. Misma' b. Shihāb, 'Abd Allāh's father) held different governmental and military offices under Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd and al-Ḥajjāj. In addition, the above mentioned 'Amra also married al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd of the Banū Anmār / 'Abd al-Qays, and was the mother of Mālik (*shurṭa* chief 30). Furthermore, al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd's daughter (perhaps named Baḥriyya) was married to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd, the brother of Umayya and Khālid, and himself a significant military and political figure. The marital ties between the 'Abd al-Qays and the Bakr b. Wā'il were "natural" as both of these tribes were considered to be descendents of the Rabī'a. The marital relations between these two tribes and the Umayyds were in turn beneficial for both sides: the 'Abd al-Qays and the Bakr b. Wā'il formed connections with the Banū Umayya, gaining governmental posts and political-economical power, while the Umayyads managed to obtain support for themselves from important tribal elements in Baṣra.¹³²

11) The mothers of 'Umar b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr and al-Ḥakam b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr of the Banū Usayyid / Tamīm (*shurṭa* chiefs 27, 38) were married to important figures of the Quraysh.¹³³

Recibido: 22/05/2008

Aceptado: 24/06/2009

¹³² See the references in appendix 1 *shurṭa* chiefs 22, 30. On 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd Allāh see also Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh*, I, 428 and II, 464, 482; al-Ṭabarī, second series III, 1314, 1346, 1394, 1437.

¹³³ 'Umar's mother was married to 'Abd Allāh b. Abī 'Uthmān, and al-Ḥakam's mother was married to 'Urwa b. Hishām b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām; see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf VIIi*, 388. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī 'Uthmān hailed from the family of 'Abd Allāh b. Khālid b. Asīd b. Abī l-'Āṣ b. Umayya, a prominent Umayyad family (see paragraph 10 in this appendix). Descendents of this family were also prominent in the 'Abbāsīd period; see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf IVi*, 456-462; Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh*, II, 559, 615; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat*, 113-114. On the famous Zubayrids and their descendents see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, III, 354; Sezgin, M.F., *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden, 1967-1984, I, 88-89; *EP*, "'Urwa b. al-Zubayr", X, 910-912 (Schoeler).