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Descendants and ancestors: a study of Arabic inscriptions from the Arabian Peninsula (1st-4th c. AH/7th-10th c. CE)

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Chapter Three: Four Arabian families and their inscriptions

3.1. Introduction

“Many of the texts from the Ruwāwa district of Medina were penned by dignitaries of the city including religious scholars.”²⁰¹

More than 20 years ago, Robert Hoyland highlighted the importance of Arabic epigraphy for prosopographical studies. He states that inscriptions found in Ruwāwa can be used to study the people who had played a key role during their lifetime in Medina. As mentioned in Chapter One, section 1.2, further discoveries and editions of inscriptions have been made in the following years, giving more genealogical information about inhabitants who lived in these areas in the early Islamic period. Nevertheless, a more comprehensive and systematic review of the contents of these newly discovered inscriptions is not yet undertaken. In this chapter, I will show as a case study how the inscriptions can be used to study the descendants of the Companions of the Prophet.

Starting from the premise that inscriptions can be used to study the individuals mentioned in them as part of a social group, this chapter will present four families of the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad who appear in some of these inscriptions. All the names attested in the inscriptions are listed in Appendix Three. Family trees based on the inscriptions will visually present this information at the end of each section.

Besides the information from the inscriptions, I will provide information about each individual attested in the inscriptions on the basis of these inscriptions and accounts found scattered throughout the chronicles, biographies and other literary sources. For more clarity, a few remarks concerning the literary sources from which I have gleaned the information about the individuals

²⁰¹ Hoyland, “The Content,” 92.

are included in this chapter in order to enhance our understanding of the available materials. A relevant major concern of this dissertation will be namely the question how the historiographical records can be read in light of other materials such as inscriptions.

Finally, the chapter will discuss the representation of members in these families per branch. In other words, I will present the distribution of inscriptions per family through lines, signaling any changes in the frequency and amount of attestations of family members in the epigraphic record. This is also presented in a tree for each family. The significance of this information will be discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

Only the attested individuals known to have belonged to the four families shall be discussed in this dissertation, the unattested ones shall not be considered. For example, according to the sources, al-Zubayr son of al-‘Awwām had eleven sons, but only five of his descendants are present in the inscriptions. Accordingly, only those five will be included in the family trees and the discussion.

3.2. The literary record

Before turning to the presentation of the four families, a few observations concerning the literary records should be made. The period between the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th century witnessed the rise of the Islamic genres of *Nasab* “genealogy”, *Ṭabaqāt* “classes” and *Ta’rīkh* “history” in written form. While, writing was always integral to knowledge production in the Arabic speaking world, oral transmission was until then the main method of knowledge transmission.²⁰² We will concentrate here on one relevant genre of this written tradition that came into existence, namely, genealogy. As mentioned earlier, Islamic sources will be used to trace the biographical background to the individuals named in this corpus. The titles of the primary sources used in this chapter are listed below. Within the genre of biographical literature specialized volumes were produced, for

²⁰² Georg Schoeler, *The oral and the written in early Islam* (London: Routledge, 2006).

example, some books dealing with the *nasab* of the Prophet's tribe, the Quraysh. Since most of our epigraphic corpus is related to the Quraysh, such sources will be especially useful.

3.2.1. *Nasab*

The *nasab* tradition (genealogical studies)²⁰³ which according to Rosenthal can be summarized as “connection, pedigree, genealogy”²⁰⁴ was initiated by Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī (d. 146/763)²⁰⁵ and Abū Yaqẓān al-Nassāba (d. 190/805) whose works were lost,²⁰⁶ then it was carried on by the son of Muḥammad ibn al-Kalbī Hishām (d. 204/819), a scholar who wrote two books on the subject which did survive in full and as such are available to us.²⁰⁷ Most of our corpus of the dissertation belongs to the tribe of Quraysh; that is why the following well-known sources in the field of *nasab* will be used:²⁰⁸

*Kitāb Nasab quraysh*²⁰⁹ “Genealogy of the Quraysh” by Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī (156–236/772-851), some reports dated his death in 233/848.²¹⁰ This is the earliest work devoted to the *nasab* of the Prophet's tribe, and it is considered an important source to study the Prophet's tribe. A recent comprehensive study of this book has been done by Robinson.²¹¹

Jamharat nasab quraysh wa-akhbāruhā “Compendium of Genealogies and Narratives of the Quraysh” is written by the ‘second Zubayrī genealogist’ who was the nephew of the previously mentioned author, al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār al-Zubayrī (172-256/788-870). This ‘second generation

²⁰³ A. A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs*, ed. and trans. by Lawrence I. Conrad (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 50.

²⁰⁴ F. Rosenthal, “Nasab,” *IEJ*, 7:967.

²⁰⁵ Muḥammad ibn Ishāq Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifā, 1997), 124.

²⁰⁶ Duri, *The Rise*, 51.

²⁰⁷ Hishām ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add wa-l-yaman al-kabīr*, ed. Nājī Ḥasan (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 2004); and *Jamharat al-nasab*, ed. Nājī Ḥasan (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub, 2010).

²⁰⁸ For more details on the genealogical sources see Duri, *The Rise*, 50-60.

²⁰⁹ Ed. E. Levi-Provencal, (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif).

²¹⁰ For discussion of his date of death see Ch. Pellat, “Muṣ'ab,” *IEJ*, 7:649.

²¹¹ Robinson, “*Prosopographical Approaches*”.

Zubayrī author” considered his uncle Muṣ‘ab as one of his main teachers and he transmitted information that we also find in his uncle’s writings, but he also added genealogical and historical information. Al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār’s works was more extensive in terms of history and genealogy than his uncle’s, and we encounter in it families or family members that we do not find in the works of his uncle; for example he mentions the descendants of ‘Abbād in section 3.5.1.1; the descendent of Ḥamza in section 3.5.1.2, and the descendant of Ja‘far and ‘Amr in section 3.5.4. Al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār served as judge in Mecca, the city where he eventually died.²¹² This book has two editions, of which I mostly used the more recent one.²¹³ The first edition only published one volume, the recent one published two volumes. Although part of the original book was lost, it is still a valuable source, because it gives information about the families of ‘Umar and al-Zubayr that has not been preserved elsewhere. The first edition will be used when commenting on previous studies regarding the great-grandsons of ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr section 3.5.1.1 The branch of ‘Abbād.

Ansāb al-ashrāf “Genealogies of Notables” by al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892).²¹⁴ A substantial part of this work is dedicated to the *nasab* of Quraysh and, in particular, the history of the Quraysh. As al-Duri mentions, this book is a genealogical and historical source.²¹⁵

Jamharat ansāb al-‘arab “Compendium of Genealogies of the Arab” by Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064),²¹⁶ an Andalusian scholar, who served as a vizier three times.²¹⁷ This book is one of the

²¹² S. Leder, “al-Zubayr b. Bakkār,” *EF*², 11:551.

²¹³ Ed. ‘Abbās Hānī al-Jarrākh (Beirut: Dār al-kutub ‘Ilmiyya, 2010).

²¹⁴ For the editions of the book see Hugh Kennedy and Ihab El-Sakkout, “Review of *Ansāb Al-ashrāf*. Vol. VI B. By Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Jābir Al-Balādhurī, Edited and Annotated by Khalil Athamina. (Max Schloessinger Memorial Series. Texts, 7.) Pp. Xviii, 306. Jerusalem, Institute of Asian and African Studies, The Hebrew University, 1993,” *JRAS* 5, no. 3 (1995): 410-13.

²¹⁵ Duri, *The Rise*, 62.

²¹⁶ Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Sa‘īd al-Andalusī (Beirut, Dār al-kutub al-‘Ilmiyya: 1983).

²¹⁷ R. Arnaldez, “Ibn Ḥazm,” *EF*², 3:791-798.

important books in Muslims genealogy, as it gives additional information in regards to ‘Umar’s family, in a discussion about the family of al-Zubayr. This book not only discusses the genealogy of the Arabs, but also of the Berbers, Jews and Parthians.²¹⁸

3.2.2. *Ṭabaqāt*

Ṭabaqāt (generations or classes)²¹⁹ was an important part of a written tradition that began in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th century and as such forms the earliest basis of what we later came to consider the history of Islam.

The author that produced the first work of *Ṭabaqāt* is al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823), but unfortunately, his work is lost. What does survive is the second oldest work known by his secretary Muḥammad Ibn Sa‘d (d. 230/845);²²⁰ This book is known under the title *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr* “Great Book of Classes.” After these first two works by al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa‘d, Khalīfa Ibn Khayyāt wrote his book *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt* (d. 239–240/854),²²¹ which will also be used several times in this chapter. The *ṭabaqāt*-works mention daughters and sons, but in my discussion I concentrate mainly on sons, because they are over represented in the inscriptions. In fact only five women appear in our corpus of inscriptions. In various cases, particular individuals are not found in the aforementioned sources, but they do appear in other sources such as chronicles, for example al-Ṭabarī’s (d.310/923) *Ta’rīkh al-rusul*.²²² In such instances, the reference to these sources will be mentioned in the footnotes.

²¹⁸ Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 495-512.

²¹⁹ Cl. Gilliot, “Ṭabaqāt,” *EI*², 10:8-9.

²²⁰ Duri, *The Rise*, 39.

²²¹ Abū ‘Amr Khalīfa Ibn Khayyāt Shabāb al-‘Uṣfrī, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Akram Ḍiyā’ al-‘Umarī (Baghdad: Maṭba‘at al-‘Ānī, 1967).

²²² Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Nawwāf al-Jarrāḥ (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 2008).

3.2.3. The accounts of al-Anṣār

One of the challenges faced in this study is the paucity of resources about the *Anṣār*, the inhabitants of Medina who joined the prophet Muḥammad when he moved there in 622. Indeed, there are no early independent sources about al-Anṣār dating to the 3rd/9th century. The earliest sources for the *nasab* of al-Anṣār were written in the 7th/13th century, of which the main source is *al-Istibṣār fī nasab al-ṣaḥāba min al-anṣār* by Ibn Qudāma (d. 620/1223). Yet, this text lacks sufficient information about the family of Abū ‘Abs, save for a short paragraph about himself, with no further information about his descendants.²²³ The second book is *Nuzhat al-abṣār fī faḍā’il al-anṣār* by al-Qādī Abū Bakr ‘Atīq ibn al-Farrā’ al-Ghassānī al-Andalusī (d. 698/1298–1299).²²⁴ Both of these works will be largely ignored in the current research, because they were produced relatively late, and, the information provided does not add substantially to the information from other earlier Islamic sources. Other sources like Ibn Sa‘d will be used in the discussion about the family in section 3.6.

Now that it is clear where my information originates, let me start with the discussion of the families of descendants of Muḥammad’s companions.

3.3. The descendants of al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī

The descendants of al-Mughīra belong to the clan of Makhzūm, which was a subdivision of the tribe of Quraysh. Makhzūm, the founder of the clan, is identified as the son of Yaqāza son of Murra son of Ka‘b. According to al-Balādhurī, there were two generations between al-Mughīra and Makhzūm.²²⁵ The descendants of al-Mughīra can be divided into two branches: those descending

²²³ Muwaffaq al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī, ed. ‘Alī Nuwayhid (Dār al-Fikr: 1972), 237-238.

²²⁴ Ed. ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn Muḥammad Marzūq (Riyadh: Aḍwā’ al-Salaf, 2004).

²²⁵ Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf: sā’ir furū’ quraysh*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Stuttgart /Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996.), 5: 248.

from al-‘Āṣ and those descending from al-Ḥārith. One inscription related to this family was regarded for a while to be the oldest. It was dated to 40/660–661 (inscription 1.3). This inscription was published in 1977 and it is commonly referred to as the inscription of al-Bāthā, published by Sharafaddin.²²⁶ Most of the inscriptions relating to the descendants of al-Mughīra were published by Qashshāsh.²²⁷ Before the publication of Qashshāsh, three other inscriptions related to this family had already been published by Sharafaddin,²²⁸ al-Baqmī²²⁹ and al-Ḥārithī.²³⁰ It is important to note that Qashshāsh had to reconstruct the dates of death of the family members in these inscriptions, because they were absent in the Islamic literary sources.²³¹

Khālīd son of al-‘Āṣ (inscriptions 1.1-2) is extensively discussed in the literary sources. There are two graffiti mentioning his name: one inscribed by him, and the second inscribed by a man named Ziyād. Khālīd is said to have converted to Islam on the day of the Conquest of Mecca in the year 8/630. There is no exact date for his death. Qashshāsh has suggested that he might have died around the year 48/668–669 because from then onwards he is absent in the sources.²³² Caliph ‘Umar I (r. 13-23/ 634-644) appointed him as a governor of Mecca, a position which he maintained for two years under caliph Mu‘āwiya.²³³ Khālīd allegedly had ten sons and two daughters from three wives.²³⁴ Two of Khālīd’s sons, one grandson, and one further descendant appear in the epigraphic record (see inscriptions 1.3-8). Qashshāsh reconstructed death dates in his book for Khālīd’s sons and grandson, based on the moment they disappeared from the sources.

²²⁶ Sharafaddin, “Some Islamic,” 69-70.

²²⁷ Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 38-46.

²²⁸ Sharafaddin, “Some Islamic,” 69-70.

²²⁹ al-Baqmī, *Nuqūsh islāmiyya shāhidiyya*, 73-76.

²³⁰ al-Ḥārithī, *Aḥjār shāhidiyya ghayr*, 40-41.

²³¹ Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 59, 61, 63 and 65.

²³² Ibid., 59.

²³³ al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-rusul*, 3: 961; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 249; Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 57-58.

²³⁴ Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 6: 93.

Khālid is the only companion to have left an inscription himself (inscription 1.1). The second inscription only mentions Khālid's name. It was inscribed by a man called Ziyād who added a prayer for him (inscription 1.2). 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the son of Khālid (inscriptions 1.3-4), is also discussed in the narrative sources. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was the eldest son of Khālid, according to the family tree that Ibn Sa'd offers us.²³⁵ The sources describe him as a poet.²³⁶ 'Abd al-Raḥmān's mother was Ḍubā'a daughter of al-Kahaf son of 'Āmir son of Qarṭ son of Salama son of Qashīr.²³⁷ There are two inscriptions made by 'Abd al-Raḥmān. One was found on a rock in the region of Mecca (inscription 1.3) in which he appears with a full *nisba*, and the second one was written above the graffito of his father (inscription 1.4). In the second inscription only his first name and patronymic are mentioned. Only one son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Ismā'īl, appears in the inscriptions (inscriptions 1.5-6). This Ismā'īl son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān is only referred to in passing in the literary record.²³⁸ He appears in the major work of Ibn Mākūlā (d. 475/1082), *al-Ikmāl*, which mentions Ismā'īl descendants a grandson, and two great granddaughters.²³⁹ Ismā'īl was married to 'Ātika daughter of Karīz.²⁴⁰ Qashshāsh has suggested that Ismā'īl died around 120–130/738–747, basing the date of his death on his absence from the sources after that period.²⁴¹

A second son of the companion Khālid, from his wife Fāṭima daughter of Abū Sa'īd son of al-Ḥārith, who also belonged to the Quraysh, is called al-Ḥārith (inscription 1.7). Like his brother,

²³⁵ Ibid., 6: 93.

²³⁶ al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, 5: 249.

²³⁷ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 6: 93.

²³⁸ See, for example, his appearance in Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥawī al-Azdī, *Aḥkām al-qur'an al-karīm*, ed. Sa'd al-Dīn Unāl (Istanbul: Markaz al-buḥūth al-Islāmiyya at-Tābi' li-Waqf al-Diyāna al-Turkī, 1995), 1: 262, where Ismā'īl is recorded to have raised a question concerning *zakāt* (alms).

²³⁹ 'Alī ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl fī raf' al-irtiyāb 'an al-mu'talaḥ wa-l-mukhtalaḥ min al-asmā' wa-l-kunā wa-l-ansāb*, ed. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Ṣābūnī (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1990), 1: 110 and 273; 4, 327; 7: 131.

²⁴⁰ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 477.

²⁴¹ Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 65.

al-Ḥārith was a poet. During the reign of caliph Yazīd I, he was the *amīr* of Mecca until the revolution of ‘Abd Allāh al-Zubayr. He was reinstalled in his position when Ibn al-Zubayr was defeated in 73/692. Later ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705) removed him from his position.²⁴²

Qashshāsh has suggested that al-Ḥārith may have died after 80/699-700.²⁴³

The four individuals mentioned above are all discussed in literary sources. The following two descendants of al-Mughīra are, however, only known from the epigraphic record. Some of their ancestors, however, do appear in the literary sources that is why their lineage can easily be reconstructed (see figure 7).

An epitaph that can be dated to the 3rd/9th century from Mecca mentions a certain Khālīd son of Muḥammad son of Khālīd son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Ikrima son of Khālīd son of al-‘Āṣ al-Makzūmī (inscription 1.8). While this Khālīd does not appear in the literary record, some of his ancestors do. In the biography of ‘Ikrima (d. 115-116/ 733-735) his son, ‘Abd Allāh, is mentioned.²⁴⁴ A final bit of information comes from Ibn Mākūlā’s work. In the entry on Qābūs, daughter of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of ‘Afīf son of ‘Āmir, Khālīd’s grandmother, Umm Salama, daughter of Ḥafṣ son of Yaḥyā, son of Hishām, son of al-‘Āṣ is mentioned. Umm Salama married Khālīd son of ‘Abd Allāh, with whom she had two sons, ‘Abd Allāh and Muḥammad, the latter is the father of the Khālīd under discussion here.²⁴⁵

Only one descendant of al-Mughīra in the branch of al-Ḥārith is attested in the inscriptions. This is Ḥārith son of Muḥammad son of Hishām son of al-Mughīra son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Ubayd Allāh son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of al-Ḥārith son of Hishām al-Makzūmī (inscription 1.9), whose

²⁴² al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 472.

²⁴³ Qashshāsh, *Nuqūsh al-ṣaḥābī al-jalīl*, 63.

²⁴⁴ al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 249. For ‘Ikrima son of Khālīd, see also Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Mashāhīr ‘ulmā’ al-amṣār*, ed. Majdī ibn Manṣūr ibn Sayyid Shūrā (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1995), 107.

²⁴⁵ Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmal fī raf’*, 7: 72.

3rd/9th century epitaph has been preserved. Ḥārith himself does not occur in the literary record, nor do his paternal ancestors in the four preceding generations. The last name in the genealogical chain that appears in the literary record is ‘Ubayd Allāh.²⁴⁶

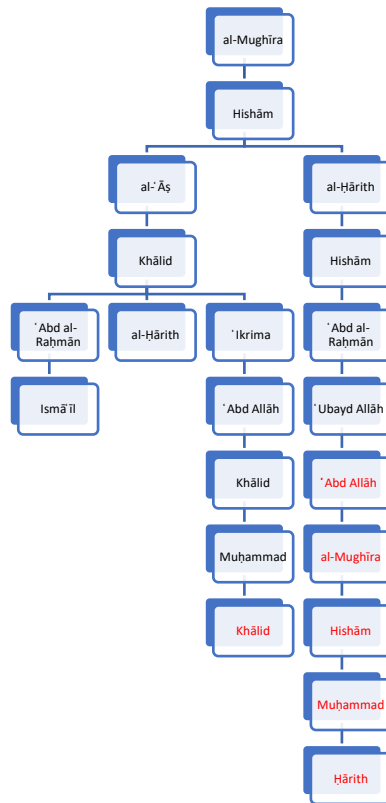


Figure 7 Family tree of the descendants of al-Mughīra attested in the inscriptions

Names in black appear in the literary record, while names in red do *not*.

3.4. The descendants of ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb

This group of inscriptions is related to a large number of descendants of ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb,²⁴⁷ who became the second caliph after Muḥammad. The family of ‘Umar belongs to the clan of ‘Adī son of K‘ab. According to al-Zubayrī, there were seven generations between ‘Umar and ‘Adī.²⁴⁸ The epigraphic record provides us with 39 members of this family: 37 men (including

²⁴⁶ al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, 5: 241.

²⁴⁷ G. Levi Della and M Bonner, “‘Umar (I) b. al-Khaṭṭāb,” *EI*², 5: 819-821.

²⁴⁸ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 346-347.

one *mawlā* and a slave boy) and two women. According to the Arabic chronicles, ‘Umar had a total of ten sons and four daughters from seven wives and two slave girls.²⁴⁹ However, only the descendants of two of ‘Umar’s sons, ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Āṣim, occur in the epigraphic record.

The first inscription mentioning caliph ‘Umar was published in 1975. It is a prayer mentioning 10 companions of the Prophet, including ‘Umar, on plaster found in Iraq.²⁵⁰ Another construction inscription mentioning ‘Umar was found in Palestine and was published in 1993.²⁵¹ The more recently discovered inscription in the region of al-‘Ulā, the so-called Zuhayr inscription, records the caliph’s death as a dating formula.²⁵² All these inscriptions will not be further discussed in this dissertation.

‘Umar’s descendants, however, have left plenty of inscriptions in Arabia and it is to those inscriptions that this section is devoted to. Inscriptions mentioning descendants of ‘Umar have been published – for example, in al-Rashid’s 1993 publication. Al-Rashid rightly observed that Ruwāwa contains plenty of inscriptions relating to the descendants of ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb. In the footnotes I have indicated what information al-Rashid provided, correcting any misidentifications or omissions about these individuals – for example, the inscription of Abū Salama.²⁵³ Amongst the descendants of ‘Umar two of his sons, ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Āṣim, appear in the Arabian inscriptions. The majority of inscriptions belong to members of ‘Āṣim’s branch.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 348–350.

²⁵⁰ ‘Isā Salmān, Nāṣar al-Naqshbandī, and Najāt Yūnus al-Tūntusī, N., *Nuṣūṣ fī al-maṭḥaf al-‘irāqī, nuṣūṣ ‘arabiyya, al-aḥjār wa-l-mawādd al-binā’iyya al-ukhurā* (Baghdad: Wizārāt al-‘Ilām Mudīrīyat al-Āthār al-‘Āmma, 1975), 8: 14-15.

²⁵¹ Abū Sāra, “*al-Nuqūsh al-‘arabiyya al-islāmiyya*,” 5-7.

²⁵² Ghabban and Hoyland, “The inscription,” 213-215.

²⁵³ “ولعله حفيد الصحابي الجليل عبد الله بن عمر بن الخطاب المتوفي سنة 105هـ,” “He might be the grandson of the glorious companion ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb who died in the year 105/723–724.” Here, al-Rashid is possibly confused between ‘Abd Allāh and his son of the same name, who died in the time of Hishām (reg. 105–125/724–743) because ويعتبر هذا النقش من النقوش الإسلامية المهمة في هذه المجموعة وذلك لإحتوائه على شخصية، (في “‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar died in 73/69.”) “This is considered a significant Islamic inscription since it contains a character (who is most likely) a descendant of caliph ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb may God be pleased with him.”, al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 99-100.

3.4.1. The branch of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar

‘Abd Allāh (d.73-74/692-694)²⁵⁴ is known as the eldest son of ‘Umar. He was a *ḥadīth* transmitter and became a significant figure after his father’s death. When ‘Umar nominated six companions to form a council to decide on his successor, he recommended that they would take ‘Abd Allāh’s opinion into account in their Shūrā.²⁵⁵ ‘Abd Allāh’s mother’s name was Zaynab daughter of Maz‘ūn.²⁵⁶ Ibn Sa‘d mention that ‘Abd Allāh had twelve sons,²⁵⁷ but only four are represented in the epigraphic record. Four families amongst the descendants of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar are well represented in the inscriptions. These are: ‘Ubayd Allāh, ‘Abd Allāh; Zayd and Sālim. The inscriptions fall into two types: graffiti and gravestones.

‘Ubayd Allāh son of ‘Abd Allāh (inscription 2.1) left one inscription. ‘Ubayd Allāh’s mother was known to have been a concubine named Umm Sālim.²⁵⁸ His *kunya* was Abū Bakr and according to Ibn Sa‘d, he was a *ḥadīth* transmitter, though not a major one.²⁵⁹ His death date is not known.

‘Ubayd Allāh’s son ‘Uthmān appears in six inscriptions (inscriptions 2.2-7).

According to the order in which Ibn Sa‘d mentions ‘Ubayd Allāh’s sons – although he does not explicitly state that he has recorded them according to their ages – we might conclude that ‘Uthmān was the eldest.²⁶⁰ His mother was ‘Ā’isha daughter of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of Abū Bakr, the first caliph.²⁶¹ According to the chaotic information present in the literary sources, ‘Uthmān had three sons named Ḥafṣ, Abū Bakr,²⁶² and Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad, who was killed by al-Manṣūr (r.

²⁵⁴ Ibn Sa‘d gave these two dates of his death, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 4: 174-175.

²⁵⁵ al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, 5:474-475.

²⁵⁶ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 348.

²⁵⁷ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 4: 133.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 7: 200.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 7: 200-201.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 7: 200.

²⁶¹ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7, 200; and see al-Zubayrī ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 18.

²⁶² al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 78; al-Rashid was not able to identify him; see al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 95-96.

136-158/754-775),²⁶³ and one daughter known as Umm Hishām.²⁶⁴ Two of his sons, Ḥafṣ and Abū Bakr, left inscriptions around that of their father (see below). ‘Uthmān’s *kunya* was Abū al-Qulmus.²⁶⁵

According to al-Ṭabarī, ‘Uthmān was the *ṣāhib al-shurṭa*, an important administrator, under Muḥammad’s al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, and in that function played a key role in the rebellions of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya²⁶⁶ in 145/762-763. In addition, al-Ṭabarī states that ‘Uthmān was killed by his slave in the year 145/762–763.²⁶⁷

‘Uthmān’s son Abū Bakr left six inscriptions (inscriptions 2.8-13). His wife was Umm Kulthūm, daughter of Ibrāhīm son of Muḥammad son of ‘Alī son of Abū Ṭālib.²⁶⁸ No further information beyond his connection through marriage to this ‘Alid family is known.

The other son of ‘Uthmān, Ḥafṣ, is known from five inscriptions (inscriptions 2.14-18).²⁶⁹ He called himself *shābb āl ‘Umar*, “the youngest of the family of ‘Umar” (inscription 2.14). Ḥafṣ was the second son of ‘Uthmān. He appears as a transmitter in a small number of accounts.²⁷⁰ Other than that there is no additional information about his life or death mentioned in the literature.

Abū Salama son of ‘Ubayd Allāh son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar (inscriptions 2.19-21) does not have his own entry in the two al-Quraysh books of *nasab*, but two of his sons, ‘Ubayd Allāh and

²⁶³ Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 153.

²⁶⁴ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2:18-19.

²⁶⁵ al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-rusul*, 4:1594.

²⁶⁶ al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-rusul*, 4: 1579, about al-Nafs al-Zakiyya see F. Buhl, “Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, called al-Nafs al-Zakiyya,” *EF*², 7:388-389.

²⁶⁷ al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-rusul*, 4:1594.

²⁶⁸ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 78.

²⁶⁹ al-Rashid was not able to identify him; see al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 87-88.

²⁷⁰ Abū Na’īm Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Iṣbahānī, *Ma’rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. ‘Ādil ibn Yūsuf ‘Azzāzī (Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan, 1998), 4:1957; see also ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh madīnat dimashq wa-dhikr faḍliḥā wa-tasmiyat man ḥallahā min al-amāthil aw ijtāz bi-nawāḥihā min wāridihā wa-ahlihā*, ed. ‘Umar ibn Gharāma al-‘Amrawī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1995), 44: 333, see also Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmā’ al-rijāl*, ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma’rūf (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, 1992), 23: 554.

‘Abd al-Raḥmān, do.²⁷¹ Yet two other sons, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz²⁷² and Muḥammad, are not mentioned in the books of nasab, but they are found in other Muslim sources.²⁷³ According to al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, Abū Salama had two wives. Umm Ḥamīd was the daughter of ‘Umar son of Ḥafṣ son of ‘Āṣim son of ‘Umar, related to branch of ‘Āṣim, the other branch of ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb’s descendants (section 3.4.2). Umm Ḥamīd is known as the mother of ‘Ubayd Allāh. Umm ‘Umar daughter of Ṣafwān is the second woman recorded to have been married to Abū Salama. She is reported to be the mother of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. Umm ‘Umar belonged to the Banū Jumaḥ another branch of the Quraysh.²⁷⁴ Abū Salama’s mother was Umm ‘Abd Allāh daughter of al-Qāsim son of Muḥammad son of Abū Bakr.²⁷⁵ Abū Salama appears as a reporter of a historical account about ‘Umar II’s reign (99–101/717–720).²⁷⁶ As al-Rashid also pointed out, al-Ṭabarī explicitly mentions that, unlike his brother ‘Uthmān, Abū Salama did not participate in the revolution of al-Nafas al-Zakiyya.²⁷⁷

‘Ubayd Allāh son of Abū Salama is known through one inscription (inscription 2.22).²⁷⁸ According to al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār and Ibn Shabba (d.262/877), ‘Ubayd Allāh served as a judge in Medina²⁷⁹ according to Wakī‘ (d. 306/918), this was in the year 155/771-772.²⁸⁰

Another descendant of Abū Salama found in the inscriptions is his grand-grandson ‘Ubayd. This

²⁷¹ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 17-18.

²⁷² Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta’rīkh madīnat al-salām wa-akhbār muḥaddithihā wa-dhikr quṭṭānihā al-‘ulamā’ min ghayr ahlihā wa-wāridihā*, ed. Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma’rūf (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2001), 12: 210.

²⁷³ Wakī‘ Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Ḥayyān ibn Ṣadaqa al-Ḍabī al-Baghdādī, *Akhbār al-quḍāt* (Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, n.d.), 1:157.

²⁷⁴ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 17-18.

²⁷⁵ Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7:200.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 7: 357.

²⁷⁷ al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-rusul*, 4:1579, al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 99.

²⁷⁸ al-Rashid was not able to identify him; see al-Rashid, *Dirāsāt fī al-āthār*, 153-154.

²⁷⁹ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2:17; Abū Zayd ‘Umar Ibn Shabba al-Numayrī, *Kitāb Ta’rīkh al-madīna al-munawwara (Akhbār al-madīna al-nabawiyya)*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad Dandal and Yāsīn Sa’d al-Dīn Bayān (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2012), 1:108.

²⁸⁰ Wakī‘, *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, 1: 228.

‘Ubayd is mentioned on a gravestone (inscription 2.23) as being the son of Abū Bakr son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of Abū Salama son of ‘Ubayd Allāh son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb. ‘Ubayd does not occur in the literary record. Al-Zahrānī who was the first publisher of the gravestone, thought the name should be read as ‘Ubayda, but in the catalogue of *Aḥjār al-mu‘allā* it becomes clear that it should be read as ‘Ubayd,²⁸¹ as al-Zahrānī mentions based on al-Zubayrī that the last name appears in the genealogical work is his grandfather’s ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.²⁸²

Two other descendant of ‘Ubayd Allāh, the two brothers Muḥammad and ‘Umāra sons of Ḥamza son of ‘Ubayd Allāh, left their inscriptions next to each other, facilitating their identification. Muḥammad left three inscriptions (inscriptions 2.24-26) listing his full lineage back to ‘Umar, but he remains unidentified in the literary record. ‘Umāra only mentioned his father Ḥamza, without listing any further ancestors (inscription 2.27). His mother was a Zubayrid daughter of ‘Āṣim son of al-Mundhir.²⁸³

‘Umar son of Ibrāhīm son of Wāqid son of Muḥammad son of Zayd son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb (inscriptions 2.28-30), as al-Zahrānī identified him, was the governor of Yemen, a position he obtained by force during the disputes in (194-198/809-813) between al-Amīn (r.193-198/809-813) and al-Mā’mūn (r.198-218/813-833).²⁸⁴ His mother belonged to the Banū Arḥab from Hamadān.²⁸⁵ When al-Zubayrī (d. 236/851) composed his book, he reported that ‘Umar’s sons were in jail in Baghdād, without mentioning their names.²⁸⁶ ‘Umar’s graffiti

²⁸¹ al-Khalīfa et al., *Aḥjār al-mu‘allā*, 446.

²⁸² al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 360 and see al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 118.

²⁸³ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 360, and al-Zubayrī, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 18.

²⁸⁴ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 360, and al-Zubayrī, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 20; al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 105-106.

²⁸⁵ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Bahā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Y‘aqūb al-Jundī al-Yamanī, *al-Sulūk fī ṭabaqāt al-‘ulmā’ wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Akwa’ al-Ḥawālī (Ṣan‘ā’: Maktabat al-Irshād, 1995), 1:188.

²⁸⁶ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 359-360.

originated in Najrān (inscriptions 2.29-30), making it likely to connect him to two graffiti found there that mention ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb (see Chapter Two, section 2.5.2).²⁸⁷ However, al-Zahrānī suggests that this gravestone was dated to the end of the 2nd/9th century. It is, however, more likely that the date is a bit later, namely the 3rd/9th century, because he was alive during the disputes between al-Amīn and al-Mā’mūn.²⁸⁸

‘Umar son of ‘Abd Allāh calls himself al-‘Umarī in one inscription (inscription 2.31). Al-Rashid has suggested that he might be ‘Umar son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar, based on what al-Zubayrī and other sources reported.²⁸⁹ Al-Zubayrī reported that ‘Umar’s mother was Umm Salama daughter of al-Mukhtār son of Abū ‘Ubayd son of Mas‘ūd al-Thaqafī.²⁹⁰ Nevertheless, ‘Umar’s name only appears in the book of Ibn ‘Asākir (d. 571/1176) as a narrator of a poem written in the door of the house of ‘Ubayd Allāh son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar, but without his full lineage, as follows: ‘Umar son of ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Umarī.²⁹¹ I agree with al-Rashid that ‘Umar was the son of ‘Abd Allāh, because he is the only person bearing this name in *Nasab quraysh*. Al-Sam‘ānī (d. 562/1166), however, mentions that the *nisba* al-‘Umarī is used between the branch of ‘Abd Allāh and ‘Āṣim, and he mentions that ‘Umar’s nephew ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Abd al-Azīz son of ‘Abd Allāh used this *nisba*.²⁹² So, since it was also used by the descendants of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Abd Allāh, it is obvious that it applies not only to the individual mentioned by al-Sam‘ānī but also to other members of this family.

²⁸⁷ Imbert, “Annexe – Note épigraphique,” 757-758.

²⁸⁸ al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 105-106.

²⁸⁹ al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 48-49.

²⁹⁰ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 357.

²⁹¹ Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh madīnat dimashq*, 38: 6.

²⁹² ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-Sam‘ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb* (Hyderabad: Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1962), 9: 372-374.

One inscription mentions ‘Umar son of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-‘Umarī (inscription 2.32), supposedly referring to ‘Umar son of ‘Abd al-Azīz son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb. Al-Sam‘ānī said this *nisba* is known to have been used by ‘Umar’s brothers ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and ‘Abd Allāh, but it seems to be that ‘Umar used this *nisba* as well.²⁹³ Interestingly, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz had two sons named ‘Umar. They were distinguished on the basis of their age, one being known by the adjective *al-akbar* (the eldest), the other as *al-aṣghar* (the youngest).²⁹⁴ They were born to different mothers. Al-Akbar’s mother was a Qurayshī by the name of Kaysa daughter of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd son of ‘Abd Allāh. Al-Aṣghar’s mother was an unnamed concubine.²⁹⁵ ‘Umar *al-aṣghar* was the governor of Medina and Karamān in the time of caliph al-Rashīd (r. 170–193/786–809), and governor of al-Yamāma.²⁹⁶ Since the graffito did not mention which ‘Umar engraved it, it is difficult to know which ‘Umar is mentioned here.

Two tombstones belonging to two females of this family are preserved. The first one belongs to Daḥīma, daughter of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Abd al-Azīz son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb appears in (inscription 2.33). As al-Zahrānī, who published this inscription, has pointed out, she does not occur in the literary record.²⁹⁷ Her father was appointed as the judge and governor of Medina in the time of caliph al-Mā’ mūn.²⁹⁸

The second tombstone was erected for Ḥamda daughter of ‘Abd Allāh son of Ibrāhīm son of Abū Bakr son of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb (inscription 2.34). She is not known in the literary record,

²⁹³ Ibid., 9: 373.

²⁹⁴ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 11.

²⁹⁵ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 358.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 358.

²⁹⁷ al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 279.

²⁹⁸ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 359; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 153.

the last one who appears in her lineage is her great grandfather ‘Abd al-‘Azīz son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb.²⁹⁹

The name Ḥafṣ son of ‘Umar (inscriptions 2.35-36) that we find in two inscriptions, in one he used his paternal and in one used his first name only, is not easy to identify. The only person I found in ‘Umar’s family bearing this name is the grandson of Sālīm son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar, according to Ibn Sa‘d, his mother was a concubine.³⁰⁰ So based on that information we can tentatively add Ḥafṣ son of ‘Umar to that place in the family tree.

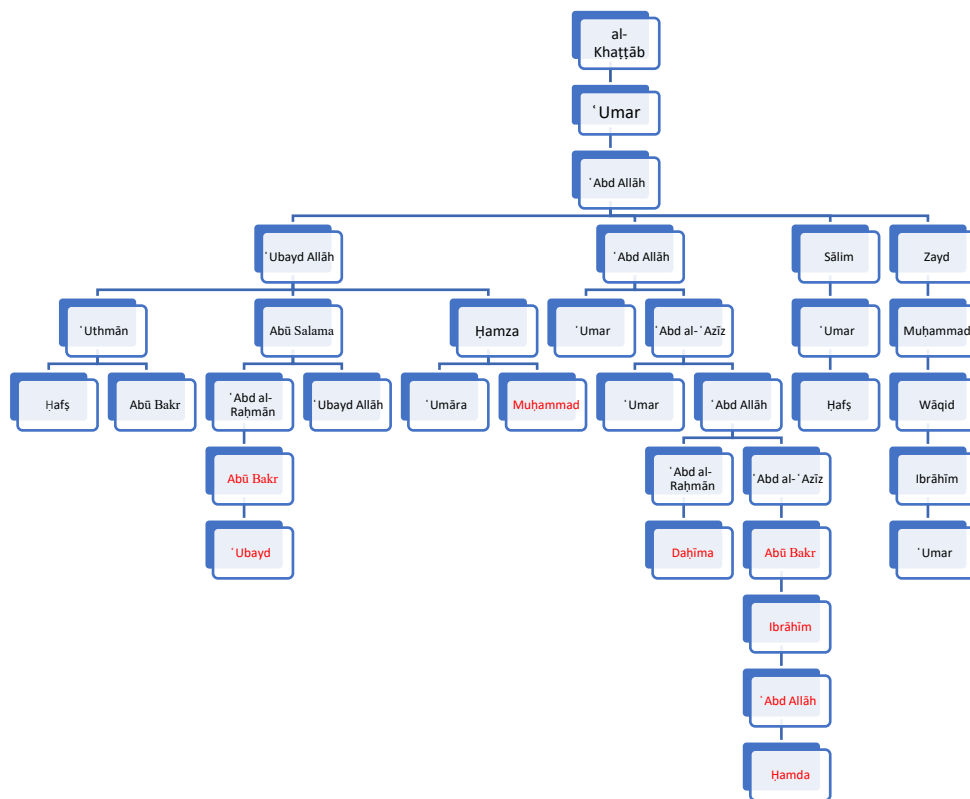


Figure 8 Family tree descendants of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb attested in inscriptions

²⁹⁹ Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 153.

³⁰⁰ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 458.

3.4.2. The branch of ‘Āṣim son of ‘Umar

‘Āṣim is ‘Umar’s son by his wife Jamīla daughter of Thābit, known as Abū al-Āqlaḥ. She belonged to al-Anṣār as a member of Banū ‘Amr.³⁰¹ Ibn Khayyāṭ reported that ‘Āṣim died in the year 70/689–690.³⁰² Al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār reported that ‘Āṣim had four sons and two daughters from four wives.³⁰³ All persons appearing in this section descend from his son Ḥafṣ. The epigraphic record exhibits 24 individuals belonging to the branch of ‘Āṣim including one client and a slave boy.

Ḥafṣ is the son of ‘Āṣim from his wife Sidra, daughter of Yazīd, who belonged to the Banū Muḥārib, and was the son of Khaṣfa.³⁰⁴ According to Ibn Sa‘d, Ḥafṣ himself had two sons, ‘Umar and ‘Īsā, both of whom appear in the epigraphic record along with their *mawlā*. According to al-Dhahabī (d.748/1348), Ḥafṣ died around the year 90/708-709.³⁰⁵

Before turning to Ḥafṣ’ descendants, I discuss the inscriptions left by his *mawlā*. The *mawlā* signed his inscription as Shaddād, client of Ḥafṣ son of ‘Āṣim son of ‘Umar al-Fārūq (inscriptions 2.39-40). The two inscriptions in which Shaddād’s name appears occur in the same place where Rabāḥ son of Ḥafṣ left his two inscriptions. Unfortunately, there is no information available about Shaddād in the literary sources.

Rabāḥ son of Ḥafṣ son of ‘Āṣim son of ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb (inscriptions 2.37-38), according to Ibn Sa‘d, died in 157/773-774 when he was 80 years old, and his real name was ‘Īsā, but he generally used his epithet Rabāḥ.³⁰⁶ Al-Mizzī (d.742/1341) reported that Rabāḥ’s *kunya* was Abū

³⁰¹ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 349.

³⁰² Ibn Khayyāṭ, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 234.

³⁰³ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 21-22.

³⁰⁴ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 410.

³⁰⁵ Shāms al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, ed. Shu‘ayb Arnā’ūṭ (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risāla, 1986), 4: 197.

³⁰⁶ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 530.

Ziyād al-Madanī.³⁰⁷ Ibn Sa‘d reports that Rabāḥ was younger than his nephew ‘Ubayd Allāh (inscription 2.45).³⁰⁸ Rabāḥ was married to ‘Abda daughter of ‘Abd Allāh son of Salama son of Rabiya son of Abū Umayya, who gave birth to three daughters: Ubaiyya, Umm Salama, and Umm ‘Amr, but bore him no sons.³⁰⁹ He was also known as a *ḥadīth* transmitter.³¹⁰ Nevertheless, his name does not appear in the *nasab* tradition, in the works of the two Zubayrids or that of al-Balādhurī. His name does frequently appear in the historical account of Ibn Shabba as a transmitter of events.³¹¹

Several members of the branch of ‘Umar son of Ḥafṣ son of ‘Āṣim son of ‘Umar produced inscriptions. ‘Umar son of Ḥafṣ son of ‘Āṣim son of ‘Umar al-Fārūq (inscription 2.41) left one inscription. It is important to note that he omitted his grandfather’s name “‘Āṣim” in his graffito. ‘Umar’s mother was known to be from al-Anṣār. Her name was Maymūna daughter of Dāwūd son of Kulayb, and she belonged to the al-Khazraj tribe. ‘Umar married his cousin Fāṭima daughter of ‘Umar son of ‘Āṣim son of ‘Umar. She gave birth to Abū Bakr, ‘Ubayd Allāh, Zayd, ‘Abd Allāh, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, Muḥammad, ‘Āṣim, Umm ‘Āṣim, Umm Ḥamīd, Umm ‘Īsā, and Umm Miskīn.³¹² ‘Umar’s son Abū Bakr left three inscriptions in which he describes himself as Abū Bakr son of ‘Umar son of Ḥafṣ son of ‘Āṣim son of ‘Umar (inscriptions 2.42-44). According to Ibn Sa‘d, Abū Bakr did not have children. He participated in Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya’s revolution. Ibn Sa‘d mentions that he was older than his brother ‘Ubayd Allāh.³¹³ Abū Bakr worked as a judge in

³⁰⁷ al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 22: 592.

³⁰⁸ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 530-531.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 7: 530-531.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 7: 531.

³¹¹ Ibn Shabba, *Ta’rīkh al-madīna*, 1: 372 and 391.

³¹² Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 459-460.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 7: 531-32.

Medina, during the time of al-Manṣūr,³¹⁴ under the rule of the governor Muḥammad son of Khālīd al-Qasrī (in office 141-143/758-760).³¹⁵

‘Ubayd Allāh, the second son of ‘Umar, appears in one inscription as ‘Ubayd Allāh son of ‘Umar (inscription 2.45). According to Ibn Sa‘d he died in the year 147/765–766.³¹⁶ Ibn Khayyāt, however, mentions that he died in the year 145/762-763. According to Ibn Khayyāt his *kunya* was Abū ‘Umar,³¹⁷ but Ibn Sa‘d mentions his *kunya* was Abū ‘Uthmān. He was a *ḥadīth* transmitter. His two sons, Rabāḥ and Ḥafṣ, who are also mentioned in ‘Ubayd Allāh’s biography in the sources, left inscriptions around the inscription of their father.³¹⁸

Despite leaving a fair number of inscriptions, ‘Ubayd Allāh’s two sons are only referred to in passing in the literary sources. According to Ibn Sa‘d, Rabāḥ and Ḥafṣ are his sons from his wife Ubaiyya daughter of Abū Bakr son of ‘Ubayd Allāh son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar.³¹⁹ Rabāḥ son of ‘Ubayd Allāh son of ‘Umar left three inscriptions (inscriptions 2.46-48). Ibn Sa‘d mentioned him in his father’s biography, without stating whether Rabāḥ was his name or his epithet, as was the case with the other Rabāḥ discussed above. However, it seems to me that Rabāḥ was his real name. He appears as one of the transmitters in a transmission chain in *Akhbār makka* by al-Fākihī (d. 280/893).³²⁰ Al-Sam‘ānī also mentions him as one of the ‘Umarids who was famous by the al-‘Umarī *nisba*.³²¹ Al-Madīnī (d. 234/849) cited him in the list of ‘Umarid individuals who transmitted *ḥadīth* from ‘Umar.³²²

³¹⁴ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 362.

³¹⁵ Wakī‘, *Akhbār al-quḍāt*, 1: 202-213.

³¹⁶ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 531.

³¹⁷ Ibn Khayyāt, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 268-269.

³¹⁸ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 531.

³¹⁹ Ibid., 7: 531.

³²⁰ al-Fākihī, *Akhbār makka*, 4: 43.

³²¹ al-Sam‘ānī, *al-Ansāb*, 9: 372.

³²² Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ja‘far al-Sa‘dī al-Madīnī, *Tasmiyat man ruwiya ‘anhu min awlād al-‘ashr*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad Jamāz (Kuwait: Dār al-Qalam, 1982), 82.

‘Ubayd Allāh’s other son left eight inscriptions, signing as Ḥafṣ son of ‘Ubayd Allāh (inscriptions 2.49-56). Ḥafṣ was known as a *ḥadīth* transmitter.³²³

Muḥammad son of ‘Umar son of Ḥafṣ son of ‘Āṣim left a number of inscriptions (inscriptions 2.57-64). No information about him is known from the literary record. He only appears in the list of his father’s sons in his father’s biography.³²⁴ The inscription by Ḥafṣ son of Muḥammad son of ‘Umar (inscription 2.65) was found near that of his father. This, and the fact that Ḥafṣ seems to be a commonly used name amongst the ‘Umarid, suggests that Ḥafṣ was indeed Muḥammad’s son.

‘Āṣim son of ‘Umar son of Ḥafṣ left 11 inscriptions (inscriptions 2.66-76). Ibn Sa‘d reported that he was younger than his brother ‘Abd Allāh. ‘Āṣim was known as a poet and a *ḥadīth* transmitter.³²⁵ According to Ibn Khayyāt he died in the year 154/771–772.³²⁶ A son of his left an inscription close to that of his father. ‘Āṣim’s son identified himself as Ja‘far son of ‘Āṣim son of ‘Umar son of Ḥafṣ son of ‘Āṣim (inscription 2.77). This is all the more remarkable as Ibn Sa‘d explicitly states that ‘Āṣim did not have a son and that his line died out after his death.³²⁷

Zayd son of ‘Umar son of Ḥafṣ son of ‘Āṣim left a number of inscriptions (inscriptions 2.78-86), but did not receive a full treatment in the literary sources like his brothers. He is only mentioned in his father’s biographical entry.³²⁸ Zayd was younger than his brother ‘Abd Allāh. Under one of Zayd’s inscriptions, there is another inscription that mentions ‘Abd Allāh son of Zayd. The place of the inscription in combination with the reference to Zayd as his father, makes it very likely that the mentioned ‘Abd Allāh is Zayd’s son. This ‘Abd Allāh son of Zayd left two inscriptions in total (inscriptions 2.87-88).

³²³ al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta’rīkh madīnat al-salām*, 8: 372.

³²⁴ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 460; al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 23.

³²⁵ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 532-533.

³²⁶ Ibn Khayyāt, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 269.

³²⁷ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 532.

³²⁸ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 460, and see al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 23.

‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar son of Ḥafṣ left two inscriptions: (inscriptions 2.89-90). According to Ibn Sa‘d, he was a *ḥadīth* transmitter. He participated in Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya’s revolution and was sent to al-Muṭbaq prison in Baghdād.³²⁹ Two years later, after being in prison, al-Manṣūr sent him back to Medina, where, according to the *ṭabaqāt*, he eventually died in 171–172/787–789.³³⁰

‘Abd Allāh’s son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān left five inscriptions (inscriptions 2.91-95), signing as ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar son of Ḥafṣ. He was a judge in Medina during the time of caliph al-Rashīd.³³¹ His mother was Ḥafṣa daughter of Abū Bakr son of ‘Umar son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar.³³² ‘Abd al-Raḥmān reportedly died in Ṣafar in 186/ February-March 802.³³³ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān’s five sons, Ismā‘īl, ‘Āṣim, Muḥammad, ‘Īsā and Zayd all used the *nisba* “al-‘Umarī” in the inscriptions that they left.

Eight inscriptions were left by Ismā‘īl son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Umarī (inscriptions 2.96-103), but this Ismā‘īl is not known from the literary record. His brother ‘Āṣim son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Umarī left three inscriptions (inscriptions 2.104-106). His name appears only in an account transmitted about his father.³³⁴ One of his slaves, calling himself Rabī‘ *fatā* ‘Āṣim son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, left four inscriptions as well (inscriptions 2.113-116). Two sons of ‘Āṣim are known from the epigraphic record although they are not known from the literary sources. ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Āṣim (inscriptions 2.107-110) and his brother Muḥammad

³²⁹ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 532.

³³⁰ Ibid., 7: 532.

³³¹ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 24, al-Balādhurī does not mention where he was judge *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 517.

³³² al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 2: 24.

³³³ Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī, *al-Ta’rīkh al-kabīr* (Hyderabad: Dā’irat al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya), 5: 316.

³³⁴ Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Bāqī ibn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī Qāḍī al-Māristān, *Aḥādīth al-shuyūkh al-thiqāt, al-shahīr bi-l-mashyakha al-kubrā*, ed. al-Sharīf Ḥatīm ibn ‘Ārif al-‘Awnī (Mecca: Dār ‘Ālam al-Fawā’id, 1422 /2001-2002), 3: 1051.

son of ‘Āṣim (inscriptions 2.111-112) left three and two inscriptions respectively. Three further sons of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān left inscriptions as well. Muḥammad son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar al-‘Umarī (inscriptions 2.120-123) left four inscriptions with a long genealogy, spanning four generations. Two other sons, ‘Īsā, (inscriptions 2.117-119) and Zayd (inscriptions 2.124-134), only used their father’s name, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, and the *nisba* al-‘Umarī in their inscriptions. Al-Rashid discussed two possible identifications: one possibility is that Zayd belonged to the branch of Ḥafṣ. This assumption is deducted from the other names that appear in the epigraphic record, his brothers Muḥammad and Ismā‘īl.³³⁵ However, Al-Rashid argued that he considered it more likely that Zayd belonged to the branch of Zayd son of al-Khaṭṭāb, and that he might be identified as Zayd son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of Zayd son of al-Khaṭṭāb.³³⁶ In my research I was able to connect the name Zayd with the names of the others members of ‘Umar’s family, proving the identification of Zayd as son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar, the first option that al-Rashid offers, seems to be the correct one. In addition, al-Rashid published another inscription that also mentioned the name of Zayd son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of ‘Abd Allāh. However, he never connected these two inscriptions together. In my research I identified the inscription of Zayd’s son al-Fārūq (inscription 2.136) which mentions a long lineage. This arguably solves the issue, namely that this person, Zayd, is actually a descendant of ‘Umar. As indicated, al-Fārūq son of Zayd left one inscription with a very long lineage, in fact spanning nine generations: al-Fārūq son of Zayd son of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Umar son of Ḥafṣ son of ‘Āṣim son of ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb. Additionally al-Fārūq left three other inscriptions. In one of them he signs as al-Fārūq son of Zayd

³³⁵ al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 52 and 70.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 71.

al-‘Umarī (inscription 2.135), and two of his graffiti do not mention any paternal lineage (inscriptions 2.137-138).

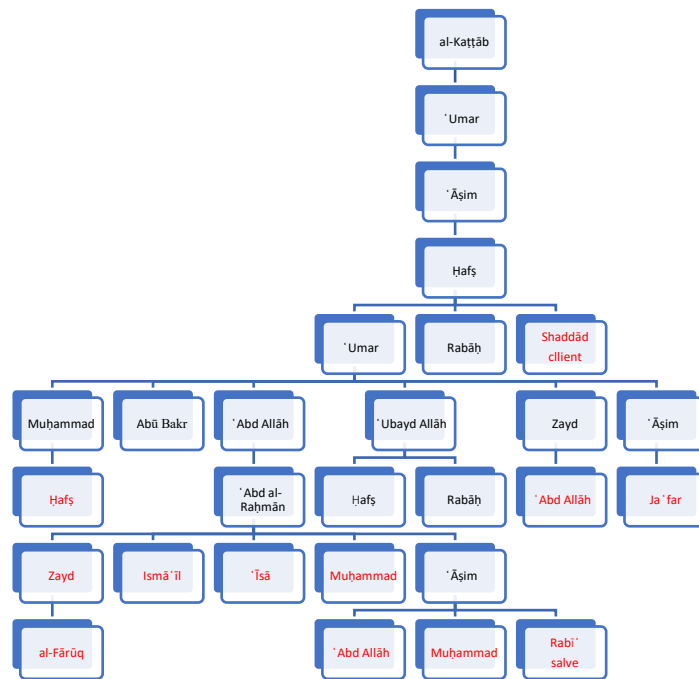


Figure 9 Family tree descendants of ‘Āsim son of ‘Umar son of al-Khaṭṭāb attested in inscriptions

3.5. The descendants of al-Zubayr son of al-‘Awwām

Al-Zubayr (d. 36/656) appears in the inscription found in Iraq alongside nine other companions of the Prophet, amongst whom we find ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb as discussed above (see section 3.4). Al-Zubayr played an important role in the formative years of Islam.³³⁷ His family is related to the clan of Banū Asad ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā ibn Quṣī, from the tribe of al-Quraysh. Al-Zubayr son of al-‘Awwām is the great-grandson of ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā.³³⁸ Al-Zubayr’s mother was Ṣafīyya, the daughter of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and an aunt of the Prophet Muḥammad. Al-Zubayrī mentions that he had 10 sons, but Ibn Sa‘d mentions 11 sons. Al-Zubayrī did not mention his daughters from his first wife Asmā’, but Ibn Sa‘d did. According to both al-Zubayrī and Ibn Sa‘d, his sons from Asmā’ were

³³⁷I. Hasson, “al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām,” *EF*, 11: 549.

³³⁸ al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 31.

‘Abd Allāh, al-Mundhir, ‘Urwa and ‘Āṣim, additionally Ibn Sa‘d added, al-Muhājir,³³⁹ as well as the daughters Khadīja al-Kubrā, Umm al-Ḥasan and ‘Ā’isha by his wife Asmā’ daughter of Abū Bakr the first caliph.³⁴⁰ By his second wife, al-Rabāb daughter of Anīf al-Kalbī, he had two sons and one daughter: Muṣ‘ab, Ramla, and Ḥamza. With Umm Khālīd, daughter of Khālīd son of Sa‘īd al-‘Āṣī, he had two more sons called Khālīd and ‘Amr, and three daughters Ḥabība, Sawda, and Hind.³⁴¹ From with his wife Zaynab daughter of Bishr from the Banū Qays, he had ‘Ubayda and Ja‘far, and two daughters. The mother of Zaynab daughter of Bishr was Umm Kulthūm who was in turn the daughter of ‘Uqba son of Abū Ma‘īṭ and Khadīja al-Ṣughrā from his wife al-Ḥalāl daughter of Qays son of Nawfal from Banū Asad son of Khuzayma.³⁴² The children from all these marriages are mentioned by both al-Zubayrī and Ibn Sa‘d. All his sons had offspring except ‘Āṣim, who died at a young age.³⁴³

Five branches of this family are dealt with here as they left inscriptions: the descendants of ‘Abd Allāh, who left 33 inscriptions, and 1 inscription mentions ‘Abd Allāh; the descendants of al-Mundhir, with 14 inscriptions; the descendants of ‘Urwa, represented by 14 inscriptions; ‘Amr’s branch represented through 3 inscriptions and, finally, the descendants of Ja‘far, who left only 1 inscription; Also, there are some Zubayrids, whose lineage was shortened and who will be discussed in section 3.5.5.

One of al-Zubayr’s sons has a graffito, ‘Amr (inscription 3.63). Moreover, three sons of al-Zubayr are mentioned in graffiti by their clients (*mawālī*): al-Mundhir (inscription 3.35), ‘Urwa (inscription 3.51),³⁴⁴ and ‘Amr (inscription 3.64). In addition, ‘Abd Allāh’s name was discovered

³³⁹ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 3: 93-94.

³⁴⁰ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 236.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 236.

³⁴² Ibid., 236.

³⁴³ Ibid., 236.

³⁴⁴ Maysā’ Ghabban, “*al-Kitābāt al-islāmiyya al-mubakkira*,” 207.

in a graffito that can be dated between the 1st-2nd/8th century in Ṭā'if, and which is engraved by a man named 'Ubayd son of 'Āṣim (inscription 3.1). This family differs from the other families in this corpus because their inscriptions come from six different areas in present-day Saudi Arabia – namely Medina, Mecca, al-'Ulā, Tabūk, Khaybar and 'Asham.

3.5.1. The branch of 'Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr

'Abd Allāh³⁴⁵ the counter-caliph (r. 64-73/683-692) was the eldest son of al-Zubayr. According to the Muslim sources, he was the first Muslim boy born in Medina from al-Muhājirūn, who arrived with Muḥammad from Mecca. His first wife was Tumāḍir daughter of Manzūr from the Banū Fazāra. She gave birth to four sons called Khubayb, Ḥamza, 'Abbād, and Thābit.³⁴⁶ With his second wife, Umm Hishām “Zajla”, his first wife's sister, he had four sons: Hishām, Qays, al-Zubayr, and 'Urwa. His third wife was Ḥantama daughter of 'Abd al-Raḥmān son of al-Ḥārith son of Hishām. She gave birth to two sons called Mūsā and 'Āmir, and three daughters: Umm Ḥakīm, Fāṭima and Fākhita. 'Abd Allāh had a son from his wife Rayṭa daughter of 'Abd al-Raḥmān son of al-Ḥārith son of Hishām son of al-Mughīra, called Abū Bakr. From his wife 'Ā'isha daughter of 'Uthmān son of 'Affān Bakr, 'Abd Allāh had a daughter Ruqayya.³⁴⁷ Another Bakr was born to his wife Nafīsa Umm al-Ḥasan daughter of al-Ḥasan son of 'Alī son of Abū Ṭālib.³⁴⁸ Finally, 'Abd Allāh had a son named 'Abd Allāh whose mother was a concubine.³⁴⁹

Al-Zubayr and 'Urwa died with their father 'Abd Allāh during the siege of Mecca in 73/692.³⁵⁰

'Abd Allāh appears in an inscription published by al-Ḥārithī in 1997 (inscription 3.1), found in the

³⁴⁵ H.A.R. Gibb, “‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr,” *EP*, 1:55.

³⁴⁶ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 240.

³⁴⁷ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 6: 473.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 6: 473.

³⁴⁹ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 243; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 6: 473.

³⁵⁰ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 243.

region of al-Ṭā'if.³⁵¹ It is essentially a prayer to 'Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr made by a certain 'Ubayd Allāh son of 'Āṣim. The corpus related to the branch of 'Abd Allāh comes from his three sons: 'Abbād (section 3.5.1.1), Ḥamza (section 3.5.1.2), and Mūsā (section 3.5.1.3).

3.5.1.1. The branch of 'Abbād son of 'Abd Allāh

From the 'Abbād branch, five people are known from the epigraphic record, including 'Abbād's son Yaḥyā, Yaḥyā's son Ishāq, and Yaḥyā's great-grandson named Muḥammad son of Ya'qūb son of 'Abd al-Wahhāb son of Yaḥyā. The names of two descendants of 'Abbād's son Ṣāliḥ are found on gravestones; they belong to the 11th generation of Zubayrids.

Two of 'Abbād's sons are known from the epigraphic sources. The first one left one inscription, signing as Yaḥyā son of 'Abbād (inscription 3.2). It was possible to identify Yaḥyā son of 'Abbād of the Zubayrid family because his inscription was surrounded by those left by other members of his family. His biography is relatively sparse. Al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār (d. 256/870) reported that his mother was 'Ā'isha daughter of 'Abd al-Raḥmān son of al-Ḥārith son of Hishām son of al-Mughīra.³⁵² According to al-Balādhurī, Yaḥyā was a jurist.³⁵³ Ishāq, who was identified as Yaḥyā's second son, left two inscriptions (inscriptions 3.3-4). He signed with his own and his father's name. The only reference to him in the literary sources is in his father's biography. It is said that his mother was also from the Zubayrid family and that her name was Asmā' daughter of Thābit son of 'Abd Allāh.³⁵⁴

A further removed descendant of Yaḥyā, through his son 'Abd al-Wahhāb, left an inscription as well. This great-grandson of Yaḥyā is identified in his inscriptions as Muḥammad son of Ya'qūb

³⁵¹ al-Ḥārithī, *al-Nuqūsh al-'arabiyya*, 88.

³⁵² al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 85.

³⁵³ al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 62.

³⁵⁴ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7:463-464.

son of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb son of Yaḥyā (inscriptions 3.5-14). Muḥammad’s *kunya* was Abū ‘Umar al-Madanī. He was a *ḥadīth* transmitter.³⁵⁵ According to Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852/1449), he died before 250/864-865.³⁵⁶

The gravestones mention the descendants of ‘Abbād’s second son Ṣāliḥ. Ṣāliḥ’s biography in the familiar narrative sources point to an apparent discrepancy between the literary and epigraphic sources, which has misled some scholars in the past. Muṣ‘ab al-Zubayrī writes: “Ṣāliḥ son of ‘Abbād had no one to survive him. He had sons, but their lineage died out.”³⁵⁷ The famous Andalusian genealogist Ibn Ḥazm explicitly stated that Ṣāliḥ, like his brother Muḥammad but unlike his brother Yaḥyā, had no children. He writes: “The sons of ‘Abbād son of ‘Abd Allāh were Yaḥyā (who) transmitted *ḥadīth* from him (i.e. ‘Abbād) and (who) had offspring and Muḥammad and Ṣāliḥ (who) had no children.”³⁵⁸ On the other hand, two gravestones found in the Mecca area seem to refer to descendants of Ṣāliḥ son of ‘Abbād, extending seven generations after Ṣāliḥ.

The full names on the gravestones are: ‘Abd al-Wahhāb son of Muḥammad son of Aḥmad son of Mūsā son of Ḥamza son of Bakr son of ‘Abd Allāh son of Ṣāliḥ son of ‘Abbād son of ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.15) and Muḥammad son of al-Qāsim son of ‘Abd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of Ḥamza son of Bakr son of ‘Abd Allāh son of Ṣāliḥ³⁵⁹ son of ‘Abbād son of ‘Abd Allāh al-Zubayr (inscription 3.16). ‘Abd al-Wahhāb and Muḥammad thus share the same grandfather, Ḥamza. Indeed, the scholars who first published and republished the two gravestones, al-Zahrānī and al-Ḥaddād, simply assumed that the gravestones provided additional genealogical

³⁵⁵ Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 122.

³⁵⁶ Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, ed. Abū al-Ashbāl Ṣaghīr Aḥmad Shāghif al-Bākistānī (Dār al-‘Āṣima, 1421/2000-2001), 910.

³⁵⁷ “وليس لصالح بن عباد بقية كان له ولد فانقرضوا”, al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 242.

³⁵⁸ “فولد عباد بن عبد الله يحيى روى عنه الحديث وله عقب ومحمد، وصالح لا عقب لهم”, Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 122.

³⁵⁹ al-Salook thought the name to be Talḥa, and he was not sure about the reading of the name ‘Abbād see al-Salook, “Analytical and Palaeographic,” 90-91; al-Zahrānī comments on his book in the footnote that the name should be read as Ṣāliḥ, al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 301, note 3.

information about Ṣāliḥ's family, extending his descendants seven generations beyond what the literary sources mention, and thus correcting the mistakes of the genealogists.³⁶⁰ But their information was solely based on al-Zubayrī and Ibn Ḥazm, and they did not look to the first edition of al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār's book which was published in 1962.

The answer to this seeming discrepancy between our sources – the literary and the epigraphic record – lies in a more careful and complete examination of the *nasab* works. In fact another *nasab* work, namely *Jamharat nasab quraysh* by Zubayr ibn Bakkār, mentions an 'Abd Allāh son of Ṣāliḥ. According to Zubayr ibn Bakkār, 'Abd Allāh's mother was Umm 'Uthmān daughter of 'Abd al-Raḥmān son of al-Akhnas son of Sharīq.³⁶¹ Moreover, if we read Zubayr ibn Bakkār's report carefully, we see that he states that 'Abd Allāh son of Ṣāliḥ son of 'Abbād did have sons (*lahu walad*). The biographer did not give their names. In any case, the gravestones extend Ṣāliḥ's descendants for at least six generations beyond what is known from the narrative sources.

3.5.1.2. The branch of Ḥamza son of 'Abd Allāh

The branch of Ḥamza is more present in the epigraphic record than any of the other branches of the descendant of 'Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr. Most of their inscriptions are found near to those of their cousins from the branch of 'Urwa (see section 3.5.3) and the descendant of 'Abbād (see section 3.5.1.1) in Muzj. There are two exceptions, and these are the inscriptions that were not found in Muzj (inscriptions 3.19-20).

Eight individuals from Ḥamza's branch left their inscriptions, seven of whom did so, moreover, in the same area, close to each other. Remarkably, we find inscriptions from four generations of this

³⁶⁰ al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 299-300; see also Muḥammad Ḥamza al-Ḥaddād used Muḥammad and 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb epitaphs in his book *al-Nuqūsh al-āthāriyya maṣḍaran lil-ta'rikh al-islāmī wa-l-ḥaḍāra al-islāmiyya* (Cairo: Maktabat Zahrā' al-Sharq, 2002), 1:31.

³⁶¹ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab quraysh wa-akhbāruhā*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo: Maktabat Dār al-'Urūba, 1962), 1: 75.

branch in the same spot. In Muzj, none of the Zubayrids descending from Ḥamza's son of 'Abd Allāh used the final *nisba* "al-Zubayrī", this in contrast to the practice of members of the branch of 'Urwa in the same place (see section 3.5.2, and Part Two). However, the two graffiti found outside Muzj did use the *nisba* ibn al-Zubayr (inscriptions 3.19-20).

According to the *nasab* tradition, Ḥamza had six sons: 'Abbād, Hāshim, 'Āmir, Abū Bakr, Yaḥyā, and Sulaymān (all born from different wives). Three of the named sons are represented in the inscriptions.³⁶² 'Abbād was Ḥamza's eldest son.³⁶³ He left two inscriptions (inscriptions 3.17-18), one with his son 'Abd Allāh, and the second with his friend Ma'bad son of Abū Laylā. He never used more than one paternal name to present himself. The Zubayrids belonging to the 'Abd Allāh branch used from one up to three paternal ancestors in all other places but in the area of Muzj they only used their father's name (see, for example, inscriptions 3.4, 5, 21, and 24).

Unfortunately, very little is known about 'Abbād. His mother was Hind daughter of Quṭba son of Harim, who belonged to Banū Fazāra.³⁶⁴ 'Abbād was alive at the time of caliph al-Walīd I (r.86-96/705-715).³⁶⁵ As mentioned above some parts of al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār's book were lost. One of the parts that did survive, starts with the sons of 'Abbād son of Ḥamza. al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār writes rather enigmatically: "Thus, the line of 'Abbād son of Ḥamza died out, except for some men and women."³⁶⁶ Ibn Ḥazm mentions al-Zubayr son of 'Abbād and his son Yaḥyā.³⁶⁷

Despite his earlier remark on the dying out of the line of 'Abbād, al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār does mentions one grandson of 'Abbād, namely Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr, thereby indirectly providing

³⁶² al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 240-241, see al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, from here onward I am using the edition of 'Abbās Hānī al-Jarrākh 1:171-87, and see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 123.

³⁶³ "وكان عباد بن حمزة سيد بني حمزة وأكبرهم", al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 78.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 1: 71.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 1: 75.

³⁶⁶ "وقد انقرض ولد عباد بن حمزة، إلا رجلاً ونسباً", Ibid., 1: 85.

³⁶⁷ Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 123.

the name of one of ‘Abbād’s grandsons: Yaḥya son of al-Zubayr.³⁶⁸ Yaḥyā did indeed leave inscriptions, although his father is absent from the epigraphic record (see below). Inscriptions by ‘Abbād’s two other sons, ‘Abd Allāh (inscriptions 3.18-19) and ‘Ubayd Allāh (inscription 3.20), were also found. One of ‘Abd Allāh’s inscriptions was found near one by his father. His brother ‘Ubayd Allāh’s graffito was, on the other hand, located in Tabūk.

As mentioned above, ‘Abbād’s son al-Zubayr did not leave an inscription, but his descendants are present in the epigraphic record. This concerns his son, Yaḥyā, and his grandson Muḥammad. Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ‘Abbād appears as such in three inscriptions (inscriptions 3.21-23). According to al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, Yaḥyā was known as “Shaykh al-Zubayr” and was responsible for al-Zubayr family alms (*wālī ṣadaqātihim*). Yaḥyā lived at the time of caliph al-Mahdī (r. 158-169/775-785). Once, when al-Mahdī visited Medina, he tried to convince Yaḥyā to move with him to Baghdād, but Yaḥyā refused, saying that since his mother was very old, he did not want her to die outside Medina. Yaḥyā died at the age of 87.³⁶⁹ He appears as a transmitter of rituals of the Prophet,³⁷⁰ and is also mentioned as a transmitter concerning the reign of his great-grandfather ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr.³⁷¹

Strangely enough, al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār never mentioned who Yaḥyā’s mother was, although he mentioned that he met Yaḥyā in person when the latter was already old and as such, we can presume that al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār would have had an opportunity to ask about family relations. Similarly, he did not mention any offspring of Yaḥyā.³⁷² Nevertheless, a son of Yaḥyā left an inscription indicating his relation to his great-grandfather ‘Abbād, signing Muḥammad son of

³⁶⁸ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 84-85.

³⁶⁹ Ibid., 1: 84-85.

³⁷⁰ Ibn Shabba, *Ta’rīkh al-madīna*, 1: 48.

³⁷¹ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 64-65.

³⁷² Ibid., 1: 84-85.

Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ‘Abbād (inscription 3.24). Al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār did not give many details about Yaḥyā, except that he married someone from the ‘Umar family.³⁷³ Also, he does not mention any offspring. This is exceptional because Muḥammad’s inscription is dated 207/822-823, so it was supposedly made during the lifetime of the two Zubayrid genealogists, Muṣ‘ab al-Zubayrī (d. 236/851) and al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār (d. 256/870).

Sulaymān was Ḥamza’s second son to have left an inscription using his own and his father’s name (inscription 3.25). His mother was Umm al-Khaṭṭāb daughter of Shayba. She belonged to the Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal.³⁷⁴ Al-Zubayrī and al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār wrote the same statement about Sulaymān: “Sulaymān (son of Ḥamza) had no offspring except women.”³⁷⁵ However, a graffito placed next to Sulaymān son of Ḥamza, mentions a son of his called Ismā‘īl (inscription 3.26), who is not known from the literary record.

The third and final of Ḥamza’s sons who is present in the epigraphic record is Hāshim (inscriptions 3.27-29). His mother was a concubine.³⁷⁶

3.5.1.3. The branch of Mūsā son of ‘Abd Allāh

Mūsā was the youngest son of ‘Abd Allāh. From his branch three individuals have left inscriptions, all three are grandsons of Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā. Muṣ‘ab al-Zubayrī wrote: “among the sons of Mūsā son of ‘Abd Allāh, is Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā who transmitted ḥadīth on his (i.e. Mūsā’s) authority. Mūsā’s descendants (all come) from the sons of Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā.”

(ومن ولد موسى بن عبد الله: صديق بن موسى، كان يروى عنه الحديث؛ وعقب موسى من ولد صديق بن موسى).

³⁷³ Ibid., 1: 85.

³⁷⁴ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 77; Ibn Khayyāt, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, 268.

³⁷⁵ “ليس لسليمان عقب الا من قبل النساء”, al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 241; al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 78.

³⁷⁶ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 78.

Unfortunately, he does not mention Ṣaddīq's sons' names.³⁷⁷ This makes it more difficult to identify some of the names in the inscriptions with individuals from this branch, especially if they did not mention a genealogy going back many generations. Fortunately, three individuals left their inscriptions on the same rock (inscriptions 3.30 -34), so that all can be connected and identified. Ṣaddīq's son 'Atīq is known through the graffito of his son 'Abd Allāh son of 'Atīq son of Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā (inscription 3.30). The biography of 'Abd Allāh's grandfather, Ṣaddīq, does not contain any information about his children or wives, not even whether he had any. Indeed, Ibn Sa'd made two entries for 'Atīq in two different volumes without mentioning his wives or sons³⁷⁸ 'Atīq and Ya'qūb, even though he does refer to his grandson in a different work. Another son of Ṣaddīq, Ya'qūb, is represented by graffiti left by two of his sons: 'Atīq son of Ya'qūb son of Ṣaddīq son of Mūsā son of 'Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr left three inscriptions (inscriptions 3.31-33). Unfortunately, al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār did not provide any information about him, but he does appear as a narrator in his book.³⁷⁹ The mother of 'Atīq also descended from al-Zubayr. Her name was Ḥafṣa daughter of 'Umar son of 'Atīq son of 'Amr son of 'Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr. Ibn Sa'd also provides an account that 'Atīq was one of the companions of Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179/795)' information that he copied Malik's *al-Muwaṭṭā'* and other works, which remain, however, unnamed. Two different death dates are mentioned for 'Atīq: 227/841-842 or 228/842-843.³⁸⁰ Ya'qūb's other son left an inscription, signing as 'Āmir son of Ya'qūb son of Ṣaddīq (inscription 3.34).

³⁷⁷ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 243.

³⁷⁸ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 483 and 8: 46.

³⁷⁹ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 552.

³⁸⁰ Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 617.



Figure 10 Family tree of descendants of ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr branch attested in inscriptions

3.5.2. The branch of al-Mundhir son of al-Zubayr

Al-Mundhir (d. 64/683) was reportedly the second son of al-Zubayr. He fought on his brother ‘Abd Allāh’s side, and he died during the first siege of Mecca by Ḥuşayn son of Numayr in 64/683.³⁸¹ His *kunya*, according to Ibn Sa‘d, was Abū ‘Uthmān.³⁸² Al-Zubayrī only recorded six of al-Mundhir’s sons, namely only those who had had sons themselves: the three full brothers Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm and ‘Ubayd Allāh whose mother was from Banī Taīm, and additionally the brothers ‘Amr, ‘Āṣim, and Abū ‘Ubayda, who were born from different wives.³⁸³ Al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār recorded two more sons, namely Zayd and Sa‘īd and stated they were full brothers to Muḥammad son of al-Mundhir. Even though al-Zubayrī was aware of the existence of these sons and in fact reported about them to al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, he did not include them in his own report

³⁸¹al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 245.

³⁸² Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Tabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 181.

³⁸³ Some of them al-Zubayrī mention their mother and others do not; see al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 244.

because they did not have sons themselves, as mentioned above.³⁸⁴ Another account by a different transmitter said that al-Zubayr and Sa‘īd were full brothers born to Muḥammad son of al-Mundhir and that their mother was Zaynab daughter of Sa‘īd son of Zayd son of ‘Amr son of Nafil. Yet another report added another full brother for Muḥammad, namely Mu‘āwiya.³⁸⁵ Ibn Bakkār also added two sons of al-Mundhir, ‘Uthmān and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.³⁸⁶ Al-Mundhir’s name appears in an inscription engraved by his client, Bashīr, who remains otherwise anonymous (inscription 3.35). Eight individuals related to the branch of al-Mundhir will be discussed here. However, more focus will be given to the two branches of the family for which there are inscriptions: that of ‘Ubayd Allāh and that of Muḥammad. The branch of al-Mundhir’s son ‘Ubayd Allāh has produced only one name, which appears in four inscriptions. On the other hand, the branch of al-Mundhir’s grandson Falīḥ son of Muḥammad appears with seven individuals who all left inscriptions in Ruwāwa.

‘Abd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of al-Mundhir son of ‘Ubayd Allāh son of al-Mundhir son of al-Zubayr is known from four inscriptions (inscriptions 3.36-39). His name appears in several accounts, mainly in the work of al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār who mentions his name in different places in his book as a narrator of historical accounts. He was a “*muḥtasib*,” a market inspector, under the Abbasids when Dāwūd son of ‘Īsā son of Mūsā al-‘Abāsī was governor of Medina and Mecca (in office 195-199/810-814).³⁸⁷ According to al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, the Quraysh authorized ‘Abd Allāh at this time to initiate a fight against thieves.³⁸⁸ Unfortunately, his birth and death dates are unknown.

³⁸⁴ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1:178.

³⁸⁵ Ibid., 1: 178.

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 1: 183.

³⁸⁷ He was appointed as governor of Mecca in 193/809-810, but appeared as governor of Mecca and Medina in 195/810-811; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-rusul*, 5: 1760, 1778, and 1828.

³⁸⁸ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 185.

The other branch is that of Falīḥ son of Muḥammad son of al-Mundhir son of al-Zubayr. Falīḥ's mother was Fākhita daughter of 'Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr. There are no references to Falīḥ's children in the biographical literature.³⁸⁹ However, the inscriptions contain information about three of his sons: Ishāq, Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Muḥammad son of Falīḥ is known from two inscriptions (inscriptions 3.43-44). Al-Rashid already suggested that Muḥammad might be the son of Falīḥ al-Zubayrī. Al-Rashid's argument is based on the presence of an inscription from a paternal uncle with the name 'Umāra son of Ibrāhīm son of Falīḥ al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.41) nearby. However, al-Rashid was not sure about his identification as the son of Falīḥ, because he found references about other persons named Muḥammad son of Falīḥ.³⁹⁰ The *Ta'rikh al-madīna* (*History of Medina*) describes the estate of al-Zubayr (baqī' al-Zubayr), and describes the houses "Dūr" as well as the families living in it. In this description he includes several family members of al-Mundhir son of al-Zubayr. He mentions that the house of Banī Muḥammad son of Falīḥ son of al-Mundhir was located in Baqī' al-Zubayr.³⁹¹ Because Muḥammad's descendants continued to live in Medina it is likely that it was Muḥammad who left graffiti close to the city. In addition, Ibn Ḥajar mentions Muḥammad as a *ḥadīth* transmitter quoting from his father.³⁹²

Two other sons of Falīḥ, together with their descendants, also appear in inscriptions, but they are not known from the literary sources. Ibrāhīm son of Falīḥ (inscription 3.40) and his son 'Umāra son of Ibrāhīm son of Falīḥ al-Zubayrī left one inscription (inscription 3.41). As al-Rashid has pointed out, 'Umāra is related to the branch of al-Mundhir based on his grandfather Falīḥ al-Zubayrī.³⁹³ 'Umāra's son left one inscription, signing: Ibrāhīm son of 'Umāra (inscription 3.42).

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 1: 183.

³⁹⁰ al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 23.

³⁹¹ Ibn Shabba, *Ta'rikh al-madīna*, 1: 141.

³⁹² Abū al-Faḍl Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Ta'jīl al-manf'a bi-zawā'id rijāl al-'imma al-arba'a*, ed. Ikram Allāh Imdād al-Ḥaqq (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'r al-Islāmiyya, 1996), 2: 117-118.

³⁹³ al-Rashid, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 32-33.

Ishāq is Falīḥ's final son who is represented in the epigraphic record with two inscriptions by himself, signing as Ishāq son of Falīḥ son of Muḥammad (inscriptions 3.45-46). Additionally, two inscriptions are left by his two sons; one of them signed as 'Abd Allāh son of Ishāq son of Falīḥ (inscription 3.47). Unfortunately, the first name of the second inscription is damaged I will refer to him in the family tree as PN (inscription 3.48). On the basis of this information, it is possible to extend al-Mundhir's family tree beyond what is known from the literary record with two sons, three grandsons, and one great-grandson of al-Mundhir's grandson Falīḥ.

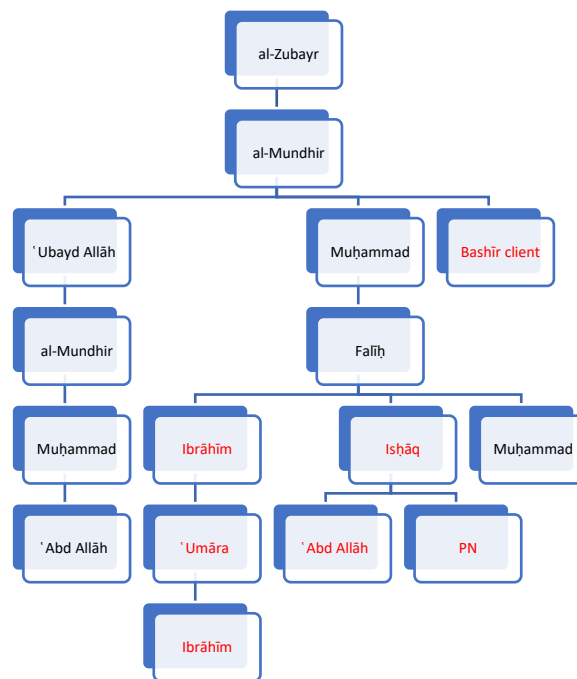


Figure 11 Family tree of descendants of the branch of al-Mundhir son of al-Zubayr attested in inscriptions

3.5.3. The branch of 'Urwa son of al-Zubayr

'Urwa (d. 93-94/711-713)³⁹⁴ was the son of al-Zubayr by his first wife Asmā' daughter of Abū Bakr the first caliph. 'Urwa's first wife was Fākhita daughter of al-Aswad son of Abū al-Bakhturī. She gave birth to 'Abd Allāh and 'Umar. 'Urwa's second wife was Umm Yaḥyā daughter of al-

³⁹⁴ G. Schoeler, "‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr," *ET*², 10: 911.

Ḥakam son of Abū al-‘Āṣ. Yahyā, Muḥammad, and ‘Uthmān were born from this second marriage. His third wife, Asmā’ daughter of Salama son of ‘Umar son of Abū Salama son of ‘Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī gave birth to ‘Ubayd Allāh. As for the two other sons, Hishām and Muṣ‘ab, their mothers were both concubines,³⁹⁵ but only the name of Muṣ‘ab’s mother, Wāṣla, is known.³⁹⁶ Al-Balādhurī, however, considered Muṣ‘ab, ‘Umar, and ‘Ubayd Allāh as full brothers of Asmā’ daughter of Salama son of ‘Umar son of Abū Salama al-Makzūmī.³⁹⁷

‘Urwa was known as one of the seven jurists of Medina (*al-fuqahā’ al-sab‘a*).³⁹⁸ In total eleven individuals belong to ‘Urwa, ten descendants of ‘Urwa belonging to the four branches of ‘Uthmān, ‘Abd Allāh, Yahyā, and Muṣ‘ab have left inscriptions, and one client *mawlā* of ‘Urwa or the son of his *mawlā*. ‘Urwa’s *mawlā* described himself in an inscription as Ḥabīb son of Abū Ḥabīb, a client of ‘Urwa son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.51). Ḥabīb appears in the work of Ibn Sa‘d as a *ḥadīth* transmitter.³⁹⁹ According to Ibn Ḥibbān (d.354/965), Ḥabīb died during the reign of caliph Marwān II (r. 127-132/744-750).⁴⁰⁰

Inscriptions associated with the branch of ‘Urwa have been found in different places throughout Arabia: the majority is located around Medina, but we also find inscriptions in al-‘Ulā, Tabūk, and Khaybar. In 1935 and 1936, Othman Rostem visited the city of Medina and conducted a survey. One of his findings was a graffito at Bi’r ‘Urwa south of Medina, related to one grandson of ‘Urwa, from his son ‘Abd Allāh. Unfortunately, he did not publish a picture of the inscription, and the inscription was, damaged in the first line. Rostem thought that the graffito might be related to

³⁹⁵ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 245-248.

³⁹⁶ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 177.

³⁹⁷ al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 54.

³⁹⁸ Schoeler, “‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr,” *ET*², 10:911.

³⁹⁹ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 507.

⁴⁰⁰ Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī, *Kitāb al-Thiqāt* (Hyderabad: Dā’irāt al-Ma‘ārif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1973), 6: 180.

‘Umar son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Urwa,⁴⁰¹ who appears below in another inscription. Khālīd Askūbī, who visited the place recently, stated that the text could no longer be found.⁴⁰²

‘Uthmān son of ‘Urwa (inscription 3.49) and his son ‘Urwa son of ‘Uthmān (inscription 3.50) left one inscription each. These two inscriptions are situated close to each other. However, amongst the Zubayrid, there were two people with the name ‘Uthmān son of ‘Urwa, according to the literary sources. The full name of the first identified person was: ‘Uthmān son of ‘Urwa son of al-Zubayr son of Muṣ‘ab son of ‘Ukāsha son of Muṣ‘ab son of al-Zubayr. He is known to have had two sons but their names were unknown to al-Zubayrī.⁴⁰³ The other individual was ‘Uthmān son of ‘Urwa son of al-Zubayr, in the branch of al-Zubayr that is discussed in this section thus ‘Uthmān son of ‘Urwa. Al-Rashīd thought that ‘Uthmān son of ‘Urwa was the son of ‘Urwa son of al-Zubayr.⁴⁰⁴ However, al-Rashīd used al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) as his source and was therefore faced with a disagreement between the literary sources and the inscriptions. Al-Sakhāwī wrote that ‘Uthmān son of ‘Urwa died in the time of al-Manṣūr and had no offspring.⁴⁰⁵ Al-Rashīd, based on al-Samhūdī (d. 911/1440), mentioned that ‘Urwa had property in Wādī al-‘Aqīq, at the edge of Ruwāwa, supporting his argument that the person in the inscription must have been ‘Uthmān son of ‘Urwa.⁴⁰⁶ Nevertheless, the discrepancy between our sources must be addressed first, because the work that al-Rashīd used, al-Sakhāwī is a comparatively late source. Indeed, other, older sources present different opinions.

Al-Zubayrī and al-Balādhurī argue that ‘Uthmān son of ‘Urwa had sons but that the line

⁴⁰¹ Rostem, “Rock inscriptions,” 24.

⁴⁰² Khālīd Askūbī, personal communication, October 17, 2020.

⁴⁰³ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 214.

⁴⁰⁴ al-Rashīd, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 42.

⁴⁰⁵ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuḥfa al-laṭīfa fī ta’rīkh al-madīna al-Sharīfa* (Cairo: Maṭba‘at Dār Nashr al-Thaqāfa, 1979), 3: 161.

⁴⁰⁶ al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-Wafā’*, 3: 189-192; and see al-Rashīd, *Kitābāt islāmiyya ghayr*, 124, note 124.

(eventually) died out.⁴⁰⁷ On the other hand, al-Zubayr ibn al-Bakkār claims that his line continued but that it did so through his daughters.⁴⁰⁸ None of these authorities, however, mentioned ‘Uthmān son of ‘Urwa’s offspring by name. Ibn Sa‘d solved the issue by providing details about the children of ‘Uthmān son of ‘Urwa. He counted seven sons and six daughters from two wives and one concubine.⁴⁰⁹ As mentioned above, ‘Uthmān son of ‘Urwa son of al-Zubayr mother was a Qurayshī, and the daughter of al-Ḥakam son of Abū al-‘Āṣ. Interestingly, ‘Uthmān’s wife, and the mother of his son ‘Urwa, was also a Zubayrid from the branch of al-Mundhir. Her name was Qarība daughter of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān son of al-Mundhir. Based on the chronology constructed by Ibn Sa‘d, it seems that ‘Urwa was ‘Uthmān’s eldest son.⁴¹⁰

‘Abd Allāh in turn was ‘Urwa’s eldest son.⁴¹¹ His *kunya* was Abū Bakr. ‘Abd Allāh had five sons, ‘Umar, Ṣāliḥ, Salama, Sālim, and Musālim, and three daughters from two wives, both belonging to the Zubayrids. The first two sons, and ‘Ā’isha, were children from Umm Ḥakīm daughter of ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr. The other children were from his wife Umm Salama daughter of Ḥamza son of ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr.⁴¹² Three of ‘Abd Allāh’s sons appear in the inscriptions, as discussed below. The presence of three of ‘Abd Allāh’s sons in the epigraphic record offers interesting additional information to the literary sources. Muṣ‘ab al-Zubayrī wrote: “Concerning ‘Urwa’s sons: There was ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Urwa who, unlike ‘Umar (his brother by the same mother Fākhita daughter of al-Aswad son of Abū al-Bukhtarī) who did not have any

⁴⁰⁷ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 247; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 55.

⁴⁰⁸ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 209.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 462.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., 7: 462.

⁴¹¹ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 189.

⁴¹² Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 460.

offspring, had one male descendant. None of ‘Abd Allāh’s other sons survived, although they had been many, and consequently the line died out.”⁴¹³

‘Umar son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Urwa son of al-Zubayr left one inscription (inscription 3.52). ‘Umar might be the eldest son of ‘Abd Allāh from his wife Umm Ḥakīm daughter of ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr, because he appears first in the list of sons in Ibn Sa’d’s chronicle.⁴¹⁴ He was known as a *ḥadīth* transmitter.⁴¹⁵ ‘Umar’s brother Sālim left three inscriptions (inscriptions 3.53-55), and Salama left one inscription (inscription 3.56). Sālim’s and Salama’s mother was Umm Salama daughter of Ḥamza son of ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr.⁴¹⁶ Sālim’s full brother by the same mother left an inscription signed as Salama son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Urwa (inscription 3.56). Sālim did not have his own entry in Zubayr ibn Bakkār’s book, but he appears in a chain of transmitters in this book for an account belonging to his grandfather ‘Urwa.⁴¹⁷

‘Urwa’s son Muṣ‘ab is known through the inscription of his son, who signed as ‘Umar son of Muṣ‘ab son of ‘Urwa son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.57).⁴¹⁸ Al-Zubayrī mentions Muṣ‘ab as the youngest son of ‘Urwa. He also stated that this Muṣ‘ab son of ‘Urwa had offspring but without mentioning the names of the children or how many sons or daughters there were.⁴¹⁹

Possibly another one of ‘Urwa’s sons left an inscription under the name Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr⁴²⁰ (inscription 3.58), thus omitting the name of his father ‘Urwa. Despite the fact that his father’s name is missing, there are still valid reasons to suppose this might be one of ‘Urwa’s sons because

⁴¹³al-”ومن ولد عروة بن الزبير وعبد الله بن عروة لا [عقب] لعمر ولعبد الله عقب رجل واحد لم يبق غيره من ولد عبد الله وكانوا كثيرا فانقرضوا”, al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 245-246.

⁴¹⁴ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 194.

⁴¹⁵ Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 460.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 7: 461.

⁴¹⁷ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 271.

⁴¹⁸ al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya*, 244-245.

⁴¹⁹ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 248.

⁴²⁰ Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 461.

his inscription was found next to that of ‘Umar son of Muṣ‘ab (inscription 3.57) in al-Aqra‘. Al-Kilābī has suggested that Yaḥyā might have been the uncle of ‘Umar – i.e. Yaḥyā son of ‘Urwa son of al-Zubayr,⁴²¹ even if the inscription does not mention his father’s name ‘Urwa. In addition, al-Kilābī wrote that Yaḥyā son of ‘Urwa, who was in Damascus for a personal matter during the time of ‘Abd al-Malik, could have left an inscription en route,⁴²² I agree with al-Kilābī, that Yaḥyā would be the son of ‘Urwa, based on her suggestion. Nevertheless, other persons by the name Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr are known from the sources as well, they are:

1. Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ‘Amr son of ‘Amr son of al-Zubayr.⁴²³
2. Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ‘Abbād, discussed above in section 3.5.1.2. (inscriptions 3.21-23).

Three late descendants of Yaḥyā are known from their tombstones, which were published previously by al-Moraekhi.⁴²⁴ These are the descendants of two sons of Yaḥyā’s son ‘Abd al-Malik. This grandson of ‘Urwa is the last of his descendants attested in the literary record.⁴²⁵ ‘Abd al-Malik in turn was the grandfather of one of the individuals whose tombstones was preserved, namely Umm ‘Urwa and the great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather of the other two, namely ‘Abd Allāh and Bakkār.

Umm ‘Urwa was the daughter of Ibrāhīm son of ‘Abd al-Malik son of Yaḥyā son of ‘Urwa son of al-Zubayr’s, names that were all mentioned on the gravestone (inscription 3.59).⁴²⁶ The other two were descendants of ‘Abd al-Malik via his son Ishāq. These were ‘Abd Allāh son of Muḥammad

⁴²¹ al-Kilābī, *al-Nuqūsh al-islāmiyya*, 249-250.

⁴²² al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 200.

⁴²³ Ibid., 1: 155.

⁴²⁴ al-Moraekhi, “A Critical and Analytical,” 1: 38-49.

⁴²⁵ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 461.

⁴²⁶ al-Moraekhi, “A Critical and Analytical,” 1: 38-49.

son of Ishāq son of ‘Abd al-Malik son of Yahyā son of ‘Urwa son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.60) and his son Bakkār, (inscriptions 3.61-62).

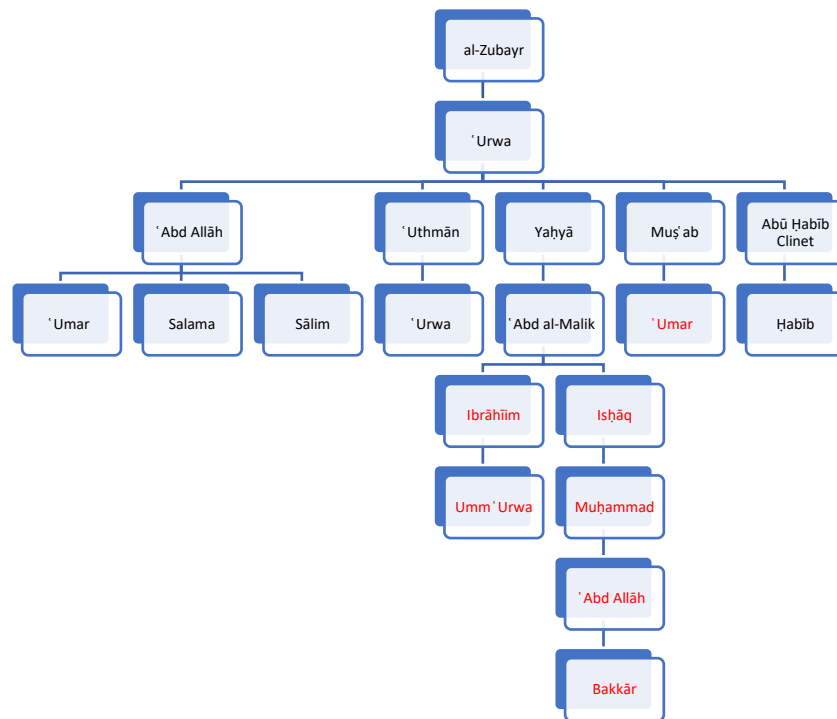


Figure 12 Family tree of the descendants of ‘Urwa son of al-Zubayr attested in inscriptions

3.5.4. The branches of ‘Amr and Ja‘far sons of al-Zubayr

The Zubayrid family, which is discussed here, has two additional branches that are represented in the inscriptions. Those are the branches that belong to ‘Amr and Ja‘far.

A graffito of ‘Amr son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.63) was found in the Ḥismā desert in Tabūk. ‘Amr is the son of al-Zubayr by his wife Umm Khālīd daughter of Khālīd son of Sa‘īd son of al-‘Āṣī.⁴²⁷ He was known to be in opposition to his brother ‘Abd Allāh and died during the second civil war in his brother ‘Abd Allāh’s jail in 61/681.⁴²⁸ One of ‘Amr’s clients left an inscription as

⁴²⁷ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 236.

⁴²⁸ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 185; Gibb, “‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr,” *EF*, 1:55.

well. This was ‘Uqba son of Jarmān, *mawlā* of ‘Amr son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.64). It is difficult to determine whether ‘Uqba or his father was the *mawlā* of ‘Amr.

Another descendant of al-Zubayr through his son ‘Amr is known from the epigraphic record. This concerns Umm Kulthūm daughter of Muḥammad son of Muḥammad son of al-Walīd son of ‘Amr son of al-Zubayr son of ‘Amr son of ‘Amr son of al-Zubayr son of al-‘Awwām whose tombstone has been preserved (inscription 3.65). Although the long genealogy identifies Umm Kulthūm as a descendant of al-Zubayr, her grandfather, Muḥammad son of al-Walīd, is the last person mentioned in the literary sources.⁴²⁹

Turning to the descendant of Ja‘far, a graffito of a descendant from the 7th generation of Ja‘far was found in the region of Medina (inscription 3.66), giving his name as ‘Abd Allāh son of Muḥammad son of Ādam son of ‘Abd Allāh son of ‘Imrān son of Shu‘ayb son of Ja‘far son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.66). Nothing is known about this late descendant of al-Zubayr in the literary sources, nor about his immediate predecessors. As al-Rashīd already pointed out based on al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār he is not identified and the last name from his genealogy that does appear in the literary sources is Shu‘ayb son of Ja‘far.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁹ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 226; al-Zahrānī, *Kitābāt islāmiyya*, 153.

⁴³⁰ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 266; al-Rashid, *Darb zubayda ʿarīq*, 420-421.

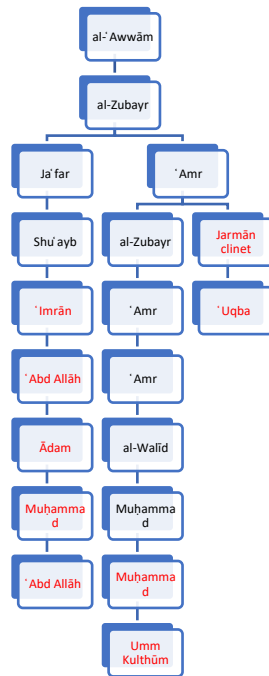


Figure 13 Family tree of the branches of 'Amr and Ja'far as attested in the inscriptions

3.5.5. Unidentified Zubayrids

As I mentioned before, some Zubayrids could not be identified. While many of the names that appear in the inscriptions and that are discussed in this dissertation may point to multiple possible identities – and so add complexity to the process of identification – within the scope of this study, the only unsolvable cases I encountered were those in the Zubayrid family. In the inscriptions, the full lineage does not appear, and so complete identification could not be made or is open to multiple interpretations. The identifications suggested below are thus subject to greater speculation than the other classifications in this dissertation.

These inscriptions originate in the regions of Medina, al-'Ulā, and the 'Asham cemetery south of Mecca, but most of the names can be found in al-'Ulā. It is indeed reported that al-Zubayr son of

Khubayb son of Thābit son of ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr owned land in Wadī al-Qurā and died there.⁴³¹

The first group of unidentified Zubayrids left inscriptions around Medina. Ja‘far son of ‘Abd Allāh son of Ja‘far al-Zubayrī is known from one graffito (inscription 3.67) found in Ruwāwa. The script of the inscription points, according to al-Rashid, to a date in the 2nd or maybe early 3rd/8th-9th century. Ja‘far is not known in the literary record so far, but his father ‘Abd Allāh son of Ja‘far al-Zubayrī might be identified as the individual mentioned in *Akḥbār al-quḍā* as a grandson of al-Zubayrī the genealogist.⁴³² If he is the great-grandson of Muṣ‘ab al-Zubayrī the text can be dated to the 3rd/10th century. There is also an ‘Abd Allāh son of Ja‘far al-Zubayrī in the chain of transmitters that ends with Ibn ‘Abbās (d.68/687).⁴³³ While the chronology fits the identification, no further information is known about ‘Abd Allāh son of Ja‘far al-Zubayrī the transmitter concerning his origins, place of residence, and the like that would have facilitated his identification.

Yaḥyā son of Yaḥyā al-Zubayrī also left an inscription in the area of Medina (inscription 3.68). The *nisba* “al-Zubayrī” can be used either as a reference or as a direct link to the founder of the family. Indeed, the title “al-Zubayrī” that occurs in this inscription offers several possibilities of identification. Amongst the Zubayrid are several individuals with the name Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr. Additionally some individuals carried the name ‘al-Zubayrī’ as part of their name, rather than as a reference to who their father was. The five individuals I mention below lived in Medina at the time that this inscription would have been completed:

⁴³¹ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 105.

⁴³² Wakī‘, *Akḥbār al-quḍāt*, 1: 199.

⁴³³ Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-asmā’ al-mubḥama fī al-anbā’ al-muḥkama*, ed. ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Sayyid (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khānjī, 1997), 363.

Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ‘Amr son of ‘Amr son of al-Zubayr, a poet known by Zubayr ibn Bakkār.⁴³⁴

Yaḥyā son of al-Zubayr son of ‘Abbād, discussed above in section 3.5.1.2 (inscriptions 3.21-23).

Yaḥyā son of Ja‘far son of al-Zubayr, known by al-Mizzī as a transmitter from his cousin ‘Abbād son of ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr.⁴³⁵

Yaḥyā son of Ja‘far son of Muṣ‘ab al-Zubayrī, also a possible identification for our Yaḥyā, was a poet.⁴³⁶

Yaḥyā son of ‘Urwa, discussed above in section 3.5.3 (inscription 3.58), but this Yaḥyā did not have a son called Yaḥyā.⁴³⁷

Finally, there is the son of the famous genealogist al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, whose name was Yaḥyā, although no more information is available about him except that his son was called Muḥammad.⁴³⁸

He might have had other sons, amongst whom one was called Yaḥyā.

An inscription 304/916, mentioning Muṣ‘ab son of Ja‘far al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.69), was found in Mahd ad-Dhahab. Miles suggested he might have belonged to the branch of Muṣ‘ab son of al-Zubayr.⁴³⁹ Nevertheless, the only person known from the literary sources who can be associated with the person mentioned in this inscription is Ja‘far son of Muṣ‘ab from the branch of ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr; that is to say, the father of the person named in the inscription. He was the son

⁴³⁴ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 225.

⁴³⁵ al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 14: 137.

⁴³⁶ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 65.

⁴³⁷ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 461.

⁴³⁸ Abū ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Imrān ibn Mūsā Mirzabānī, *Ash‘ār al-nisā’*, ed. Sāmī Makī al-‘Ānī and Hilāl Nājī (Dār ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 1995), 62.

⁴³⁹ Miles, “‘Ali b. Īsā’s,” 485.

of the Zubayrid genealogist Muṣ‘ab. The only son known of this Ja‘far is ‘Abd Allāh, who was alive in 283/896–897.⁴⁴⁰

In the ‘Asham cemetery south of Mecca the name Ḥakīma daughter of Hārūn son of ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr (inscriptions 3.70-71) was found.⁴⁴¹ Occasionally, sections of a lineage were omitted in the inscriptions, especially concerning the generations further removed in time. For example, ‘Ubayd Allāh son of ‘Abbād son of Ḥamza son ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr left out his great-grandfather ‘Abd Allāh, so the inscription just reads ‘Ubayd Allāh son of ‘Abbād son Ḥamza son of al-Zubayr (inscription 3.20). If we accept that this was also the case in Ḥakīma’s inscriptions, it is possible to reconstruct her identity as follows.

As al-Zayla‘ī has suggested Ḥakīma might be a “distant descendant” of ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr, without giving further arguments for this presumption.⁴⁴² The only Zubayrī whose name is Hārūn is the brother of al-Zubayr son of Bakkār, the genealogist.⁴⁴³ If Ḥakīma is the daughter of this Hārūn, then the inscriber has omitted part of her lineage. Unfortunately, there is no information about Hārūn’s offspring, but the name Ḥakīma was used amongst the branch of ‘Abd Allāh, which supports this idea.⁴⁴⁴

As mentioned above, many of the Zubayrid inscriptions were found in the region of al-‘Ulā. Amongst these are Aḥmad son of al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.72), Muḥammad son of Aḥmad al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.73), and ‘Abd Allāh son of Muḥammad al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.74), who are each known from one inscription. These three individuals, although not convincingly

⁴⁴⁰ Sulaymān ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Rwḍ al-Dānī ilā al-mu‘jam al-ṣaghīr*, ed. Maḥammad Shkūr Maḥmūd al-Ḥājj Āmrīr (Beirut/ Amman: al-Maktab al-Islāmī/ Dār ‘Ammār, 1985), 1: 389.

⁴⁴¹ al-Zayla‘ī, “*The Southern Area*,” 315-317, al-Faqīh, *Mikhlāf ‘asham*, 251.

⁴⁴² al-Zayla‘ī, “*The Southern Area*,” 315-317.

⁴⁴³ Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb*, 123.

⁴⁴⁴ There was one Zubayrid called Ḥakīma, the daughter of Thābit son of ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr see Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 7: 406.

identifiable as particular individuals known from the literary sources, might very well be related. Aḥmad son of al-Zubayr, his son Muḥammad, and his grandson ‘Abd Allāh son of Muḥammad, all left their inscriptions in the same place, making it likely that Muḥammad was Aḥmad’s son and ‘Abd Allāh his grandson.

One member of the Zubayrid family whose inscription was found in Mecca, Ṣāliḥ son ‘Abbād, discussed in section 3.5.1.1 (inscription 3.15), had, according to the inscription, a great-grandson named Muḥammad son of Aḥmad. This identification fits the date of the inscriptions, which seems to be rather late. The second Zubayrī who can be considered the ancestor of the individuals mentioned in the inscriptions is ‘Abd Allāh son of Muṣ‘ab son of Thābit, who had a son called Aḥmad. Aḥmad is known to have had offspring.⁴⁴⁵

Another unidentified Zubayrid whose name appears in an inscription, Abū al-Zubayr son of Ibrāhīm son of Muṣ‘ab (inscription 3.75), might be related to the branch of Muṣ‘ab. There are two persons in this branch who had their father’s name. The first one is Ibrāhīm son of Muṣ‘ab son of Muṣ‘ab son of al-Zubayr (who is usually referred to as ibn Khaḍayr in the literary sources).⁴⁴⁶ But according to al-Zubayrī, this Muṣ‘ab did not have sons, only daughters.⁴⁴⁷ However, Robinson found out that al-Balādhurī mentions that this Ibrāhīm did have sons.⁴⁴⁸ The second one with this name is Ibrāhīm son of Muṣ‘ab son of ‘Umāra son of Ḥamza son of Muṣ‘ab. This individual is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī.⁴⁴⁹

Three further Zubayrids have left their names in inscriptions, but due to the limit of their genealogies in the inscriptions, they cannot be identified with figures from the literary record.

⁴⁴⁵ al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 169.

⁴⁴⁶ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 250; Zubayr ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab*, 1: 222.

⁴⁴⁷ al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, 250.

⁴⁴⁸ al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5: 58; Robinson, “*Prosopographical Approaches*,” 89-90.

⁴⁴⁹ al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-rusul*, 4: 1596.

These are Ishāq son of Muṣ‘ab son of Ishāq son of Ja‘far al-Zubayrī (inscriptions 3.76-82), Muṣ‘ab son of Ishāq son of Muṣ‘ab son Ishāq al-Zubayrī (inscriptions 3.81-85), and Ja‘far son of Ishāq al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.86). Two individuals who were likely father and son are Ismā‘īl son of al-Ḥasan al-Zubayrī (inscriptions 3.87-88) and ‘Abd Allāh son of Ismā‘īl al-Zubayrī (inscription 3.89). The name al-Ḥasan in the Zubayrid family appears once in a long lineage, 10 generations after al-Ḥasan. In al-Yūnīnī’s (d. 726/1326) *Dhayl mir’āt al-zamān* al-Ḥasan son of ‘Īsā son of Thābit son of ‘Abd Allāh son of Nāfi‘ son of Thābit son of ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr appears as a descendant of Thābit son of ‘Abd Allāh. If Ismā‘īl was the son of al-Ḥasan, this might be a possible family branch associated with him.⁴⁵⁰

3.6. The descendants of Abū ‘Abs

“Mention the virtues of ‘Abd Allāh Abū ‘Abs al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī, may
God be pleased with him.”⁴⁵¹

There are twenty-four graffiti related to the family of Abū ‘Abs. The inscriptions in question mainly come from three areas north of Medina, all in close proximity: al-Ṣuwaydira, al-Sāybiyya, and Wādī Ḍubū‘a. In addition, this corpus shows that this family continued to be active in Medina until the fourth generation. These graffiti belong to seven individuals; five new members may now be added to this family. The valuable, contemporary information from the inscriptions allows us to redraw the family tree of Abū ‘Abs and find missing relationships between individuals in the

⁴⁵⁰ In al-Yūnīnī’s, *Dhayl mir’āt al-zamān* mentions Ya‘qūb son of ‘Abd al-Rafi‘ son of Zayd son of Mālik son of Mūsā son of ‘Abd Allāh son of Faḍāla son of ‘Alī son of ‘Uthmān son of Muḥammad son of al-Ḥasan son of ‘Īsā son of Thābit son of ‘Abd Allāh son of Nāfi‘ son of Thābit son of ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr, see Quṭb al-Dīn Abū al-Faḥ Mūsā ibn Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mar’āt al-zamān* (Cairo, Dār al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 1992), 2: 441.

⁴⁵¹ “ذكر مناقب عبد الله أبي عيسى الأنصاري الخزرجي رضي الله عنه”, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Nīsābūrī, *al-Mustadrak ‘alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, ed. Muṣṭafā ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Aṭā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1990), 3: 393.

tree. As mentioned in Chapter One, section 1.2, the family *nisba* was previously read as Abū ‘Īsā; the reread of the corpus allowed me to connect the family to the literary sources.

I will start by discussing the ancestors of this family, Abū ‘Abs and his descendants, because they are relatively less well discussed in the literary sources compared to the three Qurayshī families discussed above. As discussed in section 3.2.3, the primary sources are less abundant in their discussion of Anṣār genealogy. Only two of Abū ‘Abs’ grandsons receive some attention in the biographical dictionaries. As for the rest of his family, details about their lives (date of birth and death, etc.) are absent from the Islamic sources. In view of this, the current section has two aims: first to discuss who is attested in the sources and second to identify the other grandsons of Abū ‘Abs.

According to the *ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa‘d, Abū ‘Abs al-Anṣārī’s (d. 34/654-655) full name is Abū ‘Abs son of Jābir son of ‘Amr son of Zayd son of Jasham son of Ḥāritha son of al-Kazraj son of Malik al-Awasī al-Anṣārī. His mother was Laylā daughter of Rāfi‘ son of ‘Amr son of ‘Adī son of Majd‘a son of Ḥāritha.⁴⁵² From the pre-Islamic era, there is little information about Abū ‘Abs, only that he was known to have been able to write Arabic before the rise of Islam.⁴⁵³ He participated in the battle of Badr in the year 2/624 at the age of 48 and reportedly lost his eyesight while the Prophet was still alive.⁴⁵⁴

His name before Islam was allegedly ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā or Ma‘bad. Following his conversion, the Prophet Muḥammad supposedly changed his name to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān or, according to one account, ‘Abd Allāh. He himself preferred the *kunya* Abū ‘Abs,⁴⁵⁵ which would become his family

⁴⁵² Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 3: 415.

⁴⁵³ Ibid., 3: 415.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., 3: 415.

⁴⁵⁵ Abū Bishr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥammād al-Dūlābī, *Kitāb al-Kunā wa-l-asmā’* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1999), 1: 76-77.

nisba after his death. It follows therefore that his pre-Islamic name was more likely to have been ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā, ‘servant of the pre-Islamic goddess ‘Uzzā’. The name “Ma‘bad” continued after all to be common in the Islamic period. This can be clearly seen in the inscriptions. See, for example, in Part Two the inscription of ‘Abbād son of Ḥamza and Ma‘bad son of Abū Laylā (inscription 3.17). There would thus not have been a reason for a name change.

The important position of Abū ‘Abs in the early period of Islam was due to his participation in the Prophet’s raids, as well as his significant role in the killing of Ka‘b ibn al-Ashraf in 3/624. A poem was composed celebrating Abū ‘Abs’ role in this event.⁴⁵⁶ The Prophet Muḥammad had also made a brotherhood between Abū ‘Abs and Khanīs son of Ḥudhāfa al-Sahmī, and sent them both with Abū Burda son of Nayār to destroy the idols of the Banī Hārith.⁴⁵⁷ Moreover, Abū ‘Abs transmitted several *ḥadīths* of the Prophet relating to the prayer. After the Prophet’s death, Abū ‘Abs pursued a role under the two caliphs ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān (r.23-35/644-656). Ibn Sa‘d mentions that they sent him to collect the alms tax from the Muslims, without indicating the exact place where this was done or from whom he collected the alms. Abū ‘Abs died at the age of 70 in the year 34/654-655. He was buried in al-Baqī‘a cemetery. It is said that caliph ‘Uthmān prayed for him at his funeral.⁴⁵⁸

Ibn Sa‘d wrote about Abū ‘Abs’ descendants saying: “Abū ‘Abs had many descendants in Medina and Baghdād.”⁴⁵⁹ Unfortunately, there is no mention of Abū ‘Abs’ children in Baghdād in the sources, and the inscriptions only offer information about his sons and grandsons in Medina.

⁴⁵⁶ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones (Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub, 2006), 160-162.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kabīr*, 3: 416.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 3: 416.

⁴⁵⁹ “ولأبي عيسى بقية وعقب كثير بالمدينة وبغداد” Ibid., 3: 415.

Four of Abū ‘Abs’ sons are mentioned in the literature, namely Muḥammad, Maḥmūd, Zayd and ‘Ubayd Allāh. He also had at least one daughter called Ḥamīda.⁴⁶⁰ Two branches can be corroborated from the epigraphic record, that of Muḥammad and that of Zayd.

Six of those leaving inscriptions belong to the descendants of Muḥammad: three sons, two grandsons, and one great-grandson. Five of Muḥammad’s sons are known from the epigraphic record, although not all of them left inscriptions themselves.

Al-Qāsim son of Muḥammad son of Abū ‘Abs left a number of graffiti in al-Ṣuwaydira. He left eight in this valley, presenting himself with and without a last name (inscriptions 4.1-8). Unfortunately, there is no further information about him in the literary sources, except for the name of his daughter, Sharīfa, who became the wife of ‘Abd al-Majīd, who is discussed below.⁴⁶¹ Al-Qāsim’s son Ṭālūt is attested in four graffiti that mention the names of his father and grandfather (inscriptions 4.9-12).

A second son of Muḥammad signed his inscriptions as ‘Abd al-Malik son of Muḥammad son of Abū ‘Abs in his graffiti (inscriptions 4.13-15). Maslama son of Muḥammad son of Abū ‘Abs is the third son to have left a graffiti (inscription 4.16). Although ‘Abd al-Malik and Maslama are not known from the literary record.

‘Abd al-Majīd son of Abū ‘Abs left two graffiti (inscriptions 4.17-18). His full name is ‘Abd al-Majīd son of Abū ‘Abs son of Muḥammad son of Abū ‘Abs. He was the great-grandson of Abū ‘Abs, the founder of the family. His father was Abū ‘Abs son of Muḥammad son of Abū ‘Abs. According to Ibn Sa‘d the mother of ‘Abd al-Majīd was a concubine, though he did not give her name. ‘Abd al-Majīd’s wife was Sharīfa daughter of al-Qāsim son of Muḥammad son of Abū ‘Abs.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 3: 415.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 7: 589.

This means that ‘Abd al-Majīd and Sharīfa were cousins. In addition, Ibn Sa‘d states that Sharīfa gave birth to two children, Aḥmad and Maryam. ‘Abd al-Majīd died in the year 164/780–781.⁴⁶²

He was known as a *ḥadīth* transmitter from his great-grandfather.⁴⁶³

The last of Muḥammad’s grandsons in the epigraphic record is Sālim son of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz son of Muḥammad son of Abū ‘Abs, who is known from four inscriptions (inscriptions 4.19-22). Sālim is not known from our literary sources.

The branch of Zayd is only represented with one name, Maymūn son of Zayd. An overview of Zayd is necessary before moving on to his son. As mentioned above, Zayd was the son of Abū ‘Abs, but we do not know if he was older or younger than Muḥammad. Neither do we know whether they were full brothers or had different mother, as the sources do not provide any information regarding Zayd’s mother or wife. Zayd’s son Maymūn signed with his father’s name and that of the family, Abū ‘Abs (inscriptions 4.23-24). He lived in Medina and was known as a transmitter of *ḥadīth*.⁴⁶⁴ Some of the accounts of Maymūn have been transmitted by ‘Abd al-Majīd son of Abū ‘Abs.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶² Ibid., 7: 589.

⁴⁶³ al-Bukhārī, *al-Ta’rīkh al-kabīr*, 6: 111.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., 7: 341.

⁴⁶⁵ Abū Na‘īm Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī, *Dalā’il al-nubūwa*, ed. Muḥammad Rawwās Qal‘ahjī and ‘Abd al-Barr ‘Abbās (Beirut: Dār al-Nafā’is, 1986), 2: 562.

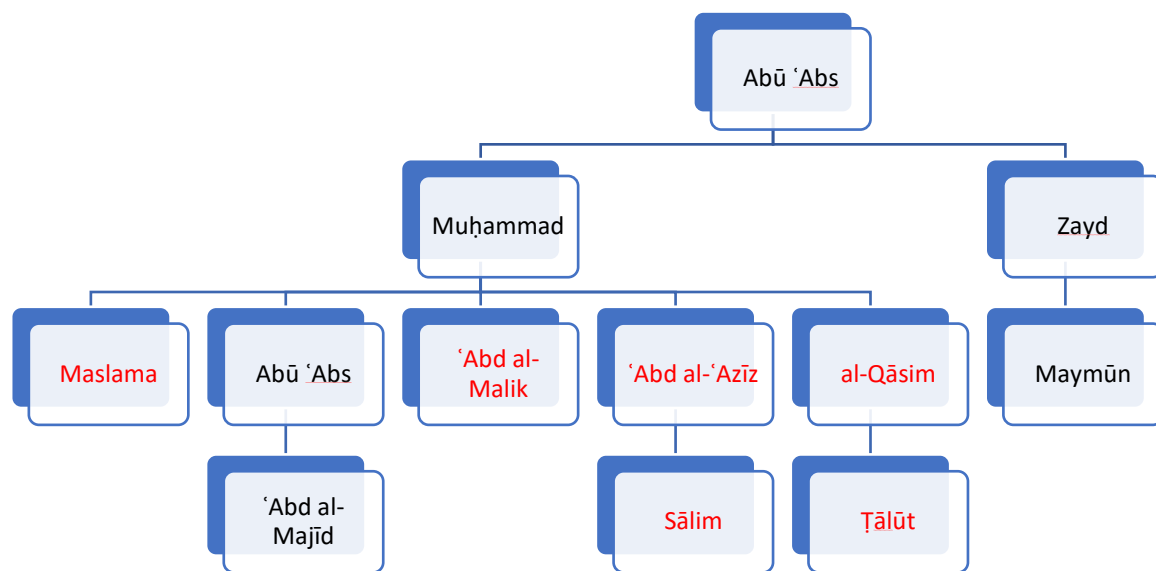


Figure 14 Family tree of descendants of Abū 'Abs attested in the inscriptions

3.7. Conclusion

The inscriptions relating to the descendants of the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad add to the information mentioned in the literary sources in three main ways. Firstly, in some cases, they confirm the information available in the literary sources. Secondly, they can be used to provide additional information about descendants that either have not been mentioned at all in the literary sources or whose existence has been hinted at, but without providing details. In Chapter Four, the family members known from these inscriptions, but not known from the wider literary sources, will be discussed, together with possible reasons for such discrepancies. Finally, together the inscriptions extend the familial genealogies much further in time than the literary sources.

This chapter discussed the relationship between the main body of writings, the inscriptions as a source of genealogical information, and the Muslim traditions. It showed, on the one hand, that people were usually presented with a much longer lineage on gravestones, which helps to construct the family trees for several additional generations. This is not the case for graffiti. For example, in

the branches of ‘Abd Allāh son of al-Zubayr, we noticed that most of them did not use the full lineage, but rather mentioned one or two paternal family members in their graffiti (see the corpus related to the branch of ‘Abd Allāh inscriptions 3.2-34).

Also, according to the data used in this chapter, there is significant information about the branches and sub-branches of important families present in the epigraphic records. However, it seems the inscriptions are not equally divided among the branches, some branches were much more active in recording their family lineage than others. For instance, in the family of ‘Umar and al-Zubayr, we were only able to analyze some branches and sub-branches; the majority of inscriptions of the ‘Umar family are related to the branch of ‘Āṣim. Additionally, most of those were found at the same site.

However, some individuals were difficult to identify due to their shortened names, or because they did not present their entire lineage on the rock. This applies particularly to the unidentified Zubayrids found in the epigraphic records, who could have belonged to several branches of the family, and with the information currently available cannot be assigned with any certainty to one particular branch.

As a result of the comparative link between the literary sources and the inscriptions conducted above, 58 individuals from amongst the 106 attested in the inscriptions could not be identified using the literary texts. They are divided as follows, amongst the family of al-Mughīra 2 individuals are not known. From the family of ‘Umar, 16 out of 39 remain unidentified, even if their father or grandfather was identified. Most of them belong to the branch of ‘Āṣim. Thirdly, for the family of al-Zubayr, which contains 54 individuals, 35 are not identifiable. I have divided the unidentified Zubayrids into two categories: those whose father or lineage is known, which applies to 21 of them; and the rest, which cannot be identified due to a lack of any information

about their lineage. Finally, for the family of Abū ‘Abs, there were 5 amongst a total of 7 family members who could not be identified. Now that we have reviewed all the information gleaned from the literary sources about the individuals mentioned in the inscriptions, identifying those who are absent in the narrative sources, we will turn to take a closer look at those ‘missing people’ trying to explain why they are absent from the literary sources.