

# Kinship, Dynasty, and the Umayyads

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## 1 Introduction

Like many other undergraduate students, I first encountered the Umayyad dynasty while reading Hugh Kennedy's *The Prophet and the age of the caliphates*. Since then, I have learned much more about Umayyad history from Hugh Kennedy and from his published work—especially foundational aspects of the Umayyads' power, including the army, taxation, military pay, and land tenure, but also historiography and genealogy.<sup>1</sup> This chapter, which is dedicated with much gratitude to Hugh, presents some preliminary conclusions about the biology and the social practices that shaped the Umayyad dynasty.<sup>2</sup>

“The Umayyad dynasty” is of course shorthand for a more complicated historical reality. Descendants of Umayya b. ‘Abd Shams claimed authority over the new empire formed by the Arabian conquests for most of the 106 solar years between 23/644 and 132/750—fairly successfully for about 90 of them. However, the Banū Umayya's claims were never universally, or perhaps even widely, acknowledged, nor were they ever a group that was unified or cohesive in its political action.

The chapter takes as a starting point the importance of succession in a patrimonial context, where claims to legitimate leadership could be made by many leading members of a kin group, rendering its members both collaborators and competitors, often at the same time. It examines the role of

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- 1 On genealogy and historiography, see Kennedy, *From oral tradition*. I would like to thank the editors for the kind invitation to contribute the chapter, to acknowledge an Arts and Humanities Research Council grant that supported some of the initial research (grant no. 1026731/1), and to thank colleagues at the 2019 Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Spring Symposium, “Blood in Byzantium,” for comments and discussion.
  - 2 On dynasties in world history, but with a focus on the later medieval and early modern periods, see Duindam, *Dynasties*; and Duindam, *Dynasty*. For a discussion of dynastic politics in the Islamic Middle East down to the early twenty-first century, see McMillan, *Fathers and sons*.

women and marriage in alliances in the political economy and highlights some of the ways that biology and human frailty impacted the way Umayyad dynastic politics played out.

After a short summary of the history of the dynasty, some of the main conclusions are presented before a more detailed survey of the marriage and reproductive patterns of the Umayyad rulers from ‘Uthmān (r. 23–35/644–656) to Hishām (r. 105–125/724–743), as well as three of their ancestors, Abū l-‘Āṣ b. Umayya (fl. ca. 600), his son al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-‘Āṣ (d. ca. 31/651–652), and his nephew Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya (d. 32–34/653–655).<sup>3</sup> These three ancestors are included because the genealogical material shows that their marriage and reproductive choices were an important foundation for the later success of their progeny.

## 2 The Umayyad Dynasty

Two Umayyad patriarchs are famous as dynasts, Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān (r. ca. 41–60/661–680) and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (r. 64–65/684–685), whence the “Sufyanid” and “Marwanid” Umayyads. Before them another Umayyad, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān (r. 23–35/644–656), had also led the West Arabian conquerors (see fig. 2.1).<sup>4</sup>

‘Uthmān’s Umayyad successors’ claims were often grounded in their shared inheritance of legitimacy from him.<sup>5</sup> There are hints in the later tradition of ‘Uthmān himself having had plans for the succession prior to his death in 35/656. As discussed below, his marriages and reproductive choices do indeed suggest that he had dynastic ambitions.

Mu‘āwiya’s success as a dynast was limited; his son Yazīd (r. 60–64/680–683) succeeded him but immediately faced opposition and then died young, a little under 40, as he fought widespread opposition to his rule.<sup>6</sup> Yazīd’s son Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd (r. 64/683–684) also died young, at about 20 years of age, and his brother Khālīd b. Yazīd then lost out to the claims of a second cousin twice removed, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.<sup>7</sup>

3 Keshk, Abū Sufyān.

4 Summaries of this history include Kennedy, *Prophet* 43–106; Hawting, *First dynasty*.

5 See for example panegyrics by al-Akḥṭal that glorify the descendants of Abū l-‘Āṣ, who include both ‘Uthmān and the Marwānids and refer to them as “the protection of ‘Abd Shams”; al-Akḥṭal, *Sharḥ dīwān al-Akḥṭal* 189, 287.

6 Hawting, Yazīd (1).

7 Bosworth, Mu‘āwiya (11); Ullmann, Khālīd b. Yazīd.



Marwān may have been about 60 years old at his accession in 684. He died within about 18 months and was succeeded by one of his sons, ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 65–86/685–705), whose long reign allowed him to assert and then tighten his grip on the caliphate and install a series of sons as his successors.<sup>8</sup> ‘Abd al-Malik was aided in his dynastic success by the timely death of the paternal half-brother, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. ca. 85/704), whom Marwān had nominated to succeed ‘Abd al-Malik. ‘Abd al-Malik was then succeeded by—in this order—two sons, a fraternal nephew and son-in-law, two more sons, three grandsons, and another fraternal nephew, before the Abbasid Revolution overtook his dynasty in 132/750.

In hindsight this familiar succession of rulers from three branches of the Umayyad descent line appears almost natural, but as with all monarchic successions, it was contingent on the vagaries of politics and biology. The “Great Arab Conquests” were an era of permanent competition over power and authority.<sup>9</sup> Important variables in this competition were social and biological: marriage, reproduction, and longevity were some of the main foundations of power in the tribal societies of West Arabia.

### 3 Summary Conclusions

Because of the character of the prosopographic material upon which this chapter is based, the usual sequence is inverted, and the main conclusions are presented here. The fourth section, “Umayyad marriages and children” follows with the detailed evidence upon which these summary conclusions are founded. The chapter ends with a short fifth section, “Final remarks,” which points to some avenues for further research.

The four main conclusions discussed in this third section build on the advances made by Asad Ahmed and Majied Robinson in their prosopographical work on early Islam.<sup>10</sup> They concern the social and political roles of women and marriage, the changing patterns in Umayyad marriage, and the political importance of fertility and mortality.

First, the role of women in the formation of political networks is foregrounded by this kind of analysis in a way that it is not always in the narrative sources

8 For Marwān's age and regnal span, see Bosworth, Marwān (1). On his reign and successors, Robinson, *‘Abd al-Malik, passim*; Kennedy, *Prophet* 78–97; Hawting, *First dynasty* 46–103.

9 Glubb, *Great Arab conquests*; Kennedy, *Great Arab conquests*.

10 Robinson, *Marriage*; Ahmed, *Religious elite*.

and, until recently, still less so in the modern accounts based on them.<sup>11</sup> In contrast, many of the genealogical primary sources do pay attention to the place of women in family networks. This interest is retained in a vestigial form in some of the narrative works—that is, the importance of the women was self-evident to the medieval Arabic scholars.<sup>12</sup> Because of the patrimonial distribution of power and a culture of women retaining their connections with their original kin group after marriage, paternal uncles (*ʿumūm*, sing. *ʿamm*) were often a man's political rivals, whereas maternal uncles (*akhwāl*, sing. *khāl*) could sometimes be crucial allies.<sup>13</sup> The importance of maternal connections are also reflected in naming patterns, with a mother's father often lending his name to her first-born son.<sup>14</sup> The extent and character of any agency for the women themselves in these arrangements is less evident because the sources tend to present the women in relation to male forms of authority and power.<sup>15</sup>

A second conclusion, which likewise builds on the conclusions of Ahmed and Robinson, is that there are discernible patterns in the Umayyads' marriage arrangements.<sup>16</sup> These patterns relate to the social and political context, especially the importance of women in concepts of honor and shame and in forging political alliances. With the changing social and political context of the conquests and then of the political success of the Umayyads, their marriage choices, which were guided by these considerations, changed.

11 An early exception is Abbott, *Women and the state*. For recent discussions, see, for example, Urban, *Conquered populations*; El-Azhari, *Queens*; Robinson, *Marriage*; Tayyara, *Matrilineal lineages*; Ahmed, *Religious elite*; Ali, *Marriage*. There is forthcoming work by Leone Pecorini Goodall, Abdulla Haider, and Marie Legendre. Clarke, Heirs and spares, addresses questions of gender and masculinity in elite political culture.

12 Al-Zubayrī's *Kitāb Nasab Quraysh* includes much information about women. Al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb* often notes maternal relationships. Al-Ya'qūbī's *Ta'rikh*, which is organized by caliphal reign, notes the maternal ancestry of each caliph, as does al-Ṭabarī's annalistic *Ta'rikh*. Ibn Ḥabīb's *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar* is unusual for its focus on matrilineal connections, see Tayyara, *Matrilineal lineages*. For the possibility that matrilineal connections may have been especially important before Islam and in very early Islam, see Webb, *Imagining* 195–205.

13 Tapper and Tapper, *Marriage*.

14 Marsham, *Rituals* 120 and n. 43.

15 However, there is scope to do much more with the sources on this question. See for example the female perspective on kinship relations attributed to 'Ā'isha, "There was never anything in the past between me and 'Alī other than what usually happens between a woman and her male in-laws [...]" ; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh* i, 3,231; translation from al-Ṭabarī, *History* xvi, 170. Hereafter al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rikh* is abbreviated to Ṭab.

16 Ahmed, *Religious elite*; Robinson, *Marriage*.

The status and protection of men's female blood relatives were crucial to preserving a descent group's honor in West Arabian culture.<sup>17</sup> Ideally, a kin group's women were to marry high status men who were closely allied with the woman's own family—this is indeed the pattern of most of the marriages of Umayyad women. Few if any Islamic-era Umayyad women married outside the Quraysh.<sup>18</sup> In contrast, men could marry or form sexual unions for a wider variety of reasons, and lower-status brides and slave women were not unsuitable partners. Women who might be perceived as lower status could be important wives for an alliance with their families. For the caliphs and their sons, some lower-status women could also be useful marriage partners because their families could not easily claim the caliphate for themselves. This applied especially to reproductive sexual partnerships with female slaves, who by virtue of their slave status were usually no longer in contact with their kin group.

Abū l-Āṣ and his descendants, both before and after Islam, showed a marked preference for wives from allies within 'Abd Shams at Mecca, and sometimes from the Makhzūm branch of the Quraysh. Beyond Mecca, some of the Thaḳīf of neighboring al-Ṭā'if supplied many of their wives. Likewise, many of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb's marriages were with 'Abshāmīs, and his branch of the Umayyad clan also had close connections with the Thaḳīf. In both these Umayyad descent lines there were also links with the wider group of Kināna (within which the Quraysh was one descent line) and with Daws, remembered as a subgroup of the "southern" Azd.<sup>19</sup> It is notable, too, that later, at the end of the seventh century and into the eighth, the Marwanid Umayyads consistently took wives descended from 'Uthmān via two of his sons, 'Amr and Abān, and from Mu'āwiya via his son Yazīd and granddaughter 'Ātika bt. Yazīd. These marriages with the descent lines of other Umayyad caliphal lines were intended to confer prestige on the Marwanids' offspring and secure political support from their maternal relatives.

With the conquests, and concomitant power struggles on a much larger stage, there was a shift to greater exogamy in order to cement alliances.<sup>20</sup> The

17 See Tapper and Tapper, *Marriage*; and Schneider, *Of vigilance and virgins*, which suggest useful models.

18 See also Robinson, *Marriage* 163–166.

19 On the longstanding relationship between the Quraysh and Thaḳīf, see Hosein, *Tribal alliance*, *passim*; and on the possible prevalence of links between the 'Abd Shams and Banū Umayya and Thaḳīf, 111–112, 118–119. On the prominence of Makhzūm at Mecca ca. 600 CE, see Hinds, *Makhzūm*. On Kināna, see Watt, *Kināna*. On al-Azd, see Webb, *al-Azd*. It is also notable that Azd and Kināna were among the tribes that did not oppose the Meccans in the so-called "Wars of Apostasy"; Donner, *Early Islamic conquests* 201.

20 Robinson, *Marriage* 148–159.

Banū Kalb of the Syrian frontier became the foundation of Umayyad military power in the seventh century, and this is reflected in a series of marriages with their women. Different branches of the Umayyad clan made marriages with three main branches of Kalb, respectively, in a pattern that reflects competition both within Kalb and within the Umayyad kin-group. Mu'āwiya, 'Uthmān, 'Uthmān's son-in-law Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ, 'Uthmān's first cousin Marwān, Marwān's son 'Abd al-'Azīz and grandson 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, and Marwān's paternal cousin 'Amr b. Sa'īd al-Ashdaq all married women from the Banū Kalb.<sup>21</sup> Meanwhile, 'Abd al-'Azīz's half-brother, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, made extensive marriage alliances with other tribal groups, including Ghaṭafān, Fazāra, and Makhzūm, all of whom had also supplied wives to his ancestors. With the death of 'Abd al-'Azīz in 85/704, before 'Abd al-Malik, Kalb's close kinship connection with the caliphate was severed. After al-Walīd, who married into the wider Quraysh, 'Abd al-Malik's three other successors among his sons became much more endogamous in their marriage choices, favoring Umayyad women. Only 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's brief caliphate temporarily restored an Umayyad with Kalbī relatives (notably a grandmother and a wife) to power.

Where an alliance was being forged or reinforced, a marriage exchange could take place, with a daughter marrying into the allied family and a woman from that family marrying a corresponding male relative.<sup>22</sup> This kind of arrangement tied together the fortunes of the two groups more closely by creating shared interests in the honor of the women and the success of the sons. It could manage the risk of conflict between potential rivals or reinforce the support of an ally. Some examples within the Umayyad descent group include the marriages contracted between the families of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and his paternal uncle al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-Āṣ, those between the two 'Abshāmīs, Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān and 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz, and those between the half-brothers 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-'Azīz. There are also prominent women who married a sequence of senior figures, such as 'Abd al-'Azīz's daughter Umm al-Ḥakam, who married al-Walīd, then Sulaymān, and then Hishām.

Once political power was secured for one family there was a tendency to narrow the range of marriages to close relatives while at the same time having most children with less well connected or even deracinated women. These two changes freed the ruling descent line from political entanglement with other powerful groups. Majied Robinson has shown that from the 690s on, and after

21 For 'Amr's marriage, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* v, 237; Ṭab. ii, 787. For Sa'īd's, see Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh* lxx, 137.

22 On marriage and alliance, see Landau-Tasseron, *Alliances* 164.

‘Abd al-Malik’s sons moved away from marrying outside the most elite Qurashī circles and toward marrying other Umayyads, they chose to have most of their children with slave women (“concubines”), thus ensuring that these children had no maternal relatives.<sup>23</sup> Similar marriage and reproduction decisions appear already to have been made in the mid-seventh century by (or for) Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, who, as the nominated inheritor of power from his father, would have benefitted from the removal of his offspring from other political connections.

Third, not just marriage but also fertility was politically important. The founding fathers of dynasties are literally that. The significance of sons is acknowledged in the narrative sources, which have the Prophet prophesy Marwanid success because of the number of al-Ḥakam’s sons.<sup>24</sup> Four men among those discussed below stand out for their exceptional fertility, having had more than 20 children each—al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-‘Āṣ, his paternal nephew ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, and his son and his grandson, ‘Abd al-Malik and al-Walīd. While their exceptional fertility may in part be an illusion created by sources that record more details about famous people, long-lived and politically successful men probably did tend to have more children; in an environment of political competition between descent groups, having numerous children improved the odds of those children’s success. This was in part simply through creating more chances, but also by providing sons with brothers who could be allies as well as rivals. In the competition between the progeny of al-Ḥakam, ‘Uthmān, and Abū Sufyān, al-Ḥakam’s had the advantage of numbers, compounded by ‘Uthmān’s children’s youth at his death, Mu‘āwiya’s infertility, and Mu‘āwiya’s son Yazīd’s early death.

Indeed, viewed from the perspective of marriage and reproduction, the dynastic ambitions of the third caliph, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, can likely be glimpsed. Although ‘Uthmān was killed before he could make any arrangements for the succession, his specific marriage and reproductive choices look like those of a man who had political ambition for his offspring, as some of the narrative sources also suggest.<sup>25</sup> Unlike his father, ‘Affān b. Abī l-‘Āṣ, who seems to have had only three children, ‘Uthmān fathered more than 20. However, ‘Uthmān’s children lost out, first to their older and better-connected second cousin once removed, Mu‘āwiya, and then to their first cousins in the line of their father’s paternal half-brother, al-Ḥakam.

23 Robinson, *Marriage* 179–186. On this, see also the interesting letter attributed to ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd: ‘Abbās, *‘Abd al-Ḥamīd* 193–194.

24 Humphreys, *Mu‘āwiya* 35; Madelung, *Succession* 342.

25 On these sources, see Madelung, *Succession* 88–90.

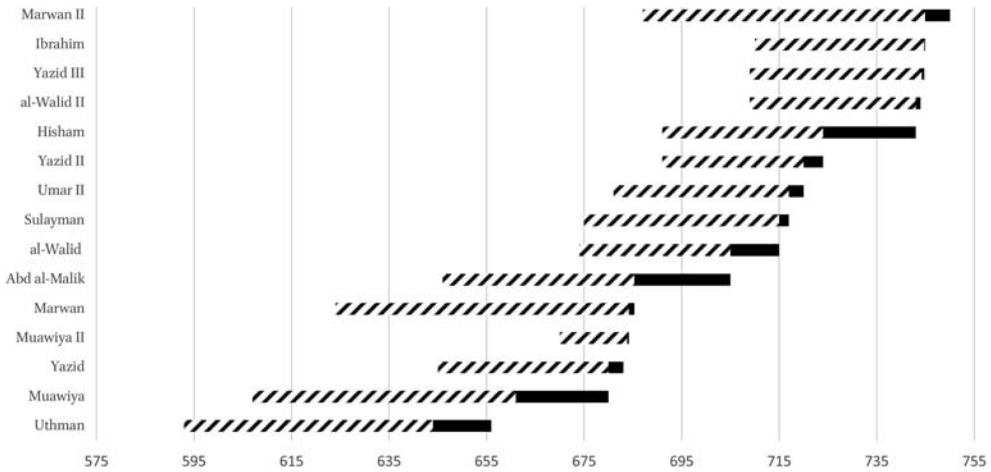


FIGURE 2.2 The lifespans of the Umayyad caliphs (hatching indicates life before accession; black indicates life as caliph)

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Fourth, a dynastic weakness for the Marwanid branch was their own misfortune with early mortality. After ‘Uthmān, no ruling Umayyad of Islamic times seems to have lived beyond his 60s, and many died in their 40s. This problem was exacerbated by their patrimonial succession arrangements, where power often passed “horizontally” within one generation rather than “vertically” from one generation to another—that is, between paternal uncles from the perspective of the next generation (see fig. 2.2).

Of ‘Abd al-Malik’s nine successors, most were short lived, often dying in their 40s. As a consequence, besides the six years of civil war under Marwān II (r. 744–750), at the end of the Umayyad era, only two of ‘Abd al-Malik’s eight other successors ruled for more than four years. These were al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 86–96/705–715) and Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik (r. 105/724–743). The critical decade (96–105/715–724) between these two longer caliphates saw the deaths of four caliphs. At this time, resistance from rivals within the conquest elite had been substantially suppressed and victory over the Roman Empire was briefly within reach, but the instability caused by a succession of very short caliphates contributed to the stalling of expansion and the revival of internal conflict. The long reign of Hishām then saw something of a reassertion of Marwanid imperial power, but momentum was not fully regained, and the final unravelling of the Marwanid caliphate had already begun before Hishām’s death in his early 50s.<sup>26</sup>

26 Tab ii, 1,728–1,729 records three ages: 55, 52, and 54. For the political narrative, see Marsham, *Umayyad Empire*; Hawting, *First dynasty 72–119*; Kennedy, *Prophet 90–106*.

In the next section of this chapter, the marriages of the ruling Umayyads down to the time of Hishām are surveyed, together with those of three of their ancestors. The main sources used are the *Nasab Quraysh* by Abū ‘Abdallāh Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayrī (d. ca. 236/851) and the *Ansāb al-ashrāf* by Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-Balādhurī (d. ca. 279/892).<sup>27</sup> These have occasionally been supplemented by other sources, such as Ibn Sa‘d’s (d. 230/845) *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, al-Ṭabarī’s (d. 310/923) *Ta’rīkh*, and Ibn ‘Asākir’s (d. 571/1176) *Ta’rīkh madīnat Dimashq*.<sup>28</sup> As Watt and Crone observed, and Ahmed and Robinson have shown in more detail, these genealogical materials are consistent and apparently roughly accurate for the most part—only very occasionally is there clear evidence of fabrication.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, the available material is highly uneven, with more complete attention paid to key historical figures and a bias toward recording men rather than women.<sup>30</sup>

## 4 Umayyad Marriages and Children

### 4.1 *Abū l-Āṣ b. Umayya’s Marriages*

The paternal grandfather of the future caliphs ‘Uthmān and Marwān, Abū l-Āṣ b. Umayya, married three Qurashī women. They were Āmina bt. ‘Abd al-‘Uzza b. Ḥurthān of the Banū ‘Adī b. Ka‘b, Ruqayya bt. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Ubayd b. ‘Umar of Makhzūm, and Ṣafiyya bt. Rabī‘a b. ‘Abd Shams.<sup>31</sup> According to al-Zubayrī, he also married one woman from Thaqīf, Arwā bt. Asīd b. ‘Ilāj b. Abī Salama<sup>32</sup> (see fig. 2.3).

27 For al-Zubayrī and his *Nasab Quraysh*, see Robinson, *Marriage* 65–66 et *passim*. On al-Balādhurī’s death date, see Su, *Representations* 10; Lynch, *Arab conquests* 38. Hereafter al-Zubayrī’s *Nasab* is abbreviated to Zub. The editions of al-Balādhurī’s *Ansāb* are cited as follows: Bal. (D) for the Damascus edition; Bal. (B) for the Beirut edition. This latter edition was accessed via *al-Maktaba al-shāmīla* at <https://al-maktaba.org/book/9773>. Now at <https://shamela.ws/book/9773>, last accessed March 3, 2022.

28 Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Ta’rīkh* was accessed via *al-Maktaba al-shāmīla* at <https://al-maktaba.org/book/71>. Now at <https://shamela.ws/book/71>, last accessed March 3, 2022. Ibn Sa‘d’s *Ṭabaqāt* was accessed via <https://shamela.ws/book/9351>, last accessed March 7, 2022.

29 Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* xiv–xv; Crone, *Slaves on horses* 3–17; Ahmed, *Religious elite* 1–12; Robinson, *Marriage* 15–81. See also, Heidemann and Hagemann, *Transregional and regional elites*.

30 Al-Zubayrī records “2328 sons to 610 daughters”; Robinson, *Marriage* 74.

31 Zub. 100–101; Bal. (B) v, 479, § 1207.

32 This Arwā is thus from the *aḥlāf* Ghiyāra branch of the Thaqīf; Hosein, *Tribal alliance*, 115,

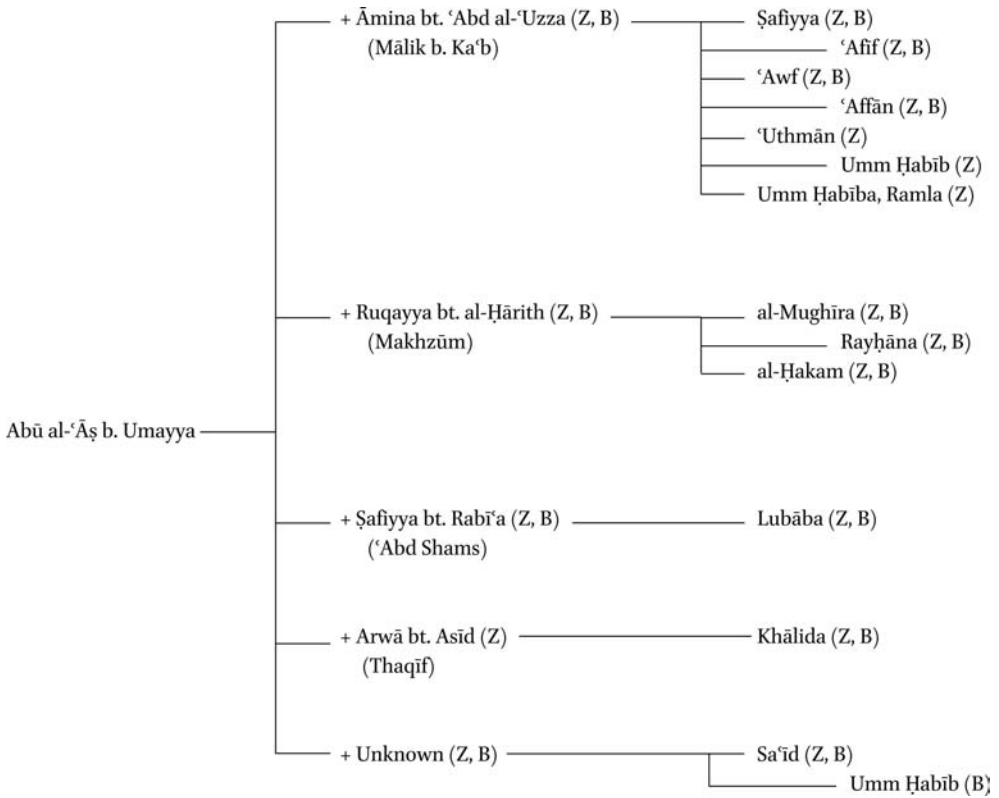


FIGURE 2.3 Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya's marriages and children (Z = mentioned in al-Zubayrī's *Nasab Quraysh*; B = mentioned in al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashraf*)

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Abū l-ʿĀṣ's 13 or more children by these unions included ʿAffān, the father of Caliph ʿUthmān, Ṣafiyya, wife of Abū Sufyān (and the mother by him of Ramla, one of the Prophet's wives), and al-Ḥakam, the father of Caliph Marwān I. As children of Āmina, ʿAffān and Ṣafiyya were full siblings, while al-Ḥakam was their half-brother by Ruqayya.<sup>33</sup>

ʿAffān would go on to marry his second paternal cousin, Arwā bt. Kurayz b. Rabīʿa b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Shams, with whom he would have two daughters and ʿUthmān. Arwā's mother, Umm Ḥakīm bt. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, was a paternal aunt of the Prophet Muḥammad, making ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān a first

228. Al-Balādhurī has the same Arwā as the mother of Asīd b. Abī l-ʿĪṣ b. Umayya; Bal. (B) v, 456, § 1163.

33. Zub. 100–101; Bal. (B) v, 479, § 1207.

cousin once removed of the Prophet on his mother's side (see fig. 2.1 above).<sup>34</sup> As Asad Ahmed has noted, this maternal connection with the Prophet probably helps to explain 'Uthmān's early conversion when members of his paternal descent group, the 'Abd Shams, are generally said to have resisted Muḥammad's new movement.<sup>35</sup>

Beyond the Quraysh, Abū l-'Aṣ had close connections with the Thaḳīf at al-Ṭā'if. For example, his son al-Ḥakam had at least six children by Thaḳafī women.<sup>36</sup> Both al-Zubayrī and al-Balādhurī also note the marriages of Abū l-'Āṣ's daughters Rayḥāna and Khālidā to Thaḳafīs.<sup>37</sup> When al-Ḥakam was exiled after the fall of Mecca, he was sent to Waḳī Wajj, where al-Ṭā'if was situated.<sup>38</sup> However, al-Ḥakam also married women from Kināna and Murra b. 'Awf.<sup>39</sup>

#### 4.2 *Al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-'Āṣ's Marriages and Children*

Abū l-'Āṣ's son al-Ḥakam (d. ca. 31/651–652)<sup>40</sup> was the father of Marwān and grandfather of 'Abd al-Malik. Al-Ḥakam's large number of children is specifically remarked upon in the genealogical literature.<sup>41</sup> Al-Ḥakam had four or five wives and some slave women, by whom he had certainly more than 20, and likely rather more than 30, offspring<sup>42</sup> (see fig. 2.4). Some details differ in the sources, although some of the differences may be attributable simply to copyists' errors.

Al-Ḥakam married more exogamously than his father. His first wife was probably Āmina bt. 'Alqama b. Ṣafwān b. Umayya b. Muḥarrith al-Kinānī, certainly she was the mother of his eldest son, 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥakam. She was also the mother of Marwān, who seems to have been born around 2 or 4/623 or 625.<sup>43</sup> The genealogists list Mulayka bt. Awfā of the Murra b. 'Awf next among

34 Zub. 101; Bal (D) i, 100; Bal. (B) v, 480, § 1212.

35 Ahmed, *Religious elite* 107–108.

36 See below, section 4.2.

37 Zub. 101; Bal. (B) v, 479, § 1207.

38 Bal. (D) v, 80.

39 See below, section 4.2, for al-Ḥakam's marriages to women from Kināna and Murra b. 'Awf.

40 Al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh* iii, 363–365. Accessed via *al-Maktaba al-shāmīla al-ḥadīthīya*, <https://al-maktaba.org>, last accessed September 5, 2021. Now at <https://shamela.ws/book/12397>, last accessed March 3, 2022.

41 Zub. 159: "... he fathered twenty-one men and women"; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh* iii, 365: "twenty men and eight women." For him being a statistical outlier, see Robinson, Qurashi marriage 528.

42 Zub. 159–160; Bal. (B) vi, 255, 301–305.

43 Bosworth, Marwān (1). Her brother was later appointed as governor to Mecca by 'Abd al-Malik; Bal. (B) xi, 144, where his genealogy is given as 'Alqama b. Ṣafwān b. Muḥarrith.

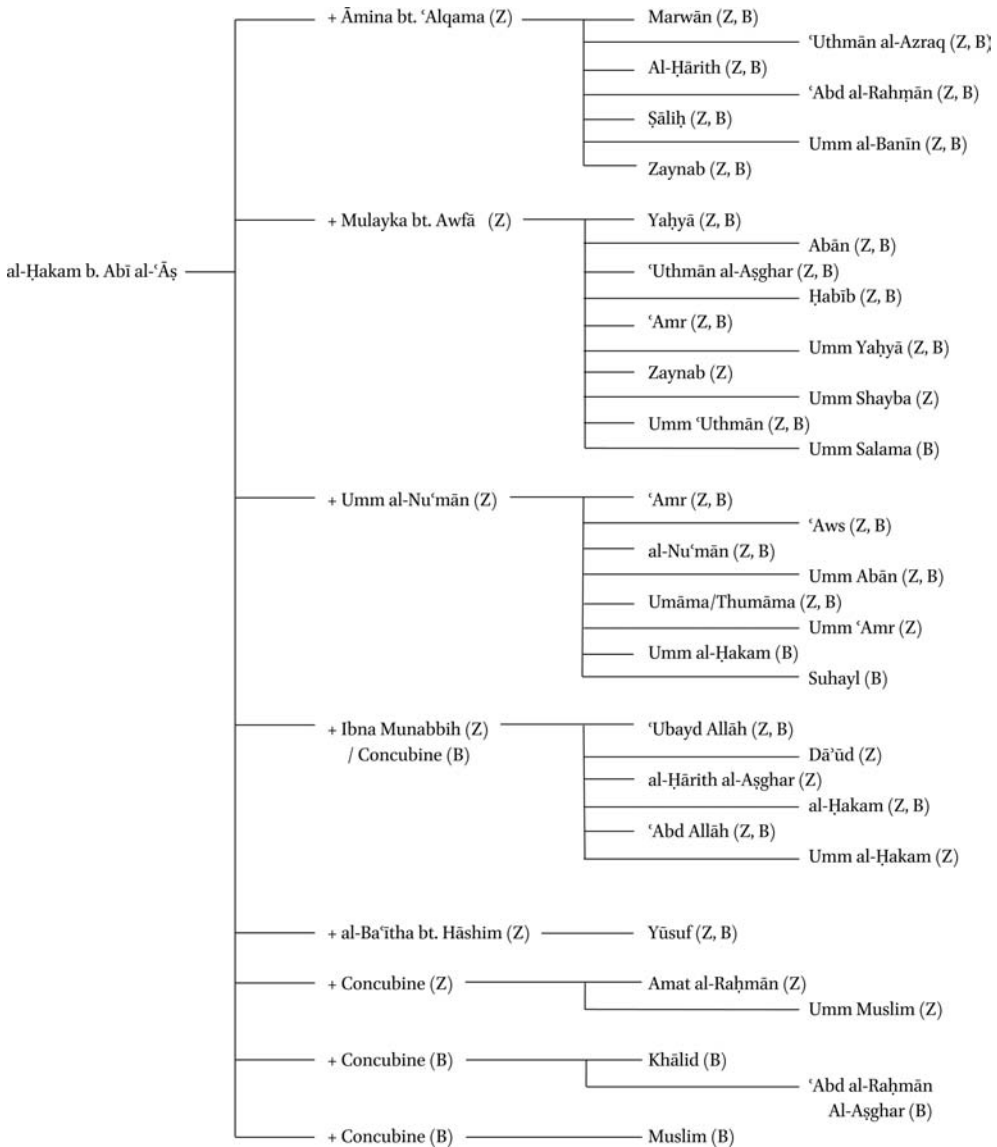


FIGURE 2.4 Al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ's marriages and children (Z = mentioned in al-Zubayrī's *Nasab Quraysh*; B = mentioned in al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashraf*)

A. MARSHAM

al-Ḥakam's wives.<sup>44</sup> Al-Ḥakam's marriages also reflect his father's and then his own association with the Thaḳīf. Al-Ḥakam had at least six (al-Zubayrī) or seven (al-Balādhurī) children with a Thaḳāfi woman, Umm al-Nu'mān bt. al-Ḥārith b. Abī 'Amr.<sup>45</sup> A second union with a woman from the Thaḳīf was—according to al-Zubayrī—with an unnamed daughter of Munabbih b. Shabīl b. al-'Ajlān b. 'Attāb b. Mālik b. Ka'b, or with an unnamed "concubine" according to al-Balādhurī. This relationship produced five or three children according to the two respective genealogists. Al-Ḥakam had just one Qurashī wife, Umm Yūsuf al-Ba'itha bt. Hāshim b. 'Utba b. Rabī'a b. 'Abd Shams.

#### 4.3 *Abū Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb b. Umayya's Marriages and Children*

Al-Ḥakam shares some biographical similarities with his first cousin Abū Sufyān. Both were powerful 'Abshāmī leaders in Mecca who opposed Muḥammad but fathered future caliphs. Both fathered many children, albeit al-Ḥakam likely more than double Abū Sufyān; the sources record about 15 children for Abū Sufyān, of whom about seven were boys, by seven women.<sup>46</sup> An additional son, Ziyād—the future governor of Iraq for 'Alī (r. 35–41/656–661) and then for Mu'āwiya—was attributed as a son of Abū Sufyān in a politically motivated fiction from the time of Ziyād's surrender to Mu'āwiya in 44/665<sup>47</sup> (see fig. 2.5).

Among Abū Sufyān's daughters, Ramla, whose matronymic was Umm Ḥabība, married the Prophet.<sup>48</sup> Her other sisters married into the Quraysh and Thaḳīf.<sup>49</sup> Among the seven boys Abū Sufyān fathered, two predeceased him, killed in battle (Ḥanzala) or killed by the plague on campaign (Yazīd), and two were without issue (the same Yazīd and 'Amr). This left his son Mu'āwiya with few surviving brothers and nephews and so contributed to the weakness of Abū Sufyān's progeny in comparison to those of al-Ḥakam, his contemporary.

44 Zub. 159; Bal. (B) vi, 301; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh* xxxviii, 331. Her genealogy is given by al-Zubayrī as Mulayka bt. Awfā b. Khārīja b. Sinān b. Abī Ḥāritha b. Murra b. Nushba b. Ghayz b. Murra b. 'Awf. Al-Balādhurī gives Mulayka bt. Awfā b. al-Ḥārith. On the Banū Murra b. 'Awf, see Landau-Tasserion, Murra.

45 Her full genealogy is given by al-Zubayrī as Umm al-Nu'mān bt. al-Ḥārith b. Abī 'Amr b. 'Amr b. Wahb b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. Sayyār b. Mālik b. Ḥuṭayṭ b. Mu'ṣab b. Quṣayy al-Thaḳāfiyya. This would appear to place her in the Mālik branch of the Thaḳīf, see Hosein, Tribal alliance 113.

46 For the marriages and children of Abū Sufyān, see Zub. 123–127; and Bal. (D) iv, 9–12.

47 Bal. (D) iv, 212–220; Hasson, Ziyād b. Abīhi, with further references.

48 Bal. (D) i, 526, where it is noted that she is sometimes called Hind, but Ramla is more reliable.

49 Zub. 124; Bal. (D) iv, 10. On her brother-in-law at the siege of al-Ṭā'if, see Hosein, Tribal alliance 155.

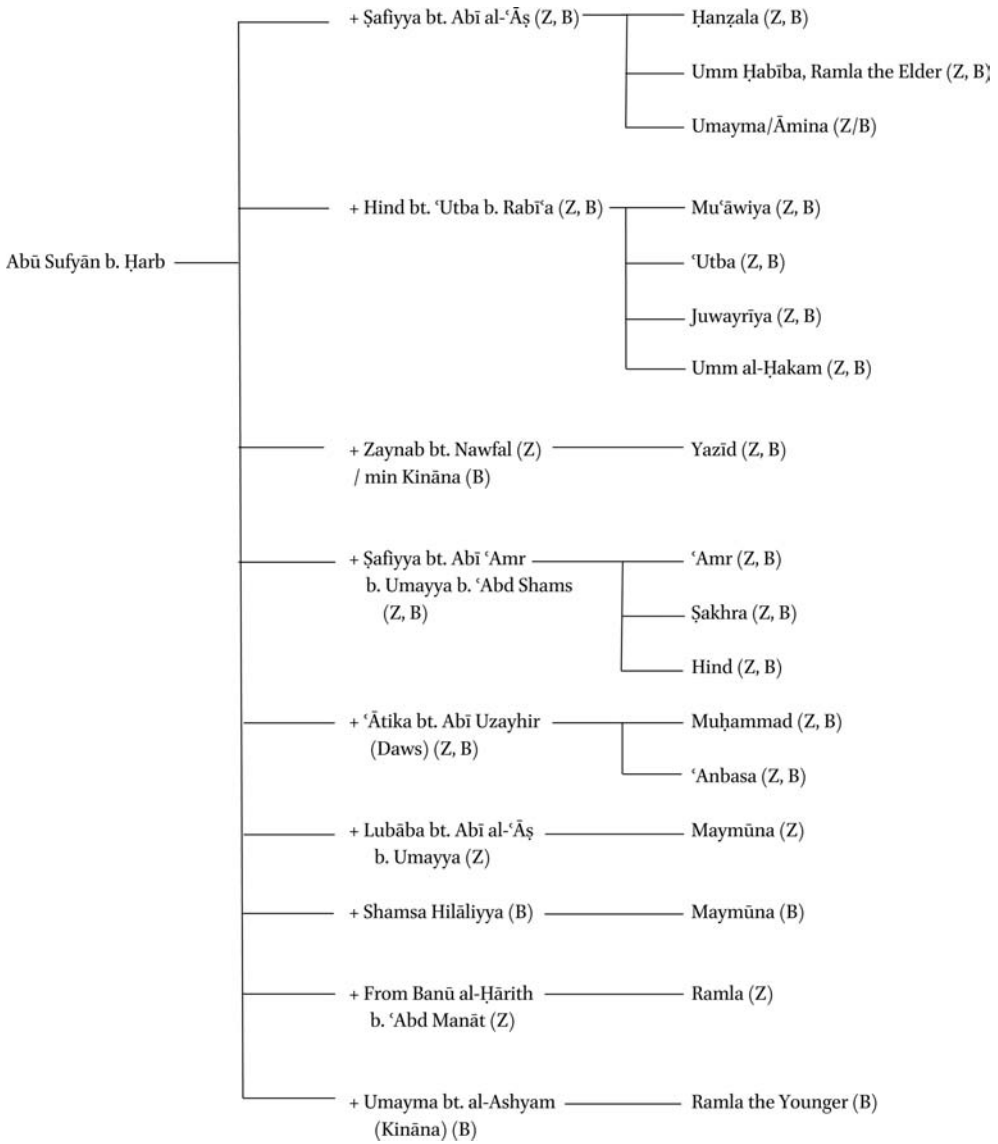


FIGURE 2.5 Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb's marriages and children (Z = mentioned in al-Zubayrī's *Nasab Quraysh*; B = mentioned in al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashraf*)

A. MARSHAM

#### 4.4 *Uthmān b. 'Affān b. Abī l-Āṣ's Marriages*

Like his paternal uncle al-Ḥakam, 'Uthmān fathered more than 20 children. However, 'Uthmān is also said to have contracted an exceptional eight or nine marriages. They are listed according to a tentative chronology in figure 2.6 below, derived in part from al-Ṭabarī's list of 'Uthmān's wives, from Madelung's *Excursus* in his *Succession to Muḥammad*, and from Ahmed's *Religious elite*.<sup>50</sup>

'Uthmān's age at his death is confused in the sources. He is said to have lived either to 63 years old, which would give him a birth year of ca. 593 and would have him enter his mid-teens in 608, or to 75 years old, which would place his birth in ca. 581 and his mid-teens in ca. 596, or into his 80s, which would place his birth year in the 570s and would have him aged 15 in the mid- to late 580s.<sup>51</sup> Of these ages, 75 perhaps seems most plausible as Wilferd Madelung has argued.<sup>52</sup>

Famously, 'Uthmān is said to have had one son by Ruqayya, a daughter of the Prophet. However, this son, 'Abdallāh, died as a child.<sup>53</sup> After Ruqayya's death in ca. 624, he married another one of the Prophet's daughters, Umm Kulthūm—a union that was without issue.

Seven children are said to have been born to three women from Quraysh—Ramla bt. Shayba of 'Abd Shams, Fāṭima bt. al-Walīd of the Banū Makhzūm, and Asmā' bt. Abī Jahl of the Banū Hāshim. He is said to have had three daughters with Ramla, two sons and a daughter with Fāṭima, and a son with Asmā'. Asmā' was also Fāṭima bt. al-Walīd's mother, and the marriage is not widely attested, so there is doubt about this marriage's historicity.<sup>54</sup> If it was an authentic marriage, then it was probably his first, before he followed Muḥammad.<sup>55</sup>

Three more sons were born from two more marriages with daughters of leading tribal leaders—one, who died very young, to Fākhita bt. Ghazwān of the tribe of Māzin, a sister of 'Utba, an early convert and Companion,<sup>56</sup> and two to Umm al-Banīn bt. 'Uyayna al-Fazarī, whom 'Uthmān is said to

50 Ahmed, *Religious elite* 106–111; Zub. 104–105; Bal. (B) v, 600–601, §1548; Ṭab. i, 3,056. For eight or nine marriages as exceptional, see Robinson, Qurashi marriage 526–30.

51 Ṭab. i, 3,052–3,054.

52 Madelung notes that 63 may be a hagiographic figure, matching the age of the Prophet at his death: Madelung, *Succession* 370. This would also allow for his marriage to Asmā' before Muḥammad's mission.

53 Bal. (D) v, 252; Watt, Ruqayya.

54 Ahmed, *Religious elite* 109.

55 Madelung, *Succession* 363–364.

56 Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* iii, 98–100; Bal. (D) v, 252; Ṭab. i, 3,056; Bosworth, 'Utba b. Ghazwān. On 'Abdallāh, her son, see Ṭab. i, 3,056.



have married after Abū Bakr's (r. 11–13/632–634) defeat of her father, the leading shaykh of Ghaṭafān.<sup>57</sup>

At least eleven other children were born to two women from tribes involved in the conquest of Syria—Umm 'Amr al-Dawsī, a daughter of Jundab b. 'Amr of the Azd, whose father died in battle in Syria in ca. 636, and Nā'ila bt. al-Farāfiṣa of the Syrian tribe of Kalb, whom he married in 28/648–649.<sup>58</sup> 'Uthmān fathered five known children with Umm 'Amr—four sons and a daughter, Maryam. The eldest son, 'Amr, is said by al-Zubayrī to have been the oldest of 'Uthmān's sons, who himself fathered children but was still young at the time of 'Uthmān's death.<sup>59</sup> 'Amr's sister Maryam is said to have married three Umayyads, Sa'īd b. al-ʿĀṣ, the widow of her half-sister Umm 'Amr, then 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith al-Makhzūmī, and finally 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.<sup>60</sup> 'Uthmān fathered five daughters and one son with Nā'ila.

That eleven of 'Uthmān's 22 known children are said to have been born to daughters of leading figures in Syria, probably in the 630s, 640s, and early 650s, suggests strongly that 'Uthmān was seeking to produce heirs whose maternal relatives were politically and militarily powerful men in Bilād al-Shām, perhaps as alternatives to the progeny of his second cousin and governor in Syria, Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. However, most of these children were likely under 20 years old when 'Uthmān was killed. Furthermore, the children of the best-connected mother, Nā'ila, were five girls and only one (likely very young) son. This pattern suggests possible dynastic ambitions on 'Uthmān's part, thwarted by his murder and by his children's sex and their youth at the time of his death. It is notable that among the eleven is the one man who kept his distance from the Umayyad clan and sought political connections elsewhere: 'Amr b. 'Uthmān.<sup>61</sup>

#### 4.5 *Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān's Marriages*

One of 'Uthmān's most powerful allies and potential competitors was his second cousin and governor in Syria, Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. As a long-standing commander in the frontier province of Syria, who was well-connected with the Banū Kalb, Mu'āwiya was ideally placed to take power after 'Uthmān's death, but his own limited fertility—said to have been ended by a wound

57 Fück, Ghaṭafān.

58 For the date of the marriage to Nā'ila, see Ahmed, *Religious elite* 131.

59 Zub. 105–106. Cf. Bal. (D) v, 254.

60 Bal. (D) v, 253.

61 Ahmed, *Religious elite* 108. For 'Amr's prestige among the sons of 'Uthmān, see Zub. 110; Bal. (D) v, 254. See also Madelung, *Succession* 89.

from a failed assassination attempt in ca. 40/660–661—left him with only one heir, who would be supported by the dominant Kalbī element in the Syrian army.<sup>62</sup>

Mu'āwiya contracted two marriages with women from the Qurashī line of Nawfil bt. 'Abd Manāf, by whom he is said to have had at least one boy, 'Abdallāh (described as “weak”), and two girls, Hind and Ramla.<sup>63</sup> A marriage to an 'Abshāmiyya first cousin, Kuthna bt. Umayya b. Abī Sufyān b. Umayya, seems to have been without issue. He had another boy, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and another girl, 'Ā'isha, by concubines. He also married two women from the Banū Kalb—Maysūn bt. Bahdal and Nā'ila bt. 'Umāra. Maysūn was famously the sister of the leading shaykhs of the Banū Kalb; Nā'ila was her paternal first cousin. Of these two Kalbī women, only Maysūn had children—a girl who died very young and one son, Yazīd, who was born around 24/645.<sup>64</sup>

#### 4.6 *Mu'āwiya's Children's Marriages*

Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya's status as his father's nominated heir is reflected in his marriages and reproductive choices, which anticipate those of his Marwanid second cousins a couple of decades later; he separated his line from other groups by producing most of his children with concubines and with close cousins. Yazīd had at least 18 children by three wives and an unspecified number of concubines.<sup>65</sup> Most of these children—ten of them—were by concubines.

A related development was a move toward close cousin marriage: two of Yazīd's three child-producing marriages were with women from leading proximate branches of the 'Abd Shams—a daughter of Abū Hāshim b. 'Utba b. Rabī'a (her name and matronymic vary) and Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz,<sup>66</sup> who was the daughter of a maternal cousin of 'Uthmān, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir, who served as a leading commander in Iran and Iraq under 'Uthmān and then Mu'āwiya.<sup>67</sup> These two marriages yielded a further seven

62 For the political implications of Mu'āwiya's few children in the Arabic sources, see Humphreys, *Mu'āwiya* 35. On the injury that made him infertile, see Ṭab i, 3,464–3,465.

63 For one Fākhitha as 'Ātika, and accompanying Mu'āwiya on campaign, see Ṭab i, 288–289.

64 Zub. 126, 127–128; Bal. (D) iv, 315–316; Ṭab ii, 204–205. On Yazīd's age, see Hawting, *Yazīd* (1).

65 Zub. 128–130; Bal. (B) v, 290, § 779, 355–356, § 923.

66 Zub. 128; Bal. (B) v, 355, § 923. Al-Zubayrī gives the former as Umm Hāshim and al-Balādhurī calls her Umm Khālid and gives her *ism* as Fākhitha.

67 Morony, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir; Gibb, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Āmir; Bal. (D) vii, 687, 689; Ṭab. i, 2,802, 2,828.

children between them, including Khālid and Mu‘āwīya b. Yazīd, who briefly succeeded him in 64/683–684. Yazīd also had a daughter, Ramla (by an unnamed “Ghassānid woman” according to al-Balādhurī).<sup>68</sup> This Ramla is said to have married ‘Abbād, a son of the Iraqī governor Ziyād (g. 45–53/665–673), as did her sister, Umm ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, after her.<sup>69</sup> A fourth marriage, with a great-granddaughter of the second caliph, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, was childless and ended in divorce.<sup>70</sup>

The marriages of Mu‘āwīya’s other five children who lived to adulthood reflect his alliances with the family of ‘Uthmān and with two governors in the East—the same ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir, whose daughter married Yazīd, and the same Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, whose son married Yazīd’s daughter. In 41/661 Mu‘āwīya reappointed ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir to the governorship of Basra that he had lost after ‘Uthmān’s murder. Then, in 44/665, when ‘Alī’s former governor of Basra, Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, surrendered, Mu‘āwīya deposed ‘Abdallāh and installed Ziyād, adopting him as a brother.<sup>71</sup> The relevant marriages probably occurred in this sequence, reflecting Mu‘āwīya’s shift from being part of a network of alliances with ‘Uthmān’s relatives to establishing his own connections with men who owed more to him personally. Hind, Mu‘āwīya’s daughter by Fākhita bt. Qarāza, married ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz, who was also the father-in-law of Hind’s full brother, ‘Abdallāh (and, as noted above, of her half-brother Yazīd). Ramla, who was Mu‘āwīya’s daughter by Fākhita’s sister, Kanūd (or Katwa), married ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān, Mu‘āwīya’s daughter by a concubine, ‘Ā’isha (or Ṣafīyya), married a son of Ziyād.<sup>72</sup>

#### 4.7 *Al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-‘Āṣ’s Childrens’ Marriages*

While al-Ḥakam’s marriages largely reflect the politics of Mecca in the transitional decades from the era just before Muḥammad’s mission through to the first waves of conquests in Syria, Iraq, and Egypt (ca. 600–ca. 650), the marriages of his many children contributed to the consolidation and development

68 Bal. (B) v, 290, § 779.

69 Al-Zubayrī lists only Ramla’s second cousin, ‘Utba b. ‘Utba b. Abī Sufyān, as her husband and gives Umm ‘Abd al-Raḥmān as the wife of ‘Abbād b. Ziyād; Zub. 130. Al-Balādhurī says Ramla and Umm ‘Abd al-Raḥmān married ‘Abbād “one after the other”; Bal. (B) v, 356, § 923. Both scholars relate the account that the marriage was arranged by Khālid b. Yazīd and was criticized by ‘Abd al-Malik. On Ziyād, see Hasson, Ziyād b. Abīhi.

70 Zub. 360–361; Bal. (B) v, 290–291, § 779.

71 For these events, see above, n. 44.

72 For all three of these marriages, see Zub. 128; Bal. (B) v, 285, § 763. ‘Abdallāh b. Kurayz was the father of Amāt al-Ḥamīd, wife of Hind’s full brother, ‘Abdallāh b. Mu‘āwīya, Zub. 169.

of alliances in the context of the new “conquest society” (ca. 620–ca. 670).<sup>73</sup> They were a crucial foundation for the future political success of the Marwanids.

Al-Ḥakam’s closeness to ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān is reflected in his childrens’ marriages. Two of al-Ḥakam’s children married daughters of ‘Uthmān: Marwān b. al-Ḥakam had about five male children and at least one daughter by Umm Abān, ‘Uthmān’s daughter by al-Ramla bt. Shayba al-‘Abshāmī;<sup>74</sup> Marwān’s full brother, al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam, married Umm Abān’s full sister, ‘Ā’isha, by whom he had at least two children.<sup>75</sup> A third child, Abān, who was al-Ḥakam’s son by Mulayka of the Banū ‘Awf, married Umm ‘Uthmān bt. Khālīd b. ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu‘ayṭ, a niece of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān’s maternal half-brother, al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba.<sup>76</sup>

Al-Ḥakam’s other sons married women from other branches of the Umayyad clan. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who was a full brother of Marwān and al-Ḥārith, married Umm al-Qāsim bt. ‘Abdallāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd. Yaḥyā, who was a son by Mulayka, married two women from the Quraysh—Zaynab bt. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān of the Banū Makhzūm, by whom he had at least two children, and Umm Kulthūm bt. Muḥammad b. Rabī‘a of the Banū Hāshim, by whom he had at least another two.<sup>77</sup>

Al-Ḥakam’s sons also married women from beyond the Quraysh. Besides his children by Umm Abān bt. Shayba, al-Ḥārith also had at least four children by Mufāda, a daughter of the Companion, Tamīmī shaykh, and poet, al-Zibriqān b. Badr.<sup>78</sup> Ḥabīb, who was a son by Mulayka, married Maryam bt. ‘Abdallāh of the ‘Aws of Medina.<sup>79</sup> Yaḥyā, also a son by Mulayka, married Umm Sulaymān, a daughter of ‘Āmir b. al-Ḥarash of the Banū Ka‘b b. Qays, in addition to his two Qurashī wives.<sup>80</sup>

Many of al-Ḥakam’s daughters married Qurashīs and Thaqafīs. Umm al-Banīn, a full sister of Marwān and his brothers, married Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ al-Umawī (d. ca. 59/679), another close ally of Caliph ‘Uthmān, by whom she had the future candidate for the caliphate and rival of ‘Abd al-Malik, ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd al-

73 For “conquest society,” see Crone, *Slaves on horses* 27 and 29.

74 Zub. 161. Cf. Bal. (B) vi, 307.

75 Zub. 169–170. Bal. (B) v, 601, §1550.

76 Zub. 171. Bal. (B) vi, 302. For Arwā as the mother of both ‘Uthmān and al-Walīd, see Bal. (B) iv, 311. See also Bosworth, Al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba.

77 Zub. 171.

78 Zub. 170. On al-Zibriqān, see Lecker, al-Zibriqān b. Badr. Lecker does not note the marriage with al-Ḥārith, but notes two others with Thaqafī commanders.

79 Zub. 172–173.

80 Zub. 171.

Ashdaq.<sup>81</sup> According to al-Balādhurī, Umm Abān and then her half-sister, Umm al-Ḥakam, both married ‘Abdallāh b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥaṇṭab al-Makhzūmī. (In contrast, al-Zubayrī records only the marriage of Umm Abān to ‘Abdallāh’s brother ‘Abd al-Malik, and elsewhere al-Balādhurī has their sister Umm Salama as a wife of ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥaṇṭab.)<sup>82</sup> Umm Abān’s full sister, Umāma (or Thum-āma), married ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Dhi‘b from the Qurashī clan of ‘Āmir b. Lu‘ayy. Umm al-Banīn’s full sister, Zaynab, married Usayd b. al-Akhnas al-Thaqafī.<sup>83</sup>

#### 4.8 *Marwān b. al-Ḥakam’s Marriages and Children*

Marwān b. al-Ḥakam is said to have had about 16 children by five wives and one concubine and to have married a sixth wife without issue. As with his father, the number of his children is remarked upon in some of the sources; it does appear to be statistically exceptional, albeit less so than his father’s 30 or more children.<sup>84</sup>

Marwān is said to have been born in ca. 2 or 4/623 or 626 and to have been over 60 years old at his death in 65/685.<sup>85</sup> At his cousin ‘Uthmān’s accession in 23/644, Marwān would have been a young man of about 20, and so his marriages probably began at or just before this time. They reflect his close associations with the networks of power in the era of ‘Uthmān’s caliphate.

The two sons of Marwān who would go on to achieve the most prominence were born early in ‘Uthmān’s caliphate: the future caliph ‘Abd al-Malik (d. ca. 86/705), who is said to have been born in 26/646–647, and the future governor of Egypt and crown prince, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. ca. 85/704).<sup>86</sup> Their mothers were, respectively, Ā’isha bt. Mu‘āwiya b. al-Mughīra b. Abī l-‘Āṣ, who was Marwān’s paternal first cousin once removed, and Laylā bt. Zabbān b. al-Aṣḥab b. ‘Amr al-Kalbī, who was the daughter of a leading figure from the powerful Syrian tribe, the Banū Kalb, and a second cousin of ‘Uthmān and Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ’s wives from Kalb.<sup>87</sup>

A third son, Bishr, is almost as well-known as ‘Abd al-Malik and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz; Bishr was in Egypt with his paternal brother ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and then was gov-

81 Zub. 159. On these connections, see Bosworth, Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ.

82 Zub. 159; Bal. (B) vi, 302; ix, 126.

83 Zub. 159.

84 Zub. 160 says he had eleven children, “men and women”; Ibn Sa‘d v, 36 says he had 13, “men and women.” On the statistics, see Robinson, Qurashi marriage 527 and 530.

85 Bosworth, Marwān (1).

86 For their dates, see Gibb, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān; Zetterstéen, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān.

87 Zub. 160. On Zabbān and his father, Abū Tumādir, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Ma‘add wa-Yaman* 566, 568; al-Ṭabarī, *History* viii, 95, n. 408.

ernor of Iraq under his paternal half-brother ‘Abd al-Malik; Bishr’s mother was Qutayya bt. Bishr b. Mālik, who was from one of the leading branches of the Banū Kilāb branch of ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘ṣa‘a.<sup>88</sup>

As noted above, Marwān also had about five male children and at least one daughter by Umm Abān bt. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān and at least two children by Zaynab bt. ‘Amr from the Makhzūm branch of the Quraysh. He also had at least one son by a concubine, the famous frontier commander Muḥammad (d. ca. 100/719–720), whose mother is often said to have been Kurdish.<sup>89</sup>

Marwān’s sons’ maternal connections help to explain whom among them were eventually promoted as candidates for the caliphate. ‘Abd al-Malik was a son by his father’s paternal cousin once removed, and so was descended from his great-grandfather Abū l-‘Āṣ on both sides. He had one full brother, Mu‘āwiya, but Mu‘āwiya is remembered as “stupid” in the tradition and is said to have married to a daughter of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, both things would have made him unsuitable for the caliphate in the eyes of most of his other relatives and their allies.<sup>90</sup> ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s mother, Laylā, was from the Syrian Banū Kalb, who were the mainstay of the military support of the Umayyads in the seventh century. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz also had a full brother, but he died in childhood.<sup>91</sup> Bishr also appears to have had caliphal ambitions.<sup>92</sup> His noble but non-Qurashī mother and later his governorship in Iraq gave him the connections that allowed for this. However, his death in 73–75/692–695, at about 40 years of age, curtailed them.<sup>93</sup>

The marriages of Marwān’s two nominated heirs, ‘Abd al-Malik and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, are discussed in detail in the following section. Among Marwān’s other children, the marriage patterns often reveal the political reach and status of their father, with marriages into the families of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ, the Banū Makhzūm, and the Banū Kalb.<sup>94</sup>

#### 4.9 *‘Abd al-Malik and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s Marriages and Children*

Like his father and grandfather, ‘Abd al-Malik married and fathered children prodigiously.<sup>95</sup> However, his marriages took place in a very different political

88 Zub. 160–161.

89 Zub. 161.

90 Zub. 45; Bal. (D) v, 341–342.

91 Bal. (D) v, 340.

92 See, e.g., Treadwell, Orans drachm.

93 Bosworth, Bishr b. Marwān.

94 Zub. 45, 121, 160, 161, 170; Bal. (D) v, 340, 342. Cf. Bal. (D) v, 340; Bal. (B) ix, 177.

95 For his statistical outlier status, see Robinson, Qurashi marriage 528.

context, reflecting his position as one of the oldest and best connected of Marwān's sons, and then as his heir and as caliph during and after the second civil war. 'Abd al-Malik reached adulthood (ca. 15 years old) and so the age of potential fatherhood in the early 40s/660s, when his father was achieving prominence as a leading figure in Mu'āwiya's caliphate. The matches he made reflect his father's position and then his own status, first as candidate for the caliphate and then as caliph.

'Abd al-Malik is said to have contracted six marriages that produced ten male children and three girls and up to a further five that did not produce progeny or where the progeny are unknown. The majority of 'Abd al-Malik's sons were by Wallāda, 'Ātika, and his concubines. At least a further eight children by the latter are recorded in the sources<sup>96</sup> (see fig. 2.7).

The children who became caliphs were two sons by Wallāda bt. al-'Abbās al-'Absī—al-Walīd (r. 86–96/705–715) and Sulaymān (r. 96–99/715–717)—and two by 'Ātika bt. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān—Yazīd II (r. 101–105/720–724)—and 'Ā'isha bt. Hishām b. Ismā'il al-Makhzūmī—Hishām (r. 105–125/724–743). These four sons succeeded in order of seniority: al-Walīd was probably born in ca. 54/674, and Sulaymān shortly after; Yazīd and Hishām were born in ca. 71/690 and ca. 72/691, respectively.<sup>97</sup> At 'Abd al-Malik's death in 86/705, al-Walīd and Sulaymān would both have been about 30 years old, whereas Yazīd and Hishām would only have been about 15. Al-Walīd and Sulaymān had two more brothers, Marwān and Dā'ūd, neither of whom are said to have had any children, and one sister, 'Ā'isha, who married Khālīd b. Yazīd.<sup>98</sup>

Yazīd's mother was 'Ātika bt. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, who is celebrated in the tradition as the daughter of one caliph, the granddaughter of another, the wife of a third, the mother of a fourth, and the grandmother of a fifth. Thus, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik's maternal uncles and cousins were grandsons and great-grandsons of Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān; he is sometimes known in the sources as Ibn 'Ātika.<sup>99</sup> Yazīd had two full brothers, Marwān and Mu'āwiya, and one sister, Umm Kulthūm; Mu'āwiya died young, without children.<sup>100</sup>

Hishām's mother, 'Ā'isha, was a daughter of the Makhzūmī shaykh, Hishām b. Ismā'il, whom 'Abd al-Malik appointed governor of Medina after retaking

96 Zub. 83, III, 161–165; Bal. (D) vi, 302–6; Ṭab. ii, 1,174.

97 For al-Walīd, see Kennedy, *Al-Walīd* I. *Al-Walīd* (1); Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh* lxiii, 185, 187. For Sulaymān, see Eisener, *Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik*. For Yazīd, see Lammens and Blankinship, *Yazīd* (II). For Hishām, see Gabrieli, *Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik*.

98 Zub. 161–162; Bal. (D) vi, 302; Ṭab. ii, 1,174.

99 Marsham, *Rituals* 120 and n. 43.

100 Zub. 163; Bal. (D) vi, 302; Ṭab. ii, 1,174.

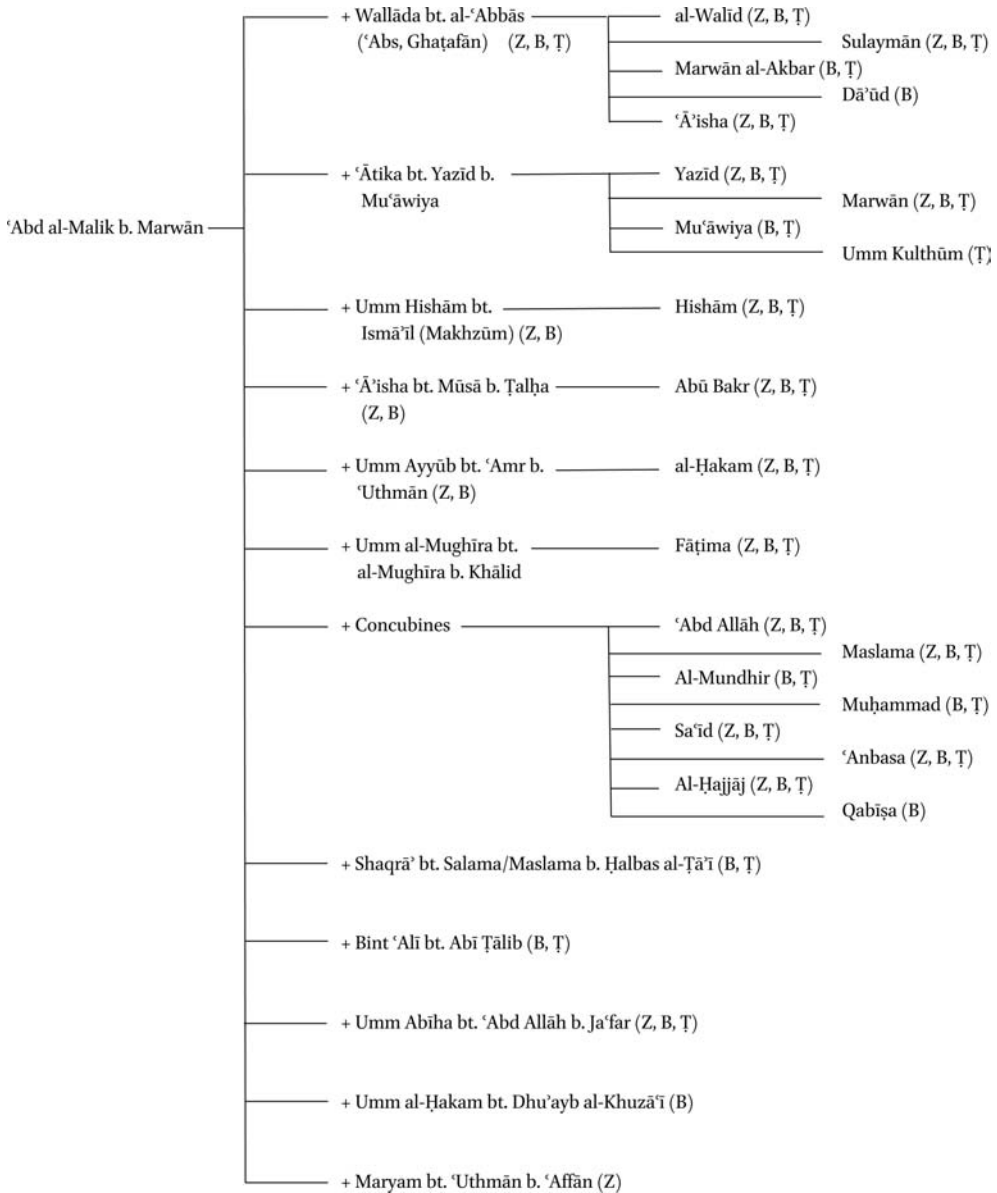


FIGURE 2.7 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's marriages and children (Z = mentioned in al-Zubayrī's *Nasab Quraysh*; B = mentioned in al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashraf*; T = mentioned in al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rikh*)

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the town from Ibn al-Zubayr. 'Abd al-Malik's marriage with Hishām b. Ismā'īl's daughter was contracted at the same time and brought a son immediately, in 72/691.<sup>101</sup> Thus, the marriage was one of alliance, bringing a rival family into association with 'Abd al-Malik's. It is notable that it produced only the one son; this may have been deliberate as well as a consequence of a fairly late union, when 'Abd al-Malik was about 45. Notably, 'Ā'isha bt. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa and Umm Ayyūb bt. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān were also both from non-Marwanid Qurashī branches whose ancestors had claimed the caliphate, and each bore 'Abd al-Malik only one son.<sup>102</sup>

'Abd al-'Azīz's marriages likewise reflect his leading status among the sons of Marwān, albeit in the shadow of his half-brother 'Abd al-Malik. Unlike 'Abd al-Malik, 'Abd al-'Azīz did not make many marriages of alliance or have many children by concubines, differences that are probably attributable to him never becoming caliph. He is said to have had four wives, fathering seven sons and four daughters by them, as well as at least one son, al-Aṣḡagh, by a concubine.<sup>103</sup>

One of 'Abd al-'Azīz's sons did later become a caliph: 'Umar II (r. 99–101/717–720). 'Umar was born in 61/681, when 'Abd al-'Azīz was perhaps about 35 years old. His mother was Umm 'Āṣim Ḥafṣa bt. 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who was a granddaughter of her son's namesake, the second caliph, 'Umar I (r. 13–23/634–644). 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's ancestry contributed to him being nominated as Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik's heir after the crisis caused by Sulaymān's death in 99/717. 'Umar had three full brothers, 'Āṣim, Abū Bakr, and Muḥammad.<sup>104</sup>

'Abd al-'Azīz's three other marriages reflect his grand-maternal connections and the building of alliances with the Sufyanids and their allies, most likely during Mu'āwiya's caliphate. Like his father, he married a woman from the Banū Kilāb, Laylā bt. Suhayl, by whom he fathered two boys and a girl. Like his brother 'Abd al-Malik, he married a granddaughter of Mu'āwiya (but not a daughter of Yazīd I), 'Ā'isha bt. 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya, by whom he had only daughters. 'Abd al-'Azīz also had a son and a daughter by Umm 'Abdallāh bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, which was a marriage that was probably contracted to secure his position

101 Zub. 163–164; Bal. (D) vi, 302; Hinds, Makhzūm; Gabrieli, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik.

102 Zub. 164; Bal. (D) vi, 302.

103 Zub. 168–169; Bal. (D) v, 369; vii, 5–6.

104 See further on these brothers, Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh* xxv, 271–274, § 3016, § 3017, where 'Āṣim is said to have been killed by the Kharijites and Muḥammad is said to have been childless; and lxvi, 38–40, § 8388, on Abū Bakr. For 'Āṣim as the prayer leader at Kūfa for his paternal half-brother, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, see Bal. (B) viii, 222.

as the governor of Egypt; Umm ‘Abdallāh was the granddaughter of the conqueror of Egypt, ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ (g. 19–ca. 25/640–644, ca. 42 or 43/ca. 660–662 or 664), and the daughter of another governor and renowned scholar, ‘Abdallāh (g. 43/664; d. 65/684).<sup>105</sup>

#### 4.10 *Al-Walīd, Sulaymān, Yazīd, and Hishām’s Marriages and Children*

Among ‘Abd al-Malik’s 19 named sons, his first nominated heir, al-Walīd, made an exceptional number of marriages during his 42 or so years, for which he is remembered in the sources. At least nine wives are named between al-Zubayrī, al-Balādhurī, and al-Ṭabarī<sup>106</sup> (see fig. 2.8.)

Al-Walīd’s marriages reflect both his seniority in age among ‘Abd al-Malik’s sons and his prestige as a likely successor to his father. Most matches were political alliances, uniting ‘Abd al-Malik’s family with potential rivals but yielding only two known children—perhaps deliberately so. Indeed, al-Walīd fathered 15 of his 22 known children with his concubines, including his eldest son, the military commander al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd.

Al-Walīd’s marriages outside the line of Abū l-‘Āṣ included: Nafisa and Zaynab, who were two great-granddaughters of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; a daughter of Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ, Āmina, whose brother, ‘Amr, rebelled against ‘Abd al-Malik and was killed in 69/689;<sup>107</sup> Umm ‘Abdallāh, who was a niece of ‘Abd al-Malik’s wife from the same ‘Uthmānid line and, during his caliphate, one of her nieces, ‘Izza, whom he later divorced; a daughter of Ibn al-Zubayr’s Qurashī Kufan governor, ‘Ātika, whom he divorced; and a “Fazārī woman.”<sup>108</sup> However, these seven marriages produced only two known children, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān by Umm ‘Abdallāh and Abū ‘Ubayda by the Fazārī woman.

Al-Walīd had more children with his first cousin Umm al-Banīn bt. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, in a union that tied the fortunes of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and ‘Abd al-Malik. Al-Walīd is said to have attempted to promote ‘Abd al-‘Azīz as his heir, without success.<sup>109</sup> (Two of al-Walīd’s sons did eventually succeed to the caliphate, long

105 On ‘Amr, see Keshk, ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ. On ‘Abdallāh’s death date, see Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rikh* xxxi, 290.

106 For al-Walīd’s marriages and children, see Zub. 52, 116, 165, 168; Bal. (D) vii, 5–6; Ṭab. ii, 1, 270. A report from al-Madā‘īnī claims he had 63 wives (!), without naming them; Bal. (D) vi, 6. For his exceptional status, see Robinson, Qurashi marriage 528. For 42 as his age at death, see Kennedy, al-Walīd. 1. Al-Walīd (1); Bal. (B) viii, 93 says he was 49 when he died, which would place his birth at around 47/667–668 as opposed to Jacobi’s estimate of 54/674.

107 Bal. (B) viii, 91, for a story about her remarks on ‘Abd al-Malik’s death.

108 Bal. (B) x, 481, for ‘Abdallāh b. Muṭīr’ and Ibn al-Zubayr.

109 On this, see Marsham, *Rituals* 114, 121–122. On marriages between al-Walīd and Sulaymān’s children, see Bal. (B) viii, 68. Cf. Bal. (B) viii, 86–87.

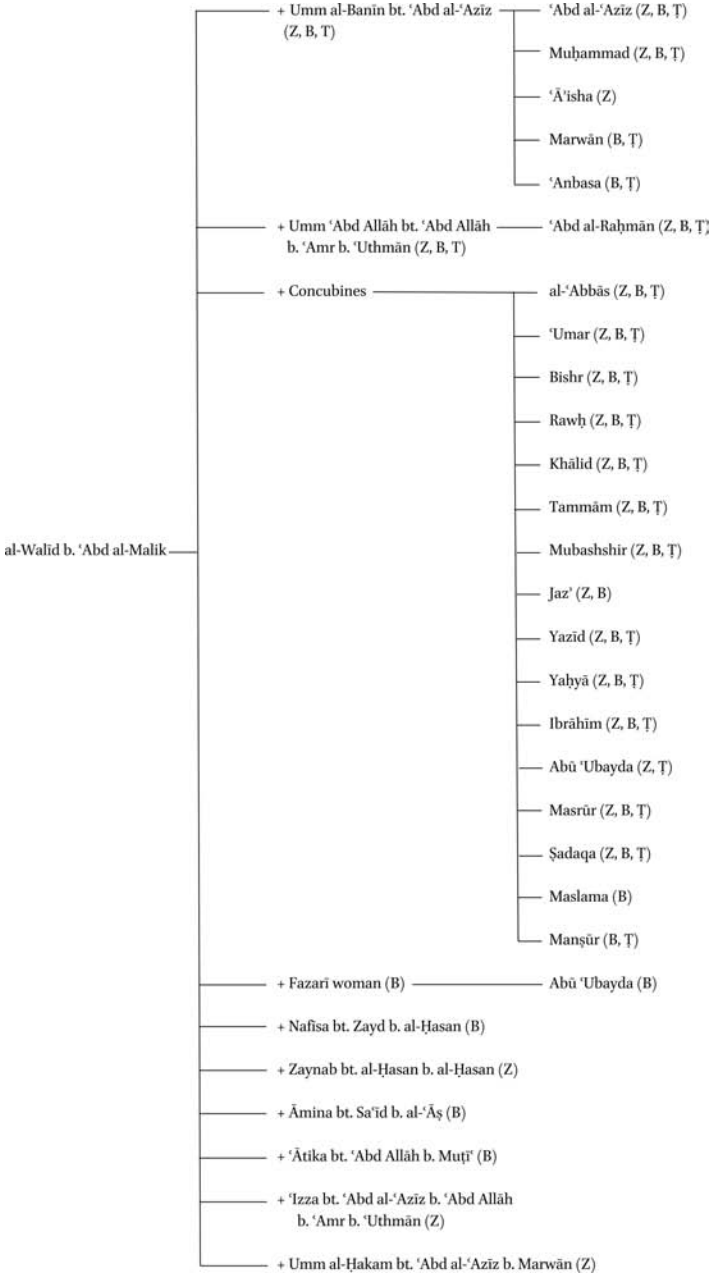


FIGURE 2.8 Al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik's marriages and children (Z = mentioned in al-Zubayrī's *Nasab Quraysh*; B = mentioned in al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-ashraf*; T = mentioned in al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh*)

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after their father's death—Yazīd III in 126/744 and Ibrāhīm for a month or two in the same year.<sup>110</sup>) Al-Walīd also married one of Umm al-Banīn's sisters, Umm al-Ḥakam, but had no children by her.<sup>111</sup>

In contrast to al-Walīd, his three brothers married more endogamously. Sulaymān's six marriages were all to members of the Umayyad branch of the Quraysh, by whom he had eight known children. In addition, he had at least six children by concubines, making at least 14 children in all.<sup>112</sup> Yazīd and Hishām were about 15 or more years younger than al-Walīd and Sulaymān and so would have reached their mid-teens in about 86/705, around the time of their father's death. Yazīd contracted two marriages, one with a Qurashī and one with a Thaqaḫī, by whom he had six known children, and had at least a further eight children by slave women.<sup>113</sup> Hishām made five marriages—all with Umayyad women—by whom he had eight known children, and at least a further seven children by slave women.<sup>114</sup>

The Umayyad lines with which these three brothers married were quite specific and consistent. Four of their marriages were in the lines of their paternal great-great-grandfather, al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-ʿĀṣ, <sup>115</sup> five were in the line of ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (four of ʿAmr's granddaughters, one of whom, Suʿda, first married Yazīd and then Hishām after Yazīd's death), two were nieces of ʿĀtika bt. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, mother of Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, <sup>116</sup> and one (Umm ʿAmr, a wife of Sulaymān) was a daughter of the Umayyad governor of Fars and Kufa, ʿAbdallāh b. Khālīd b. Abī l-ʿĪṣ. <sup>117</sup> The only non-Qurashī was Yazīd's Thaqaḫī wife, Umm al-Ḥajjāj bt. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, the niece of the governor of Iraq, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (r. 75–95/694–714). His son, al-Walīd b. Yazīd, who became caliph in 125/743 and was killed in 126/744, was a son by this Umm al-Ḥajjāj and was supported by her male relatives.<sup>118</sup>

110 Hawting, Yazīd (111); Cremonesi, Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd.

111 Zub. 168.

112 On Sulaymān's marriages, see Zub. 165–166; and Bal. (D) vii, 40, with further references in what follows.

113 Zub. 166–167; Ṭab. ii, 1,465.

114 Zub. 167–168, 171; Bal. (D) v, 253; Ṭab. ii, 1,465.

115 Zub. 165, 168, 171.

116 Zub. 165–167; Ṭab. ii, 1,465.

117 Zub. 166; Bal. (D) vii, 40.

118 Zub. 166–167; Ṭab. ii, 1,465. For the dates, see Dietrich, al-Ḥadjdjādī b. Yūsuf. Kennedy, Al-Walīd 2. Al-Walīd (11). On the succession of al-Walīd II, see Marsham, *Rituals* 122; Crone, *Slaves on horses* 45; Crone, Qays and Yemen 55.

#### 4.11 *Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's Marriages and Children*

'Umar was probably less than a decade younger than his paternal cousins al-Walid and Sulaymān, and about a decade older than Yazīd and Hishām. He would have come of age in about 75/695, when his father was both established as governor in Egypt and the widely recognized heir apparent to his uncle 'Abd al-Malik. 'Umar's three marriages were with his paternal cousin Fāṭima bt. 'Abd al-Malik—making 'Umar the brother-in-law of 'Abd al-Malik's sons—and with two daughters of tribal leaders, Lamīs bt. 'Alī of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b and Umm Shu'ayb, or Umm 'Uthmān, bt. (Sa'īd, or Shu'ayb, b.) Zabbān. The latter was his maternal cousin from the Banū Kalb. He had seven known children by these wives, and seven by concubines.<sup>119</sup>

### 5 Final Remarks

This brief survey has examined the marriages of the Umayyad rulers and some of their most important ancestors and children down to the mid-Marwanid era. There is much more to say. For example, the marriages of the wider Umayyad clan might be explored, and matrilineal lines of kinship examined more extensively. In terms of sources, both the narrative historiography and poetry remain under-explored.<sup>120</sup> Here, the survey ends with some very brief comments about the last Umayyad caliphs, who were three of 'Abd al-Malik's grandsons (al-Walid II, Yazīd III, and Ibrāhīm) and a nephew (Marwān II). The last three of these rulers had slave mothers, in part reflecting the unusual political circumstances of the third civil war.<sup>121</sup> This war between the progeny of al-Walid I and Yazīd II might also be seen as a conflict between the marginalized Syrian Kalb, who had been closely connected to the Umayyad clan in the mid-seventh century through to the early eighth but had lost power and influence to predominantly Qaysī groups on the northern Roman frontier. It is also connected to conflicts in Iraq, with al-Walid II's mother being a Thaqafi relative of the Iraqi governor Yūsuf b. 'Umar.<sup>122</sup> Although the ruling Marwanid branch of the

119 On 'Umar's marriages and children, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* v, 330; Bal. (D) vii, 161; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh* vii, 85; xxxi, 218. On the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b in very early Islam, see Schleifer, Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b. On Fāṭima, see Marsham, *Rituals* 120 and n. 41.

120 Some suggestions about the poetry are made in Marsham, *Rituals* 86–112. Crone and Hinds, *God's caliph*, makes good use of the poetry; and Alain George and Nadia Jamil have recently shown the great potential of the poetry for Umayyad history, see George, *Umayyad mosque*.

121 For their mothers, see Bal.(D), vii, 170, 474, 540, 548.

122 Ṭab., ii, 1740–1879 gives a detailed narrative of the civil war. Note that some allegiances

Umayyad dynasty had sought to disentangle themselves from close kinship with their tribal allies, they nonetheless fell victim to the politics of their Syrian armies and the challenges of ruling such a vast empire.

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cut across the Quḍā‘a/Qays divide—some ‘Absīs were allies of al-Walīd I’s family, as one might expect. Somewhat contrasting discussions of the power dynamics involved include Crone, *Slaves on horses*, 42–8; Kennedy, *Prophet and the age*, 97–101; Blankinship, *End of the jihad*, 223–36.

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