
GENEALOGY AND KNOWLEDGE IN
MUSLIM SOCIETIES

Understanding the Past

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AND HELENA DE FELIPE

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CHAPTER 7

Was Marwan ibn al-Hakam the First "Real" Muslim?

FRED M. DONNER*

Marwan ibn al-Hakam ibn Abi l-'As, a leading member of the Umayyad family during the first/seventh century and himself briefly *amīr al-mu'minīn* ("commander of the Believers") from 64 until 65 AH (684–5 CE), is – like most members of the Umayyad clan – not very favourably remembered by the Islamic historical tradition. The main obstacle standing in the way of achieving a sound assessment of Marwan (or, for that matter, of almost any other figure of his time) is the virtual absence of documentary evidence about him.¹ This forces us to rely on reports found in later narrative sources, in which the surviving historical facts may be unrecoverable or may be totally obscured by masses of partisan invective and later embellishment, added for polemical purposes. This is especially true for figures like Marwan, who were deeply involved in the intense political rivalries that afflicted the early community of Believers, including the infighting that took place within the ruling circles of the new Umayyad regime. While the many reports about the events of their day may provide a fair idea of what the various parties were fighting about, the barrage of charges and counter-charges in these reports often leave the historian completely unable to decide just what the position of any of the main actors was on a particular issue, or even what their actions may have been. Above all, it is difficult to discern what we may call the moral qualities of the protagonists, since the accounts about them usually aim primarily to establish or to undermine precisely these moral qualities. This is because political legitimacy in the early Islamic tradition was felt to be rooted, in large measure, in the perceived virtue of the claimant: The basic attitude was that only a God-fearing, righteous person could plausibly claim authority to lead the community of Believers.

The figure of Marwan does not fare very well in the moralistic universe of these narrative sources. Among the many negative reports about Marwan,

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some accuse him of having been the first to delay the *khutba* (sermon) during the Friday prayer, a tampering with established ritual that was not generally approved.² He is sometimes depicted as ill-tempered, as, for example, when he became angry at the highly esteemed Companion of the Prophet and conquest hero Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas when the latter suggested to Marwan that he order the people of Syria to stop cursing 'Ali during prayers.³ Other accounts accuse him of having been a shameless libertine.⁴

Marwan was very close to the third *amir al-mu'minin*, 'Uthman ibn 'Affan, himself a highly controversial figure in Islamic historiography, and this probably did not help his reputation. This personal closeness between the two was based on close kinship. Marwan and 'Uthman are often described as first cousins, since 'Uthman's father, 'Affan ibn Abi l-'As, was the brother of Marwan's father, al-Hakam ibn Abi l-'As. But their relationship was actually closer than that, because they had the same mother, Amina bint 'Alqama ibn Safwan of the Kinana tribe, who was married for a time to 'Uthman's father, 'Affan, and then, after being divorced from him, to his brother al-Hakam, Marwan's father.⁵ The fact that 'Uthman and Marwan were half-brothers on their mother's side is often obscured by the patrilineal bias of the Islamic sources, which tend to give a person's ancestry only in the male line; however, recent research shows that links on the maternal side often played a very important role in the creation of social networks of real political significance.⁶ Marwan served as scribe for his older half-brother/cousin⁷ and may have been put in charge of the finances of Medina by 'Uthman.⁸ Some reports note that people disliked 'Uthman's closeness to Marwan and the influence that the latter had on him, and claim that many questionable or unfortunate things that happened in 'Uthman's reign were actually Marwan's doing.⁹ It seems a bit strange, however, that the older half-brother should have been so much under the influence of his younger sibling – one would rather expect the influence to go in the other direction – and it may be that this account represents an attempt by later Islamic tradition to salvage 'Uthman's reputation as one of the so-called "rightly guided" (*rāshidūn*) caliphs, by making Marwan at least by implication the fall guy for the unhappy events at the end of 'Uthman's twelve-year reign (13–25/644–56). When insurgents besieged 'Uthman in Medina during the First Civil War, Marwan apparently was one of the main figures attempting to defend him. It is said that he was severely wounded and was almost killed on the *yawm al-dār*, the day when the aged 'Uthman was finally killed in his house.¹⁰

Many reports offer blanket condemnations of Marwan (or, more commonly, of his father or whole family) but do so in general terms without any specific charge being laid – a feature that arouses one's suspicion that we are dealing mainly with polemic, rather than historical fact; in such accounts. Often these accounts are cast in the form of supposed sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, in

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which he clairvoyantly predicts evil things associated with Marwan or simply condemns him (or his father, or family) as evil.¹¹ In one report, for example, the Prophet and a few Companions pass by Marwan's father al-Hakam, upon which the Prophet gratuitously says, "Woe unto my community in the loins/offspring of this one" (*waylun li-ummatī fi ṣulbi hādihā*).¹² In another report of this kind, the Prophet curses al-Hakam three times and then says, "This one will oppose the book of God and the *sunna* of His apostle."¹³ In another, the Prophet reports that in a dream he saw "the Banu l-Hakam or the Banu Abi l-'As jumping on my pulpit as apes jump".¹⁴

One account describes al-Hakam asking permission to enter the Prophet's house, whereupon Muhammad says,

Let the viper in, or son of a snake, the curse of God upon him and on whoever issues from his loins – except for the Believers, and they are few. They [that is, his unbelieving descendants] honour the earthly life, and they abase the hereafter and [are] people of deceit and treachery, and they are exalted in the world but have no share in the hereafter.¹⁵

Another report implies that the Banu Marwan are not people of *al-dīn*, proper religion.¹⁶ A supposed hadith of the Prophet, attributed to Ibn 'Abbas, closes with the Prophet declaring, "The banner of *iblis* (the devil) is with the Banu Umayya until the Hour; they are our enemies, their party (*shī'a*) is enemy to our party."¹⁷ There is even an exercise in creative exegesis, in which the Prophet claims that he, 'Ali, al-Hasan, al-Husayn and the Banu Umayya are referred to in the Qur'an – the former four being identified with the sun, the moon and the daylight, whereas the Umayyads are identified with the night.¹⁸

The most striking of these "generic" condemnations has the supposed anti-Marwan sentiments of the Prophet actually conveyed by another Umayyad, Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan. Marwan reportedly comes to him to make a request and during his visit announces that he is "the father of ten, the uncle of ten, and the brother of ten". After he leaves, Mu'awiya tells 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abbas – who happened to be present – "I heard the Prophet say, 'When the Banu l-Hakam reach thirty [in number], they will take the wealth of God among themselves by turns, and they will make slaves of the worshippers of God, and they will corrupt the book of God.'¹⁹ After relating one of several variations of this account, Ibn 'Asakir notes that one of its transmitters ('Atiyya) was "among the extremist Shi'a" (*min ghulāt al-shī'a*).²⁰

It seems likely, indeed, that many of these anti-Marwan and generally anti-Umayyad reports were first coined by Shi'i sympathisers with 'Ali and his family, who appear to have been important in forging the historiographical theme of *fitna* or debates over political legitimacy within the early Muslim community.²¹

An interesting example of this tendency is found in the report that al-Hasan and al-Husayn, sons of 'Ali and themselves eventually included in the line of Shi'i imams or divinely guided leaders, prayed the "prayer of the imams" (*ṣalāt al-a'imma*) behind Marwan, presumably implying that he had once acknowledged the leadership of 'Ali but had subsequently repudiated it.²²

On the other hand, the traditional sources also contain some accounts that are either neutral or non-judgemental, or that shed a more positive light on Marwan. Some short reports have Marwan declaring, "I recited (or: read – *qara'tu*) the book of God over forty years; then I came to the bloodshed I am involved in now, and this is the state of affairs" (*qara'tu kitāb Allāh mundhu arba'in sana, thumma aṣbahtu fimā anā fihi min hurāq al-dimā'i, wa-hādha al-sha'n*).²³ If nothing else, this report suggests how long Marwan claimed to have recited the Qur'an when the bloody events of Marj Rahit (64/684) decided his claim to the office of *amīr al-mu'minīn* on behalf of the Umayyad family.

Marwan is also reported to have led the pilgrimage (in AH 43, 45, 55 or 57 depending on the account).²⁴ These reports may be taken as an indication that Marwan was not merely governor of Medina (which he was on and off several times under Mu'awiya in the 40s and 50s) but that he was also considered to be someone who was sufficiently religiously upright to lead this important ritual for the community of Believers. Other reports describe how Marwan's signet ring was inscribed with pious phrases: *al-'izza li-llāh*, "Power belongs to God", according to one report, or following another, *āmantu bi-l-'azīz al-raḥīm*, "I believe in the Powerful and Merciful One."²⁵ These observations implicitly advance the idea that Marwan was a person of pious disposition. Even more striking is another tradition, related by al-Mada'ini (d. c. 235/850 or earlier), stating that Marwan was one of the best readers of the Qur'an (or, possibly, one who recited the Qur'an most frequently?) (*kāna min aqra' al-nās li-l-qur'ān*).²⁶ Finally, we can note a report in which 'Ubayd Allah ibn Ziyad, the Umayyads' governor in Iraq, makes an appeal to the Banu Umayya to back Marwan's claim to be *amīr al-mu'minīn*; in making his case he says, "[Marwan] has age (i.e. maturity), religious knowledge and merit" (*la-hu sinnan wa-fiqhan wa-faḍlan*).²⁷ He is, in short, being presented as a claimant with strong credentials in terms of both experience and virtue.

The contradictory nature of the surviving literary reports about Marwan raises the question of how to evaluate them. Both sets of reports – those that present Marwan as impious or sinful and those that portray him in a morally positive light – can be suspected of having polemical intent and hence of being exaggerated or even completely fabricated, one way or the other; and there is no plausible basis, on the face of the accounts themselves, on which to decide which group of accounts is more trustworthy. As noted above, this kind of dilemma affects reports about most of the key political figures of early Islamic history. In

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this case, however, it may be possible to solve the conundrum that this poses for the historian by examining the onomastic and genealogical record – that is, the information that survives about peoples' names and the names of their children.

Onomastic evidence has, to be sure, certain drawbacks. Most obviously, it can only provide very limited information about someone – the kind reflected in the names themselves – whereas narrative reports can convey information of almost infinite variety. Even this limited information, however, can sometimes be of considerable significance. Richard Bulliet, who can be said to have pioneered the use of onomastic evidence in the study of Islamic history, was able to use the shift from non-Muslim Persian names to Muslim names in an individual's long patronymic as the key for estimating when a family in Iran embraced Islam. This determination for hundreds of different families then provided the basis on which he was able to estimate the rate at which Iranians converted to Islam.²⁸ Nonetheless, the restricted range of information actually contained in names usually imposes severe limits on what can be deduced from them.

A second possible problem with onomastic evidence is that it comes to us through literary transmission, just like the narratives whose very unreliability (or, at least, indeterminacy) has led us to search for other kinds of evidence in the first place. Yet there is good reason to think that the record of family names is less likely to be subjected to gross distortion in the course of transmission than are narrative reports, at least for several generations after the death of a person, for the simple reason that people are likely to know the proper names of at least their own relatives and immediate ancestors, and probably of other people who played a significant role in their lives. Falsification of names, then, is harder to get away with and, in any case, would not really have much polemical utility. We can assume, then, that most personal names in the genealogical record are probably fairly accurate at least for three or four generations. In looking at the onomasticon of a whole family, of course, various individuals may have been left out of a genealogy – especially those who died young and, in a patriarchal society, many daughters – but the names that are recorded are likely to be reliable.

When we examine the onomasticon of the families who played a prominent role in the early Believers' movement, some interesting patterns emerge. The clans of Quraysh, hailing from Arabia, naturally tended to rely heavily on traditional Arabian names, such as 'Ali, al-Hasan, Khalid, Mu'awiya, Yazid, Marwan, and so on. Such names have no intrinsic Islamic content. The old Arabian theophoric names, such as 'Abd Yaghuth (servant of the god Yaghuth) were naturally dropped after the rise of Islam, as their honouring of pagan deities became anathema. In their place, probably, we see a scattering of monotheistic theophoric names, such as 'Abd Allah or 'Ubayd Allah.

Most interesting, however, is the gradual appearance in the community of Believers of names that can be considered Islamic: not only monotheistic

theophoric names, but theophoric names linked to one of the names of God found in the Qur'an (such as 'Abd al-Rahman or 'Abd al-Karim), or names that refer to figures (usually prophets) mentioned in the qur'anic text, or the name "Muhammad" itself. It would seem fair to assume that Believers who were deeply pious may more frequently name their children after qur'anic prophets or after the Prophet Muhammad himself, or use theophoric names evoking one of God's qur'anic names.

When we examine the genealogies of leading families of the early Believers' movement, a striking fact emerges: Marwan ibn al-Hakam is one of the very first to have given a large number of his sons "Islamic" names. Most genealogies list sixteen or seventeen children of Marwan, borne to him by five different wives and one concubine.²⁹ Of these, twelve or thirteen were sons (it is possible that he had more daughters of whom the genealogists made no mention). Of these sons, five had names that can be considered traditional Arabian or specifically family names (such as names of close relatives of Marwan) – that is, non-Islamic names. They include Mu'awiya ibn Marwan (borne to him by his wife 'A'isha bint Mu'awiya ibn al-Mughira ibn Abi l-'As, daughter of one of his first cousins); Bishr (by his wife Qutayya bint Bishr of the Kilab tribe); Aban and 'Uthman (by his wife Umm Aban, daughter of his cousin and half-brother 'Uthman ibn 'Affan); and 'Umar (or 'Amr), borne to him by his wife Zaynab bint 'Umar of the Makhzum clan of Quraysh.

On the other hand, Marwan seems to have given seven (or eight) of his sons names that can be considered Islamic. The best known of these is of course 'Abd al-Malik, borne to Marwan by his wife 'A'isha, followed closely in fame by 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Marwan, borne to Marwan by his wife Layla bint Zabban of the Kalb tribe. Four sons of his wife Umm Aban, daughter of 'Uthman, bore Islamic names: 'Ubayd Allah, 'Abd Allah (who died young), Ayyub and Dawud. An *umm walad* (slave woman who bore her owner a child) apparently named Zaynab also bore him a son named Muhammad. Ibn Sa'd also lists a son named 'Abd al-Rahman, said to be the son of Marwan's wife Qutayya bint Bishr, who died young, but he is – perhaps for this reason – not listed in the other sources. This list of seven sons – or eight, if we include 'Abd al-Rahman – given Islamic names is striking; there is, moreover, a hint that Marwan may have had yet another son, named al-Qasim, because al-Baladhuri notes that Marwan's agnomen (*kunya*) was at first Abu l-Qasim and then became Abu 'Abd al-Malik, suggesting that an otherwise forgotten first son al-Qasim may have died young (in infancy?).³⁰ Al-Qasim is not, of course, a qur'anic name, but it was well known that the Prophet's *kunya* was Abu l-Qasim, so this bit of evidence, if true, suggests that Marwan may have wished to acquire for himself the same *kunya* as the Prophet by naming his first son al-Qasim.

All considered, the record of names that Marwan gave his children strongly

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suggests that he was profoundly impressed with the message in the Qur'an and delivered by the Prophet Muhammad of the need to honour God and His prophets, including Muhammad himself. This evidence does not, of course, mean that we can simply dismiss all narrative reports that are critical of Marwan, or that we should unquestioningly embrace those reports that depict him as a model of piety. It does, however, mean that we must take seriously the possibility that Marwan was, in fact, deeply religious and that he was someone dedicated to advancing the goals of the Believers' movement, as he understood it. Few figures at this early stage in the history of the Believers' movement exhibit such a striking pattern of giving "Islamic" names to their children; indeed, the only close parallel is with 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, among whose many sons one finds, in addition to the well-known al-Hasan and al-Husayn and other sons with traditional Arabian names, two Muhammads, an 'Ubayd Allah, an 'Abd Allah, and possibly a Yahya and a second 'Abd Allah.³¹

Given the strongly negative overtone found in most traditions about Marwan, the title of this article may seem intentionally provocative. It is not, however, entirely facetious. The question of who is "really" a Muslim was one that vexed Muslim theologians and jurists for centuries – mainly, however, because they were actually trying to decide not only who was a Muslim, but who was a "good" (observant, properly pious) Muslim. That is, they were speculating on just which requirements of piety and behaviour would secure for someone the eternal reward of paradise. This was – and remains to this day – a question about which it has proven impossible for Muslims to reach complete consensus; it was particularly difficult in the first century AH because the question was intimately tied to rivalry among the competing claimants to leadership of the community (for example, between the Khawarij, the Shi'a and others).

For our purposes, however, we can settle on a much simpler definition of a "real Muslim", a definition that is relevant to the seventh-century Believers' movement and the context of inter-monotheist controversy out of which Islam first emerged as a distinct religious confession. As I have argued elsewhere, it seems likely that Muhammad first founded a community of Believers (*mu'minūn*) dedicated to strict monotheism and rigorous observance of a pious way of life in accordance with God's revealed law. This early community of Believers apparently included not only those who followed the Qur'an, but also some righteous Jews and Christians who also qualified as Believers, since they were monotheists living by the law found in their scriptures, the Torah and Gospels, which are honoured by the Qur'an.³² It was only a generation or two after the death of Muhammad, at about the end of the seventh century CE, that the Arabian leaders of the Believers' movement began clearly to distinguish themselves from their erstwhile Christian and Jewish associates in the Believers' movement, using the qur'anic term "Muslim" as their new term of self-designation. In this historical

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context, a Muslim is someone who recognises Muhammad as God's prophet and the Qur'an as God's revealed word. For acknowledgement of the Qur'an as scripture and for Muhammad as prophet were the criteria that came to separate Muslims of whatever kind and of whatever merit decisively from Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians and others, both theologically and, therefore, sociologically. "Islam" as it has been recognised for centuries can be most simply defined in this way: as a community of Believers in God, in the Qur'an and in the Prophet Muhammad.

As we have seen, Marwan ibn al-Hakam, more than any other figure of his generation, drew on names of qur'anic prophets when naming no less than a half-dozen of his own sons; and he named another son Muhammad, after the prophet whom he had known and followed in his own youth. Given the fact that the naming of a child is a matter of considerable gravity for anyone, it is therefore fair to conclude that the values reflected in these names must have been something of great importance to Marwan. He was the first, it seems, to grasp fully, and to affirm publicly through the names he gave his children, the importance of emphasising to one and all that the Qur'an was God's word, and Muhammad was God's prophet. At the end of his life, moreover, Marwan was in a position to advance his views as the official doctrine of the state. It is therefore not far-fetched to suggest that Marwan may have played a key role in persuading the early community of Believers that it needed to sharpen its communal self-definition so as to make clear that it was not merely a monotheist community, but that it was also one that embraced a particular reverence for the Qur'an as God's word and for Muhammad as God's prophet. This shift, which essentially defined Islam as a separate religious confession and caused it to crystallise from the matrix of the Believers' movement, was a process that was carried out mainly by his successors, starting with his son 'Abd al-Malik; but it seems likely that it began with Marwan. If it did, Marwan has as good a claim as anyone after the Prophet himself to be called "the first real Muslim", architect of the basic conceptual framework that we recognise even today as Islam.

NOTES

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1. There are fragments of silk *tirāz* fabric bearing the inscription "[ʿAbd] Allah Marwan, amir al-muʿ[min]in"; see A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, vol. 2, Vienna:

MARWAN IBN AL-HAKAM

- Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1971, p. 81. It is not clear whether these fragments refer to Marwan ibn al-Hakam or to his grandson, Marwan (II) ibn Muhammad, the last Umayyad *amir al-mu'minin* (r. 127-32/744-9); arguments in favour of both have been proposed in the scholarship.
2. Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh madinat Dimashq*, vol. 57, ed. 'U. ibn Gharama al-'Amrawi, n.p.: Dar al-Fikr, 1997, pp. 250-1 (hereafter, TMD 57). See the report transmitted on the authority of Rawh ibn 'Ubada - Daw (?) ibn Qays - 'Iyad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Sa'd ibn Abi Sarh - Abu Sa'id al-Khudri.
 3. TMD 57, p. 248, lines 6-13 (... Ibn Abi Khaythama - Ibrahim ibn al-Mundhir - Ya'qub ibn Ja'far ibn Abi Kathir - Muhajir ibn Mismar - 'A'isha bint Sa'd).
 4. TMD 57, p. 248, lines 14-20 (... Ibn Ishaq - Salih ibn Kaysan - 'Ubayd Allah ibn 'Abd Allah).
 5. Muhammad ibn Sa'd, *Kitab al-Tabaqat al-kabir*, vol. 5, ed. K. V. Zetterstéén, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1905, p. 24 (hereafter, Ibn Sa'd 5); TMD 57, p. 235, lines 17-25, and p. 232, lines 9-14.
 6. See A. Q. Ahmed, *The Religious Elite of the Early Islamic Hijaz: Five Prosopographical Case Studies*, Oxford: Linacre College, Unit for Prosopographical Research, 2011; also published as vol. 14 of *Prosopographica et Genealogica*. I am grateful to Dr Ahmed for making an advance copy of this important work available to me.
 7. See note 5 for references.
 8. TMD 57, pp. 240-1 says that 'Uthman made Marwan governor of Medina, but as 'Uthman himself was in Medina no governor was needed, so this report is probably a mistake for Mu'awiya's time, when Marwan was appointed governor of Medina. Ibn Sa'd 5, p. 24, line 25 (*qālū*) merely says that 'Uthman appointed Marwan as his scribe and to oversee the taxes/finances (*amwāl*).
 9. Ibn Sa'd 5, pp. 24-5; TMD 57, pp. 257-8 (... Abu 'Umar ibn Hayyuwayh - Ahma ibn Ma'ruf - al-Husayn ibn Fahm - Muhammad ibn Sa'd).
 10. TMD 57, p. 258; Ibn Sa'd 5, p. 25 (... al-Waqidi).
 11. For example, TMD 57, p. 269, lines 3-9 (... Suwayd ibn Sa'id - Yahya ibn Sa'id al-Qattan - Arta'a ibn al-Mundhir - Damra ibn Habib): The Prophet refuses to perform the ceremony of *tahnik* (rubbing the infant's palate with a date-pit to bring blessing upon the child) on the infant Marwan because "he will give birth to tyrants and will oppose me in my community".
 12. TMD 57, p. 267 bottom (... Mu'adh ibn Khalid - Ibrahim ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Salih - Nafi' ibn Jubayr ibn Mut'im - his father).
 13. TMD 57, p. 267 middle (... Muhammad ibn Sadran - al-Mu'tamir ibn Sulayman - his father - Hanash - 'Ata' - Ibn 'Umar). The reference to "the *sunna* of God's apostle" in particular suggests that this report is from long after the time of the Prophet, probably from the second/eighth century. See F. M. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*, Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1998, pp. 44-5.
 14. TMD 57, p. 265 bottom (... al-Zanji - al-'Ala' ibn 'Abd al-Rahman - his father - Abu Hurayra). Compare TMD 57, p. 266 middle.
 15. TMD 57, p. 268 (two accounts); Ahmad ibn Jabir al-Baladhuri, *Ansab al-ashraf*, vol. 5, ed. S. D. Goitein, Jerusalem: Hebrew University Press, 1936, p. 126.
 16. TMD 57, p. 249 middle-bottom and p. 250 top.

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17. TMD 57, p. 273 (... Musa ibn Idris – his father – Jarir – Layth – Mujahid – Ibn 'Abbas).
18. Ibid.
19. *Itakhadhū māl allāh baynahum duwalan, wa-'ibād Allāh khawalan, wa-kitāb Allāh daghalan*. TMD 57, p. 252 top (... Ibn Lahī'a – Abi Qabil – Ibn Mawhib), and several variants on pp. 252, 253.
20. TMD 57, p. 253 middle (... Salih ibn 'Umar – Mutarrif – 'Atiyya – Abu Sa'id).
21. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins*, pp. 184–90.
22. TMD 57, p. 248 (... al-Rabi' – al-Shafi'i – Hatim ibn Isma'il – Ja'far ibn Muhammad – his father).
23. TMD 57, p. 264 middle (... al-Harith ibn Miskin – Ibn Wahb – Malik).
24. TMD 57, pp. 241–2 contains several such reports.
25. TMD 57, pp. 264–5 (... al-Asma'i – 'Adi ibn 'Umara – his father – Harb ibn Ziyad, and ... Ishaq ibn Ibrahim ibn Sinan – Abu 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd Allah ibn Abi Madh'ur – "a man of knowledge").
26. Al-Baladhuri, *Ansab al-ashraf*, vol. 5, p. 125.
27. Al-Baladhuri, *Ansab al-ashraf*, vol. 5, p. 144.
28. R. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979.
29. The genealogical information that follows is extracted from Mus'ab al-Zubayri, *Nasab Quraysh*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif, 1953, pp. 160–1; Ibn Sa'd 5, p. 24; and W. Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab: Das genealogische Werk des Hišam Ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbi*, vol. 1, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966, Table 10.
30. Al-Baladhuri, *Ansab al-ashraf*, vol. 5, p. 125.
31. Compare al-Zubayri, *Nasab Quraysh*, pp. 40–5, who does not know the two 'Abd Allahs; Ibn Sa'd, vol. 3, pp. 11–12 lists one 'Abd Allah (and many daughters not known to al-Zubayri); Caskel/Ibn al-Kalbi, vol. 1, Table 5 lists two 'Abd Allahs. Ahmed's *The Religious Elite of the Early Islamic Hijaz* (Chapter 5), based on far more extensive research than that conducted here, refers to the two Muhammads, 'Ubayd Allah, and one 'Abd Allah, but not a second 'Abd Allah or a Yahya.
32. Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010; Donner, "From Believers to Muslims: Confessional self-Identity in the Early Islamic Community", *Al-Abhath*, vols 50–1, 2002–3, pp. 9–53.

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