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The people of Qayrawan.

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Chapter VII

ANALYSIS ACCORDING TO LIFE DATA

1. Biases in Recorded Material

Looking at the existing biographical records we find that they are considerably biased towards certain elements of the population. The main biases are as follows:

- (a) Against women and children. The proportion of women and children to men in the present lists is of the order of 1 : 100.
- (b) Against non-Muslims. Here the bias in the recorded material leads to their almost total neglect, and the handful of non-Muslims who are mentioned in the chronicles or the biographical literature find a place as a result of being outstanding persons, either through being the leaders of their communities, such as C.200 and A. 236, or through holding key professional posts at the amīr's court such as C. 162, C. 735.

Despite clear evidence for the existence of a Jewish community in al-Qayrawān provided by the Cairo genizah¹ and names of localities in al-Qayrawān (e.g., Sūq al-Yahūd),² and the well-known Jewish physicians which the city either

¹ S.D. Goitein, Studies in Islamic History and Institutions, p. 314. See also Louis Ginsberg, A Commentary on the Palestinian Talmud, vol. 1 (intro.) (New York, 1941), pp. 43-44.

² S.D. Goitein states that despite the mention of Sūq al-Yahūd in Arabic sources there is no mention of it in the genizah documents. It is possible that the people who used this name were non-Jews. See A Mediterranean Society, vol. 2 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), p. 292.

produced or attracted, the proportion of Jews in the present lists is very small.

Bad treatment accorded to Jews and Christians is mentioned in connection with the rule of Ziyādat Allāh II; this, however, does not mean that the Muslims escaped this situation, which led to the rebellion of Manṣūr al-Ṭunbudhī in A.H.208. The era of Ibrāhīm II saw maltreatment of the people as a whole. However, the Jews and Christians suffered particularly from the religious policy of 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭālib (A.222). He forced the people of the Book to wear distinguishing marks and not to wear the same clothes as Muslims. He is said to have marked their houses. All this means first, the presence of a sizeable community of Christians and Jews, secondly, that they were indistinguishable from the Muslims before Ibn Ṭālib, and thirdly that they were living with the Muslims in the same quarters so that their houses had to be marked.¹

The Christian community is mentioned in al-Qayrawān from the second century of the Hijrah. Qustās al-Naṣrānī (C. 200)² was the head of this community during the early years of the rule of al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ b. Ḥātim (A. 63), and he obtained the permission of the wālī to build a church, which was called the church of Qusṭās (kanīsat Qusṭās).³

A building in al-Zayyādiyyah in al-Qayrawān was known as al-kanīсах (the church); in the second half of the

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 381. For details of the policy of Ibn Ṭālib towards the Jews and Christians, see M.A. Makki, "Kitāb Aḥkām al-Sūq of Yaḥyā b. 'Umar" in RIEEI, vol. 4 (1956), p. 128.

² See Chapter III above and sec. 4 "Analysis of Religious Affiliations", below, p. 459.

³ Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 184. For the Christians in Ifrīqiyyā before the Aghlabids, see Marston Speight, "Témoignage des sources Musulmanes sur la présence chrétienne au Maghreb de 26-747 à 184-800" in IBLA (1972), pp. 73-96.

third century it was mentioned as being a prison (during the rule of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad).

One of the physicians of Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabi (A. 57) was a Christian, by the name of Yuḥannā; he seems to have come from the east with the Muhallabids. During the life of Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd (A. 140) there was some kind of hierarchical organisation of the Christian faith in al-Qayrawān or near it,¹ and some authors think that Qayrawān may have been the seat of a bishop during the third century of the Hijrah.²

There was a quarter in al-Qayrawān called Ḥayy al-Rūm (Quarter of the Byzantines). This may have begun as a Christian quarter in al-Qayrawān, as it does not seem to have been inhabited by Byzantines when it is mentioned in the second half of the third century of the Hijrah; instead, it was inhabited by a people called al-Ḥaririyyūn.³ Whether they were originally Byzantines or not is not clear. At all events, Byzantines must at one stage have been an element in the population of al-Qayrawān.⁴

(c) Against the poor and slaves. This bias does not require elaboration, but may be conveniently exemplified in regard to monumental inscriptions: the most reliable records available for the present work are tombstone inscriptions, since there are original contemporary documents; but any group of tombstones for a particular period is biased in the sense that since not every family could afford a tombstone, they only record the burials of better-off persons.

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 268.

² A.J. Arberry (ed.), Religion in the Middle East, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1969), p. 283.

³ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 401. The jurist Yaḥyā b. 'Umar was critical of some of these people's religious practices.

⁴ Al-Ya'qūbī, Kitāb al-Buldān, p. 348.

(d) Against vital data which is not connected with law or theology. The biographers' interests lay mainly in their subjects' contributions to tradition or jurisprudence, and their life data were not accorded particular importance.

2. Analysis and Identification of Occupations

(a) Ruling Class

(i) Governors (wālīs and amīrs)

There are one hundred and fifteen individuals described as governors of one kind or another. The period of these governors (wālīs, amīrs) extends from the beginning of the conquest to the fall of the Aghlabid state in A.H.296. Forty-four were governor-generals who were either installed by the caliph or had his tacit approval in assuming the governorship. There were several exceptions to this (i.e., of men defying the caliph and seizing the governorship) but this only happened during times in which the caliphate itself was threatened.

The remainder of the individuals mentioned below are the provincial governors of the various provinces of Ifrīqiyā, especially those on the province's frontiers, e.g., Sicily and al-Zāb. There were more than twenty wālīs of Sicily alone during the Aghlabid rule over the island (A.H.212-296). Other provinces whose governors are mentioned in the present lists are: Spain (in the first half of the second century), Tunis, al-Arbus, Tripoli, al-Zāb (Ṭabnah), Bājah, Zuwaylah, Jerbah, Mīlah, Sicily, Wardājah, Tangiers (in the first and the first half of the second century) and Qalūriyyah (south of Italy), etc.

The provincial governors considered here include the

Fāṭimid governors in the early years of the Fāṭimid state.

The individuals who are described as governors in our present lists are:

A.2, A.3, A.4, A.8, A.9, A.15, A.16, A.19, A.20, A.23, A.24,
 A.25, A.28, A.29, A.30, A.40, A.41, A.42, A.48, A.51, A.53,
 A.57, A.59, A.63, A.66, A.68, A.78, A.81, A.87, A.92, A.118,
 A.121, A.129, A.130, A.135, A.142, A.150, A.153, A.158, A.167,
 A.171, A.172, A.173, A.186, A.193, A.196, A.197, A.216, A.257,
 A.279, A.290, A.293, A.313, A.362, A.376, A.396,
 B.3, B.35, B.31, B.106, B.107,
 C.47, C.50, C.69, C.70, C.76, C.77, C.86, C.95, C.96, C. 101,
 C.107, C.112, C.123, C.127, C.142, C.144, C.146, C.158, C.173,
 C.193, C.195, C.199, C.228, C.232, C.247, C.254, C.292, C.318,
 C.319, C.360, C.366, C.381, C.382, C.387, C.401, C.415, C.436,
 C.571, C.572, C.587, C.588, C.589, C.592, C.601, C.602, C.604,
 C.612, C.613, C.614, C.683, C.684, C.685, C.720, C.726, C.816.

(ii) Ministers and Chamberlains

There are eleven ministers (wazīr, pl. wuzarā') and thirteen chamberlains (hājib, pl. hujjāb) in the present lists. The distinction between the two posts in practice is very small. The first minister to be heard of in Ifrīqiyyā was Sa'īd b. Ḥamīd (minister of Yazīd b. Ḥātīm al-Muhallabī). The post of minister was occupied by a Tamīmī family from the beginning of the third century (see Pedigree No. 44). However, we hear nothing more about this post after the conflict between the two Aghlabid brothers Aḥmad and Muḥammad in which the ministers of the two amīrs played a major part. The aim of Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab was to rid himself of the two ministers of his brother Muḥammad, who were an obstacle between him and the complete domination of the state.

The conflict ended in favour of Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab, but from that time until the end of the Aghlabid state only one minister is mentioned, viz. A.241. The function of a minister seems to have been taken over by the chamberlain.

Ministers and chamberlains were chosen mainly from two categories of people: (i) prominent families of al-Qayrawān, such as cadet branches of the ruling family, e.g., Qurhub, and those families who shared the same tribal origin as the Aghlabids, i.e., Tamīm.¹ (ii) Futyān. These were mainly Slavs brought from Sicily and the south of Europe. Their names are usually given in the simple form of the ism alone, e.g., Faṭḥ, Khiḍr, 'Allūn, Hayāt, together with the function the bearer carried out at the court, such as al-ḥājib (chamberlain), al-khādim (servant) or al-qā'id (the military commander).

The Ministers and chamberlains who are mentioned in the present lists are:

Ministers: A.92, A.123, A.126, A.334, A.337, B.66, C.165,
C.182, C.434, C.435, C.593.

Chamberlains: A.231, A.238, C.100, C.413, C.642, C.591, C.776,
C.777, C.788, C.791, C.795, C.856, C.861.

(iii) Heads of Government Departments (al-Dawāwīn)

Eighteen individuals who are described as heads of one of the dawāwīn of the government. The first dīwān in any new administration in the newly conquered province was that of the jund². The head of the dīwān of the jund was apparently the wālī himself.

¹ E.g., the family of Ḥamīd al-Tamīmī (see Pedigree No. 44) and that of Banū al-Ṣamṣāmah, the rulers in al-Zāb; M. al-Shābī, p. 29.

² See below: . 3. Analysis of the Origins of the Population, pp. 456-458.

The second dīwān established in Ifrīqiyyā was that of the tithe (al-'ushr), which developed into the dīwān of al-kharāj (land tax). The first Head of the Tithe was A.12, who was one of the soldiers of 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' al-Fihri. The second mention of a head of the kharāj is that of Ḥafṣ, a mawlā of Ḥimyār (C.64). A Kharijite (C.119), head of the dīwān of al-kharāj, was appointed during their brief rule over al-Qayrawān.

In the Aghlabid period the dīwān continued to exist, and a certain Hudhayl al-Nafīi held it until his execution¹ for which no reason is advanced by the historians. Another Aghlabid tax official was Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Muslim al-Bakrī (C.785), whose rank in the dīwān is not known, but judging from his wealth it must have been high.

It seems that the dīwān was not held by any member of the Christian or Jewish communities in the city, and the one Christian who was offered the post was offered it on condition that he became a Muslim. However, at the beginning of Muslim rule in North Africa the wālīs did not hesitate to appoint the head of the dīwān of al-kharāj from the Christians or the Jews, and the appointment of Ibrāhīm b. al-Naṣrānī to the dīwān of the kharāj of Barqah in A.H.78 is evidence of this.

In the Fāṭimid period, the dīwān of al-kharāj was retained and a new dīwān al-khums (fifth) was introduced in addition. One of the heads of this new dīwān was C.782. The dīwān al-barīd (post) was held in the Aghlabid period by men such as A.337 and C.253. Another dīwān was the dīwān al-khabar (information and intelligence). The dīwān al-kashf (finance) was a new department in the Fāṭimid state.

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 136.

The heads of the government department of the mint (ṣāhib al-sikkah) in the Aghlabid period were chosen mainly from the mawālī of the amīr, e.g. Balāgh (C.584), 'Allūn (C.348), Jubrān (C.416), and Khaṭṭāb (C.768). The reason behind this was the personal loyalty the amīr commanded among his futyān.

The individuals who are described as heads of governmental departments in the present lists are: A.12, A.302, A.337, A.405, B.66, C.64, C.119, C.253, C.276, C.416, C.584, C.768, C.782, C.785, C.786, C.795, C.803, C.807, C.814, C.873.

(iv) Lieutenants of the Amīrs or Caliphs (rijāl al-amīr)

This is a category of men who did not have a fixed title but were in the service of the amīrs. Some of them had the function of advisers, without the formal title of adviser. They came from a wide spectrum of the population, with many mawālī and khadam among them. Some of them were from the Arab aristocracy. A number were given administrative posts after serving in the court of the amīr. One of these was Abū Hārūn Mūsā, the mawlā of Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, who was appointed head of the land tax department. Many of the Arab aristocratic families played a role in the formation of the amīr's policies without actually accepting official posts. One of these families was that of 'Amrūn b. Zurārah (see Pedigree No. 32), and another was that of Qādim al-Ḥanafī (see Pedigree No. 18). The Aghlabid family itself produced some of these individuals, e.g., C.420 who acted as an adviser to the amīr.

The lieutenants of the governors of Ifrīqiyā in the present lists are:

A.360, A.368, C.23, C.99, C.236, C.276, C.292, C.296, C.410, C.411, C.539, C.723, C.775, C.920, C.936.

(v) Secretaries to the Wālīs, Amīrs, and Caliphs

The first secretary (kātib) to the wālī of Ifrīqiyā was the secretary of 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' al-Fihri. He was Dujayn b. 'Amīr al-Ḥajrī (A.10). Being the secretary of the wālī was the starting point for some to attain the governorship, as in the case of A.16, who was a secretary of al-Ḥajjāj al-Thaqafī before his appointment as wālī of Ifrīqiyā, and 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb who held the governorship of Egypt plus the whole of the Islamic west. Most of the early secretaries were non-Arabs (mainly Persians), including the secretary of the Caliph Marwān II.

In the second century, the number of Arabs who were serving as secretaries increased. One of these was a Qayrawānī by the name of Khālīd b. Rabī'ah al-Ifrīqī (C.84). He was the secretary to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihri (A.40). The friendship between Khālīd and 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kaṭīb, the caliph's secretary, helped to ease the strained relations between the caliph and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb over the latter's seizure of power in Ifrīqiyā.

The other secretary to have come from al-Qayrawān was Dāwūd al-Qayrawānī who was the secretary of Muḥammad b. Muqātil al-'Akkī, the wālī of Ifrīqiyā, who was dismissed in A.H.184. Dāwūd was involved in the forging of a letter from the caliph dismissing Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, but the forgery was discovered. Despite this Dāwūd returned to al-Qayrawān where he was employed by the Aghlabids. His son (C.350) served as a secretary as well.

Many of the secretaries were also poets and authors. One of these was Aḥmad b. Ḥayyūn al-Barīdī (A.224), who was a great writer in both poetry and prose. Despite the letter which he sent from his condemned cell to the amīr, Ibrāhīm II,

pleading for his life, and which was considered a fine piece of literature,¹ he was executed by Ibrāhīm and was added to the long list of talented people put to death by this amīr.²

The secretaries to the governors of Ifrīqiyā in the present lists are:

A.10, A.16, A.100, A.349, C.89, C.116, C.164, C.350, C.427, C.650, C.749, C.755, C.804, C.883.

(vi) Ambassadors

There are six individuals who are described as ambassadors or representatives of either the amīr of al-Qayrawān or of the caliph or other foreign states. In addition to the caliph's ambassadors and the ambassadors of the Aghlabids there was diplomatic contact with the Frankish empire, which was strengthened by the emergence of the Umayyad state of Spain. Muḥammad b. Muqātil al-'Akkī was the first to establish relations with the Frankish emperor, and he offered him arms.³ However, the people of Ifrīqiyā objected to the policy of al-'Akkī, and al-Bahlūl b. Rashīd led the opposition against him, and in the end the garrison of Tunis was quick to depose him, paving the way for the ambitious Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab.

Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab continued the policy of his predecessor, and sent a representative with the ambassador of the Caliph al-Rashīd to the court of Charlemagne in A.H.184 (A.D.800-801).⁴

¹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, vol. 3, pp. 30-32.

² These included the judge 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭālib (A.222), the chamberlain Naṣr b. al-Ṣimṣamah (A.231), the physician Ishāq b. 'Imrān al-Mutaṭabib (A.237), the other chamberlain Faṭḥ al-Ḥājib (A.238), Sawādah al-Naṣrānī (A.236) and a considerable number of his futyān; see Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, pp. 122-123; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, vol. 3, p. 29.

³ Abū al-'Arab, Kitāb al-Miḥan, vol. 163a; Abū al-'Arab is not sure what the emperor asked of al-'Akkī; some said it was a female singer, or copper and iron.

⁴ Annales Laurissenses, in Carolingian Chronicles, trans. B.W. Scholz (Ann Arbor, 1970), p.82; N. Daniel, The Arabs and Medieval Europe (Beirut, 1975), pp. 51-52.

The ambassadors and the representatives of the Aghlabids went to the east on several missions, some of which had the aim of attracting talented people to come to Ifrīqiyā, others the facilitating of the import of manufactured goods which were only made in the east.¹

There was a residence for the ambassador of the caliph called Qubbat ibn 'Abd al-Salām.²

The above six individuals who are mentioned in connection with diplomatic missions are included in the present lists under the numbers:

C.43, C.287, C.289, C.432, C.682, C.730.

(vii) Chiefs of Police

There are seven individuals who are described as chiefs of police (ṣāhib al-shurṭah). The wālīs appointed chiefs of police as far back as the Umayyad period. The first mention of a chief of police comes from the period of the Umayyad wālī Ḥanṣalah b. Ṣafwān al-Kalbī (A.H.124-126). This was 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Qays b. Muslim al-Kinānī (C.91), who was a member of a prominent family of al-Qayrawān (see Pedigree No. 21). He served Ḥanṣalah b. Ṣafwān and after him 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihri.

The next mention of a chief of police comes from the period when the Abbasid authority was established over Ifrīqiyā by Ibn al-Ash'ath al-Khuzā'i. His chief of police was C.128. One of the wālīs of Ifrīqiyā was an ex-chief of police in the administration of Yazīd b. Ḥātim during his rule over Egypt (B.31).

The first chief of police in the Aghlabid state was Abū 'Azīz (C.297), who succeeded 'Abbās b. Ṭarḥūn, the chief

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 141.

² Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, p. 301.

of police of the deposed wālī (C.252). Another Aghlabid chief of police was 'Āmir b. Mu'ammār b. Sinān al-Taymī (C.291). The chief of police during the rule of Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab was a member of the family of Ḥamzah al-Jarawī (banū Ḥamzah); his name was Ibn Sulṭān (C.426). He enforced the policy of Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab towards the Mu'tazilites.¹

The chiefs of police in the present lists are:

B.29, B.31, C.91, C.128, C.252, C.291, C.297, C.426.

(b) Military Professions

(i) Military Commanders

There are a hundred and ninety individuals who are described as military commanders (qā'id, pl. qādah). One hundred and twenty of these were in service during the first one and a half centuries. This underlines the fact that the province of Ifrīqiyā was unstable owing to the wars of conquest and their consequences, and the conflict between the Muslims and the Byzantines and Berbers and the conflict among the Muslims themselves.

The Aghlabids were the first to succeed in breaking the circle of conflict by forming an administration from within Ifrīqiyā. They phased out the jund (the army of the caliphate) and overcame the problems which resulted from this step. In the first and second centuries almost all the military commanders were Arabs or mawālī of Arab tribes, but in the third century all this changed and the military commanders were either slaves (khadam who came from the south of Europe) or sūdān who came from south of the Sahara. Most of these were imported to replace the Arab army. However, these new recruits did not

¹ Abū al-'Arab, Kitāb al-Miḥan, fol. 73b.

take long to assimilate into the community and in the end they led an insurrection against the Aghlabid amīr. Despite their initial success they were crushed by the army of Ibrāhīm II in A.H.277.¹

Many of the military commanders came from the ruling families themselves, such as the Muhallabids, the Fihrids, and the Aghlabids. In the case of the Fāṭimids the situation was different. They had the backing of a Berber alliance led by Kutāmah, and most of the military commanders were from this alliance. After the victory of the Fāṭimids a number of the Arab military commanders joined them, such as Khalīl b. Ishāq b. Ward (C.920), known as al-Shī'ī, who was a descendant of a member of the Abbasid jund, and 'Umar b. 'Alī al-Balawī (C.816).

The military commanders in the present lists are:

A.2, A.3, A.4, A.9, A.11, A.15, A.20, A.24, A.25, A.28, A.32, A.33, A.34, A.40, A.42, A.48, A.50, A.51, A.52, A.53, A.54, A.57, A.62, A.64, A.65, A.68, A.69, A.70, A.72, A.77, A.78, A.81, A.86, A.92, A.96, A.97, A.98, A.101, A.103, A.104, A.108, A.110, A.112, A.114, A.118, A.121, A.129, A.167, A.180, A.233, A.293, A.314, A.315, A.334, A.338, A.366, A.367, A.397, A.444, A.473, B.4, B.21, B.25, B.27, B.28, B.34, B.41, B.46, C. 7, C.14, C.15, C.17, C.18, C.19, C.20, C.21, C.22, C.24, C.26, C.27, C.30, C.35, C.37, C.38, C.40, C.41, C.44, C.48, C.52, C.57, C.68, C.74, C.79, C.80, C.81, C.83, C.85, C.105, C.106, C.122, C.123, C.124, C.126, C.127, C.129, C.131, C.133, C.134, C.135, C.136, C.137, C.139, C.140, C.141, C.142, C.143, C.148, C.149, C.150, C.159, C.174, C.192, C.194, C.206, C.207, C.208, C.209, C.210, C.211, C.212, C.213, C.215, C.216, C.217, C.219, C.220, C.223, C.224, C.225, C.226, C.227, C.229, C.230,

¹ They were led by one of their own number who had probably been an Aghlabid military commander (A.233).

C.232, C.234, C.242, C.249, C.264, C.286, C.288, C.290, C.298, C.300, C.327, C.334, C.338, C.340, C.341, C.343, C.360, C.364, C.370, C.380, C.396, C.405, C.431, C.433, C.444, C.449, C.456, C.457, C.538, C.540, C.599, C.600, C.623, C.659, C.662, C.663, C.687, C.716, C.717, C.739, C.735, C.793, C.797, C.801, C.886, C.920.

(ii) Soldiers

Those described as soldiers among the individuals of our present list are few compared with the military commanders. This is one of the most obvious cases of bias in the recording of names. Ironically the ratio between soldiers and military commanders is one soldier to every nine commanders.

During the insurrection of al-Ṭunbudhī he marched on al-Qayrawān, not to conquer the city but to evacuate the families of his army who were living in the city, an indication that the jund, or the majority of them, came from al-Qayrawān.

Some of those mentioned as soldiers in the present list were not full-time professionals, but volunteers. These were called al-murābiṭūn, and each spent part of the year in a ribāṭ. The Aghlabid amīrs encouraged the building of a chain of these fortresses. This is not to say they were entirely Aghlabid; the ribāṭ of al-Munastīr was built by C.236. The financing of the building of these fortresses was done by wealthy people in al-Qayrawān and the actual building was supervised by religious devotees (muta'abbidūn).¹

The soldiers in the present lists are:

A.12, A.22, A.39, A.512, A.536, A.554, B.23, B.39, B.70, B.71, C.1, C.5, C.10, C.12, C.32, C.38, C.78, C.82, C.205, C.273, C.384, C.678.

¹ The ribāṭs were also called qaṣr, e.g. Qaṣr Abī al-Ja'd (supervised by A.391), Qaṣr Ziyād, Qaṣr Khummah (or Ḥimmah, later to become al-Mahdiyyah); see al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 334.

(c) Legal and Religious Professions(i) Jurists

There are 384 persons described as jurists (fuqahā'). Being a jurist indicated an educational status rather than a profession, although it was of course a qualification for all those who practised legal professions. Most of these persons described as jurists earned their living from sources which were not connected in any way with jurisprudence. Those described as jurists are given in the lists of the population of the city under:

A.7, A.26, A.35, A.37, A.47, A.55, A.58, A.60, A.71, A.74, A.75, A.76, A.79, A.80, A.83, A.84, A.89, A.91, A.95, A.108, A.111, A.113, A.115, A.122, A.125, A.128, A.133, A.138, A.139, A.140, A.149, A.154, A.162, A.168, A.174, A.175, A.179, A.181, A.184, A.188, A.189, A.199, A.200, A.209, A.212, A.213, A.215, A.222, A.223, A.227, A.228, A.230, A.240, A.242, A.243, A.244, A.246, A.249, A.250, A.251, A.252, A.254, A.255, A.256, A.258, A.260, A.266, A.268, A.269, A.275, A.280, A.284, A.295, A.296, A.297, A.299, A.301, A.303, A.307, A.311, A.312, A.316, A.320, A.322, A.324, A.325, A.327, A.330, A.331, A.332, A.336, A.339, A.340, A.342, A.343, A.346, A.347, A.348, A.352, A.353, A.354, A.356, A.363, A.365, A.369, A.372, A.375, A.377, A.378, A.380, A.381, A.382, A.384, A.385, A.387, A.388, A.389, A.391, A.392, A.393, A.394, A.395, A.401, A.402, A.407, A.408, A.410, A.415, A.416, A.417, A.418, A.419, A.420, A.421, A.422, A.430, A.435, A.438, A.439, A.441, A.442, A.443, A.450, A.451, A.457, A.461, A.463, A.466, A.467, A.468, A.469, A.475, A.478, A.482, A.486, A.487, A.489, A.496, A.497, A.498, A.499, A.500, A.501, A.507, A.508, A.509, A.511, A.514, A.517, A.520, A.522, A.523, A.524, A.527, A.528, A.532, A.534, A.538, A.539, A.540, A.544, A.545, A.546,

A.547, A.550, A.551, A.552, A.553, A.556, A.558, A.559, A.561, A.562, A.563, A.564, A.565, A.566, A.568, A.569, A.570, A.571, A.572, A.574, A.575, A.576, A.577, A.478, A.579, A.580, A.581, A.486, A.588, A.589,

B.19, B.22, B.25, B.35, B.44, B.46, B.57, B.58, B.71, B.80, B.84, B.87, B.96, B.100, B.108, B.112, B.113, B.114, B.117,

C.9, C.34, C.39, C.53, C.59, C.75, C.84, C.90, C.92, C.119, C.130, C.154, C.161, C.163, C.166, C.168, C.171, C.198, C.204, C.231, C.233, C.237, C.238, C.239, C.240, C.241, C.243, C.245, C.246, C.250, C.269, C.270, C.272, C.275, C.277, C.278, C.283, C.333, C.335, C.342, C.356, C.362, C.366, C.368, C.372, C.378, C.395, C.400, C.412, C.417, C.418, C.424, C.448, C.463, C.467, C.468, C.469, C.476, C.489, C.496, C.500, C.503, C.507, C.511, C.516, C.532, C.533, C.534, C.541, C.563, C.564, C.568, C.573, C.574, C.577, C.579, C.581, C.583, C.595, C.608, C.609, C.619, C.620, C.626, C.629, C.641, C.643, C.646, C.647, C.651, C.652, C.658, C.666, C.667, C.670, C.671, C.672, C.676, C.677, C.693, C.696, C.699, C.705, C.706, C.709, C.712, C.713, C.714, C.715, C.719, C.722, C.725, C.728, C.732, C.733, C.734, C.738, C.741, C.757, C.759, C.760, C.763, C.766, C.783, C.878, C.798, C.802, C.805, C.811, C.815, C.826, C.827, C.829, C.835, C.839, C.840, C.842, C.849, C.851, C.852, C.868, C.870, C.875, C.892, C.893, C.899, C.902, C.907, C.911, C.917, C.922, C.923, C.924, C.925, C.926, C.929, C.932, C.939, C.940.

In the third century of the Hijrah the differing legal madhhabs arose with their different interpretations of traditions. The man who was instrumental in bringing about the polarization of legal doctrine between the Mālikīs and the Ḥanafīs in Ifriqiyā was Asad b. al-Furāt (A.113). Asad studied both Mālik's and Abū Ḥanīfah's teachings and came back to

al-Qayrawān uncommitted to either of them, although in the end he tended to favour the Ḥanafī madhhab.¹

The Mālikī madhhab took longer to come to prominence, which it eventually did in the person of Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd al-Tanūkhī (A.140), and in a matter of twenty years after the death of Asad b. al-Furāt the Mālikī madhhab had developed to the point when it was the madhhab of the masses, ranged against the Aghlabids and against the excesses of their system.

The majority of jurists in the present lists are of the Mālikī school, probably because of the bias of the predominantly Mālikī authors; from the second half of the third century of the Hijrah the Ḥanafī madhhab began to lose ground in Ifrīqiyā during the Fāṭimid period, but after the transfer of the caliphate to Cairo the Fāṭimid viceroy in Ifrīqiyā rejected the Fāṭimid madhhab in favour of the Mālikī. The fourth madhhab was the Ibāḍī, which had claimed the allegiance of a large portion of the population of the city,² especially among those who came from the area around Mount Awrās and beyond. They lived in communities in the city, yet they paid allegiance to the Rustamid state which was centred in Tāhirt (Tiarit) and parts of the south of Ifrīqiyā.

Forty six per cent of the 384 persons who are described as jurists are recorded as having other professions. These professions will be considered under the appropriate headings.

(ii) Traditionists

There 195 individuals who are described as traditionists. This does not represent a particular level of education, because

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 181; al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 5.

² Ibn Sallām, p. 60; al-Shammākhī, pp. 261-262.

in the early days of Islam anyone with a good memory could be a traditionist. As is clear from the present lists, traditions (hadith) in the first century and first half of the second century, give way to jurisprudence (fiqh) which required to be studied and which represented a kind of educational level. As the jurists increased in number so the traditionists decreased, and in the end towards the third century all those classed as traditionists were really either historians or biographers. Jurists can be considered in some sense traditionists, but not vice versa. Those described as traditionists are:

A.1, A.5, A.11, A.13, A.17, A.22, A.31, A.37, A.49, A.55, A.56, A.67, A.73, A.82, A.84, A.85, A.89, A.90, A.99, A.105, A.120, A.125, A.134, A.138, A.164, A.177, A.190, A.195, A.211, A.221, A.227, A.272, A.276, A.287, A.288, A.298, A.300, A.310, A.318, A.319, A.426, A.482, A.408, A.518, A.524, A.530, A.539, A.584, A.586,

B.8, B.10, B.11, B.16, B.20, B.30, B.33, B.37, B.43, B.45, B.47, B.51, B.53, B.55, B.59, B.62, B.64, B.65, B.67, B.69, B.70, B.71, B.72, B.75, B.76, B.77, B.79, B.81, B.89, B.91, B.92, B.99, B.102, B.103, B.111,

C.4, C.7, C.8, C.13, C.33, C.34, C.36, C.39, C.65, C.87, C.88, C.138, C.168, C.175, C.189, C.201, C.202, C.251, C.256, C.257, C.258, C.260, C.265, C.271, C.272, C.307, C.309, C.315, C.320, C.321, C.323, C.325, C.326, C.329, C.345, C.346, C.347, C.359, C.374, C.375, C.379, C.385, C.388, C.397, C.404, C.407, C.408, C.425, C.437, C.438, C.443, C.446, C.465, C.481, C.486, C.490, C.510, C.531, C.534, C.544, C.546, C.554, C.580, C.582, C.596, C.597, C.598, C.605, C.616, C.622, C.630, C.640, C.641, C.645, C.648, C.649, C.658, C.686, C.695, C.708, C.748, C.761, C.762,

C.773, C.796, C.808, C.812, C.824, C.858, C.860, C.869, C.884, C.889, C.890, C.894, C.898, C.899, C.909, C.910, C.916, C.919, C.921, C.931, C.933, C.934, C.938.

No secular occupation is recorded for the majority of these 195; it may be assumed that they were engaged in all sorts of occupations; the secular occupations of those traditionalists with recorded occupations are given under the appropriate headings.

(iii) Judges

There are fifty individuals described as having held the post of judge in Ifrīqiyā. These judges fall into three categories:

(1) The judges of al-Qayrawān. The Judge of al-Qayrawān had superior status to the other provincial judges. He usually appointed the provincial judges and they were accountable to him. The post of the judge of al-Qayrawān was held mostly by the Ḥanafī school. From the twenty judges to have held the post only four came from the Mālikī school.¹ Before the introduction of various madhhabs to Ifrīqiyā, nine judges served in the post beginning with 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Rāfi' al-Tanūkhī, who was called the "army judge" (qādī al-jund).

The judges of al-Qayrawān in the present lists are:

A.21, A.26, A.47, A.55, A.71, A.79, A.108, A.111, A.132, A.133, A.140, A.212, A.222, A.316, A.322, A.354, A.384, A.387, A.393, A.408, A.571,

C.9, C.75, C.92, C.154, C.163, C.171, C.484, C.902.

¹ Muḥammad al-Jūdī, Quḍāt al-Qayrawān, fols. 6a-20a. This proves beyond doubt the erroneousness of the statement of Julien to the effect that the Mālikī school became dominant and that most of the judges after Saḥnūn were Mālikīs, A. Julien, p. 46.

(2) The provincial judges. In choosing these judges the Judge of al-Qayrawān mostly favoured those who shared his madhhab. However, this was not always the case for Saḥnūn appointed Sulaymān b. 'Imrān as a provincial judge, despite his having a different madhhab from that of Saḥnūn. Some of the provincial judges were later appointed to the post of Judge of al-Qayrawān. The provincial judges in the present lists are: A.175, A.189, A.228, A.224, A.249, A.251, A.259, A.269, A.316, A.332, A.340, A.382, A.385, A.402, A.408, A.415, A.438, A.500, A.559, A.565, B.117, C.469, C.629, C.646, C.652, C.677, C.715, C.798, C.805, C.849, C.911.

All these judges were by implication jurists (fuqahā') and for most of them the appointment to the post of judge was the culmination of a long and successful career, not only in jurisprudence but also in secular occupations which were necessary for earning a living. There were many judges who worked in manual professions, such as Saḥnūn, who used to work the plough on his farm. Another judge (A.415) was a cotton dealer who owned a shop in Sūq al-Aḥad. There were two cases of the post of judge being handed down to the second generation of the family, such as the cases of A.111 and his son A.116, and A.175 and his son A.244. This does not necessarily suggest a lowering of the judge's qualifications, but rather the concentration of legal study in a limited number of families.

Some of the judges of al-Qayrawān were not originally from the city, although they must have spent part of their lives in it while pursuing their studies; several of these judges were forced to accept the post, such as 'Īsā b. Miskīn (A.322) and Ibn Ṭālib (A.222).

(3) Mazālim Tribunal Judges (magistrates)

There are twelve individuals who are described as mazālim judges (qāḍī al-mazālim or ḥākim al-mazālim). They were usually appointed by the Judge of al-Qayrawān as deputies, especially in cases which involved petty offences involving small amounts of money under 120 dīnārs.¹ The first mazālim judge was appointed by Saḥnūn b. Sa'id. He was Abū Naṣr Ḥabīb b. Naṣr al-Tamīmī (A.266). His court was held in a mosque in the market of al-Qayrawān called al-Birkah Mosque; apparently in the sūq of al-Birkah which was the marketplace for slaves. After Saḥnūn, all the judges who followed him made similar appointments.

The judge of al-mazālim was called al-ḥākim and the procedure he followed was called al-ḥukūmah, i.e., he was first and foremost an arbitrator. The judges of mazālim were jurists, and they might be later upgraded to provincial judges, or even judges of al-Qayrawān (e.g., A.438 and C.911). The judges of mazālim like other jurists came from different economic backgrounds. They include individuals with the nisbah al-Zayyāt (oil-dealer), al-Khashshāb (timber merchant) etc.

The mazālim judges are:

A.179, A.261, A.266, A.331, A.438, A.500, A.568,
C.580, C.620, C.633, C.787, C.911.

(iv) Judges' Secretaries

Fifteen individuals are described as secretary to the Judge of al-Qayrawān. In addition to the function for which they were originally appointed, that is to record the minutes of the court, they sometimes took the chair themselves in cases which were not complicated, under the judge's supervision. The

¹ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 370 (M. ed.).

secretary of the judge 'Īsā b. Miskīn (A.322) whose name was 'Abd Allāh al-Bannā' (A.385), used to preside over some cases with the judge present and yet not uttering a word.¹ The result was that he was himself appointed judge of a provincial city. Another secretary was promoted to the post of Judge of Tunis (A.259). These secretaries came from different social and geographical backgrounds. We find nisbahs such as al-Khawlānī, al-Sūdānī, al-Fārisī, al-Andalusī, etc., and al-Bannā' (builder), al-Khashshāb (timber merchant), etc.

Those described as secretaries to the Judges of al-Qayrawān are:

A.185, A.243, A.259, A.274, A.332, A.385, A.419, A.450, A.509, B.100, C.666, C.669, C.626, C.679, C.868.

(v) Judges' Trustees (umanā' al-quḍāt)

This post was introduced by Saḥnūn b. Sa'id al-Tanūkhī following his appointment as Judge of Ifrīqiyā.² Before Saḥnūn the judge used to be in charge of the properties of the incapacitated and the under-aged, i.e., he was the ward of such people and could run their lives financially. One incident in particular may have been instrumental in causing Saḥnūn to establish this post: the man whom Saḥnūn succeeded had kept some of the money entrusted to him and denied keeping it, despite his own handwriting in his own register (dīwān) which proved the contrary. When Saḥnūn became Judge of Ifrīqiyā he took financial matters away from the judge and entrusted them to a person from outside the court under the supervision of the judge.

¹ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 316; 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 337 (M. ed.).

² Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 277.

The information about this post is meagre, but we know that during the term of Saḥnūn and later the judge's trustee was chosen from prominent people known for their integrity. One of these judge's trustees was a member of a Qurashī family (see Pedigree No. 37). This was Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Khālīd al-Sahmī (A.465).

The individuals described as judges' trustees in the present lists are: A.465, A.679.

(vi) Prayer Leaders

The imām of the mosque of 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' had a position of great importance in al-Qayrawān. He was usually appointed by the Aghlabid amīr himself with the approval of the religious leaders of the city. However, after the appointment of Saḥnūn as Judge of al-Qayrawān and with the increasing influence of the Mālikī school, the latter began to contest the appointment with the Ḥanafīs. In A.H.254 the Mālikī lobby managed to secure the post of prayer leader for 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭālib (A.222). He replaced 'Abd Allāh b. Abī al-Ḥawājib al-Ḥanafī, who was one of the outspoken opponents of the Mālikī school. The importance of the post of the prayer leader of the mosque of 'Uqbah was underlined by the fact that Ibn Ṭālib (A.222) was promoted from there to the post of Judge of al-Qayrawān in A.H.257.

The other Mālikī prayer leader whose name is preserved was Muḥammad b. Zarqūn b. Abī Maryam (known as al-Ṭayyārah). He was a prayer leader (imām) and a preacher in the mosque of 'Uqbah b. Nāfi'. A third prayer leader (who was probably Mālikī) was Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ al-Fahm. He was a Ṣūfī, but apart from leading the prayers in 'Uqbah's mosque, nothing is recorded of his career.

There was a prayer leader for every one of the many mosques in al-Qayrawān.¹ Some of these mosques were private and the prayers were led by the owner. The jurists who had their own mosques led the prayers themselves.

Prayer leaders in our present lists are:

A.222, A.235, A.478, B.108, C.255, C.553, C.764, C.767, C.771, C.774.

(vii) Muezzins

The muezzin apparently had an additional function, that of caretaker. One of these muezzins was C.789. He was a poet in addition to being muezzin. Another muezzin was A.424 who was a timber merchant. He was tortured and killed by the Fāṭimids because, as Ibn 'Idhārī has it, "he did not add the phrase at the end of the call for prayer which runs hayya 'alā khayr al-'amil".²

The muezzins in the present lists are: A.424, C.561, C.789.

(viii) Qur'ān and Poetry Reciters

There are eight individuals described as Qur'ān reciters or experts in the Qur'ān. Two more are described as Ṣūfī poetry reciters. Some of the experts in the art of reciting the Qur'ān came from Spain, or came originally from Spain, studied the subject in the east, and then made their homes in al-Qayrawān, e.g., A.218, A.404. This did not mean that al-Qayrawān lacked local talent, because the shaykh of the art of reciting the Holy Qur'ān in Egypt (Shaykh al-Iqrā' fī al-Diyār al-Miṣriyyah) was a Qayrawānī.³ He was Abū 'Abd Allāh

¹ See the List of Mosques given above, Chapter I, pp. 16-17.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 182.

³ Kaḥḥālah, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 60.

Muḥammad b. Ḥamdūn (A.88).

One of the leading Qur'an reciters in al-Qayrawān was the muqrī of the mosque of 'Uqbah b. Nāfi'. Muḥammad b. Ghawth al-Muqrī was one of those to occupy this post (A.218). However, the first individual described as a Qur'ān reciter is A.9, who lived in the first half of the second century of the Hijrah.

Another kind of reciter was the person who used Ṣūfi poetry as a way of preaching to people. Such people were called qawwalūn, e.g., Abū Sharaf al-Qawwāl (C.657). They held their sessions of preaching on Saturdays and Thursdays in two mosques bearing these designations, i.e., al-Sabt (Saturday) and al-Khamīs (Thursday).¹ These two mosques stood in a quarter called al-Dammanah in the west of al-Qayrawān (see Map no. 3). These mosques, and the practice of the reciting of the poetry aroused much controversy among the jurists of the city. Some considered it a heresy (bid'ah).²

The Qur'ān reciters in our present lists are:

A.218, A.587, A.404, B.9, C.359, C.354, C.448, C.508, C.522, C.657, C.704.

(d) Medical Practitioners

In al-Qayrawān there were two kinds of medical profession, a division which still exists in some Arab countries: the aṭibbā' (physicians) and the fūqahā' al-badan (sick attendants).

(i) Physicians

Physicians in al-Qayrawān were drawn from all sections of society regardless of origin or creed. Most of the pioneers

¹ See "Features of the City", nos. 32, 59, above, Ch.I, pp.17-18.

² Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 238.

in this field came from the east. They were attracted by the growth of al-Qayrawān and the efforts of many wālīs and amīrs to match the courts of other Islamic metropolises. There were Muslim, Christian, and Jewish physicians.

The first practitioner of whom a record remains was Yuḥannā al-Mutaṭabbib (C.162). He was the personal physician of Yazīd b. Ḥātīm (A.57). It is possible that Yuḥannā came with Yazīd in A.H.154, or slightly later.

In the third century we find an increasing number of physicians. The Aghlabid representative in Baghdād acted as a liaison officer for the Aghlabids with the professional people of Baghdād, and he managed to attract one of the greatest physicians of his time, Ishāq b. 'Imrān (A.237), who established the teaching of medicine in the city. Ishāq was born in Baghdād, and he came to al-Qayrawān in A.H.264 after receiving an invitation from Ibrāhīm II. Ishāq was not only a physician but also a physicist and philosopher. He fell out with his employer, the Aghlabid amīr, and subsequently opened a clinic in al-Qayrawān. This earned him great sums of money and at the same time enraged the amīr who returned him to his former status only to have him crucified because of his alleged disloyalty. The amīr involved was Ibrāhīm II and not Ziyādat Allāh III, as claimed by Ibn Abī 'Uṣaybi'ah.¹

Another physician was Ziyād b. Khalḫūn (A.445). He was one of the mawālī of the Banū al-Aghlab. The origin of Ziyād is not clear. The theory advanced by some writers² that he was of Jewish origin is refuted by his status of mawlā, which clearly implies being a Muslim.

¹ Ibn Abī 'Uṣaybi'ah, p. 5; Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 122; M. Steinschneider, "An Introduction to the Arabic Literature of the Jews: Jewish Physicians" in J.O.R., 13 (1901), pp. 86-87, seems to disagree with those who considered him a Jewish physician on the erroneous account of Leo Africanus, who confused the name with that of Ishāq b. Sulaymān.

² E.g., Poznanski, p. 192.

Another physician to come from the east was Ishāq b. Sulaymān al-Isrā'īlī (C.735). He lived in Egypt and learned medicine there. In A.H.292 he set out for Ifrīqiyā with the ambassador of the Aghlabid amīr, Ziyādat Allāh III, for Baghdad. Ishāq became the personal physician of Ziyādat Allāh III at a salary of 500 dīnārs annually.

Ishāq b. Sulaymān continued to serve the Aghlabid amīr, and later the Fāṭimid caliphs, until the reign of al-Mu'izz. He is said to have written many works in Arabic and in Hebrew, and taught the next generation of the physicians of al-Qayrawān, including such men as Ibn al-Jazzār.

A second Jewish physician of al-Qayrawān to be found in the present lists was Dūnash b. Tamīm al-Shuflajī (B.116). The family of Dūnash came to Ifrīqiyā in pursuit of their commercial activities. He was born in the second half of the third century. Dūnash studied under Ishāq b. Sulaymān medicine, astrology, philosophy, and arithmetic. He wrote many works on various subjects.¹

The 'ulamā' and the jurists of the Ḥanafī school were noteworthy for pursuing secular knowledge, and so it is not surprising to find two prominent jurists from this school studying medicine, which won them the admiration of their opponents.

The first of these jurists was Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. Ṭayyib al-Mutaṭabbib (A. 343), who was a prominent Ḥanafī jurist. The second was Abū al-Faḍl 'Alī b. Ḥafar (C.781), who

¹ 'Abd al-Wahhāb, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 297-300.

was described as being a scientist and an authority in many fields, besides being a physician.

In the last decade of the third century a family of physicians emerged in al-Qayrawān. This was the family of Ibn al-Jazzār.¹ The background of the family is somewhat obscure. Their economic background can be discerned in their nisbah, al-Jazzār. From the writings of Aḥmad b. al-Jazzār it is fairly clear that the family first subscribed to the madhhab of Abū Ḥanīfah, and then it seems they changed to the Fāṭimi madhhab after the Fāṭimids' seizure of al-Qayrawān (see Pedigree No. 20).

It is not clear whether Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid, whose name is to be found with the nasab of his two sons Ibrāhīm (A.478) and Abū Bakr (C.903), was a physician himself, but we know that the two sons pursued this calling.² They studied under the physicians of the city of al-Qayrawān: Ishāq b. 'Imrān, Ishāq b. Sulaymān, Dūnash b. Tamīm, and others.

Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm (C.904), the son of A.478, was a physician in addition to enjoying a reputation as an author and a Fāṭimid official.³

(ii) Fuqahā' al-Badan

The fuqahā' al-badan (i.e., those who have knowledge of the body) were men who comforted the sick in a voluntary capacity and who ministered to patients with prayers, reading the Qur'ān, and possibly also with the giving of simple

¹ Jazzār = butcher. Al-Mālikī dubs him erroneously al-Kharrāz; al-Mālikī, vol. 2, p. 314, see fn. A.477.

² Ibn Jaljal, p. 88.

³ For the family of al-Jazzār see Pedigree No. 20. The quotations which have survived from the works of Aḥmad are full of praise for the Fāṭimids; Steinschneider, loc. cit.

medicaments such as syrups.

Al-Mālikī gives us an accurate account of the function of the faqīh al-badan¹ which is summarized above.

The fuqahā' al-badan ministered to people in their homes or mosques, and the sick had to be brought to them. In the case of people who had a handicap or an infectious illness, the situation was different. They were looked after by volunteer male nurses, such as A.317, and slave girls who were provided probably by the amīr and charitable bodies.²

Seven of those fuqahā' al-badan are known to us by name; they were all Mālikī Jurists:

A.159, A.271, A.280, A.380, A.385, A.407, A.537.

Of these fuqahā' al-badan, two were either builders or came from a family of builders. They were A.159 and A.385. Another two (A.380, A.407) were leather workers. A fifth was a carpenter (A.537).

(e) Teaching Professions

(i) Teachers

Names of forty-one teachers in al-Qayrawān have been preserved, in addition to those whose professions were educational in nature, such as the jurists and the traditionists. The first teachers of al-Qayrawān were those who were sent by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. In the present lists there are five of them. These are: A.29, A.36, B.13, B.18, C.56.

Those who may be categorized as teachers are:

A.29, A.36, A.143, A.181, A.245, A.264, A.267, A.275, A.278, A.280, A.299, A.400, A.443, A.451, A.462, A.463, A.490, A.507,

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 2, p. 96.

² Ibid., vol. 2, p. 86.

A.530, A.588, B.13, B.18, B.40, B.48, C.56, C.132, C.191, C.270, C.303, C.372, C.432, C.536, C.578, C.583, C.615, C.681, C.704, C.740, C.747, C.766, C.825, C.884.

Eight of these teachers were jurists (the number of jurists and traditionists must, however, have been higher than this in the teaching profession, because traditionists, and to some extent the jurists, were teachers by implication). Teachers in al-Qayrawān came from all walks of life and their nisbahs point to this. They include: al-Qurashī, al-Asadī, al-Kinānī, al-Kalbī, al-Umawī, al-Tamīmī, al-'Irāqī, al-Ḥawwarī, al-Khurasānī, al-Khawlānī, al-Tujībī, etc.

They came from different professional backgrounds, e.g., al-Sā'igh (blacksmith), al-Ghāsīl (undertaker), al-Khabbāz (baker), and al-Tammār (seller of dates).

The teachers may be subdivided as follows:

- (1) School principal, 'Alī b. Sallām al-Baṣrī (A.204).
- (2) Shaykhs, e.g., al-Shaykh 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-'Irāqī (A.462).
- (3) Mu'allims (specialised teachers). The difference between mu'allim and mu'addib was that the mu'allim dealt with one subject or a combination of related subjects, while the mu'addib was a teacher responsible for teaching everything, especially to children. There were families which seem to have made teaching a family occupation: see A.463 and his son C.463, and A.264 and his son A.245.
- (4) Tutors (mu'addibū al-ṣibyān). These were similar to the mu'allims; most of them were concerned with teaching and preparing children for more advanced lessons when they grew older. Some of these mu'addibs came from very poor backgrounds, such as Ṣadaqah al-Mu'addib (A.400) who was blind, and Aḥmad b. Manṣūr, who worked as an undertaker (A.451).

(ii) Grammarians

These must have been involved in teaching in one way or another, because being a grammarian must imply teaching the subject in some form.

Those described as grammarians are sometimes also described as mu'addibs, e.g.,

A.88, A.169, A.345, A.363, A.443, A.506, A.542, A.548, A.537, A.569, C.155, C.157, C.164, C.293, C.552, C.565, C.566, C.302, C.754, C.894.

Some of these grammarians worked for the wālī or the amīr as secretaries because of their skill in composing letters, e.g, A.542, C.164. One of them, Abū Sa'id al-Şayqal (A.542), was a man of letters and grammarian and had exceptional skill in making tools and swords. His nisbah was al-Şayqal, i.e., the swordsmith.¹

One of these grammarians was the grandson of the poet al-Ṭirimmāḥ b. Ḥakīm al-Ṭā'ī. He was Amān b. al-Şimşāmah b. al-Ṭirimmāḥ (C.302).

The scholars were drawn from the educated elite of al-Qayrawān, and were mostly people who combined the knowledge of many branches of the religious sciences and belles-lettres. One of them was employed by Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī. He was Ishāq b. Mukram al-Ash'arī (C.170). Others used their knowledge to promote their ideas, as A.210, who was a master of rhetoric. The scholars whose names are preserved to us are: A.210, A.255, A.575, B.51, C.170, C.646, C.675, C.692, C.690, C.753, C.799, C.835.

(iii) Students

The other party involved in the process of teaching

¹ 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Waraqāt, vol. 1, p. 150.

was of course the students, and there is an apparent bias against these in our lists, only twenty-three students appearing there. They include important students such as two of Mālik b. Anas, e.g., A.231 and A.248. Others were the students of al-Bahlūl b. Rāshid and those of Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd, who is known to have taught hundreds of students from all over the Islamic west. Some of these students were engaged in professions apart from their studies, such as C.353 who was a shopkeeper, and C.559 who was a moneychanger.

Those described as students are:

C.197, C.231, C.248, C.259, C.442, C.478, C.480, C.482, C.487, C.494, C.495, C.497, C.504, C.506, C.514, C.515, C.518, C.526, C.556, C.819, C.867, C.891, C.896.

(f) Literary Occupations

(i) Scholars ('ulamā')

In addition to the jurists and traditionists we have those persons who are described as 'ulamā'. The distinction between them and the rest of those included in the religious professions is, however, very small. The term was probably used of those who had an equal interest in all the branches of the religious sciences, and some of them had an interest in other subjects.

The scholars in our present lists are:

A.210, C.255, B.51, C.170, C.179, C.646, C.675, C.692, C.690, C.753, C.766, C.835.

(ii) Poets

Governors in Ifrīqiyā as well as the other parts of the Muslim empire liked to surround themselves with the poets of their age. Some of them tried successfully to attract poets

to Ifrīqiyā from places as far away as 'Irāq. The first of these governors was Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī, who attracted poets such as C.169 and C.262.

Other poets were employed by some influential people to satirize their opponents (see the case which involved C.294 and C.310). Two poets joined the insurrection against Ziyādat Allāh I. They were two brothers, C.389 and C.394. When the insurrection of the jund ended in A.H.219, both of them were brought to the court of Ziyādat Allāh, who pardoned them despite the rival poet (C.393) who urged him not to.¹ The rest of the poets are known through their poetry, which is mostly elegiac.

The individuals described as poets in our lists are: A.210, A.224, A.333, A.337, A.349, A.506, C.149, C.262, C.294, C.310, C.311, C.373, C.394, C.483, C.527, C.555, C.589, C.607, C.736, C.742, C.781, C.935.

(iii) Philosophers

By philosophers is meant those 'ulamā' who had an interest in sciences other than the religious sciences, i.e., the 'ulūm al-awā'il or 'ulūm al-'ajam. One of these was Ibrāhīm al-Fizārī (C.607). He was an authority on many sciences and was a firm believer in the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'ān. He showed contempt for people whom he thought were not up to his intellectual standard. He was sentenced to death by the judge Ibn Ṭālib on a charge of heresy. However, his execution may have been ordered by Ibn Ṭālib in revenge for Ibrāhīm's public humiliation of him in debate.

Another scientist/philosopher was Ibn al-Ṣayqal (C.621). He had a wide knowledge of science as well as

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 105.

literature, and had outstanding skill in metalwork.

Philosophers/scientists in our present lists are:

C.607, C.621, C.781, C.791.

(iv) Authors

There are ten people in the present lists described as authors. One of these was Abū al-'Arab Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Tamīm and before him Saḥnūn b. Sa'id and his son Muḥammad, and Yaḥyā b. Sallām al-Baṣrī, etc.

The authors in the present lists are:

A.85, A.140, A.168, C.12, C.235, C.312, C.625, C.742, C.904.

(v) Historians

Historians were either individuals who related the history of Ifrīqiyā orally (a variety of traditionists), or were writers of history. In the first category we have those traditionists who were involved themselves in historical events in Ifrīqiyā, such as C.38 who was a soldier. Others came later in the second century and were authorities on the history of the province, such as C.322 and C.324. Another oral historian was Abū Ḥassān al-Yaḥsubī (B.22) whose accounts were transmitted through his son (A.122). Perhaps the most important authority on the history of Ifrīqiyā was Furāt b. Muḥammad who is described as أعلم الناس بمعاييب الناس,¹ i.e., the most knowledgeable in the identification of people through their pedigrees, their origins, etc.

Individuals who can be described as historians in our present lists are:

A.122, A.310, A.574, A.582, A.584, B.72, C.38, C.322, C.324, C.905.

¹ Al-Khushanī, p. 193; Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 139.

(g) Commercial Occupations(i) Merchants, Agents, and Middlemen

In the present lists there are twenty-four individuals described as merchants (tujjār), although the nature of their business as a rule is unknown. Four individuals came from the same family, the Banū Khayrūn al-Mu'āfirī al-Andalusī (Pedigree No. 25). Merchants in al-Qayrawān might be agents for other merchants, e.g., A.209 and A.496. Two individuals who seem to have come from the same family (A.492, C.730), and who served as ambassadors in the court of the caliph representing Ifrīqiyyā, were merchants. They seem to have made use of their frequent missions to the east to further their commercial interests.

Half the merchants who are mentioned in the present lists were connected with the religious sciences, that is, they were jurists, traditionists, Qur'ān reciters, devotees, etc. Three individuals in the present lists are described as agents for other merchants in addition to being merchants themselves. Moreover, there is one family of great prominence by the name of al-Wakīl (agent) (Pedigree No. 49), and because of this family's wealth, it may be assumed that they had begun their business as agents for another merchant or merchants. Another, less likely possibility, is that they were wakīls in the legal sense, i.e., lawyers in the court of the judge.¹

Many of the merchants of al-Qayrawān were very charitable. They participated in projects in the city and outside it, e.g., in mosques, mawājil (reservoirs), ribāṭs

¹ H.J. Cohen, "The economic background and secular occupations of Muslim jurisprudents and traditionists in the classical period of Islam" (summary of a Ph.D. thesis), in JESHO, 13, pt. 1, (1970), p. 34.

(fortresses), etc.

Only one middleman is mentioned in the present lists and he dealt with clothes. He received their garments (abdān) from the people who processed and manufactured them, and tried to find a buyer for them. He tried to secure the interests of the owner of the goods at the expense of the buyer, and he admitted a charge of overcharging.¹

The remaining eight individuals were traders and shopkeepers. Two of these were slave traders, and one of these two became an extreme Shi'ite after the Fāṭimids seizure of al-Qayrawān; he was executed because of his extreme beliefs. Another two individuals were dealers in animal feed. These were A.103 who was a clover dealer (qattāt) and C.577 who was a hay dealer (tabbān). The remainder included two timber merchants, and one pottery dealer (A.498).

The merchants in the present lists are:

A.106, A.109, A.115, A.151, A.160, A.377, A.404, A.424, A.432, A.449, A.491, A.492, A.496, A.564,
C.185, C.447, C.470, C.730, C.800, C.809, C.864, C.918.

The agents and middlemen in the present lists are:

A.109, A.496, A.878.

Traders and shopkeepers in the present lists are:

A.103, A.459, A.498, A.172, C.464, C.525, C.577.

(ii) Moneychangers and Bankers

Up to the year A.H.275 the currency in circulation in Ifrīqiyā was governed by weight and fineness; these could only be determined by using special weights supplied by the mint department. This caused the currency to be inflated with less precious metals, which created various grades of dirhams

¹ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 267.

and dīnārs¹ according to the quantity of gold or silver in them. The decision of the amīr to abolish this system of currency caused rioting. The alternative which the amīr introduced was a system of unified decimal units with defined weights of defined fineness.

The complications of dealing with these problems must have required people with exceptional banking abilities.

According to al-Mālikī, the city of al-Qayrawān had a big money market. The bankers cashed cheques (biṭāqah), and lent money, but the rates of interest are not mentioned.²

The practices of the moneychangers did not comply always with the law (shar') which made them unpopular with the jurists of al-Qayrawān.³ The site of the market of the moneychangers (sūq al-ṣarf, no. 35 in List of Places above, p. 15) is not known. Only four individuals are known to have practised moneychanging, or to have come from a family of moneychangers. One of these moneychangers was C.559, who was a student of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn. Some of them have the nisbah al-Ṣayrafī, e.g., Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Ṣayrafī and Najm al-Ṣayrafī.

Perfumers in al-Qayrawān seem to have sometimes acted as bankers. They cashed cheques and lent money. One of these was Jāmi' al-'Aṭṭār, who lent Saḥnūn 50 dīnārs to finance a charitable project. Another was Abū Dāwūd al-'Aṭṭār, who seems to have accepted deposits and disbursed sums from them on receipt of cheques from third parties drawn by the depositors.⁴

¹ E.g., al-dirham al-satūg (al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 118), al-dirham al-wāfī ('Abd al-Wahhāb, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 421).

² Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 262.

³ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 403.

⁴ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 118.

Those described as moneychangers or bankers in the present lists are: A.234, A.221, C.548, C.559, C.542, C.512.

(iii) Textile Trades

Al-Qayrawān was renowned for its high quality textile products.¹ Many persons worked in the preparatory stages of the industry, such as ginning and weaving, although the latter seems to have been a cottage industry carried on by males and females.² Others worked in the marketing of textile end-products, e.g., drapers, tailors, old clothes dealers, and dyers. One family might perform several of these functions. One such family was that of Abū Bakr b. Hudhayl (A.347), who worked with his wife in weaving, tailoring, and marketing the products. Sometimes it was the slaves (khadam) who wove the yarn to support their masters, e.g., the slave of Maymūn b. 'Umar al-Ma'īf (A.392).³

(1) Textile merchants. In the present lists there are twenty-five individuals described (they or their families) as textile merchants. Among them are cotton dealers, e.g., A.209, A.284; wool dealers, e.g., A.202, A.292, A.453; a linen dealer, i.e., A.138; drapers, e.g., A.58, A.148, C.350; and old clothes dealers (rahādirah), e.g., C.624.

The markets for textile products were held in several different parts of the city (see list of markets of al-Qayrawān). Two individuals who were Mālikī jurists had a partnership in a business dealing with cotton (A.209 and A.284).⁴

¹ Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, fol. 95a.

² Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 343. For the yarn market where the yarn was sold and bought, see List of the Places in al-Qayrawān, above, pp.15-16. The account of al-Dabbāgh seems to assume that women were engaged in weaving the yarns.

³ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, pp. 356-357.

⁴ The importance of textiles is evident in the jurists' responsa: see Abū al-'Abbās al-Ibyānī, Masā'il al-Samāsirah (MS), fol. 2ff.

Rabāḥ b. Yazīd al-Lakhmī (A.58) was a draper for a time, and so also was the father of one of the Iraqi Ḥanafī family whose name was Sa'īd al-Ashajj (C.178).

'Awn b. Yūsuf al-Khuzā'i was a dealer in linen. He was at the same time one of the leaders of the Mālikī legal school. Five other people are described as wool dealers. Three of them were members of the same family (Pedigree No. 39).

Seven of the merchants in the present lists are drapers (for the drapers market, see above, Ch. I, p. 15). Apart from the two drapers mentioned above, there was a third jurist and devotee (A.560) who had a business as a draper in al-Qayrawān. The textile merchants in the present lists are:

A.58, A.75, A.138, A.148, A.202, A.209, A.248, A.281, A.284, A.292, A.350, A.415, A.453, A.466 A.491, A.517, A.529, A.547, A.560, A.561, B.93, B.115, C.373, C.464, C.528, C.624, C.717, C.835.

(2) Textile artisans. Eleven individuals in the present lists worked in the textile manufacturing industry or came from families that had done so. These include ginners, weavers, dyers, tailors, and darners (raffā' or raqqā'). The employees (ghulām, pl. ghulmān) worked in workshops under a master (mu'allim),¹ who was usually the owner of the business.

Only one person has the nisbah al-Ḥallāj (the ginner) (A.562). Abū Bakr al-Labbād (A.553) was a weaver, in addition to being a jurist, an author, and a grammarian. Five individuals are described as tailors. One of these was al-Bahlūl b. Rāshid, who as a young man was employed in a tailoring business. Another jurist who worked as a tailor under a mu'allim was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (B.92). Maḥrūḥ b. Qays al-Khayyāḥ (A.147) was one of the devotees of al-Qayrawān, and worked as a tailor.

¹ Abū al-'Arab, p. 121.

An incident which involved a mu'allim and his employees is related by Abū al-'Arab. He mentions their using of a mosque as a workshop. This did not go down well with the people who considered the mosque a place of worship and not a workshop. In the end they were persuaded to leave the mosque by one of the jurists of al-Qayrawān, who asked the mu'allim of the tailors "how much did you pay for this hanūt?"¹ --a sarcastic allusion to the mosque.

Five individuals are described as dyers (ṣabbāgh or qaṣṣār). One of these was Aḥmad b. 'Abdūn al-Qaṣṣār (A.651), who was an outstanding jurist in the Mālikī legal school. Another individual was Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh (C.929).

Probably hundreds, if not thousands, of people worked in the textile industry, which produced more material than could be dyed in the city itself. Some material had to be sent to Sousse for dying. This applied only to the high quality materials,² which were probably for export. According to the Cairo genizah documents, flax was imported in large quantities from Egypt to be manufactured in Tunisia into fabric which in turn went eastward.³

The famous al-Sūsiyyāt fabrics were probably the very thing which Ibn al-Shabbāṭ referred to when he stated that the fabrics were manufactured in al-Qayrawān and finished in Sousse, i.e., they were given the name of the city which exported them and not the one which manufactured them.

Another profession connected with the clothing industry

¹ Ibid.

² Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, fol. 95a.

³ S.D.Goitein, Studies in Islamic History and Institutions, p. 322. Although these documents were about a century later than our era they are representative of what was going on in al-Qayrawān before the Fāṭimids.

was that of the furriers. Two furriers are mentioned in the present lists, one of them was a leading Mu'tazilite by the name of Sulaymān b. Ḥafṣ b. Abī Uṣfūr al-Farrā' (A.209).

The individuals described as textile artisans in the present lists are:

A.147, A.553, A.562, A.566, B.92, C.453, C.479, C.485, C.499, C.651, C.929.

(iv) Food Supply

(1) Farmers. Al-Qayrawān lies to the south of the region of al-Sāhil, which was an area of extensive olive orchards where many people from al-Qayrawān owned farms. To the east of the city there is a plain, where wheat can be grown (Sahl al-Darrārah).¹ The named individuals known to have worked in farming are few; some were owners of land as well as husbandmen, e.g., A.222 and A.140. However, it is clear that at some seasons of the year there was a considerable number of agricultural workers resident in the city, as is indicated by a report of al-Mālikī to the effect that the attendance at lectures by students of the religious sciences was often determined by the rhythm of the agricultural year, i.e, they would not be expected to attend during ploughing, harvest, etc.

Other important families owned lands (iqṭā') around the city and the suburbs. The suburb of al-Qayrawān called al-'Abbasiyyah was bought by Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab from the Banī Ṭalūt.² The cultivated area around the city was not extensive, but such an area did exist from the second century of the Hijrah. This is clear from the account of Abū Zakariyyā

¹ See Map no. 3 for the site of al-Darrārah; and see al-Bakrī, p. 24.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 92.

al-Warjalānī which mentions a farmer (C.117) who was astonished to find his farm intact after the end of the siege of al-Qayrawān by the Ibadites in A.H.140.¹

Some of the individuals in our lists came originally from an agricultural background, e.g., A.322, who returned to his village in the region of al-Sāḥil after his retirement as Judge of al-Qayrawān. The individuals described as farmers in the present lists are:

A.140, A.148, A.322, C.117, C.118, C.152, C.455, C.501, C.505.

(2) Dealers and processors of foodstuffs. There are twenty individuals who dealt in foodstuffs in the present lists.

They fall into the following groups:

a) Grocers. Of the two grocers mentioned in the present lists (A.55 and C.512) the first was a jurist and the second was a personal friend of Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd (A.140), and was probably connected in some way with the religious sciences.

b) Cereal merchants. Two individuals among the dealers in food were cereal merchants. One of them was a devotee and a murābiṭ, Wāṣil al-Khummi (A.161) who used to deal in grain. The other was a jurist, A.115, who dealt in cereals in general, and was accused by the jurists of al-Qayrawān of practising usury in his dealings.²

c) Butchers. Two individuals among the dealers in food were butchers (or came from families who were butchers) 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'īd al-Laḥḥām (A.545), and an unnamed person (C.823) who borrowed a sum of money from A.353 and was unable to pay it back. The name al-Jazzār (butcher) was borne by an important Qayrawānī family (see Pedigree No. 20), which produced a number of

¹ Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Khalīfah al-Warjalānī, Kitāb al-Sirah wa Akhbār al-A'imma, MS, fol. 22.

² Abū al-'Arab, p. 195.

physicians. It is possible that the family began by being butchers. This would seem to be the only explanation for having a designation like al-Jazzār in a society which scorned such an occupation.

d) Olive-oil dealers. The olive-oil which came from the extensive olive orchards was a source of wealth and prosperity for the people of Ifrīqiyā.¹ It was exported to the neighbouring areas, especially to the south, and the wealth of the people was measured in the number of olive trees they had.² The owners (of whom there were many in al-Qayrawān) owned the mills which extracted the oil from the olives.³ Among the twenty dealers in foodstuffs there are four individuals who were olive-oil dealers. The Sāḥil region north of al-Qayrawān was the major production area for olives, and they were brought to al-Qayrawān from there.

One of the olive-oil dealers was Aḥmad b. Bahlūl al-Zayyāt, who was a traditionist and an oil-dealer at the same time. The other dealers are individuals whose names have not been recorded: C.267, C.698, and C.168.

e) Bee-keepers. Only two individuals described as bee-keepers find a place here: Ḥamdūn b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Assāl (A.146) was one, the other was the prayer leader of the mosque of al-Qayrawān (A.440). He was Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Khalīl al-'Assāl.

Several individuals have been mistakenly given the name al-'Assāl by the editor of al-Madārik of 'Iyāḍ. When one examines their life data, however, one finds that these were

¹ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, p. 36.

² Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 328.

³ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 350 (M. ed.). Some kind of common ownership for the means of extracting the oil was in existence; see al-Mālikī, vol. 2, p. 317.

really al-Ghassāl (laundryman).¹

f) Spice merchants. Four individuals were dealers in spices. Two of them were members of one family (Pedigree No. 27). The other two were Abū al-Qāsim Masrūr al-Ibzārī (C.887) and Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ibzārī (C.842).

g) Bakers. Only one baker finds a place in the present lists (C.364). There was a bakers' market in al-Qayrawān (see above, p.).

h) Cooks. Two individuals are described as cooks. One of these was Jamīl al-Shawwā' b. Ibrāhīm (A.484). The other is unnamed (C.151). He was the cook of Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī (A.57).

i) Date merchants. Two individuals among the dealers in foodstuffs were date merchants. Dates were produced largely in the semi-desert southern part of Ifrīqiyā. The first of these is Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Tammār (C.810), the second Aḥmad (A.538), the brother of the former. They were both jurists of the Mālikī legal school.

j) Livestock dealer. Only one individual in the present lists is described as a livestock dealer: Ḥamdīs al-Raqqā' (C.817). The market in al-Qayrawān which was used by the livestock dealers was called sūq al-nakhkhāsīn.

To summarize, dealers in foodstuffs in the present lists are:

- a) A.556, C.512
- b) A.115, A.161
- c) A.545, C.823
- d) B.91, C.267, C.168, C.698

¹ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 3-4, p. 390(B. ed.). The same mistake was made in the case of al-Ḥannāt (grain dealer) who was erroneously called al-Khayyāṭ, see ibid., pp. 488-490.

- e) A.146
- f) C.306, C.842, C.887
- g) C.364
- h) C.151, A.484
- i) A.538
- j) C.817.

(h) Other Occupations

(i) Entertainers

There are eight individuals who can be described as entertainers. Entertainment in Ifrīqiyā developed in a similar way to entertainment in the east, consisting of singing, instrumental music, the activities of jesters, etc. We might also add the entertainment provided for caravans by the haddā'.

The singer Ziryāb stayed briefly in al-Qayrawān, arriving in Ifrīqiyā in A.H.205 and leaving it for al-Andalus in the following year.¹ Some of the reciters of poetry were also singers, such as Abū Sharaf al-Qawwāl (C.657). The Rabad al-Baqariyyah, a quarter in al-Qayrawān, is known to have been favoured as a dwelling place² by these people.

The Aghlabid amīrs employed not only lady's maids (jawāri)³ for singing, but also male singers, who were slaves and some of whom were eunuchs.⁴ One of these amīrs was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab (A.253). A member of the Aghlabid family who was a good singer (in addition to being a wāli and a poet) was Mujbir b. Sufyān (C.589).

One of the students of al-Bahlūl b. Rāshid (A.77)

¹ E. Lévi Provençal, Ḥaḍārat al-'Arab fī al-Andalus, transl. Dh. Qarqūṭ (Beirut, n.d.), p. 48.

² Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 179.

³ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 147; 'Abd al-Wahhāb, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 182.

⁴ Abū al-'Arab, p. 201.

left his tutor to learn music, and was seen with a tambour¹ which he concealed in his clothes.²

Even the son of a prominent jurist like Aḥmad b. Wāzin al-Ṣawwāf (A.255) was attracted to singing and music which he used to indulge in with his friends.³

The entertainers in the present lists include two jesters. The first is the jester of the third Aghlabid amīr, Ziyādat Allāh I. His name was 'Ammār al-Muḍaḥḥik (C.337). The second is Ibn Ḥubaysh al-Yūnānī, the jester of Ziyādat Allāh III.

Two persons are described simply as singers. The first of these was a singer at the Abbasid court who was attracted to al-Qayrawān by the Aghlabid amīr. He was Mu'nis al-Baghdādī (A.485) al-Mughannī, a mawlā of Mūsā b. Bughā,⁴ one of the courtiers of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Mu'nis later joined the court of the Fāṭimids and remained in their service until his death in A.H.314. The other singer was Ibn Marzūq (C.859), who was a friend of Sa'id b. al-Ḥaddād (A.381).

Two persons are described simply as musicians. These are A.253 and A.421, the latter being a lutanist.

The above eight entertainers are:

A.253, A.484, C.259, C.337, C.421, C.657, C.727, C.859.

(ii) Astrologers and Oneirocritics

Only two individuals in our present lists are described as astrologers. This dearth of astrologers may be

¹ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 3, p. 91 (M. ed.); Abū al-'Arab, p. 201.

² 'Iyāḍ, loc. cit.

³ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, p. 198.

⁴ Mūsā b. Bughā died in A.H.264; see al-'Uyūn wal-Ḥadā'iq, vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 36.

accounted for by the religious bias of the sources, i.e., religious orthodoxy was hostile to this pursuit.

Ḥamdīs al-Munajjim (C.603)¹ was apparently court astrologer to the Aghlabids. Ḥamdīs met his death as a result of a prophecy which he gave to the elder son of the amīr Ibrāhīm II. This involved predicting the date of his son's succeeding his father. The amīr was enraged and ordered the execution of Ḥamdīs (c. A.H.265). The other astrologer was an Aghlabid prince (C.459),² who was a wālī of Tripoli.

Some of the oneirocritics in the present lists seem to have interpreted dreams as a living. One in particular was al-Shaykh Ṭalaq b. al-Shaykh or Ṭalaq al-Mufassir, the oneirocritic of the amīr Ziyādat Allāh I. He used to tell the amīr of his own dreams if the amīr had not had any of his own. Naturally all the dreams would be analysed in a way which made the amīr happy.

The oneirocritics in our present lists are:

A.163, A.586, B.52.

(iii) Stationers and Papermakers

In the present lists only two individuals (A.273, C.761) are described as stationers (warrāq, pl. warrāqūn).³ They were both of Andalusian origin. They were interested in traditions concerning the history of Ifrīqiyā and many of the events of that history were related to them. The stationers must have had their own part of the market, but its whereabouts is now not known, although unpublished manuscripts still

¹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, vol. 3, p. 32.

² Ibn al-Abbār, al-Ḥullah, vol. 2, p. 379.

³ According to Ibn al-Athīr the nisbah "warrāq" can also mean scribe. See Ibn al-Athīr, al-Lubāb, vol. 3, p. 357.

in the hands of private owners and the excavations which are being carried out in the city may eventually throw light on this.¹

Other individuals are recorded as having been occupied in making paper. The only one within our period was A.542.

(iv) Servants and Slaves (khadam, 'abid, and futyān)

In the present lists we have thirteen people who are described either as servants (khadam) or as slaves. In the present work the distinction of terms has been preserved, but in fact no great difference was involved, since "servant" at that time invariably implied a slave and not an employee. Some of them were servants of very poor people who had handicaps, such as C.877. The aristocratic families were as concerned as the Aghlabid amīrs with keeping a large number of slaves. In the case of A.586, his father assigned fifteen slaves to look after him.² The same happened in the case of A.256 who was escorted by a number of slaves.

The numbers of the mawālī and ṣaqālibah in Ifrīqiyāh were very large, according to Ibn al-Jazzār, who estimates them during the late Aghlabid era as numbering around 100,000. The Aghlabid amīr Ibrāhīm II began to fear their strength and influence which was growing.³ Some of them held important posts in the Aghlabid and Fāṭimid states.

Most of these thirteen servants are anonymous. Two of them were the servants of the amīr; C.697 was a butler and C.780 was an executioner.

¹ 'Abd al-Wahhāb, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 154.

² 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 3-4, p. 498 (B. ed.).

³ Al-'Uyūn wal-Hadā'iq, vol. 4, pt. 1, pp. 73, 82-83; Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 123.

We have omitted here persons of servile origin who eventually rose to eminent positions in the state or in society.

Those described as servants in the present lists are: C.93, C.284, C.376, C.475, C.558, C.586, C.697, C.710, C.780, C.820, C.821, C.822, C.874, C.877, C.912.

(v) Perfumers

There are ten individuals described as perfumers. Some of these practised other occupations as well, e.g., dealing in groceries (C.512 and C.651), and moneychanging (A.221 and C.512). There was a market for the perfumers in al-Qayrawān,¹ and a quarter in the centre of the city, which was occupied mostly by rich people, was called the Quarter of the Perfumers.²

The individuals described as perfumers in the present lists are:

A.143, A.205, A.221, A.383, A.433, A.560, A.651, C.512, C.825, C.838.

(vi) Goldsmiths

Eight individuals are described, in the present lists, as goldsmiths (they or their families).

The goldsmith seems to have been working mainly in turning the metal into gold or silver objects and his dealing in precious stones is not mentioned, instead we have people who were dealing with these stones, e.g., al-Lu'lu'i (pearl dealer); see A.319 and his father C.251, and also see C.233 and A.506.

Some gold plated pieces were manufactured in al-Qayrawān for the people of the Sūdān, and one of the goldsmiths who made

¹ See above, Chapter I, p. 15, No. 37.

² See above, Chapter I, p. 18, No. 85.

such objects was Sakan b. Sa'īd al-Sā'igh (B.73). These objects included bridles, saddle decorations, and the like.

The above ten individuals who are described as goldsmiths or pearl dealers are:

Goldsmiths: A.588, B.73, C.347, C.673

Pearl dealers: A.319, A.506, C.233, C.251.

(vii) Blacksmiths

Two individuals are described in the present lists as blacksmiths. The first was the paternal grandfather of Sa'īd b. al-Ḥaddād (see Pedigree No. 16). The other blacksmith was both a blacksmith and a swordsmith, only two of many other skills and interests. He was 'Uthmān b. Sa'īd al-Ṣayqal (A.542).

The blacksmiths in the present lists are:

A.542, C.392.

(viii) Hoteliers

There are four individuals who are described as hotel proprietors (funduqī, pl. funduqiyyūn). The first was 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Shaybah, who was probably a descendant of Shaybah b. Ḥassān (A.65). When 'Abd al-'Azīz died the state took over his property including the hotel, because he did not have an heir. Next is Muḥammad b. Khayrūn (see Pedigree No. 25), who had a hotel and a mosque in the quarter which was known by the name al-Zayyādiyyah (the mosque is still standing).

The third hotel proprietor was Abū 'Uwānah al-Baṣrī, who was a merchant and had a big caravan of camels for his trade journeys between the east and Ifrīqiyyā and the Sūdān and Ifrīqiyyā. The fourth hotelier was 'Abd Allāh b. al-Walīd

al-Funduqī (a mawlā of the Aghlabids). He was the prayer-leader of the mosque of al-Qayrawān, and may have been the owner of a hotel or the son of an owner.

The hoteliers in the present lists are:

A.377, A.483, A.351, C.799.

(ix) Builders and Brick-makers

In the present lists there are four individuals who are described as builders and brick-makers. One is Marwān b. Abū Shaḥmah al-Balawī, who made bricks from the material available in al-Qayrawān, i.e., clay. He gave the ingredients of his bricks as straw and clay plus some other ingredients.¹

Another builder was Sa'īd b. 'Abbād al-Surtī (A.159). He was a bricklayer and lived a very impoverished life. He is also described as a jurist and a faqīh al-badan. The description al-bannā' is also given to two other individuals: 'Abd Allāh b. Mufarrij who was a judge and faqīq al-badan, and 'Abd Allāh b. Mālik al-Bannā', who is known to have built one of the most important fortresses on the coast, i.e., Qaṣr Ziyād.²

The builders and bricklayer who are mentioned in our present lists are:

A.143, A.159, A.513, C.365.

(x) Carpenters

Three individuals in our present lists are described as carpenters. One of them (A.537) was, in addition, a faqīh al-badan.

Those described as carpenters are:

A.537, C.806, C.852.

¹ Abū al-'Arab, p. 200.

² Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 328.

(xi) Pottery Dealer

Only one potter is mentioned in the present lists. This was Abū Muḥammad al-Ghanamī (A.498) who had a shop for this purpose in Sūq al-Aḥad where he used to sell pottery articles and probably ceramic products. It can be assumed from his occupational nisbah that he himself made the products which he sold.

(j) The Unemployed

Many of the individuals included in the present lists are recorded as having had a certain occupation, or having some kind of social status, and these may help in identifying these individuals. However, there were also individuals who had no work or occupation. The first mention of these unemployed comes from the reign of Ibrāhīm II.¹ They may have been in this position as a result of the population growth of the city causing a fall in demand for labour, coupled with a possible rural migration into the city, and consequently unemployment. Those people were called in al-Qayrawān, tā'ifat al-rukniyyah, a term which refers to the corner of the mosque of Sidi 'Uqbah.² Sometimes they were called al-masājidiyyūn, e.g., Abū al-Qāsim al-Masājidi (C.632) who was one of their leaders. He is mentioned in a case of extortion against the Judge of al-Qayrawān. They lived mostly as squatters in the mosques and depended on the charity of the rest of the community.

Unemployment, together with the weakness of the central authority was the cause of the apparent spread of thieves and bandits which made the highway unsafe. This seems

¹ Al-Khushanī, p. 243.

² Ibid.

to have been the case before the Muhallabids, and before the Aghlabids. According to Ibn al-Athīr, al-Qayrawān had its fair share of those people and Ibrāhīm was quick to stamp on their activities.¹ Towards the end of the Aghlabid period the roads between al-Qayrawān and the other major cities became unsafe again, and caravans had to have guards to protect them from the attacks of the highwaymen. Other travellers stopped travelling alone and preferred the safety of well-protected caravans.²

3. Analysis of the Origins of the Population

Unless otherwise stated, the birthplace of every individual in lists A, B, and C was al-Qayrawān; obviously this does not apply to the early years when everyone was an immigrant. As regards the origins of the population of al-Qayrawān, al-Ya'qūbī,³ writing in the latter half of the third century, states that the components of the population of al-Qayrawān were as follows:

- (1) Arabs (from the three major confederations).
- (2) Persians ('Ajam of Khurāsān)
- (3) The jund (the soldiery who accompanied the Abbasid wālīs).
- (4) 'Ajam al-balad.⁴
- (5) Berbers
- (6) Byzantines (Rūm).⁵

¹ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, vol. 6, p. 107.

² Al-Mālikī, vol. 2, p. 60; al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 312; Leo Africanus, vol. 1, p. 21.

³ Kitāb al-Buldān, p. 348.

⁴ See Chapter VIII, below, p. 526.

⁵ See above sec. 1 (b), pp. 404-406.

Al-Ya'qūbī's analysis is accurate and our present lists reflect this. However, his statement is not exhaustive. Among the elements which are not mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī were the Jews and the Christians.¹ A number of people mentioned in the present lists were converts from Judaism and Christianity.

In particular, al-Ya'qūbī does not mention the Copts, for whose existence in al-Qayrawān we have reliable evidence.² They came to the city from Tunis, to which they had been brought by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.³

From the latter half of the first century until the third century the Yamanite Arabs seem to have gained a predominant position in Ifrīqiyyā; it cannot have been coincidental that they virtually monopolized the post of wālī of the province,⁴ and also the Judge of al-Qayrawān, who was usually a de facto judge of the whole province.⁵

The number of Yamanite and Qaysite tribes mentioned in the present lists is approximately the same. However, there was a difference between the formations of the two groups, i.e., the Qaysites, unlike the Yamanites, tended to divide and form small sections or sub-tribes while the Yamanite tribes were mostly the original big tribes, with far more members than the smaller Qaysite tribes. If we take the Arab tribes in al-Qayrawān which have more than one individual mentioned in the present lists, we find that 26 of them

¹ See above, Chapter III, and pp. 91-92.

² Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 203; 'Iyāḍ, Tarājim, p. 409.

³ Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 66.

⁴ See Chapter II, above, pp. 130-131.

⁵ See the relevant office holders in the three lists A, B, and C, and Chapter VII above, p. 422.

were Yamanite tribes against 19 Qaysite tribes. Taking tribes with more than one individual helps to eliminate the possibility of a tribe being mentioned on account of an isolated nisbah, and not as the designation of a group of people (see Appendix No. 4).

Persians in al-Qayrawān must have come largely with the Abbasid jund, because this was not an exclusively Arab army, and some of its well-known leaders in the latter half of the second century were Persian.¹

There was also a considerable number of people who came to al-Qayrawān from al-Andalus in the second and the beginning of the third century, as a result of the popular uprisings in Cordova,² and they formed a distinctive community in the city called after their place of origin, al-Andalusiyūn.³

The majority of the places of origin mentioned in the present lists are names of cities in Ifrīqiyā and the Maghrib (see Map. no. 3). The most important of these are Surt,⁴ Tripoli, and Qasṭīliyah. Cities in Iraq and Persia are also frequently mentioned as the places of origin of the people of the city, such as Baṣrah, Baghdād, Merv, etc.

The lists also show the importance of the slave trade in complicating the racial composition of the population, since we find slaves who had come from the Sudan, from the south of Europe (Italy and Sicily) and the Slavonic countries.⁵

¹ See Chapter VI, lists A, B, and C, and Chapter VIII.

² See Chapter. III, p. 72.

³ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, pp. 102, 167.

⁴ See Chapter VIII, Pedigree Nos. 40, 41.

⁵ See above (iv).

4. Analysis of Religious Affiliations

An analysis of religious affiliations reflects the religious history of al-Qayrawān. From the time of its foundation in A.H.47/A.D.667 the city was inhabited by Muslims, and there is no mention of any non-Muslim until the second half of the second century, when we begin to find some fragmentary information about the ahl al-Kitāb. We have the name of the head of the Christian community in al-Qayrawān (C.200) as well as indications of the existence of a Jewish community.

Muslim sects and factions had of course arisen before the founding of the city: the Kharijites, the Shi'ites, the tribal factions of Qays and Yaman, and in addition the two major Islamic groups which had been the closest to the Prophet, the Muhājirūn (predominantly Qurashites) and the Anṣār (al-Aws and al-Khazraj). However, with the death of the Prophet the balance shifted in favour of the Muhājirūn, a point the other Qurashites did not fail to exploit. The position of the people of al-Madīnah began to decline, especially during the rule of the Sufyanid branch of the Umayyad dynasty. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah sent an army which crushed the people of al-Madīnah in the battle of al-Ḥarrah in A.H.64/A.D.683, and many citizens fled to other parts of the Arab empire, especially North Africa, where they joined the Ifriqiyan army.¹ This must have had an effect on the reception by the people of al-Qayrawān of the Mālikī madhhab.²

¹ Wellhausen, p. 160.

² All the people of al-Qayrawān who were non-Kharijites or non-Khurasanids (those not part of the Abbasid governmental or military machine) found in Mālik's madhhab (after their support of the Muhallabid family had failed) the means to counter the Khurasanids and Iraqī influence in every sphere of life in the city.

These factions continued to dominate the life of al-Qayrawān, and later some of them had a considerable impact on later events in the country. This is especially true of the Kharijites, who adopted al-Qayrawān at the beginning of the second century as a base for spreading their doctrine.¹

Late in the second century the law schools (madhhabs) began to appear. Two law schools dominated Ifrīqiyā. The first was the Ḥanafī. In North Africa it came with the people of 'Irāq. This is probably the reason for its followers being called 'Irāqīs or Kūfīs.

The Ḥanafīs continued during the Aghlabid period as the madhhab of the state, until the year A.H.234, when the amīr appointed the first Mālikī judge (A.140). With the Ḥanafī madhhab came the Mu'tazilism which some of the Ḥanafīs of Ifrīqiyā embraced. Mu'tazilism became the doctrine of the Abbasid authorities and they tried hard to impose it on Ifrīqiyā. In the end, however, the party in the government of the Aghlabids which was committed to the I'tizāl lost power (A.H.233). The man behind all this, Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab, was exiled to the east, and with him the I'tizāl faded away, with the exception of a brief revival of it when a Mu'tazilite amīr was proclaimed in A.H.289-290. From that time, the Aghlabid amīrs (with some exceptions) tried to strike a balance between the two major sects, and this may be the secret of the success of their mutual co-existence.²

The second law school was that of Mālik. The reason for the spread of Mālik's school in North Africa is not entirely clear, but it may have been partly due to the fact

¹ See A.17, C.58, C.59; and above "Analysis of Origins".

² Abū al-Qāsim Ibn Ḥawqal, Kitāb al-Masālik wal-Mamālik; Descriptio al-Maghrebi, ed. M. de Goeje (Leiden, 1860), p. 336. See also Chapter V (I.D.6) above.

that the scholars of al-Qayrawān considered that the living tradition of al-Madīnah was a model of the Prophet's practice, the emulation of which would secure them from the perils of heresy.¹ The Mālikīs were called al-Madaniyyūn after the cradle of their madhhab, al-Madīnah, which was the place where Mālik received his students and delivered his ideas on fiqh. In addition to the journey which many of the scholars of al-Qayrawān undertook to al-Madīnah, there were constant visitors to al-Madīnah who came from Ifrīqiyā in the course of the hajj, and al-Qayrawān came to contain many people who came originally from al-Madīnah.

¹ H. Mones, Introduction to Riyāḍ al-Nufūs, p. 10.

Chapter VIII

RECONSTRUCTION OF FAMILIES

A. Tracing of Pedigrees and Family Histories

The reconstruction of the family resembles the reconstruction of an individual's name. It differs only in the identifying items which are in the case of the family those of many people, while in the individual's case there are only two sets. The procedures here used for reconstructing a family pedigree are as follows:

1. Proof that the name to be linked to a particular family is connected to a positively identified and already linked member of that family.
2. Ensuring that there is no missing or uncertain item among the identifying items which would render the reconstruction doubtful. One of the most important of these items is a name which has the lineage of the two individuals: when the nasab and nisbah are identical, the chance of establishing a definite link with the family is high. The next items are the dates of birth and of death; these must always be a controlling factor in estimating the likelihood of a filial connection, even when there is an apparently unbroken nasab. In such a case, one is justified in assuming that some elements have been dropped¹ if other evidence shows a lapse of, e.g., a century, between the

¹ Examples may be found in Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 189 and Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 200.

birth of father and his alleged son.

3. A person's profession is often given as part of his name e.g., al-Khayyāṭ, al-Mu'addib, al-Bannā', al-Habbāl, etc.; this was often inherited, but equally it tended to disappear or change after several generations. It cannot therefore be a decisive identifying factor.

4. The name without a nisbah is of hardly any use for family reconstruction, unless it is accompanied by a statement of relationship; this is especially so if the nasab is a common name such as Aḥmad, Muḥammad, 'Abd Allāh, 'Alī, etc. The presence of the nisbah is not enough by itself, especially in the case of common ones such as al-Baghdādī, al-Qaysī, al-Kindī, al-Tamīmī, al-Surtī, al-Naṣrānī, al-Tujibī, etc. The more distinctive the nisbah the easier it is to relate it to an earlier specific individual, e.g., al-Ṣamadiḥī (after a forefather called Ṣamadiḥ)¹ (A. 120), al-Muhallabī (after al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah al-Azdī).

Appended to each pedigree is a short history of the family concerned. This deals with the following topics: settlement in the city, the social status and the influence of the family on the religious, intellectual, and socio-economic life of the city, and lastly the persistence or otherwise of the family in its functions and influence during the changing phases of North African politics.

In the reconstruction of families the objective has been the same as that of scholars such as Fleury and Henry² in European historical demography, i.e., to discover as much as possible about people and their different relationships,

¹ 'Iyād, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 93 (M. ed.).

² M. Fleury and L. Henry, Nouveau manuel de dépouillement et d'exploitation de l'état civil ancien (Paris, 1965).

although the sources of the material involved are different, i.e., the biographical dictionaries. Owing to the nature of the Arabic name one has a basis for compiling genealogies of families using a combination of personal data and the chain of nasab, which although not to be accepted uncritically serves as a guide or hypothesis which can be checked and verified using personal data and every single identifying item of each individual.

The choosing of families for reconstruction depends on the clarity of the relationships and also the number of people who constitute the family in question. The minimum number has to be three individuals to justify reconstruction.

In the pedigrees of the reconstructed families, given below, the order in which the names of individuals are given in each generation does not necessarily indicate their relative ages, which are often unknown. Where it has been possible to determine the relative ages of the members of a generation the older members are placed towards the left and the younger towards the right.

B. Reconstructed Pedigrees: Families of al-Qayrawān

A.H.47/A.D.667-A.H.296/A.D.909

1. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib

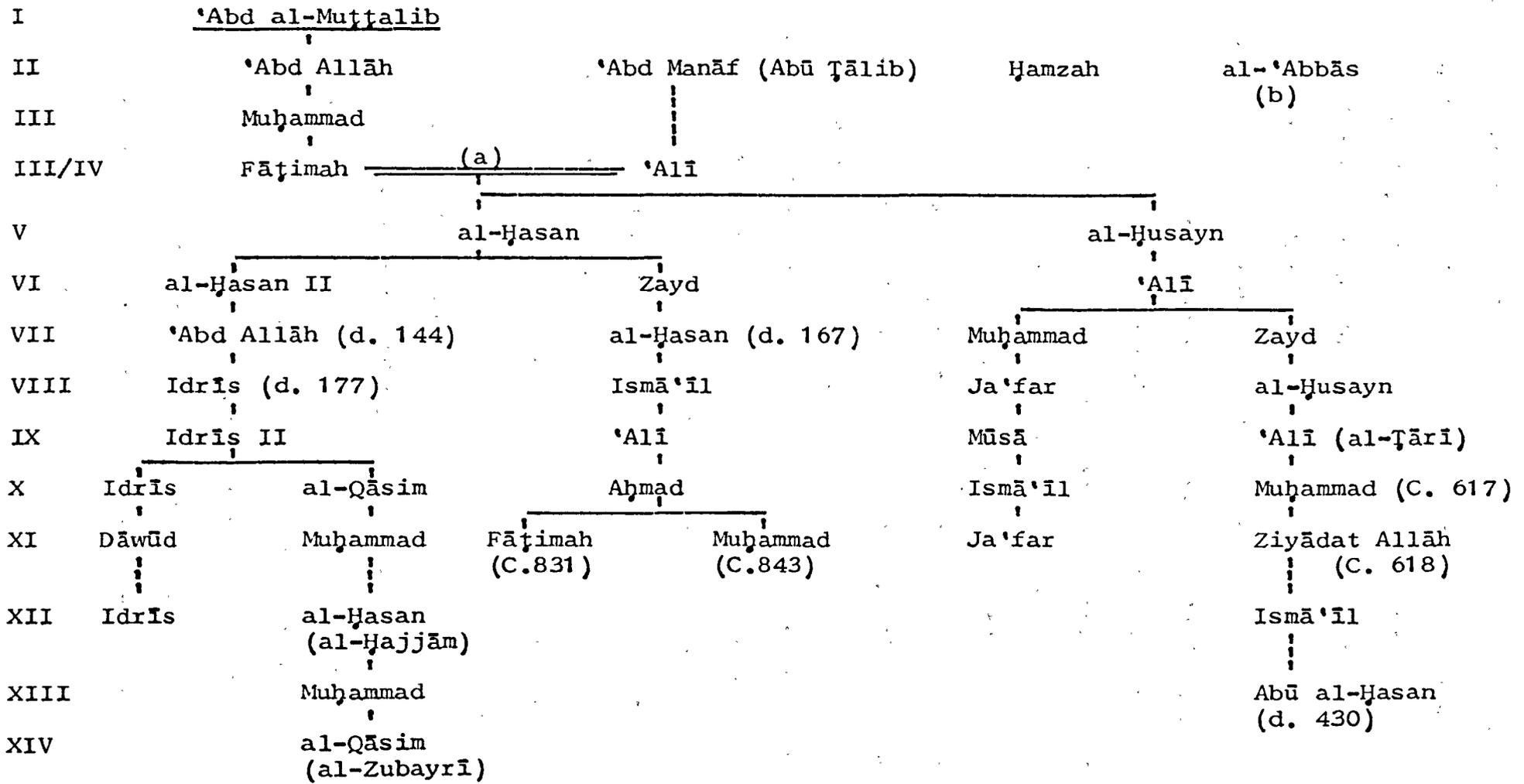
Many people from the family of the Prophet came to Ifrīqiyā at the beginning of the Muslim conquest. The Abbasids in particular had close connections with Ifrīqiyā. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās the cousin of the Prophet was one of the leaders of the expedition of A.H.26 which paved the way for the permanent conquest which followed. The grandson of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās settled in al-Qayrawān and started a family there. He died a young man leaving a daughter.

Abū Ja'far 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās (Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr) was the son of a Berber slave girl, and he took refuge in al-Qayrawān when the whole family was wanted by the Umayyad authorities, following their success in founding the da'wah which was centred in Khurasān. Abū Ja'far was married to the sister of one of the Yamanite leaders of al-Qayrawān who had been a widow.

In the latter half of the third century one of the sons of al-Mahdi came to al-Qayrawān and settled there. He raised a family after marrying the cousin of the Aghlabids amīr (see Pedigree 1(b)).

(a) The other descendants of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib were the 'Alids. No mention is made of these before the second century, because the concept of tashayyu' which was popular in the eastern wing of the Empire was not so in the west, which was permeated by Kharijite ideas.

The first mention of the 'Alids in al-Qayrawān is when they fled after the Battle of Fakh in A.H.167, which was



their last real bid for power in the east. The leader of the 'Alids there was Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh who was killed, and his younger brother Idrīs fled to the west in disguise and arrived in al-Qayrawān. From there his mawlā, Rashīd, began to rally support for him among the Maghribi tribes. The Berbers of the far Maghrib, having supported the Kharijite movement, now threw their weight behind an 'Alid imām.¹

The descendants of al-Ḥasan b. 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib lived on in the city from the third century. After the break up of the Idrisid state in the Maghrib many of its members migrated to al-Qayrawān. Two individuals were Fāṭimah and Muḥammad, children of Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib (C.831) (C.843). They lived in the city with their family. Their single tombstone which they shared is not dated, but its dating to the second half of the third century is probably not very far from the truth. The one tombstone for two individuals may be a sign that they were first, not adults, and secondly that they died within a short period of each other. Nothing further is known of their immediate family.

After the break-up of the Idrisid state of Fez and the internal differences among the factions of the Idrisid family many of them came to al-Qayrawān. One of them was al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī, known as al-Zubayrī. He was the son of one of the leaders of Fez. He studied jurisprudence and settled in al-Qayrawān. Another was the great grandson of Idrīs II, whose name was Idrīs b. Dāwūd b. Idrīs b. Idrīs. He died in the city in A.H.358.² However,

¹ Abun-Naṣr, p. 80.

² Roy, vol. 1, p. 261.

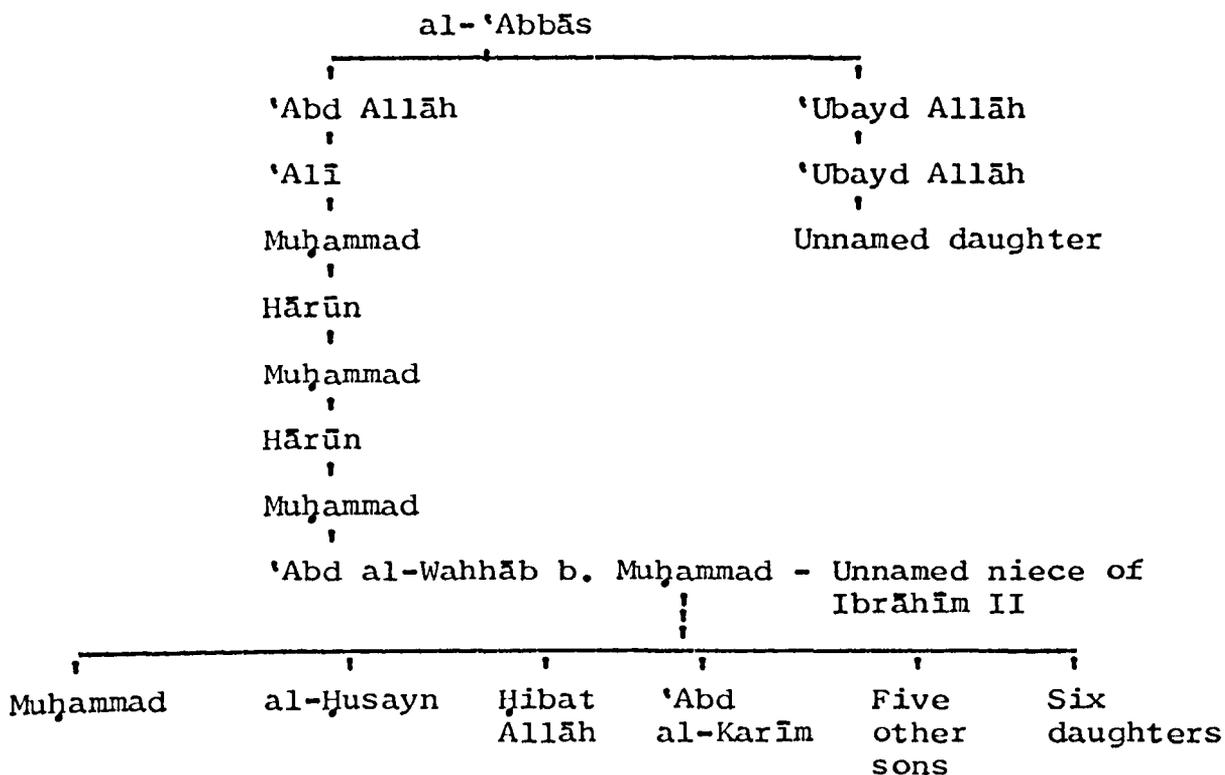
nothing is known about the time he settled in the city, or whether there were any members of his family who continued to live in the city.

The other branch of the 'Alid family was the Ḥusaynī. Two of the grandsons of al-Ḥusayn had their descendants in al-Qayrawān. First there were the descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn. Only one of them is known to have lived in al-Qayrawān. He was Ja'far b. Ismā'il b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn.¹

The other grandson of al-Ḥusayn to have descendants in al-Qayrawān was Zayd b. 'Alī (d. A.H.122). He was the grandfather of al-Ṭārī (see fn. A.214) who came to al-Qayrawān in the second half of the third century and established a family there. His family continued to live in the city until the middle of the fifth century (i.e., Abū al-Ḥasan who died in A.H.430, a poet from the Zirid period).² The second generation of the family of al-Ṭārī was represented by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn (C. 617), who in turn had a son by the name of Ziyādat Allāh (C. 618). The fourth generation of the family of al-Ṭārī was represented by Ismā'il b. Ziyādat Allāh, who probably lived in the city around the middle of the fourth century of the Hijrah.

¹ Ibn Ḥazm, p. 64.

² 'Abd al-Wahhāb, "al-Sharaf al-Ḥasanī wal-Ḥusaynī", in al-Majallah al-Zaytūniyyah, May 1940, p. 428.

1b. The Abbasids

This family gives an indication of the importance of al-Qayrawān as a metropolis in the third century, as its presence indicates the immigration of the highest social stratum of Baghdād. 'Abd al-Wahhāb was the grandson of the Abbasid caliph Muḥammad al-Muhtadī (A.H.255-256). 'Abd al-Wahhāb settled at al-Qayrawān in the second half of the third century. He was married to an Aghlabid princess, a marriage which could have been of political advantage to the Aghlabids, especially to Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad who was neither popular at home nor on good terms with the caliph.¹

Ibn Ḥazm gives the names of four sons of 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad, and claims that he had nine other sons and six daughters of that marriage.² However, Ibn Ḥazm's text can be taken to mean that the four named sons are included in the figure of nine sons. This is more likely than a total of thirteen, which would make nineteen altogether.³

¹ Ibn al-Abbār, al-Ḥullah, vol.1, p.180; Ibn 'Idhārī, vol.1, p.129

² Ibn Ḥazm, p. 26.

³ Ibid. Ibn Ḥazm after giving the names of the four sons adds

The two elder sons seem to have left al-Qayrawān, probably after the Fāṭimid seizure (A.H.296/A.D.909). The first son, Muḥammad, went to Spain, where he was received, ironically, by the Umayyad caliph (in Spain) al-Nāṣir, and he lived in Spain enjoying the generosity and favour of the Umayyad caliph until he died in A.H.333. Muḥammad is explicitly stated to have died without issue.¹

The second son of 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad was al-Ḥusayn, who went to Sicily at an undetermined date. Nothing more is recorded about his career. The fate of the rest of the family finds no mention; there are a number of references to the name al-'Abbāsī,² but without enough identifying items to prove a connection between them and the family of 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad.

 2. Dīnār al-Anṣārī

Abū al-Muhājir Dīnār (A. 2)

↓
 Sulaymān (B. 4)

↓
 'Abd al-Malik

↓
 Muḥammad

↓
 'Īsā (B. 72)

The place of origin of this family is not known for certain, but can be assumed to have been Egypt, for Dīnār was a mawlā of Maslamah b. Mukhlid al-Anṣārī, who was a prominent Umayyad supporter in Egypt during their struggle to gain control of the Muslim state. Dīnār was one of his active aides in that respect. Maslamah was appointed wālī of Egypt and North Africa was included under his authority. He appointed

the following: " . . . وبنين غير هؤلاء ، تسعة وست بنات " this means the four must be added to the nine; however, it is probable that the number "nine" was intended by the author as an overall number of the sons against the number of daughters which was given. In this case the semi-colon should be put before the word "nine" and it will be: " . . . وبنين غير هؤلاء ؛ تسعة وست بنات "

¹ Ibid.

² Al-Mālikī, vol. 2, p. 39 and see A.635.

his mawlā Abū al-Muhājir Dīnār wālī over Ifrīqiyā as a reward for his services.¹

The religious background of the family is nowhere stated, but from Abū al-Muhājir's policy in North Africa he seems to have been aware of the Christian mentality and outlook, as is shown by his action when he was faced with Kusaylah, the Berber leader.² He tried to win hearts and minds rather than battles, without however showing any weakness, and he managed to do this successfully. His understanding of the people's psychology might suggest that he was a convert from Christianity. This policy was cut short by the return of the uncompromising 'Uqbah b. Nāfi', who resumed his policy of suppression, with fatal results; Abū al-Muhājir and 'Uqbah were killed in an ambush set by Kusaylah and his allies, near Ṭabnah,³ in A.H.64.

The second generation of the family, as represented by Sulaymān, participated in the completion of the conquest of North Africa and he was one of the commanders of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr's army which subdued the far Maghrib.⁴ Apart from this fraction of information nothing is recorded of the career of Sulaymān. The third generation of the family was represented by 'Abd al-Malik, who is otherwise unknown to us; nothing seems to be recorded about his life. His name was given as part of the nasab of his grandson 'Īsā (B. 72).⁵

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 22.

² Kusaylah b. Lumzum al-Burnusī's (al-Barānisī's) rebellion was caused by 'Uqbah's policy which tried to undo the steps taken by Abū al-Muhājir to draw the Berbers peacefully to Islam. The rebellion of Kusaylah was the first setback to the Muslim conquest. See ibid., pp. 23-32.

³ For Ṭabnah the capital of al-Zāb, see Map no. 2.

⁴ Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 77.

⁵ His tombstone is preserved in the Museum of Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab in al-Qayrawān, under no. 638. The chain of the nasab of 'Īsā seems incomplete in Abū al-'Arab (p. 206). 'Abd al-Malik is omitted from the version of Abū al-'Arab (see ibid.).

It is notable that most of the people who originally came from 'Irāq chose to follow the 'Irāqī imām, Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān b. Thābit al-Kūfī, even though most of them had never seen him or studied under him. It is therefore not surprising that the word 'Irāqī and the word Ḥanafī became synonymous.

What brought Sa'id to al-Qayrawān is unknown. He might have come with his father or another relative, but he could not have come on his own, because Abū al-'Arab's account of Sa'id portrays him as only a boy in his late teens (ghulām).¹ Despite Sa'id's early settlement in al-Qayrawān, the family retained links with their home town of al-Baṣrah to which they returned for varying lengths of time. Some of them may have returned there for good, and we can identify them through their nisbah, al-Ashajj.

Salāmah b. Sa'id (C.693) one of the sons of Sa'id, was a Baṣrah traditionist. One of his ḥadīths refers to the state of jurisprudence and the attitude of the jurists to al-Qayrawān to the discussions of the day. This indicates that he had just arrived from al-Qayrawān, as he says, "I left al-Qayrawān and the people were discussing . . ." ²

The second son of Sa'id was 'Abd Allāh, who had the kunya of Abū Sa'id. He is not mentioned as having lived in al-Qayrawān; Ibn al-Athīr mentions him as being one of the celebrated traditionists of al-Baṣrah.³

The third son was Muḥammad, whose family remained in al-Qayrawān. Apart from this we know nothing of Muḥammad except his being the father of Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad

¹ Ibid., p. 121.

² 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 3-4, p. 91 (B. ed.).

³ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Lubāb, vol. 1, p. 63.

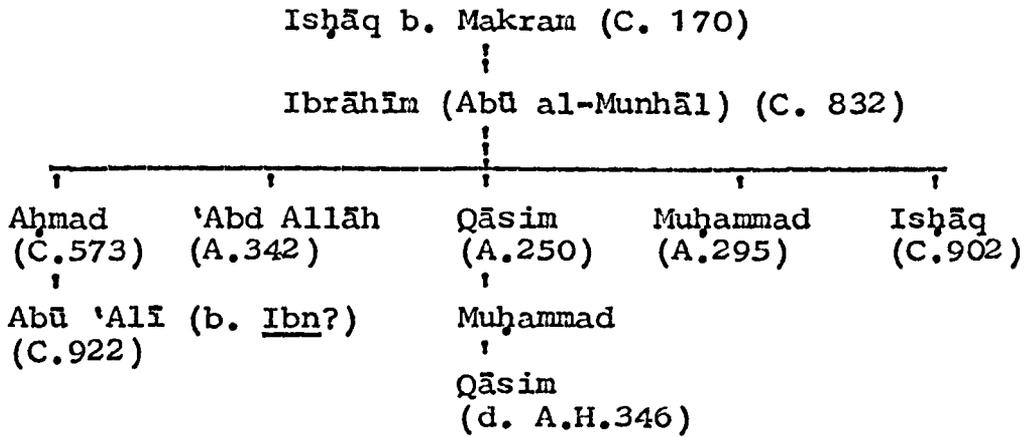
b. Sa'īd al-Ashajj (A. 275). 'Abd Allāh is the best recorded member of the family because of the data we have about him. He was a great Ḥanafī jurist, and the Aghlabid family employed him as a tutor to their princes. Some of the amīrs were his students. However, he was implicated, or so it was alleged, in a conspiracy to overthrow the amīr Ibrāhīm Ibn Aḥmad (A. 279). 'Abd Allāh was arrested together with the other defendants. 'Abd Allāh was lucky to have escaped execution together with the leaders of the plot.¹ He was imprisoned for six months, after which he was released. He spoke about his experience as "an escape from the claws of death."

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh was versed in the fiqh of Abū Ḥanīfah. He made a journey to the east, which at that time was a matter of great importance. His connection with the ruling family may have kept him apart from the mainstream of Qayrawānī jurisprudence and deflected him into the political field.²

In the fourth century, one name occurs which may be linked with this family: Maryam ibnat 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad (A. 436). She died in A.H. 305, thirty-one years after the death of her father, who died as an old man. It is likely that she died unmarried, or at least without descendants, for the majority of women are usually given the isms of their sons as a kunyaḥ, i.e., the eldest or the most important of one's children. Nothing further is known of her life however. The inscription on her tombstone is brief and to the point, and no information about her family i.e., al-Ashajj, can be deduced, apart from the fact of her paternal connection with al-Ashajj.

¹ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 232.

² He was the tutor of the Aghlabid amīr, see 'Abd al-Wahhāb, vol. 1, p. 226.

4. Al-Ash'arī

The first member of this family to come to Al-Qayrawān was Abū Ya'qūb¹ Ishāq b. Makram, who came to the court of Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī (ruled Ifrīqiyā A.H.154-171). Ishāq was a scholar with wide knowledge of literature and probably grammar, and he used to entertain Yazīd with his extensive knowledge of history. Apart from this nothing is recorded of Ishāq or indeed his family, until the year A.H.181, when Asad b. al-Furāt returned from his journey to the east. Many students came to study under him, one of these was the son of Ishāq b. al-Munhāl.² His name was Abū al-Munhāl Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq, and being originally from 'Irāq, he preferred to study the madhhab of ahl al-'Irāq, i.e., that of Abū Ḥanīfah. Abū al-Munhāl Ibrāhīm was a jurist of the Ḥanafis and he was a contemporary of Abū 'Uthmān Sa'id b. Muḥammad (A. 381) who was born in A.H.219. This shows that Abū al-Munhāl Ibrāhīm must have lived well into the second part of the third century.

Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq had five sons:³ Aḥmad, 'Abd Allāh, Qāsim, Muḥammad, and Ishāq. One of the five sons of Abū al-Munhāl

¹ Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 157. Yazīd b. Ḥātim used to give him the kunya Abū al-Ya'āqīb (pl. of Ya'qūb), which is another way of saying Abū Ya'qūb.

² Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 182.

³ Al-Khushanī, p. 248; al-Khushanī erroneously states that there were only four sons.

Ibrāhīm, Aḥmad, was a witness to the trial of 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭālib (A. 222) when the latter was prosecuted in A.H.259, but Aḥmad did not follow the line of his fellow Ḥanfī jurists in condemning Ibn Ṭālib (A. 222). The participation of Aḥmad b. Abī al-Munhāl in this incident is of some significance in establishing the relationships between the jurists of the two law schools as individuals. It shows (i) he was the elder of the five brothers; (ii) his father was not alive when the event took place.

The sequence of the sons of Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq cannot be established. The second son of Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq was 'Abd Allāh who was also a jurist. He died in A.H.297. The third son of Ibrāhīm was Qāsim who was a great judge and administrator. He was appointed Judge of Sicily, and wielded considerable political influence there. During the civil strife which engulfed Sicily, Qāsim was despatched to the island to calm the situation, but he drowned on his way after his ship was wrecked in a storm.¹

Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm left a son. His name was Muḥammad, but his career is not recorded and all we know is his name. He had a son by the name of Abū Sa'id Qāsim b. Muḥammad who was appointed Judge of Tunis and was prominent in the Fāṭimid administration. He died in A.H. 346 and the Caliph al-Mu'iz himself came out for his funeral, and was said to have walked in the procession because of his grief.²

The fourth son of Ibrāhīm was Muḥammad, who was a jurist. He died in A.H.290. The ri'āsah (leadership) which he enjoyed according to Ibn 'Idhārī may have been leadership

¹ Al-'Uyūn wal-Ḥadā'iq, vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 84.

² Ibid., vol. 4, pt. 2, p. 49.

in the field of knowledge, but it may have been simply the status enjoyed by any wealthy and prominent person of the city.¹

The fifth son of Ibrāhīm was Ishāq (C. 902). He was the youngest son of Abū al-Munhāl. Through Ishāq the family continued to be important during the Fāṭimid era. He was appointed Judge of al-Qayrawān.² Later he was dismissed, only to be reinstated.

One cannot be certain regarding the situation of the Judge of al-Qayrawān at the time, i.e., whether Ishāq had offered his support for the new Shi'ī doctrine, or whether he was acting as judge for the majority of the inhabitants who were Sunnis. The latter might be assumed on the basis of the existence of the Shi'ī judge who first resided at Raqqāda and then at al-Mahdiyyah, which was the Fāṭimids' stronghold and newly founded capital city. According to al-Khushanī, however, the Judge of Barqah, who was appointed by the Fāṭimids, did not adhere to the teaching of the Shi'ī madhhab³ in his court.

The life data of Ishāq b. Abī al-Munhāl are not complete. We only have the dates of his appointment and dismissal, together with the information that he served under the first two Fāṭimid caliphs. He was last mentioned in A.H.322, when Abū al-Qāsim b. 'Ubayd Allāh (al-Qā'im) was proclaimed caliph.⁴

The dates of birth and the biographical data of the sons of Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq are sparse. This is owing to the fact that most of these names come in other men's biographies,

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 136.

² Ibid., p. 189.

³ Al-Khushanī, p. 297.

⁴ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 208.

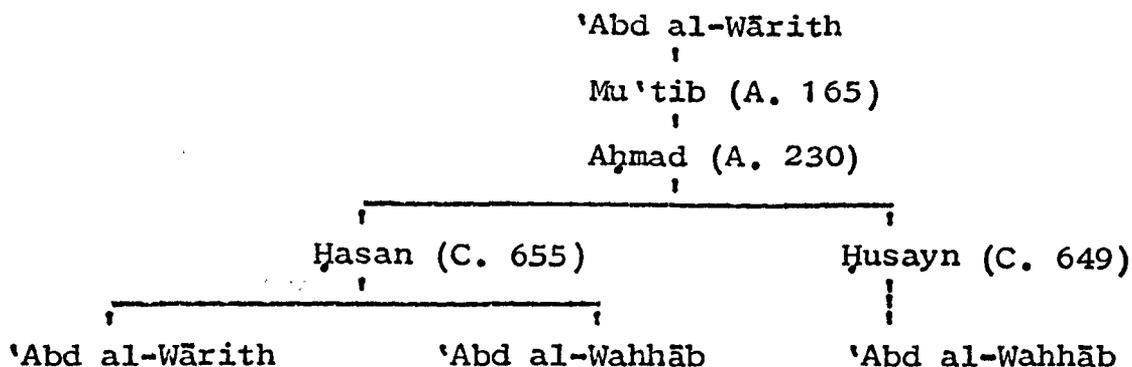
not in ones devoted to them themselves. This may be attributed to the religious bias of the Mālikī authors, who tend to neglect or minimise the importance of the Ḥanafīs.

The most obscure member of the family is Abū 'Alī Ibn Ibn Abī al-Munhāl. The form in which this name is recorded (i.e., "son of the son of so-and-so") is very unusual, and means that we have no way of telling which of the five sons of Abū al-Munhāl was his father. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm can be eliminated as a possible father of Abū 'Alī, because he was said to have been approximately the same age as the former.¹ Any of the remaining four could, however, have been the father although the likelihood is reduced with those of younger age. Aḥmad is perhaps therefore to be regarded as most likely to have been the father, as he seems to have been the eldest.

The family of Ibn al-Munhāl al-Ash'arī continued to exist in al-Qayrawān and Tunis. It served the Fāṭimids with dedication, almost certainly changing its madhhab, in the same way that its earlier generations had served the Muḥallabids and the Aghlabids. One member of the family who was the Judge of Ifrīqiyā at the time, accompanied his master al-Mu'iz² when the latter changed the capital of his empire from al-Qayrawān to Cairo. It is not clear whether the rest of the family did the same or stayed behind in Ifrīqiyā.

¹ Al-Khushanī, p. 251.

² Al-Kindī, suppl., pp. 591-592. He continued to occupy the post of judge in Egypt.

5. Ibn al-Jund al-Azdī

Abū Aḥmad Mu'tib was the first member of the family to gain eminence through religious scholarship. The family was apparently one of the jund families, and probably came to the city with the Abbasid armies which were under the Muhallabids, who were themselves Azdis. The statement of al-Dabbāgh which excludes the family from being among the baladiyyūn families leaves little doubt that it was from the jund.¹

Mu'tib b. Abī al-Azhar was born in A.H.160, at a time when the Muhallabids were at their zenith. The first 'Abd al-Wārith was probably the first member of the family who was an active member of the jund.

In al-Qayrawān the impact of the jund lasted much longer after it was disbanded, and the descendants of the members of the jund continued to behave as a distinctive class in society, although they had to adjust to the new situation, and so we find many of them moving from military prominence to the social prominence gained through religious scholarship.²

Mu'tib left a son named Aḥmad, who in addition to studying in al-Qayrawān travelled to the east for the study

¹ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 195.

² The examples are numerous: Saḥnūn (A.140); Asad b. al-Furāt (A. 108); Jabalah b. Ḥumūd (A. 353) and Abū al-'Arab (A. 558), etc.

of jurisprudence and tradition. Aḥmad was a friend of the amīr Ibrāhīm II, and was at his side when the riot of al-Darāhim broke out in A.H.267. The amīr tried to win the Malikis over through these religious leaders.¹ Abū Ja'far Aḥmad appears to have had two sons, although it is just possible that there was only one son, the name having been varied erroneously to produce two persons, without sufficient evidence to substantiate this (Ḥasan and Ḥusayn). As regards the relative ages of the two brothers nothing can be affirmed except that we know that historical precedent was often followed, thus causing parents to give the name al-Ḥasan (Ḥasan) to the elder and al-Ḥusayn (Ḥusayn) to the younger.

The fifth generation of the family lived in the fourth century. This was represented by the two sons of Ḥasan, 'Abd al-Wārith and 'Abd al-Wahhāb. Again the relative ages cannot be stated for certain, but 'Abd al-Wārith died in A.H.391 or 392.² Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad had a son, 'Abd al-Wahhāb, who was a traditionist, about whom nothing further is known.³

¹ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 182.

² 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 3-4, p. 529 (B. ed.).

³ Amari (Append.), p. 2.

6. Al-'Aẓẓār al-Azdī

Jarīr al-Azdī (W)

↓
Mūsā (B. 51)

↓
Abū Dāwūd Aḥmad (A. 221)

↓
Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad (A. 375)

This is a mawālī family. They came to Ifrīqiyā with the army of Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī in A.H.155.¹ Jarīr, the founder of the family in Ifrīqiyā, was the first to embrace Islam (at the hands of Yazīd b. Ḥātim), and this is the explanation of the nasab al-Azdī.² The tribal origin and the place of the origin of Jarīr are not recorded, but as he was a Khurasānī soldier we can safely discard the province of Ifrīqiyā as his place of origin.

The second generation of the family is represented by Abū Aḥmad Mūsā b. Jarīr who was born the same year his father arrived in al-Qayrawān with the army of Yazīd b. Ḥātim.³ Mūsā was a jurist and a traditionist and was one of the students of Yaḥyā b. Sallām al-Baṣrī. Nothing further is recorded of his career, except his teaching of the commentary on the Qur'ān by Yaḥyā b. Sallām, to students in al-Qayrawān.⁴ One of those attending Abū Aḥmad Mūsā's lessons was his son Abū Dāwūd Aḥmad (A. 221). Aḥmad was introduced to the religious sciences by his father Mūsā who had contacts with the jurists and traditionists of his time.⁵ He was a student and a personal friend of Saḥnūn b. Sa'id (A. 140) and his family. Aḥmad was born in

¹ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 395 (M. ed.).

² Ibid.

³ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 288.

⁴ Abū al-'Arab, p. 203.

⁵ Ibid.

A.H. 183 and died in A.H. 274. By profession Abū Dāwūd was a perfumer. It is not clear whether any member of his family was engaged in this profession before him.

The fourth generation of the family is represented by Muḥammad, the son of Abū Dāwūd Aḥmad b. Jarīr. He was born in A.H.212 and was a jurist. He studied under his father and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Sallām, and he himself was an authority for those people who came after him. His impartiality was recognised by the judges and he was employed as a court witness.¹ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad died in A.H.300, on Friday 19 Rajab, and was buried in Bāb Salm.²

The historians of al-Qayrawān and the biographical authors sum up the contribution of the family in the field of the religious sciences from Mūsā b. Jarīr until the death of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, stating that "the leadership and glory of the science lasted in the family for about one hundred and eighty years."³

¹ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 287.

² Ibid., p. 288.

³ Ibid. This number is inaccurate, because if we take it from the time Mūsā began his study (i.e., from A.H.277 to the death of the last recorded individual in the family, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad) the number of years will be 125 and not one hundred and eighty; and even if we take A.H.155 as a starting point, the number will be considerably short of 180 years.

The descendants of two of the sons of Abū Şufrah al-Azdī played an important part in the Muslim empire, not only in the east but also in the west. The first of the two was Qabişah b. Abū Şufrah, whose great-grandson was 'Umar b. Ḥafş b. 'Uthmān b. Qabişah b. Abī Şufrah al-Azdī (A. 53). 'Umar was one of the commanders of the Abbasid revolution, and was considered one of their most able generals. He received many important appointments, and when the Abbasids felt that the province of Ifrīqiyā was in danger, he was dispatched in A.H.150 to replace his colleague al-Aghlab b. Sālim, who fell victim to his mutinous army. 'Umar was killed by the forces of the Ibadites who were besieging the city, before the caliph's reinforcements, led by Yazīd b. Ḥātim b. Qabīṣah b. al-Muhallab, arrived. Yazīd b. Ḥātim was a descendant of the third son of Abū Şufrah, i.e., al-Muhallab, and the arrival of Yazīd in al-Qayrawān opened another chapter in the history of the family in North Africa.

Al-Muhallab b. Abī Şufrah was the Umayyad general who was in charge of the eastern wing of the Muslim empire. He fought relentlessly the enemies of the Umayyads, and with his colleague al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf managed to enforce Umayyad authority in the eastern parts of the Muslim domain.

The descendants of al-Muhallab continued to hold very important positions in the Umayyad administration, led by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, but later they fell out with them and Yazīd led an insurrection against Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. He managed to hold on to 'Irāq and to fight the caliph from there, but in the end the Muhallab family was defeated and its members were either killed or scattered.¹ Some of them joined the growing

¹ Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 171-177.

opposition to the Umayyads which was already supported by the Yamanite party.

The reverses of the family at the hands of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik was probably behind their joining the Abbasid movement in Khurasān, and their strong commitment to the Abbasid state. 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ was one of these.

The second of the descendants of Abū Ṣufrah al-Azdī to rule Ifrīqiyā was Yazīd b. Ḥātim b. Qabiṣah b. al-Muhallab (A. 57). His army was sent to relieve the beleaguered city of al-Qayrawān, but he arrived too late, to find 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ had been killed and the city in the hands of the Ibadites. Yazīd restored the province to the Abbasids and with his rule a new dynasty was installed in Ifrīqiyā, which was to last until it fell under the blows of the Abbasid army (the Khurasanid jund) in A.H. 179.

Yazīd b. Ḥātim initiated the reorganisation of public facilities, i.e., markets, mosques, and the organization of crafts, and because of this he was considered to have re-founded the municipal administration of al-Qayrawān.¹ The country prospered and the city attracted many outstanding eastern men of letters.² The province was peaceful throughout Yazīd b. Ḥātim's term as wālī of Ifrīqiyā (A.H.154-170). Yazīd was succeeded by his son Dāwūd (C. 195), who was appointed by his father during the illness of the latter. The term of Dāwūd in the post of wālī lasted seven and a half months, and it was marred by renewed trouble with the Ibadites. He was recalled from Ifrīqiyā to be appointed wālī of the province of Sind, which he continued to rule until his death.

¹ Ibn al-Raḳīq, pp. 149, 162. Ibn al-Raḳīq expresses this by saying that Yazīd was the man who brought about the tamṣīr of the city.

² Ibid., p. 152.

After the death of Yazīd b. Ḥātim in A.H.170, his elder brother Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī was appointed in his place; the term of Dāwūd b. Yazīd was in interim one, between the terms of the two brothers. Hārūn al-Rashīd explained his motives behind appointing Rawḥ to the post by saying that the family of al-Muhallab had many adherents in Ifrīqiyyā, and they might come to harm if a non-member of the family took charge. Rawḥ had a long record of service to the Abbasid caliphs as a chamberlain and as a wālī of several provinces in the east.¹

Rawḥ arrived in al-Qayrawān in Rajab, A.H.171, and the first thing he did was to consolidate his family in the different regions of Ifrīqiyyā. He improved his relations with the Ibadite state of Tahirt, which was under the Ibadite imām 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Rustam.² The country enjoyed peace and tranquillity and the highways became safer, but during this time Rawḥ was ageing and becoming very frail. This alarmed the army commander and the master of posts and they informed the caliph that Rawḥ could die at any time, and recommended Naṣr b. Ḥabīb, the chief of the policy of Yazīd b. Ḥātim, to the post of wālī. Hārūn al-Rashīd agreed with the recommendation of the two men and sent a secret decree appointing Naṣr b. Ḥabīb in place of Rawḥ b. Ḥātim as soon as the latter died. Rawḥ, however, had appointed his son Qabiṣah to succeed him, and when he died people came to the great mosque to pledge their allegiance to Qabiṣah b. Rawḥ; nevertheless, the head of the army and the master of posts were quick to proclaim Naṣr b. Ḥabīb as wālī after disclosing the caliph's letter of appointment.

¹ Ibn al-Raḥīq, p. 171.

² Ibid., p. 173.

Rawḥ b. Ḥātīm had in addition to Qabiṣah two other sons, Bishr and al-Faḍl. The first son of Rawḥ b. Ḥātīm Qabiṣah was the wālī of Barqah, before the death of his father. The second son of Rawḥ was Bishr, who is only recorded in Ifrīqiyā through his son al-Mughīrah. Al-Mughīrah was the direct cause of the insurrection of the army. He maltreated the troops when his uncle al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ appointed him wālī of Tunis. The third son of Rawḥ was al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ, who was the wālī of al-Zāb during the rule of his father. When Naṣr b. Ḥabīb was appointed in place of Rawḥ b. Ḥātīm, al-Faḍl decided to go to the east. In A.H.176 the caliph sent him back to Ifrīqiyā as wālī. He was well received by the people, but fell out with the jund led by Ibn al-Jārūd. Al-Faḍl was killed in A.H.179 and the caliph had to take charge of the situation through his generals.¹

The second son of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah to have had descendants who played a part on the North African scene was Marwān b. al-Muhallab. Marwān had a son called Sa'īd who does not seem to have had any connection with North Africa, but his son, al-'Alā' b. Sa'īd (A. 68), was one of the leading generals of the Muhallabids. He was wālī of Tripoli for eleven years, after which he was wālī of al-Zāb until the troubles broke out between the Muhallabid family and the jund. When the army of the jund marched into the city he was withdrawn from al-Zāb but was too late to save the life of al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ and the city from the jund.² Meanwhile the forces of the

¹ Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 95; Ibn al-Raḥīq, pp. 201-202.

² Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 96. The army of al-'Alā' b. Sa'īd managed to take the city, because Ibn al-Jārūd found it impossible for him to face the strong army of al-'Alā'. Al-'Alā' had been quick to seize the city before the Abbasid general, first in order to avenge the death of al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ, and secondly to curry favour with the caliph.

caliph were closing in on the city and a new wālī was installed by the caliph (A.H. 179). Al-'Alā' withdrew from the city, making for Egypt where he died in the same year (A.H.179).¹

The third branch of al-Muhallab's family to serve in North Africa were the descendants of his son Ḥabīb. Neither Ḥabīb nor his sons, 'Abbād, Muḥammad, and Yazīd, had any connection with North Africa. The involvement of the descendants of Ḥabīb began with his grandson Sulaymān b. 'Abtād b. Ḥabīb (C. 143) who was one of the military commanders of Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī. The second son of Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab was Yazīd, who had a son called al-Ṣammah; al-Ṣammah had a son, Sulaymān b. al-Ṣammah (C. 174) b. Yazīd b. Ḥabīb, who was one of the commanders of Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim during his turbulent rule over Ifrīqiyā, and Sulaymān achieved major victories against the internal and external enemies.²

The fourth branch of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah's family to come to Ifrīqiyā was that of Qabīṣah b. al-Muhallab. Most of the wālīs of Ifrīqiyā in the Muhallabid period came from this branch. Qabīṣah b. al-Muhallab had three sons, but none of them were connected in any way with Ifrīqiyā. They were Ḥātim, Ḥafṣ, and 'Uthmān. Ḥātim b. Qabīṣah was the ancestor of the Muhallabids who ruled Ifrīqiyā with only a year's break for a quarter of a century (A.H.154-179). Ḥātim had two sons, both of whom ruled Ifrīqiyā after distinguished careers in the service of the caliph as wālīs of several provinces in the Abbasid domain.³

The first son of Ḥātim was Rawḥ b. Ḥātim, who

¹ Ibid.; Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 202.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 82. Ibn 'Idhārī omits the ism of Sulaymān's father, i.e., al-Ṣammah; see Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 169.

³ Ibid., p. 171.

succeeded his younger brother Yazīd b. Ḥātim as wālī over Ifrīqiyā. He had three sons, Qabīṣah, Bishr, and al-Faḍl. Qabīṣah was wālī of Tripoli on behalf of his father, who tried to appoint him his successor over Ifrīqiyā, but the other members of Rawḥ's administration had other ideas of whom to recommend for the post.¹ They succeeded in appointing Naṣr b. Ḥabīb, as mentioned above. The second son of Rawḥ b. Ḥātim was Bishr, of whom we know nothing except the fact that he was the father of al-Mughīrah b. Bishr (C. 228), who was instrumental in the downfall of this family. He antagonised the army when he was appointed wālī of Tunis by his uncle al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ.²

The third son of Rawḥ b. Ḥātim was Al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ who was appointed wālī of Ifrīqiyā in A.H.176. His rule was marred by the insurrection of the Abbasid army, led by 'Abdawayh b. al-Jārūd (C. 229). Al-Faḍl was defeated by the army and was killed in A.H.179.

The second son of Ḥātim b. Qabīṣah was Yazīd b. Ḥātim, who ruled Ifrīqiyā for fifteen years after the death of 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ al-Muhallabī in A.H.154. Yazīd had eight sons, the eldest of whom was al-Mughīrah, who was one of his father's wālīs and military commanders during the latter's reign over the province of Sind.³ Apart from this, nothing is recorded of his career. The second son of Yazīd b. Ḥātim was Dāwūd (C.195), who succeeded his father for seven months, and was then recalled to the east by the caliph who appointed him wālī of Sind, where he died.⁴

¹ Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 182; Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 85.

² Ibid., vol. 1, p. 86; Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 186.

³ Ibn Ḥazm, p. 370; he was killed there.

⁴ Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 170.

The third son of Yazīd b. Ḥātim was Khālīd (C. 219). He was one of the commanders of the army of al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ and when the latter was besieged in al-Qayrawān, Khālīd was one of the Muhallabids who tried in vain to stop the jund from seizing the city. The fourth son of Yazīd b. Ḥātim was Ishāq (C. 167), who settled in al-Qayrawān with his father. He was said to have followed the blood sport of gazelle coursing. The jurist 'Abd Allāh b. Farrūkh (A. 60), saw him engaged in this sport and reminded him of the Prophet's renunciation of it. Ishāq initiated a farming project for breeding sheep, but his father refused to allow him to compete with the livestock dealers and butchers; instead he gave the sheep to the people of the city.¹ Ishāq was appointed by his uncle Rawḥ b. Ḥātim as wālī of Tunis in A.H.171.

The fifth son of Yazīd b. Ḥātim was 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd (A. 225). He was given the command of the army which fought the jund led by Ibn al-Jārūd in A.H.178. 'Abd Allāh won the first battle with Ibn al-Jārūd, but in the end he lost the war and al-Qayrawān was seized by the mutinous jund. 'Abd Allāh returned to the east with many members of his family.²

The sixth son of Yazīd b. Ḥātim was al-Muhallab (C. 220). Al-Muhallab was appointed by his father as wālī of al-Zāb, and he succeeded in asserting the authority of al-Qayrawān over al-Zāb. He was the right-hand man of his brother Dāwūd during the upsurge of the Berber rebellion. Despite his dismissal by his uncle Rawḥ b. Ḥātim from the post of wālī of al-Zāb, al-Muhallab remained very active on the

¹ Ibn al-Raqīq, p. 158.

² Ibn al-Abbār, al-Ḥullah, vol. 1, p. 82.

Ifriqiyān scene. He was appointed caretaker wālī in place of Naṣr b. Ḥabīb while the newly-appointed wālī (al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ) was making for Ifriqiyā. Al-Muhallab remained with the staff of al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ and participated in the defence of al-Qayrawān against the jund.

The seventh son of Yazīd b. Ḥātīm was Sa'īd (C. 221). Sa'īd was against engaging in battle with Ibn al-Jārūd. He advised al-Faḍl to hold on inside the walls of the city and prepare for a long seige but al-Faḍl decided against the advice of Sa'īd. The war ended the Muhallabids' rule over Ifriqiyā and with the death of al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ the rest of the family set out for the east.

The eighth son of Yazīd b. Ḥātīm was Muḥammad (C. 158). Muḥammad was one of the military commanders during the rule of his father Yazīd b. Ḥātīm. He was appointed in place of his brother al-Muhallab as wālī of al-Zāb and Kutāmah.

The fifth son of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah to have had descendants who played parts in the Ifriqiyān scene was Abū 'Uyaynah b. al-Muhallab. One of the grandsons of Abū 'Uyaynah, who was his namesake, Abū 'Uyaynah b. Muḥammad came to Ifriqiyā during the rule of Yazīd b. Ḥātīm. Yazīd appointed Abū 'Uyaynah wālī of Qafṣah and Qasṭīliyah. Abū 'Uyaynah was appointed by al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ wālī of Tripoli. Abū 'Uyaynah was in addition an outstanding poet.

8. Bashīr

Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdūs b. Bashīr

|

Ishāq (A. 200)

Muḥammad (A. 174)

Abū al-Qāsim (C. 769)

The origin of this family is described as al-'Ajam; the word 'ajam was a term applied to the non-Arab, non-Berber, inhabitants of Ifrīqiyā, especially the Byzantines and the surviving Vandals.¹ In the third century many of these 'Ajam began to aspire to the upper reaches of society and the Aghlabid administration through their mastery of jurisprudence. This family were clients of Quraysh.

The first mention of the family relates to Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdūs b. Bashīr, who was a friend of Saḥnūn b. Sa'id (A.140). Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdūs was not a jurist but he seems to have encouraged his two sons in that direction. Ishāq and Muḥammad were among the intellectuals of al-Qayrawān; Ishāq differed from Muḥammad in that he was a teacher and a scholar, while Muḥammad was a jurist and a pietist. He was considered one of the leading Mālikī jurists of his time.² Ishāq, unlike Muḥammad, was jealous of his status, and used to go to the mosque mounted, while Muḥammad used to walk beneath his brother's banner.³

The third generation of the family is represented by Abū al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (C. 769). Abū al-Qāsim is mentioned in the biography of 'Īsā b. Miskīn (A. 322), in connection with an invitation to a wedding in the household of

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p 188.

² Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 137.

³ 'Iyāq, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 229 (M. ed.).

Abū al-Qāsim, which was accepted by the keeper of the register of the judge (mutawalli al-dīwān), whose name was Ibn Ziryāb (C. 669). Nothing more is known about Abū al-Qāsim or his family except the apparent importance of the family and its prominence, which was alluded to by Ibn Ziryāb, who told the judge when he came late to his work, "We are all indebted to Ibn 'Abdūs and I had to be present at his feast."¹

9. Al-Baṣrī al-Taymī

Yaḥyā b. Sallām b. Tha'labah (A. 85)

↓
Muḥammad (A. 188)

↓

Yaḥyā (A. 242) al-Ḥasan (C. 596)

Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. Sallām b. Tha'labah al-Taymī al-Rab'ī al-Baṣrī was born in al-Kūfah in A.H.134.² After a time his family moved to al-Baṣrah, from which he acquired his nisbah of al-Baṣrī. He was a mawlā of a sub-tribe of Rabī'ah called Taym, but his family background is obscure. He is alleged to have studied jurisprudence and tradition under 360 scholars, not including the Followers of the Companions of the Prophet under whom he studied who numbered twenty-four men and one woman.³

Yaḥyā wrote many volumes on many subjects, especially jurisprudence and Qur'ānic commentary.⁴ However, his reputation

¹ Ibid., p. 338.

² Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, p. 328.

³ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 322.

⁴ Ibrāhīm Shabbūh, "Sijil Qadīm li Matkabat Jāmi' al-Qayrawān", in Majallat Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiyyah, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 360; al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, p. 326.

was tarnished by the accusation of some scholars that he was a Murj'ite. His son rejected this accusation on the grounds that his father was only transmitting hadīths which implied the Murji'ite doctrine, and did not necessarily accept everything he transmitted.¹

Yaḥyā eventually settled in al-Qayrawān, where he acquired an eminent position. The Aghlabid amīr seems to have esteemed him highly. This status enabled him to mediate between the Aghlabid amīr and his rebel military commander, 'Imrān b. Mujālid al-Rab'i. This mediation resulted in the return of the rebel 'Imrān to the Aghlabid court, immediately after the death of Ibrāhīm,² thanks to the efforts of Yaḥyā who gave his word to 'Imrān that no harm would come to him. However, when 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm succeeded his father, and after a lapse of time, some of the members of 'Abd Allāh's court, probably driven by jealousy, persisted in reminding 'Abd Allāh that the man he was employing had rebelled against his father and might rebel against him; accordingly 'Imrān was executed (A.H. 200).

The execution of 'Imrān is given by some biographical authors as the reason behind Yaḥyā b. Sallām's sudden departure from al-Qayrawān; there is, however, disagreement in the sources regarding Yaḥyā's return to the east and his subsequent death in Egypt.³ Some argue that he went to perform the hajj, while others say that he felt humiliated by the Aghlabid amīr's breaking his word which he had solemnly given to 'Imrān.

The first assertion is reasonable, because his family

¹ Abū al-'Arab, p. 113.

² Al-'Uyūn wal-Hadā'iq, vol. 3, pp. 351-352; Ibn al-Abbār, al-Hullah, vol. 1, p. 105.

³ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, p. 328; Abū al-'Arab, p. 113.

did not travel with him to the east, and it is not likely that a seventy-seven year old man would abandon his family and return to the east for good. What is likely to have happened is a combination of the two circumstances. He was humiliated to see his political arrangement between the Aghlabids and their ex-general end in disaster. In chagrin, and with a desire to perform the hajj, he found a way out of his dilemma. However, he was destined never to return to al-Qayrawān again, as he died in Egypt in A.H.200, probably after performing the hajj to the Holy Places.¹

Yaḥyā had one son, by name Muḥammad. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Sallām was probably born in al-Qayrawān in A.H.180, and followed in the steps of his father to become a great jurist and traditionist. Ibn Nāǧī in his commentary on al-Dabbāgh's Ma'ālim states that Muḥammad was born in al-Baṣrah, but this is open to question especially when it is realised that the only evidence the writer had was his nisbah referring to Baṣrah (Muḥammad b. Sallām al-Baṣrī). The fact is that al-Baṣrah was his father's former place of residence, which Muḥammad inherited with the rest of the name. Muḥammad died in A.H.262, aged eighty-two years, and was buried in al-Balawiyyah cemetery (see Map no. 1).

The third generation of the family is represented by the two sons of Muḥammad, Yaḥyā and al-Ḥasan. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad was born in al-Qayrawān in A.H.198. The account of Ibn Nāǧī regarding the date of birth of Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad is erroneous; Abū al-'Arab does not state that Yaḥyā was born after the year A.H.200;² on the contrary, Abū al-'Arab gives

¹ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, p. 328; al-'Uyūn wal-Ḥadā'iq, vol. 3, p. 351.

² Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 295.

a firm date for his birth, putting it at A.H.198.¹ This is doubtless a case of misquotation on the part of Ibn Nājī. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad could not possibly have been a companion of Abū al-ʿArab for seventy years, since Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad lived for only twenty-seven years after the birth of Abū al-ʿArab (A. 558). Ibn Nājī quotes Abū al-ʿArab as saying "I accompanied him [Yaḥyā] for seventy years."² The word سبعين (seventy) is probably a misreading for the word سنين (years) used by Abū al-ʿArab in his Ṭabaqāt: "I accompanied him for long years" (صحبته سنين طويله).³ Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad died in A.H. 280 and was buried in the same cemetery that contained the body of his father, i.e., al-Balawiyyah.

The second son of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Sallām was al-Ḥasan, who was a traditionist. He transmitted ḥadīths from his father and grandfather.⁴

Apart from these four individuals, nothing is known of the rest of the family.

¹ Abū al-ʿArab, p. 113.

² Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 328.

³ Abū al-ʿArab, p. 113.

⁴ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 171; Abū al-ʿArab, p. 113.

he continued to occupy a leading military post until his death. The second generation of the family, as represented by Tamīm's two sons, played a great part in shaping the situation and history of Ifrīqiyā, especially the elder son Tammām (A. 78).

The two sons of Tamīm al-Darīmī were Tammām and Salamah (or Sulaymān). Tamīm was a military commander like his father, but unlike his father he entertained the ambition to be installed as wālī of Ifrīqiyā. He exploited the general unpopularity of the wālī of Ifrīqiyā, Muḥammad b. Muqātil al-'Akkī, and marched against al-Qayrawān using his strong position as wālī of Tunis and commander of its garrison. He met with success and drove Ibn al-'Akkī out of the city to Tripoli.¹ However, this was not to continue, because his action drew the commander of al-Zāb garrison into the struggle in support of the wālī (Ibn al-'Akkī). This commander was Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab b. Sālim al-Tamīmī, whose intervention in favour of Ibn al-'Akkī changed the balance and in turn made him in effect the master of Ifrīqiyā. Tammām was given the post of wālī of Tripoli before he was deposed by Ibrāhīm and eventually sent to Baghdād where he met his death in mysterious circumstances.²

The other son of Tamīm was Salamah, of whom little is recorded except his attempt to get his brother Tammām released from prison in Baghdād; this was too late as Tammām died just before he was due to be released.³ The Caliph al-Rashīd expressed his condolences to Salamah and recommended the family to Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, and a sijill (deed) was

¹ Ibn al-Raḡīq, p. 221; Aḥmad b. Abī Wāḍiḥ al-Ya'qūbī, Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī, vol. 2, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883), p. 497.

² Ibid., p. 210.

³ Ibid.

was written to that effect. This sijill was a register of the past services the family had performed for the caliph and the restoration of the family status. It involved giving the family payments of money (ṣilāt) and some relief from the kharāj of their estates. Salamah was appointed to several posts by Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab.

The third generation was represented by Tamīm son of Tammām, but nothing of substance is known about him. This may be due to the Aghlabid policy of dismantling the jund, following the introduction of the sūdān to the army.¹

Tamīm b. Tammām had four sons, 'Ubayd, Aḥmad, Muḥammad, and Tamīm. 'Ubayd b. Tamīm (C. 385) was a traditionist. He witnessed the insurrection in Tunis in A.H.218 and he transmitted the information through his brother Aḥmad to the latter's son Abū al-'Arab. 'Ubayd seems to have been living in Tunis during the troubles in the city.

The second son of Tamīm b. Tammām was Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. Tamīm (A. 447) who was an Aghlabid military commander. He was the father of Abū al-'Arab the great author and historian (A. 558). Abū al-'Arab was born in A.H.255. He studied under the Mālikī jurists of his day, to become one of the most important authorities on the people of al-Qayrawān. He wrote many works on the biographies of the Mālikī jurists, and witnessed the Fāṭimid seizure of power in Ifrīqiyyā. He became one of the leaders of the resistance against them and entered an alliance with Abū Yazīd which proved disastrous, and the consequent battle with the Fāṭimids claimed the lives of many of the intellectuals of the city.

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 93; Ibn al-Raḡīq, p. 222; assuming that he followed the occupation of his father and grandfather which was the norm before the Aghlabids. For the relation between Ziyādat Allāh and the jund, see Ibn Idhārī, vol. 1, p.96.

The other son of Abū Ja'far Aḥmad was Tamīm b. Aḥmad b. Tamīm, who seems to have been older than Abū al-'Arab, and who was executed by Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad in A.H.281. His name is given by his brother Abū al-'Arab erroneously as Tamīm b. Tamīm b. Tammām, instead of the correct Tamīm b. Aḥmad (but Abū al-'Arab describes him as his full brother, i.e., shaqīq).¹

The third son of Tamīm was Abū Ja'far Muḥammad (A.473) who like his brother Aḥmad was a military commander. Apart from the date of his death (A.H.311) and his occupation, nothing is recorded of him. The fourth son of Tamīm b. Tammām (Add. A.1) was a Tamīm who took part in the insurrection of 'Umar b. Sulaym al-Tujibī in A.H.234. He was killed in action. Apart from these data, nothing is known about Tamīm.

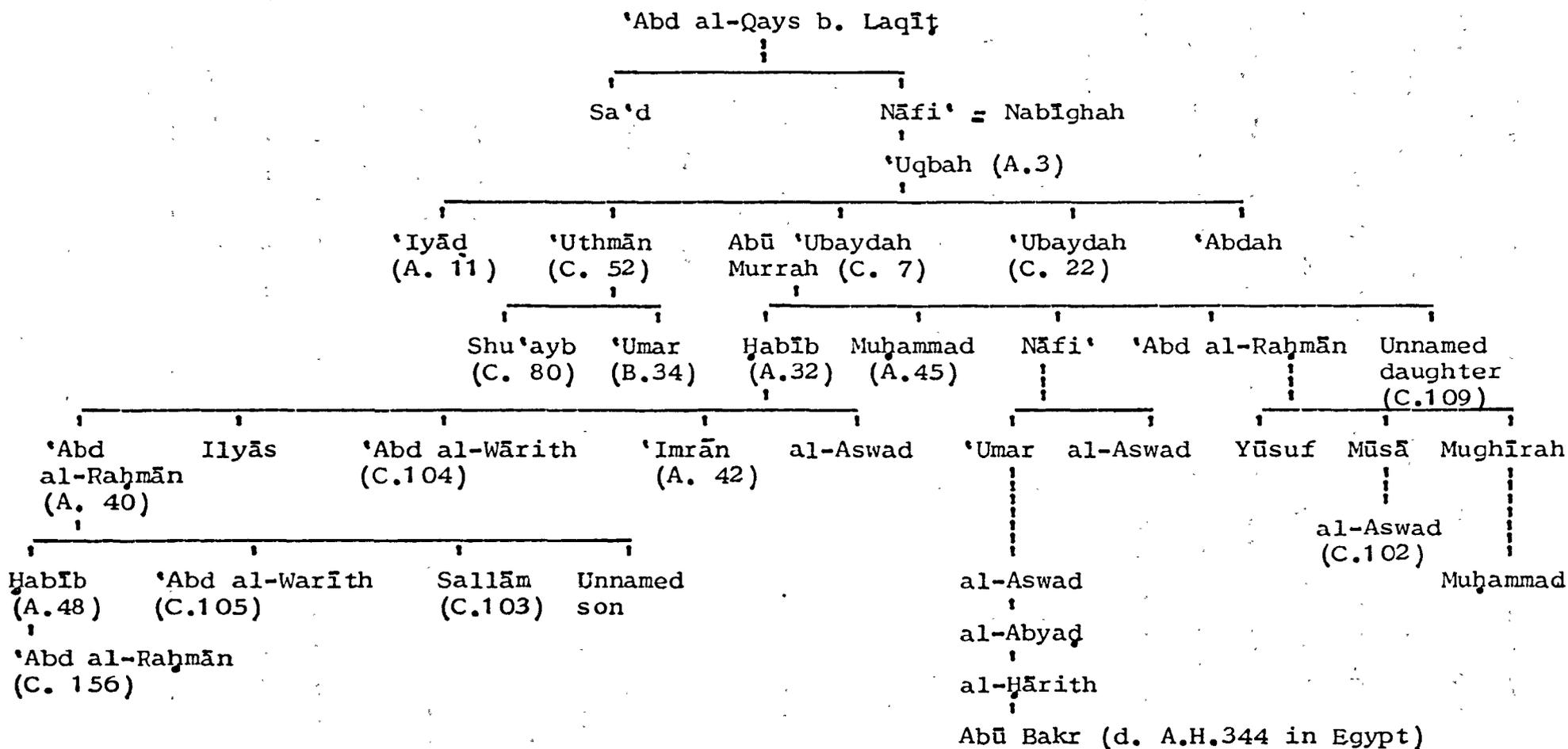
Abū al-'Arab had two sons, the elder was Abū al-'Abbās Tammām (A. 581). He was a jurist and traditionist of al-Qayrawān, and taught students there. The younger son of Abū al-'Arab was Tamīm (C. 938)² who like his father was a traditionist. He emigrated to al-Andalus and settled in Cordova. He was said to have claimed to have studied under his father, Abū al-'Arab, a fact which was disputed by his brother (A. 581).³

¹ Kitāb al-Miḥan, fol. 104b.

² 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 3-4, p. 532 (B. ed.).

³ Ibid., p. 533.

'Uqbah b. Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Qays al-Fihri



The lineage of the family is given by Ibn Ḥazm (p. 178) as: 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Qays b. Laqīṭ b. 'Amir b. Umayyah b. al-Ḍarib b. al-Ḥārith b. Fihri b. Mālik

The Fihrids

The history of this family in pre-Islamic Mecca is notable for their having fought against the Prophet with the rest of the Quraysh alliance.¹ The family was introduced to the African arena by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, the wālī of Egypt. The first member of the family to hold any post in Africa was 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Qays, who was a half-brother to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ on the maternal side. Their mother was an enslaved girl from the tribe of 'Anazah, by the name of al-Nābighah.²

'Uqbah was assigned to the conduct of operations in the south of Libya (Zuwaylah) and he met with considerable success.³ Despite this success, his promotion was delayed because of the change of wālī in Egypt. The new wālī brought to the African scene Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī, who was an ambitious man and who took charge of offensive operations. Mu'āwiyah was replaced by 'Uqbah who was appointed military commander in Ifrīqiyā. He founded a base for his army and the Muslim community in the new province as a sign of the permanence of the Muslim presence there. The new wālī of Egypt, Maslamah b. Mukhlid al-Anṣārī, asserted his authority over Ifrīqiyā⁴ and after four years he dismissed 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' and replaced him with his mawlā, Abū al-Muhājir Dīnār, in A.H.55/A.D.675.

The family of 'Uqbah during his term of wālī of Ifrīqiyā took up residence in al-Qayrawān, and some of his sons acted as his lieutenants in his army, e.g. Murrah b.

¹ Ibn Ḥazm, p. 177.

² Khaṭṭāb, vol. 1, p. 92.

³ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, pp. 194-196.

⁴ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 21.

'Uqbah (C. 22).¹ After the death of Mu'āwiyah b. Abū Sufyān, the new caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah reinstated 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' in A.H.62/A.D.682. His return to al-Qayrawān was followed by an expedition to the far Maghrib which took him as far as the Atlantic. On his way back he was ambushed by an alliance of Berbers led by Kusaylah, a personal enemy of 'Uqbah,² and he was killed with the few hundred men who were with him at the time.

The Fihrids' authority in al-Qayrawān was not diminished after the death of 'Uqbah. Two individuals from the family (not descendants of 'Uqbah) continued to play a leading part in the running of the city, namely Abū Ṣāliḥ Ṭarīf al-Fihri (C. 20) and Sufyān b. Mālik al-Fihri (C. 23). They were in charge of the city during the troubles of al-Kāhinah, and they continued their administration when Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān left for the east.³ However, when Mūsā b. Nuṣayr became wāli, he investigated their activities, and eventually sent them into exile after fining them ten thousand dīnārs each. Their exact relationship to 'Uqbah is not recorded, but no doubt they obtained their positions through their kinship with him. The immediate family of 'Uqbah was still to play a part in the history of North Africa, Spain, and to some extent in Egypt. Here, however, only the Maghribī branch of the family has been considered in detail.

'Uqbah b. Nāfi' had at least five sons, 'Iyāḍ, 'Uthmān, Abū 'Ubaydah, 'Ubaydah, and 'Abdah. They were not prominent immediately after the death of their father, either

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 95.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 29; al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 26; Khaṭṭāb, vol. 1, p. 111.

³ Ibn Qutaybah, pt. 2, p. 51.

because they were young, or because they were not given a chance to participate in the actions against the adversaries of Islam in North Africa. Later, however, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr gave some of them commands over his forces which were advancing westwards and he urged them to avenge the death of their father.¹

After the completion of the conquest of Spain, the family became widely scattered: 'Iyāḍ b. 'Uqbah returned to the east with the recalled wālī, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr.² He settled in Egypt and raised a family there. He died in A.H.100.

The other four brothers differ in regard to the amount of information which has survived regarding them. 'Ubaydah remains virtually unknown (C. 22). 'Uthmān was one of Mūsā's commanders, but nothing else is known about him except that he had a son called Shu'ayb, who participated in bringing to power 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb b. Abī 'Ubaydah (A.40), who was his father's great-nephew. 'Abdah was another son of 'Uqbah about whom nothing is known.

Abū 'Ubaydah Murrah b. 'Uqbah was the most important son, and the impact of his branch of the family on Egypt, Ifrīqiyā, and Spain was great. He had four sons, Nāfi', Ḥabīb, Muḥammad, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

Nāfi' had two sons; 'Umar and al-Aswad. 'Umar continued to live in al-Qayrawān and held important positions in the Fihrid state, while the other, al-Aswad moved to Egypt where he conducted himself as a loyal supporter of the Abbasid cause. He revolted against the Umayyad wālī of Egypt in an attempt to seize it for the Abbasids before the arrival of the Abbasid army.³ This Egyptian branch of the family continued

¹ Ibn Qutaybah, pt. 2, p. 56.

² Ibid., p. 67.

³ Al-Kindī, al-Wulāt wal-Qudāt, p. 96. He became a prominent

in Egypt for four generations until the time of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ḥārith, who died in A.H.344, and probably beyond.

The second son of Abū 'Ubaydah b. 'Uqbah was Ḥabīb. Ḥabīb was a commander of the army of Ifrīqiyā. He was characterized by a sense of regional loyalty and was against the armies of the east; he was killed by the Kharijites at the battle of Sibū in A.H.123/A.D.741, which is known in the chronicles as ma'rakat al-Ashrāf.¹ Ḥabīb had four sons: 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Ilyās, 'Imrān, and 'Abd al-Wārith.

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb fled to al-Andalus after the battle of al-Ashrāf, and tried to seize power there, but without success. In the end he decided to return to Ifrīqiyā and he succeeded (in A.H.126/A.D.744)² in seizing power there. He took advantage of the weak position of the Umayyads and pretended to be a loyal Umayyad wālī. He governed the country for twelve years, enjoying considerable support from the people of al-Qayrawān. He derived much of his power from the size of his family; however he met his death³ as a result of a split in the family, led by his brother Ilyās and supported by some of the people of al-Qayrawān who objected to 'Abd al-Raḥmān's policy towards the caliph.⁴

The second son of Ḥabīb b. Abī 'Ubaydah was Ilyās, who was the commander-in-chief of the army of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb. He played an important role in consolidating the rule of 'Abd al-Raḥmān by waging many battles against his

Abbasid supporter in Egypt, and he was granted extensive property by the Abbasid wālī.

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 55.

² Ibn al-Raḥīq, pp. 123-124.

³ Ibid., p. 135. Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, pp. 67-68.

⁴ Ibn al-Raḥīq, p. 135.

enemies;¹ However, 'Abd al-Raḥmān's ingratitude towards Ilyās showed in his attributing every success not to Ilyās, but to his son Ḥabīb, and in appointing Ḥabīb as the next in line of succession to the post of amīr.² All these and other factors contributed to the death of 'Abd al-Raḥmān and with him the downfall of the Fihrid power in Ifrīqiyā. He was killed by his brother Ilyās and a long drawn-out struggle started between Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the son of the slain wālī, and his uncle the new wālī.³

The conflict first centred on how to divide the country between the three claimants to power: Ilyās, Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and 'Imrān b. Ḥabīb. Ilyās played the others false and took them prisoner, afterwards sending them by sea to Spain into the custody of his cousin Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fihri. However, they frustrated this plan by claiming that they had met contrary winds.⁴ and returned to Tunis and seized the city. They arrested the wālī and advanced to al-Qayrawān. A battle was obviated by the two leaders, Ḥabīb and Ilyās, agreeing to meet each other in single combat; whoever won was to take the country and be rid of his opponent. The result was in Ḥabīb's favour and Ilyās was killed, in A.H.139/A.D.756.

The third son of Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was 'Imrān, who was the wālī of Tunis for his brother, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and who prepared himself to face Ilyās from his base in Tunis. 'Imrān allied himself with Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, but Ilyās

¹ Ibn al-Raḥīq, p. 134.

² Ibid.

³ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 68.

⁴ Ibn al-Raḥīq, p. 137.

succeeded in tricking 'Imrān and he was sent to al-Andalus.¹

The fourth son of Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was 'Abd al-Wārith, who was an accomplice to Ilyās in his arrangements. He fought with Ilyās against Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and when Ilyās was killed he sought the help of the Kharijite tribe of Warfajūmah (A.H.140).

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb had three sons: Ḥabīb, 'Abd al-Wārith and 'Imrān. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was one of the commanders of his father and when the latter was slain, Ḥabīb began a campaign to avenge his death and recover the post of wāli from his uncle, which he managed to do in A.H.139/A.D.756. He killed Ilyās as described above. However, 'Abd al-Wārith and the rest of Ilyās' adherents were driven by the intolerant Ḥabīb to seek the help of the Kharijite Berber tribe of Warfajūmah, which ransacked the city,² and killed many people.

Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān in turn was killed defending Al-Qayrawān against the invading Kharijites in A.H.140. His son 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (C. 156) continued to struggle to restore their authority, but in vain.

The second son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb was 'Abd al-Wārith, who was involved with his brother Ḥabīb in the fighting against Ilyās. He was exiled with Ḥabīb. From Ibn 'Idhārī's remarks it is clear that he was a full brother of Ḥabīb.³

Two other sons of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb have little recorded about them: Sallām and an anonymous boy. Sallām was imprisoned by Ilyās during the troubles with Ḥabīb, and part

¹ Ibid., p. 137; Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 68.

² Ibn al-Raḥīq, p. 140; Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 70.

³ Ibid., p. 68; Ibn al-Raḥīq, p. 138.

of Ḥabīb's plan for his assault on al-Qayrawān was to free his brother and some of his adherents who were in Ilyās' prison. Nothing more is known about Sallām. The fourth son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, whose name is unknown, was with his father when he was killed.¹ From Ibn 'Idhārī's account he was evidently an infant at the time. There is no further mention of him.

Fihrid leadership after A.H.154 seems to have been divided between 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and 'Umar b. 'Uthmān al-Qurashī (B. 34), who must have been the grandson of 'Uqbah b. Nāfi', and who was older and more experienced than 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān. 'Abd al-Raḥmān continued his agitation well into the period of Yazīb b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī, from a base on the Mount of Kutāmah.² The other leader, 'Umar b. 'Uthmān, allied himself with the Kharijites, despite his different doctrinal standpoint, to the extent of marching with them on al-Qayrawān when they sacked the city in A.H.154/A.D.771.³

The third son of Abū 'Ubaydah b. 'Uqbah was Muḥammad b. Abī 'Ubaydah, who was one of Ilyās' supporters. He was executed by Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān after his victory over Ilyās b. Ḥabīb, in A.H.139.

The fourth son of Abū 'Ubaydah was 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Ubaydah, who was the father of the Andalusian branch of the family. He had three sons: Yūsuf, Mūsā, and al-Mughīrah. The most famous of the three was Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Ubaydah (d. A.H.139), who proclaimed his independence from the east after the fall of the Umayyads, and who preserved close

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 68.

² Ibid., p. 79.

³ Ibn al-Raqīq, p. 144.

relations with the African branch of his family, which now ran the whole Islamic west to the extent that some historians say that Yūsuf was confirmed wālī by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb (A.40).

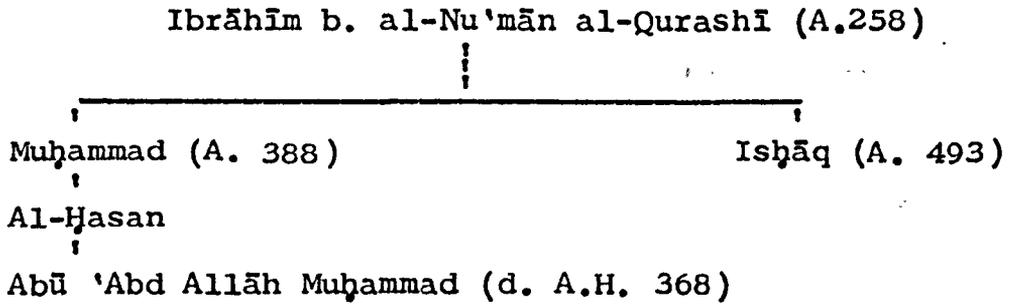
The other two sons of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Ubaydah were not prominent themselves, but they had descendants who influenced events in Ifrīqiyā and Egypt. Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān had a son called al-Aswad, who was a pro-Abbasid in Egypt, and he fought the Umayyads before the final Abbasid conquest of Egypt. Al-Mughīrah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Ubaydah seems to have been involved in the Fihrid inter-family conflict which resulted in his execution in A.H.139.

The Fihrids continued to live in the Islamic west, and in al-Qayrawān in particular. Some of them moved to Fez in the third century.¹ In the written record, some of their descendants become confused and gaps are found in descents, to the extent that it may be impossible to tell from which branch of the family an individual comes. This applies to individuals in the following list, who undoubtedly were members of the family,² but whose place in the family tree is quite uncertain:

1. Umm al-Qāsim Maryam ibnat Muḥammad al-Fihri (C. 836).
2. Fāṭimah ibnat Muḥammad al-Fihri (C. 841).
3. Suḥyān b. Mālīk al-Fihri (C. 23).
4. Al-Nu'mān al-Qurashī al-Fihri (A. 493).
5. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qurashī al-Fihri al-Mughayrabanī (A.401).

¹ For the Qayrawānī migration to Fez, see J.C. Russell, Late Ancient and Medieval Population, p. 102; Ibn Abī Zar al-Fāsī, Rawḍ al-Qirṭās, pp. 25, 29.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 180.

14. Al-Qurashī al-Fihri

This family came to Al-Qayrawān from Spain. The nisbah Al-Fihri was very common in Spain;¹ apparently it denoted relationship with the family of 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' al-Fihri. The Spanish branch of the family descended from Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fihri (d. A.H.138).² It is, however, difficult to find the actual links of this family with 'Uqbah, since there is no record of the parentage of Al-Nu'mān, except his remote nisbah to Fihri (a sub-division of Quraysh).

He had a son called Ibrāhīm (A. 258) who was a student of Saḥnūn b. Sa'id. He was one of the outstanding jurists of Al-Qayrawān. Ibrāhīm had two sons, Ishāq and Muḥammad. Ishāq (A.493) was a student of Yaḥyā b. 'Umar, and he made a journey to the east, after which he became a Shāfi'i (d. A.H. 315). He is described as an outstanding jurist in the bibliographical literature. Muḥammad continued in the path of his father and studied Mālikī jurisprudence. He was killed in A.H.303, probably in the course of the Fāṭimids' persecution of their political and religious opponents.

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm had a son who is known only through the nasab of his grandson Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad. His name was al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn.³ Between Muḥammad and Abū 'Abd

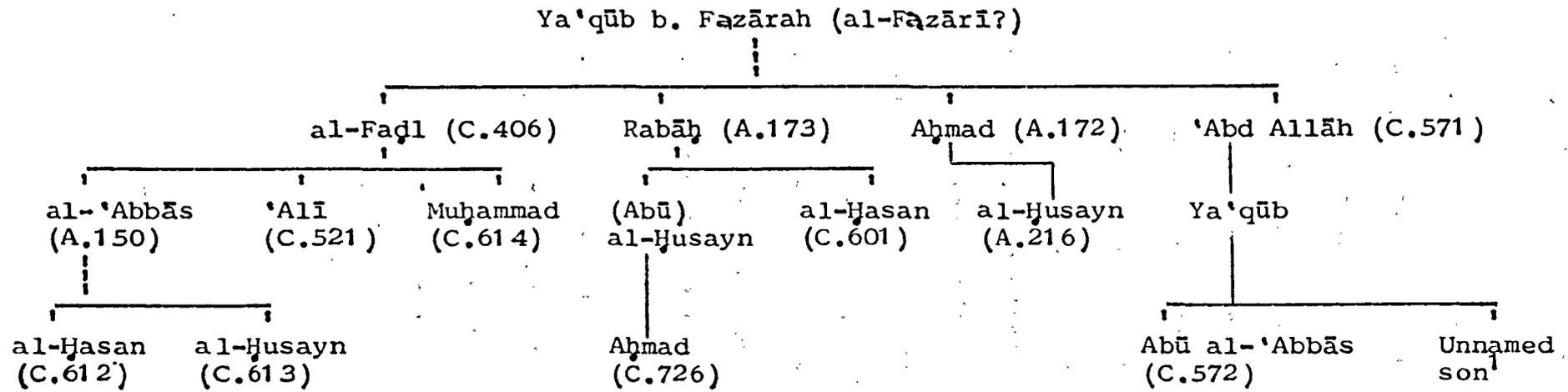
¹ Ibn Ḥazm, p. 178.

² The family place of origin was Jaean in Spain; 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 412 (M. ed.).

³ Ibn al-Faraḍī, vol. 2, p. 115. In Ibn al-Faraḍī he is al-Ḥusayn.

Allāh Muḥammad there is a dearth of information about the activities of the family, which may be accounted for by their migration to Spain; this amounts to a return migration, as they came originally from Spain. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad settled in Cordova and was a leading authority in qirā'āt.¹

¹ Ibid.; 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 412 (M. ed.).



¹ Amarī, p. 434.

This family is mentioned solely in connection with Sicily. All the members of the family had something to do with the island to the extent of looking upon it as a hereditary perquisite. The origin of the family is not clear, but the name F. zārah may of course indicate relationship with the tribe of Fazārah.¹

The first member of the family to take part in the conquest of Sicily was al-Faḍl b. Ya'qūb b. Fazārah, who was dispatched by the wālī of Sicily to the district of Jabal al-Nār (Mount Etna) with an army. Al-Faḍl was successful in this expedition.² However, Ibn al-Athīr presents the incident differently. He stresses the fact that al-Faḍl was dispatched from al-Qayrawān after the assassination of the Aghlabid army commander in Sicily, whose name was Muḥammad b. Sālim.³

Al-Faḍl b. Ya'qūb continued to serve the wālī of Sicily after his initial successes.⁴ The family must have consolidated its position in the island, for when the amīr of Sicily died in the nineteenth year of his rule, the son of al-Faḍl b. Ya'qūb whose name was al-'Abbās was appointed amīr in his place in A.H.236.⁵ Unlike the Aghlabid amīrs of Sicily the new wālī, al-'Abbās b. al-Faḍl b. Ya'qūb b. Fazārah, took charge of military operations himself, and led many expeditions against the Byzantine possessions, or what was left of them in the island. He brought his family into these operations,

¹ The tribal nisbah may sometimes take the form of the name of the tribe without the nisbah ending, e.g., Abū al-'Anbar (instead of al-'Anbarī) (B. 41). The isms of the individuals were derived from the name of the tribe such as Tamīm in Aḥmad b. Tamīm (A. 247), who originated from the tribe Tamīm.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 106.

³ Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 188.

⁴ Amari, p. 225.

⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, Kitāb al-'Ibar, vol. 4, p. 431. Ibn Khaldūn makes the appointment at A.H.233; Amari, p. 471.

and one of his important lieutenants was his uncle, Rabāḥ b. Ya'qūb b. Fāzārah (A.173). During the term of al-'Abbās, the capital of Sicily, Qaṣryānah, fell to the Aghlabids in A.H.237/A.D.851,¹ and he extended his operations to include the mainland of Italy. After a very active life, al-'Abbās died in A.H.247. The Muslim community of Sicily chose his son 'Abd Allāh in his stead,² and they sent a message to the amīr in al-Qayrawān informing him of what they had decided. The amīr disallowed the choice and despatched his own wālī, who was a member of the Aghlabid family, by the name of Khafājah b. Sufyān b. Sawādah (A. 167). He was assisted by his son Muḥammad.

Nothing has been recorded of the family of Fāzārah during the time of Khafājah and his son, but this does not mean they were not active in the island. The family must have benefited from the conflict within the Aghlabid family, following the dispute between Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab and Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab which split the ruling family. This situation was repeated when Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad seized power in al-Qayrawān against the will of the lawful amīr and the dynasty.³ These developments resulted in the amīr in al-Qayrawān relying upon the leading families instead of upon the members of the ruling family, who were in constant opposition to the amīr.⁴

The Fāzārah family was recalled to service in Sicily

¹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, vol. 3, p. 111; for Qaṣryānah, see Map no. 3.

² Amari, p. 472.

³ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 116; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, vol. 3, p. 27; the statement of Ibn al-Khaṭīb is different from that of Ibn 'Idhārī, for Ibn al-Khaṭīb makes the Aghlabid family unanimous in its support for Ibrāhīm II. This was not true as later events showed: see ibid., vol. 3, p. 116.

⁴ His obsession with his authority drove him to execute his own son, brother, and uncle; see ibid., vol. 3, pp. 32, 116.

after the assassination of Muḥammad b. Khafājah b. Sufyān b. Sawādah (A. 171) by his own servants. Their return to power took the shape of appointments as amīr of Sicily and amīr of Southern Italy (al-Arḍ al-Kabīrah). The two new amīrs were Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb b. Faẓārah for Sicily and 'Abd Allāh b. Ya'qūb (C. 571) b. Faẓārah for al-Arḍ al-Kabīrah.¹

Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb (A. 172) seems to have been an old man, and he died in A.H.258/A.D.872, being succeeded by his son al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad (A. 216) who later received confirmation of his appointment from the Aghlabid amīr in A.H.259/A.D.873. It would appear that al-Ḥusayn was dismissed and then re-appointed, to continue his rule of the island until his death in A.H.271.²

Most of the amīrs who ruled the island in the period between al-Ḥusayn's dismissal and his second appointment came from his own family.

Rabāḥ, the second son of Ya'qūb b. Faẓārah, died in A.H.258, the same year as his brother Aḥmad. Thus the family had no chance at the time of obtaining the post of amīr. The rebellion of al-Aghlab b. Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab (the brother of the Aghlabid amīr) and al-Aghlab b. Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab in Sicily, and their initial success in seizing power, resulted in the death of the amīr of Sicily, and after the restoration of the Aghlabid amīr's authority in the island, al-Ḥasan b. Rabāḥ was appointed amīr of Sicily by the Muslim residents, and the appointment was approved by the Aghlabid amīr.³ The

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 115.

² The period during which he was out of office cannot be stated precisely owing to lack of data; however, other amīrs are mentioned between his first term and his second. See Amarī, pp. 361-362.

³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb (vol. 3, p. 116) states, however, that the man was not al-Ḥusayn b. Rabāḥ but al-Ḥusayn b. al-'Abbās.

term of al-Ḥasan lasted several years, but it is not clear when it terminated; it is however clear that his successor, al-Ḥasan b. al-'Abbās b. al-Faḍl b. Ya'qūb b. Fazārah, was appointed in A.H.268. He was the son of al-Ḥasan b. Rabāḥ's cousin.

In addition to al-'Abbās, al-Faḍl b. Ya'qūb had two other sons, 'Alī and Muḥammad. 'Alī b. al-Faḍl was an admiral in the navy of the Aghlabids in Sicily, and was under the command of his brother, the amīr of Sicily, al-Faḍl b. Ya'qūb b. Fazārah.¹

Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl b. Ya'qūb b. Fazārah, the third son of al-Faḍl b. Ya'qūb, was appointed amīr of Sicily after the dismissal of his nephew, al-Ḥusayn b. al-'Abbās (C. 613) in A.H.268.²

Al-'Abbās b. al-Faḍl b. Ya'qūb had one son by the name of al-Ḥusayn, and another name is mentioned, viz. al-Ḥasan b. al-'Abbās, with identical associated data, which, however, might merely indicate a variant of al-Ḥasan's name.³

The youngest son of Ya'qūb b. Fazārah, according to the sequence established by their respective floruits, was 'Abd Allāh (C. 571). He was appointed by his brother Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb who was the amīr of Sicily, over Calabria, because the territories in the South of Italy were put under the authority of the amīr of Sicily. Information about 'Abd Allāh is sparse and the post he occupied apparently did not endure for long after him. He died a month after the death of his brother Rabāḥ, and this somehow seems to have secured the succession of his grandson, Abū al-'Abbās b. Ya'qūb b. 'Abd Allāh b.

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 112.

² Ibid., p. 119.

³ Ibid.; Amari, p. 475.

Ya'qūb, who died a short while later. He was succeeded by a brother of his whose name has not been recorded.¹

The family of Rabāḥ was the last to occupy the post of amīr of Sicily. Aḥmad b. Abī al-Ḥusayn b. Rabāḥ waṣ appointed in A.H.290 by Ziyādat Allāh III. An error in his name may have been made either by al-Nuwayrī, or the scribe, which makes it very difficult to decide whether Aḥmad was the son of al-Ḥusayn b. Rabāḥ (about whom nothing seems to have been recorded by any of the chronicles) or the son of al-Ḥasan b. Rabāḥ (A.172), who was the amīr of Sicily on A.H.264. It is possible that the names have been confused, and al-Ḥasan has been changed to Abū al-Ḥusayn, especially as some authors give al-Ḥasan's name as al-Ḥusayn when writing about the same person.² In this case the word Abū could have been added in error.

The family's position of power in Sicily ended with the fall of the Aghlabids and there appears to be no mention of it in the Fāṭimid era.

16. Al-Ghassānī/al-Ḥaddād

Ṣabīḥ al-Ghassānī

al-Ḥaddād

Muḥammad - Ibnat al-Ḥaddād

Unnamed son (C. 391)

Abū 'Uthmān Sa'id (A. 381)

'Abd Allāh (A. 512)

Muḥammad b. Sabīḥ al-Ghassānī is the first member of this family to be mentioned in a direct reference to the family's

¹ Ibid., p. 434.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 117; Amari, p. 434; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, vol. 3, p. 117.

existence in al-Qayrawān before the beginning of the third century. Muḥammad and his wife were personal friends of al-Bahlūl b. Rāshid al-Ru'aynī and Ghuzayyil,¹ his concubine, and they related ḥadīths and anecdotes to al-Bahlūl (d. A.H. 183). The family of al-Ghassānī may be presumed to have been early established in al-Qayrawān, even if we do not know the exact date of their arrival there.

After the marriage of Muḥammad b. Ṣabīh al-Ghassānī to Ibnat al-Ḥaddād the family name (nisbah) of al-Ghassānī was eventually changed to al-Ḥaddād--a very unusual preference of the maternal over the paternal nisbah. Thus Sa'īd b. Muḥammad b. Ṣabīh (al-Ghassānī) was known as Sa'īd b. al-Ḥaddād, al-Ḥaddād being his mother's father.²

Sa'īd b. Muḥammad is one of the two sons of Muḥammad b. Ṣabīh; the other son's name is unrecorded. Sa'īd b. Muḥammad was brought up in a family which despite their poverty had interests in traditions and jurisprudence. He was one of Abū al-'Arab's authorities in ḥadīth, and many of the scholars of the second half of the third century and the first half of the fourth century were his students. The poverty of his family created a bitterness in him which is clear in his attitude to other people.³ Although the family was brought up as a Mālikī family, in the end Abū Sa'īd rejected this madhhab and opposed the opinions expressed in the Mudawwanah of Saḥnūn to the extent of dubbing it al-Mudawwidah (the smelly). He was close to the madhhab of al-Shāfi'ī,⁴ while disagreeing with him on some

¹ Abū al-'Arab, pp. 129, 133.

² Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 295.

³ Al-Mālikī, vol. 2, p. 60; the family fortunes improved considerably after Sa'īd inherited a great deal of money following the death of his brother (C.391) in Sicily. Sa'īd became a wealthy man and owned several shops near the Great Mosque of al-Qayrawān: see Ibn Sallām, p. 60; al-Shamākhī, pp. 260, 263; al-Mālikī, op.cit., p. 58; Amari, p. 190.

⁴ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, p. 295.

points. He criticised people who follow others uncritically.¹

The relationships of Abū 'Uthmān with ordinary people are of interest: one of his friends (C. 859) was a singer. His poverty ended when he inherited the wealth of his brother, whose name is not recorded. This brother lived in Sicily and seems to have made a lot of money there. Abū Sa'id became one of the merchants of al-Qayrawān, whose shops were near the Great Mosque.²

Sa'id was one of the Witnesses at Ibn Ṭālib's (A. 222) trial, and he gave evidence in the latter's favour. He helped him to answer some of the charges, such as having given ṣadaqah to the family of the Prophet. These actions made him popular with the Malikis, despite their differences with him.³ In fact he became so popular that the Kharijites claimed him as one of their mashā'ikh in al-Qayrawān.⁴ He could not, however, have been a Kharijite, but his strongly opposing the existing order made him a natural ally of the Kharijites without his being fully aware of this.

Abū 'Uthmān's great fame came from his debate with the Fāṭimids and their 'ulamā' after their seizure of al-Qayrawān. The arguments that he presented on behalf of the Sunnī madhāhib won him the admiration of his enemies.⁵ A full text of the whole dialogue between Abū Sa'id who headed the 'ulamā' of al-Qayrawān and the Shi'ite 'ulamā' in the presence of the Fāṭimid caliph, al-Mahdī, is to be found in al-Khushanī.⁶

¹ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 295-297; al-Khushanī, p. 202.

² Ibn Sallām, p. 59.

³ Al-Mālikī, vol. 2, pp. 58-59; al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 245.

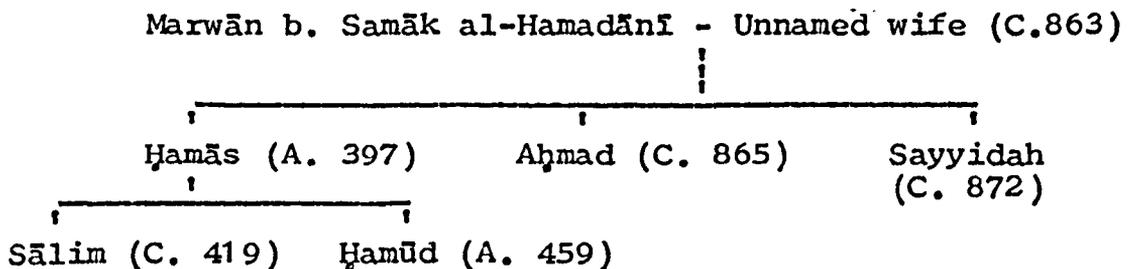
⁴ Ibn Sallām, p. 59; al-Shamakhī, p. 263. He was called Sa'id b. al-Ḥaddādī; in Ibn Sallām he is al-Ḥaddā'ī. The data which the two give are undoubtedly those of Sa'id b. Muḥammad b. Ṣabīḥ al-Ghassānī (Ibn al-Ḥaddād).

⁵ Al-Khushanī, p. 258.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 258-278.

Abū Sa'īd had one known son, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh (A.513) who was a jurist, but he was not of the calibre of his father. 'Abd Allāh's ability was more notable in storytelling, and 'Iyāḍ describes his ḥadīth as very interesting to listen to.¹ 'Abd Allāh died about A.H.320, after which nothing further is recorded of this family.

17. Marwān b. Samāk al-Hamadānī



The family is first mentioned in the early years of the third century, and no doubt its members had been living in the city for some time before that date. Marwān, the father of Ḥamās, was a wealthy individual. This can be deduced from the problems posed by the property which he left.² Nothing more about him is known, except that he was the father of the judge of al-Qayrawān, one other son, and a daughter.

Ḥamās was appointed judge in A.H.290/A.D.902, was then dismissed, and then reinstated, holding the post until A.H.294 when he resigned. He died in A.H.303/A.D.915. During his years in office he was liked by the populace and was moderate in his approach to the problems of the city.³

Marwān's other descendants were a son Aḥmad and a daughter Sayyidah. Nothing is known about them except their

¹ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 3-4, p. 340 (B. ed.).

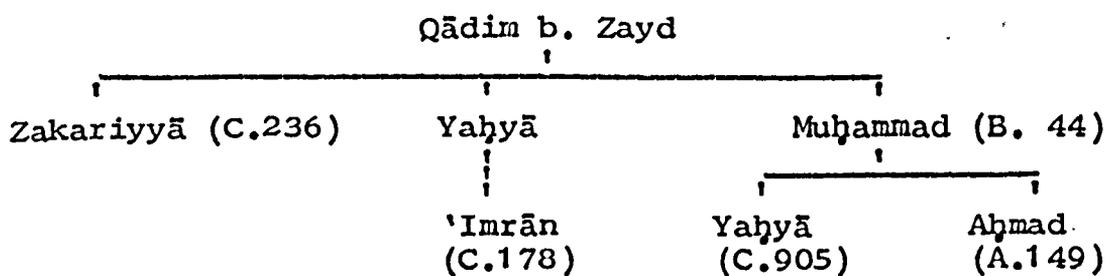
² Al-Mālikī, vol. 2, pp. 72-73.

³ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 136; al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, pp. 220-234.

quarrel over their father's inheritance.¹ This was resolved by their brother, the judge Ḥamās. There is no mention of the relative ages of the three members, but it seems clear from the previous incident that Ḥamās was acting in his capacity as the head of the family and not as the judge of the city, and being the head of the family he must have been the eldest member.

Ḥamās b. Marwān had two sons, Sālīm and Ḥamūd (Muḥammad). The first was a scholar and a devotee. He worked as a secretary to the Judge of al-Qayrawān, who happened to be his father at the time. His ascetic habits made him live on a day-to-day basis making his living out of odd jobs such as cutting wood.² Ḥamūd was the second son of Ḥamās. He was brought up in the same way as his brother and died in A.H.309. With his death we lose track of the family, which may however have survived in the city to the fifth century.

18. Qādim b. Zayd al-Ḥanafī



Among the students of Asad b. al-Furāt when he arrived from the east in al-Qayrawān, in A.H.181,² were the Abnā' Qādim. These are doubtless to be identified with Zakariyyā

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 2, p. 72.

² Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 3, p. 322 (M. ed.); al-Khushanī, p. 232; 'Iyāḍ, Tarājim, p. 399.

b. Qādim, Yaḥyā b. Qādim, and Muḥammad b. Qādim, who are mentioned in other sources.

The origin of the family may be deduced from the nisbah al-Ḥanafī, which means they were from the tribe of the Banū Ḥanīfah (one of the sub-tribes of Bakr b. Wā'il). The nisbah al-Ḥanafī does not refer to the madhhab of the family, although they did adhere to the madhhab of Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān b. Thābit al-Kūfī.¹

The first mention of any member of the family in al-Qayrawān is that of Zakariyyā, who was a lieutenant of the Abbasid wālī of Ifrīqiyā in A.H.181.² This appointment throws light on the status of the family, as during the later years of the Abbasid direct rule over Ifrīqiyā the army reached the peak of its authority, and it is not likely that a new man would have a chance in military or administrative affairs without having some roots in the Abbasid establishment. He may have been a member of the jund class or a son of a member of that class.

Nothing is recorded regarding the life data of Zakariyyā or what happened to him after the year A.H.180, the year he built the fortress of al-Munastīr.

The other son of Qādim al-Ḥanafī was Muḥammad who was a Ḥanafī jurist. He participated in Asad's expedition to Sicily. Muḥammad advised a return to Ifrīqiyā because of the hazardous situation facing the Aghlabid army there. He advanced the view that the life of a Muslim was worth everything and could on no account be forfeited. Asad construed this as an invitation for the army to rebel against his command and thus cause a fitnah. Asad ordered Muḥammad to be punished. In

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 182.

² Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 203.

ordering lashes to be administered to Muḥammad he aimed at getting rid of agitation in the army. He addressed his men in Muḥammad b. Qādim's regard saying: "The cause of the fitnah which claimed the life of 'Uthmān [b. 'Affān] was less than the open incitement of the jund to disobey their command" (علي أقل من هذه قتل عثمان).¹

The third son of Qādim was Yaḥyā, about whom we know nothing except that he was the father of 'Imrān b. Yaḥyā b. Qādim (C. 178); the latter was a traditionist and was contemporary with 'Abd Allāh b. Farrūkh al-Fārisī and possibly a student of his.²

The branch of the family descended from Muḥammad b. Qādim is also covered in the biographical authors. In the third century they were dedicated Ḥanafis, but above all they were very close to the Aghlabid amīrs.³ The support of eminent families like the Banū Qādim was needed by the amīr to satisfy the common people; they were also useful in performing diplomatic tasks.⁴

Abū Yaḥyā Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was, like his father, a student of Asad b. al-Furāt. He participated in the expedition against Sicily in A.H.212. However he was, like Asad, bipartisan, i.e., he was well informed in both the madhhab of Abū Ḥanīfah and that of Mālik.⁵ This had the effect of putting him above sectarian rivalry. When Saḥnūn was asked to accept the post of judge, the amīr sent Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qādim instead of the usual ḥājib. This was an expression of the

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 189.

² Ibid., p. 119.

³ Ibid., p. 273.

⁴ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 141; al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 273; Al-'Uyūn wal-Ḥadā'iq, vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 84.

⁵ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 111.

disinterestedness of the amīr. Aḥmad died in A.H.247.

Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Qādim was a teacher of maḡhāzī i.e., the history of the Muslim conquests.¹ He was a contemporary of al-Khushanī who left al-Qayrawān in A.H.312.

19. Al-Ifrīqī

Miskīn b. Maṣṣūr (B. 83)	
├──────────────────────────────────┤	
'Īsā (A. 322)	Muḥammad (d. A.H. 297)
└──────────────────────────────────┘	
Unnamed daughter (C. 753)	

The nasab of this family is as follows: Miskīn b. Maṣṣūr b. Jurayj² b. Muḥammad al-Afrīqī. The origin of the family is given as Afāriqah³ which can be taken to mean the urban population of Ifrīqiyā resulting from intermarriage between the Byzantines (al-Rūm), and the Berbers. There may have been a Vandal element among these people. The word 'ajam' usually had a wider meaning but in this case was clearly interchangeable with Ifrīqī (plural al-Afāriqah).⁴ The family as a whole did not reside in al-Qayrawān; only those members who did live in the city have been included in the present lists.

The first member of the family in al-Qayrawān was Miskīn b. Maṣṣūr, but apart from his being the father of two jurists, little is recorded of his career. He seems to have

¹ Al-Khushanī, p. 255.

² The name of the grandfather of Miskīn indicates clearly the background of the family and its origin: Jurayj is a diminutive of the name George, which suggests it was the generation of Jurayj which saw the conversion of the family to Islam. The name of the father of Jurayj (Muḥammad) may have been merely a conventional way of giving the name a Muslim appearance.

³ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 331 (M. ed.).

⁴ Ḥ. Mones, Fath al-'Arab lil-Maḡrib, p. 5.

been instrumental in encouraging his son 'Īsā to study jurisprudence.¹ The family seems to have been wealthy, owning a large farming business.² The family money must have been behind 'Īsā's two long journeys which covered almost every region in the east (the Ḥijāz, 'Irāq, Syria).

The elder son of Miskīn was 'Īsā, who was born in A.H.214. He studied under Saḥnūn b. Sa'id (A.140), and his son Muḥammad (A.168). 'Īsā was forced by Ibrāhīm II to accept the post of Judge of Ifrīqiyā in A.H.281, and he then took up residence in Raqqādah. He appointed a number of persons to deal with day-to-day cases in al-Qayrawān. His assistants were:

1. Sulaymān b. Sālim (A. 281); appointed to the maẓālim court
2. Ibrāhīm b. al-Khashshāb (A. 438); he succeeded Sulaymān b. Sālim in the maẓālim post.
3. Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭirzī (A. 344), muḥtasib.
4. Ibn Ziriyāb (C. 669), keeper of the dīwān.
5. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Bannā' (A. 385), secretary.

In A.H.289 'Īsā was relieved of his post of judge at his own request. He returned to his home in al-Sāḥil where he resumed the running of his farm.³ In A.H.295 'Īsa died.

The second son of Miskīn b. Manṣūr was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Miskīn who left his home in al-Sāḥil to study in al-Qayrawān and Egypt. He met the leading Mālikī scholars in both places. After that he returned to his village in al-Sāḥil to lead a quiet life, probably combining farming with teaching. Muḥammad died at his home at al-Sāḥil in A.H.297.⁴

There are no recorded male descendants of the family, but we hear of the daughter of 'Īsā, whose name, however, has not been recorded (c.753).⁵

¹ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 344 (M. ed.)

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. 350.

⁴ Ibid., p. 351.

⁵ Ibid., p. 344.

city during the turbulent years at the end of the Fihrid era; with a force of one thousand men he tried to stop the advance of the tribe of Warfajūmah on the city, but in vain. 'Abd Allāh's personal data stops at this point. It is, however, unlikely that he perished during this period because Asad, the partner of Abū Muḥriz, 'Abd Allāh's son, in trying to stress his superiority over Abū Muḥriz is reported to have said that "while we were travelling over great distances in search of knowledge some people [sc. Abū Muḥriz] were behind the looms of their mothers and the ovens of their fathers."¹ This may be taken as evidence that the father of Abū Muḥriz was alive at least during Asad's trip to the east, which ended around A.H.181.

'Abd Allāh b. Qays had one son who is known to us as Abū Muḥriz Muḥammad. Abū Muḥriz was a jurist, and despite al-Mālikī's claim² that he was a student of Mālik, the above-mentioned statement by Asad b. al-Furāt shows he was not so; as far as studying in the east is concerned, Abū Muḥriz had never done so, and had never studied under the imāms of the time.³

Despite the appointment of Abū Muḥriz as a judge in place of 'Abd Allāh b. Ghānim al-Ru'aynī in A.H.190/A.D.806, his position became increasingly threatened by the arrival of increasing numbers of new graduates from the east with greater knowledge and abilities. The Aghlabid amīr came under growing pressure from his own minister to dismiss Abū Muḥriz and appoint

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 183. This is a free translation of:

"! ضرينا في طلب العلم آباط الابل واغترينا في البلدان ولقينا العلماء وغيرنا

انما طلب العلم خلف كائون ابيه وورا' منسج اوه' ويريدون ان يلحقوا بنا

² Ibid., p. 189.

يريد بذلك ابو محرز"

³ Ibid., p. 183.

someone else.¹ The minister, 'Alī b. Ḥamīd, was in favour of Asad b. al-Furāt, the greatest jurist of the day, and in the end he won over the Aghlabid amīr. However, Ziyādat Allāh compromised by making the post a shared one between Asad and Abū Muḥriz. No one has fully explained what made the amīr take this step, which was the first of its kind to be taken in Ifrīqiyā. It may have been because Abū Muḥriz was a member of the Arab aristocracy and because Ziyādat Allāh wanted to appease them by keeping one of their number in the post instead of replacing him by a mawlā, i.e., Asad b. al-Furāt. His wealth and social status may also have played a role,² or his family's descent from Baladiyyīn stock. All these could have been contributory factors, to which might be added the precarious situation Ziyādat Allāh was in when he began his reign, i.e., the period in which he took the decision to make the post of the judge a shared one.

It would seem that political partisanship did not enter into the appointment of Abū Muḥriz although the fact that he belonged to a large and influential family may have had some influence upon his continuation as a judge, which was challenged by many strongly-positioned people.³

The two judges continued to work jointly until the dispatch of Asad to Sicily, where he died in A.H.213/A.D.828. Abū Muḥriz died in the following year, leaving behind him three sons, Aḥmad, 'Imrān, and 'Abd Allāh. Aḥmad was a jurist and was appointed judge of al-Qayrawān from A.H.220/A.D.835 until

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 193.

² When Abū Muḥriz was appointed judge he displayed his possessions publicly; these included slaves and cattle. He then addressed the people as follows: "These are my possessions, and if you see them increase, this will mean I am corrupt." See al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 193.

³ Ibid., p. 185.

his death in A.H. 221.¹ He had two sons, 'Imrān and 'Abd Allāh. Nothing is recorded of 'Abd Allāh's career, but his name is given in his sons' (A.425) chain of descent. 'Imrān b. Aḥmad (C. 398) is mentioned in connection with the preparations for the burial of his father in A.H.221. Nothing further is recorded of him.

The second son of Abū Muḥriz was 'Imrān (C. 400). He was a contemporary of Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd (A. 140). In discussion with Saḥnūn, 'Imrān spoke of his disagreement with his father and his brother on the subject of the drinking of nabīdh, he himself condemned it. Despite this, Saḥnūn told him that his father and brother were better than he was.²

The third son of Abū Muḥriz was 'Abd Allāh, about whom nothing seems to have been recorded. His name is given in the chain of nasab of his grandson (C. 873). 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Muḥriz had one son whose career is as obscure to us as that of his father. He was Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Muḥriz.

After the death of Aḥmad b. Abū Muḥriz (A. 116), data regarding the family become very scant, and little attention is given to the family by the biographical authors. However, in A.H.296, the family re-emerged with more authority and importance, as is shown by the appointment of Abū Mu'ammār 'Imrān b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Muḥriz (C. 873) to one of the key positions in the Fāṭimid administration, viz. taqsīṭ (al-kharāj).³ This indicates, apart from the fact that he was qualified for the position, that he probably had some sympathy for the Fāṭimid cause, even if he had not actually been converted to the Fāṭimid madhhab. After this sudden turn in the family fortunes, the

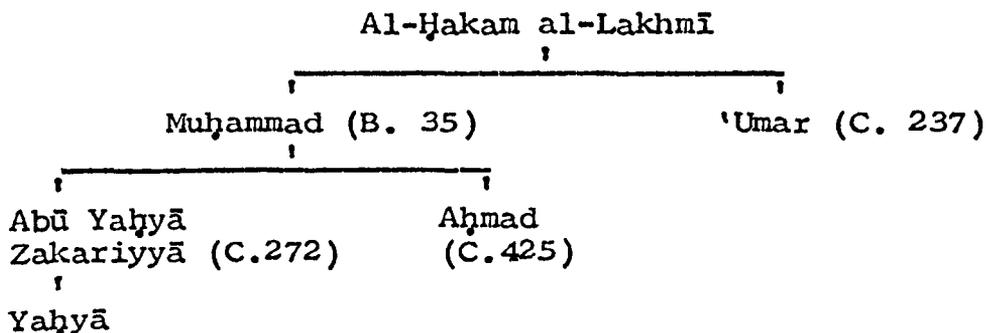
¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 305; al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 42.

² Ibn al-Raḳīq, Quṭb al-Surūr, p. 487.

³ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 173.

historians and biographical authors seem to have been reluctant to report anything further about the family, perhaps because of this allegiance to the Fāṭimid establishment and because the sources in our hands are anti-Fāṭimid.

 22. Al-Ḥakam al-Lakhmī



The links between the members of this Qayrawānī family are not entirely clear. The beginning of the history of the family in Ifrīqiyā may be represented by the arrival of Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥakam with the army of Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī (A.H.41-47). The name al-Ḥakam suggests that he may have been the grandfather of the al-Ḥakam in the above pedigree. The name Yaḥyā in Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam is also suggestive, as it appears twice in the pedigree, first as a kunya and secondly as the ism for the son of Zakariyyā.¹

Al-Ḥakam al-Lakhmī, the father of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakam, is not recorded independently in the sources which are available to us. The family begins to interest the biographical authors from the second generation, when the two sons of al-Ḥakam studied under Mālik b. Anas. These were 'Umar, who was a contemporary of al-Awza'ī the great jurist and scholar of al-Shām, and who studied under both him and Mālik. Nothing is known of 'Umar apart from this, and he had no known descendants. The

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 163.

other son was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakam, another student of Mālik. Muḥammad, his son Zakariyyā, and his grandson Yaḥyā all studied under Mālik, according to 'Iyāḍ.¹ The father, Muḥammad, died in A.H.206/A.D.821. The son of Muḥammad, Zakariyyā, was the most influential member of the family. He was a brilliant jurist in the class of Abū Muḥriz and Asad b. al-Furāt.² None of the family, however, were given any official post, probably because they were Malikites, and the Malikites before Saḥnūn (A. 140) did not enjoy the favour of the amīrs. To this must be added their philosophy of looking askance at cooperation with the secular authorities.³

Another son of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakam was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakam, who was a contemporary of 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ḥassān al-Yaḥṣubī (A. 122). The fourth generation is represented by Yaḥyā b. Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad al-Lakhmī, who is given in Riyāḍ al-Nufūs erroneously as al-Tujībī.⁴ The exact date of his death is uncertain, but he seems to have been well known and very popular, especially in his last years. It is claimed that his funeral procession could not pass the gate of Bāb Nāfi' because of the crowd who came to see the cortege.⁵

¹ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 3, p. 324 (M. ed.).

² Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 69.

³ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 274; 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 57 (M. ed.).

⁴ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 163.

⁵ Ibid.

23. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr al-Lakhmī

Nuṣayr al-Lakhmī (A. 9)						
Mūsā (A.9)			Unnamed daughter (C.44)		Unnamed daughter	
'Abd al-'Azīz (d. A.H. 98)	'Abd Allāh (A.8)	'Abd al-Raḥmān (C.35)	'Abd al-A'lā (C.41)	'Abd al-Malik (C.40)	Marwān (C.26)	Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb (C.47)

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Mūsā b. Nuṣayr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd is said to be from the tribe of Lakhm.¹ Some biographical authors, however, trace his descent from Bill?, while others say he was from Bakr b. Wā'il. However, they are all in agreement about how Nuṣayr the father of Mūsā came to be a Muslim. Nuṣayr was from a village near al-Kūfah called 'Ayn al-Tamr.² He is said to have been captured by Khālīd b. al-Walīd in one of the raids he carried out against the Persian domain. This incident was in the year A.H.12. After the emancipation of Nuṣayr he was appointed head of Mu'āwiyah b. Abū Sufyān's guard, and subsequently he held military positions under Mu'āwiyah which made him important to the latter. Nuṣayr had one son, Mūsā, who was to play an important role in the Islamisation of North Africa and Spain.

Mūsā was born in A.H.19/A.D.640 in the village of Kafrmitri in the Galilee,³ and he took up a military career from an early age. He was appointed by Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān as head of the Umayyad admiralty and was stationed in Cyprus where he deputised for Mu'āwiyah himself. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr was not consistently loyal to the Umayyads, since he joined al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays who was fighting the newly-proclaimed Umayyad caliph

¹ Khaṭṭāb, vol. 1, pp. 221-222.

² P.K. Hitti, History of the Arabs, p. 213.

³ Khaṭṭāb, vol. 1, p. 223.

on behalf of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. After the death of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, Mūsā fled to Egypt to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān and asked for his protection. Mūsā later succeeded in winning the confidence of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and his son 'Abd al-'Azīz, who appointed him his adviser.¹

Bishr b. Marwān, brother of 'Abd al-Malik, was appointed wālī of 'Irāq and Persia, and because of Bishr's tender age Mūsā b. Nuṣayr was appointed by 'Abd al-Malik to be a minister and adviser to Bishr. This made Mūsā the master of 'Irāq and Persia and the man responsible for the dīwān of al-Kharāj, but in the year A.H.75 Bishr b. Ṣafwān died and the post of wālī of 'Irāq went to the notorious al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, who was informed by the caliph that Mūsā had kept some of the tax money for himself from the dīwān revenue. Mūsā fled to Egypt and again 'Abd al-'Azīz was quick to help and paid half the fine which was specified by the caliph.²

'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān replaced Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān with Mūsā b. Nuṣayr in A.H.84-85 (this date is the most likely for this appointment and is generally recognised by historians).³ The first thing Mūsā did was to organise the government in al-Qayrawān. He was not satisfied with the behaviour of Abū Ṣāliḥ (C. 20), the man who had been left to rule al-Qayrawān after the departure of Ḥassān, and he accordingly exiled him to the east together with one of his aides (C. 23).

Mūsā began his military operations by subduing the mutinous pockets around al-Qayrawān and to the north of it. The next step was to combat the tribes of Ṣanhājah and Sajūmah,

¹ Al-Kindī, al-Wulāt wal-Qudāt, p. 47.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 40.

³ Ḥusayn Mones, Fath al-'Arab lil-Maghrib, p. 266; C.A. Julien, p.18. See Chapter II, p. 37.

and the result of his advance was the successful conquest of the middle Maghrib.¹ Mūsā was careful not to fall into the same trap as had claimed the lives of 'Uqbah and his companions, and his advance was therefore slow but steady.

These victories opened the way for Mūsā to take the rest of the Maghrib and eventually to conquer the province of Tangiers. During the conquest Mūsā was supported by his sons, who numbered at least six. Some of them crossed to Spain with their father, who took an army across the straits of Gibraltar in A.H. 93 as a reinforcement for Ṭāriq b. Ziyād (his mawlā) whose army was extended along several fronts against the Gothic resistance which was gathering its strength after the decisive battle of Wādī Lakkuh in A.H.92/A.D.711.²

The earliest to be mentioned of Mūsā's sons is 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was to become the wālī of Spain. After the fall and disgrace of his father, 'Abd al-'Azīz was assassinated as the result of a plot between the Arab aristocracy of al-Qayrawān and the Caliph Sulaymān. He had been maligned as being in sympathy with the Goths and of being influenced by his Gothic wife who was the wife of the slain Gothic king.³

The second son of Mūsā was 'Abd Allāh, who succeeded his father as the wālī of al-Qayrawān; he was one of the best generals of his father in his struggle in the Maghrib.⁴ His fate was no different from that of his brother; he was killed in al-Qayrawān in A.H.97. After his death, those still loyal to the family in the city were pursued and tortured by Muḥammad b. Yazīd and the enemies of Mūsā among the Arab aristocracy.

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 41; Ibn Qutaybah, pt. 2, p. 54; Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 70.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 2, p. 8.

³ Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 23.

⁴ Ibn Qutaybah, pt. 2, pp. 57-58.

devotion were said to have been matched only by that of the Imām Sufyān al-Thawrī, A.H.161.¹

The history of the family settlement in the city is unrecorded, but it may well have taken place around the last two decades of the first century, when another Lakhmid wālī was in command in Ifrīqiyā, viz. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr. The calling of Rabāḥ was farming, but his farm site is not known to us. He used occasionally to come to al-Qayrawān and stay with his brother, whose name is unknown. The friends of Rabāḥ tried to find him a permanent job in the city in a draper's shop, but he could not endure city life because of what he termed its injustice and its open disobedience to God.²

Yazīd al-Lakhmī had other sons, but as their names are not recorded it is difficult to distinguish between them. One lived in al-Qayrawān at an address in a road called Darb 'Ābid b. al-Aswad. Rabāḥ b. Yazīd used to stay with him when he was living in the city.³ It is not clear which was the elder. The other son of Yazīd al-Lakhmī was one who resembled Rabāḥ in his piety and devotion. He left Ifrīqiyā to live in Alexandria.⁴

The third generation of this family is represented by Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh b. Rabāh b. Yazīd al-Lakhmī. He was a traditionist, who was said to have been given the ism and the kunya of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in admiration of 'Umar I's son.⁵ 'Abd Allāh b. Rabāḥ claimed that he had been old enough to transmit traditions from his father when the

¹ Abū al-'Arab. p. 221.

² Ibid., pp. 122-123.

³ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, p. 216; al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 220.

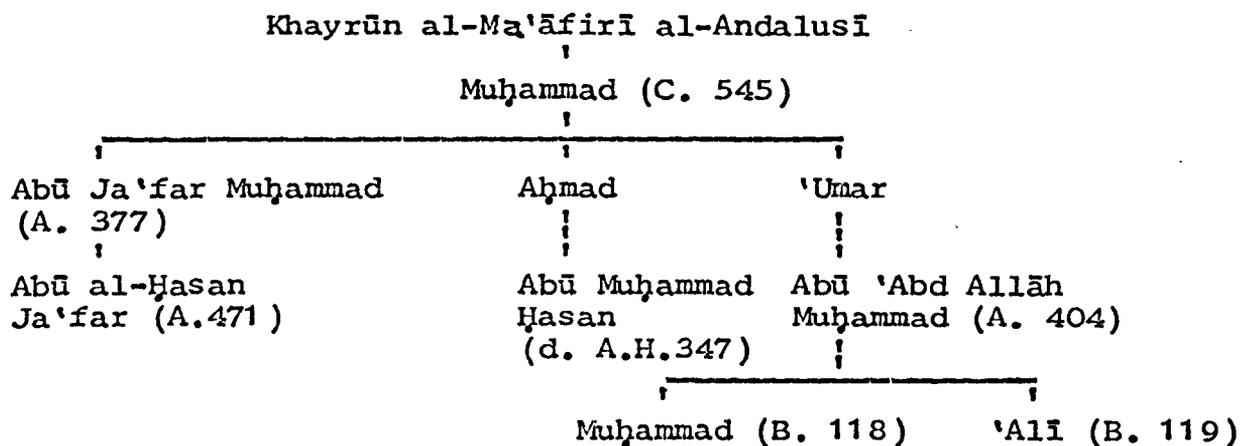
⁴ Abū al-'Arab, p. 126.

⁵ Ibid., p. 204.

latter died prematurely in A.H.172 at the age of 38, but this is questionable because of the quality of the ḥadīth which he transmitted. The man who was 'Abd Allāh b. Rabāḥ's authority was al-Bahlūl (d. A.H.183).

The date of the death of 'Abd Allāh is not recorded but may be estimated as being about A.H.232. This would make his age at death 69 years.

25. Al-Ma'āfirī



The earliest record of this family appears on the façade of one of the oldest mosques in the city, the mosque of Ibn Khayrūn; this is mentioned by Ibn 'Idhārī in connection with the building of the mosque by Muḥammad b. Khayrūn in the year A.H.252.¹ Nothing else is known about this individual except that he was immensely rich. What brought him to al-Qayrawān is a mystery. As a Mālikī he might have come for purposes of study, but in fact he was not learned in law or tradition, and as many Andalusians did he would in any case have returned home if study had been his aim. It might also be that his coming to the city was in the wake of the riot of

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 114.

al-Rabaḍ, which took place in A.H.202.¹ However, the third and most likely reason for his residence in al-Qayrawān was his commercial interests. The proceeds of his business activities evidently enabled him to build the mosque referred to above.²

Muḥammad b. Khayrūn had three sons of whom Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad was the best known. He travelled to Egypt to pursue his study of Nāfi's reading of the Qur'ān. In this he became an authority and people flocked to study under him. His choice of Nāfi's reading of the Qur'ān gives a hint as to his social status, for the qir'at Nāfi' was alleged to have been preferred by the higher classes of society.³

Abū Ja'far managed the family wealth and was the head of the Andalusian community in al-Qayrawān.⁴ He and his family had strong financial ties with the Aghlabids.⁵ The family owned several hotels which were adjoining the family mosque in the old quarter of al-Zayyādiyyah in al-Qayrawān.⁶

When the Fāṭimids seized the city of al-Qayrawān Abū Ja'far tried hard to ingratiate himself with them. He even wrote a book about the Fāṭimids to please them. All this, however, did not prevent the wālī of al-Qayrawān from ordering Abū Ja'far's execution on the grounds of his defrauding the new administration.⁷ The Malikis made Abū Ja'far a martyr for their party although his quarrel with the Fāṭimids was financial

¹ Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 75-77.

² Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 114, 169.

³ Ibn al-Faraḍī, vol. 1, pp. 401-402.

⁴ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 149; for the Andalusian community which began to emerge in al-Qayrawān during the first decade of the third century, see ibid., vol. 1, p. 102.

⁵ Al-Mālikī, vol. 2, p. 82.

⁶ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 164; Ibn al-Faraḍī, vol. 1, pp. 401-402.

⁷ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 169.

and not sectarian. However, it might be argued that a benevolent person like Abū Ja'far, who was known as the Shaykh of al-Qayrawān¹ was the sort of figure likely to make a popular martyr.

The Fāṭimid wālī of al-Qayrawān confiscated part of the wealth of the family of al-Ma'āfirī.² How much was left to them is not recorded.

The second son of Muḥammad b. Khayrūn (C. 545) was Aḥmad. He had a son Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khayrūn. Nothing is known about Abū Muḥammad except that he was still living in al-Qayrawān in the middle of the fourth century, and that he died in A.H. 347/A.D.959.

The third son of Muḥammad b. Khayrūn was 'Umar, of whom nothing is recorded other than his name. The son of 'Umar was a prominent member of the family. He was a merchant like his grandfather, as were probably the rest of his family. His interests were similar to those of his uncle Abū Ja'far, for he was himself a prominent teacher of the recitation of the Qur'ān.³ His full name was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar (A. 404). The family seem to have had an abiding interest in the art of reciting the Qur'ān and it is possible that Muḥammad b. Khayrūn himself was a muqrī. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad had two particular sons among his sons whose number is unknown. They were Muḥammad (B. 118) and 'Alī (B. 119). They were all known to have been engaged in receiving and transmitting tradition.⁴

The origin of the family is not recorded, but they

¹ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 291.

² Ibid., p. 290.

³ Ibn al-Faraḍī, vol. 1, pp. 401-402.

⁴ Ibn al-Abbār, al-Takmilah, vol. 1, p. 95.

were clients of the Yamanite tribe of Mā'āfir, one of the major sub-divisions of al-Ḥamaysa', a part of Ḥimyar.¹ Their place of origin in was thought of as being al-Andalus in al-Qayrawān but in the Andalusian biographical literature the family is considered Qayrawānī, especially the second generation of those known to us.²

Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad's son was Abū al-Ḥasan Ja'far (A. 471) and like his father he followed the family business. He died nine years after the death of his father and five years after his successful cousin Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad (A. 404).³

26. An'am al-Sha'bānī al-Mā'āfirī

Ziyād b. An'am (B. 5) = Anonymous (B. Add.1)

'Abd al-Raḥmān (A.55)

Khālīd (C. Add.2)	An'am (C.115)	Unnamed daughter = (C.114)	Sharāḥīl (C.108)
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This family was traced back to Ḥimyar b. Sabā.⁴ Sha'bān was a sub-tribe of Ḥimyar, but the nisbah form of this name differed from region to region in spite of the common origin which it denoted. Those of the clan who stayed in Yaman were called Dhī Sha'bayn, in Spain they were called al-Ush'ūb, and in al-Qayrawān they were called al-Sha'bāniyyūn.⁵

Ziyāb b. An'am came to al-Qayrawān with the armies of

¹ Elias Teres, "Linajes Arabes", in al-Andalus, vol. 22, (1957), pp. 337-369; Ibn Ḥazm, p. 432.

² Ibn al-Faraḍī, vol. 1, p. 401. Ibn al-Faraḍī calls him Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Khayrūn Qayrawī (from al-Qayrawān).

³ Roy, vol. 1, pp. 217-218.

⁴ Ibn Ḥazm, p. 432.

⁵ Ibid., p. 433.

Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān al-Ghassānī in A.H.74, the very year 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. An'am son of Ziyād was born.¹ Ziyād b. An'am settled in north-eastern al-Qayrawān by the gate of Bāb Nāfi', where he built his house and his mosque.² Ziyād b. An'am was a soldier before settling permanently in al-Qayrawān. He had accompanied Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī on his expedition.

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. An'am, who was said to have been the first child to be born in Ifrīqiyyā to an Arab family, was brought up in a pious and orthodox manner, and participated like his father in the political and military events of the time. He joined the caliphal army and was taken prisoner, probably during the Umayyads' campaign against the Byzantine empire (A.H.120). He was reprieved after being led out to execution because the Byzantine emperor admired 'Abd al-Raḥmān's behaviour in the face of death, the prayers which 'Abd al-Raḥmān recited having opened the door for religious discussion with the emperor. After this he reprieved the condemned men, despite the empress's determination that they should die. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and his colleagues were freed after the caliph had paid the ransom for their release.³

'Abd al-Raḥmān was pro-Abbasid, and so was Sharāḥīl, his son-in-law, who was an accessory to the conspiracy which resulted in the assassination of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihri (A. 40), and the eventual return to the acceptance of the authority of the caliph.⁴ 'Abd al-Raḥmān himself was one of the city's delegation to the Caliph al-Manṣūr, which sought

¹ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, p. 236.

² *Ibid.*, p. 220.

³ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 98.

⁴ Ibn al-Raḥīq, p. 135.

his help to rid the city of the oppression of the Kharijite tribe of Warfajūmah.¹

'Abd al-Raḥmān was an old acquaintance of the caliph from the days of al-Manṣūr's stay in al-Qayrawān (c. A.H. 122).² In Baghdād the caliph asked 'Abd al-Raḥmān to stay at the caliphal court but 'Abd al-Raḥmān declined to do so on the grounds that he had to be in al-Qayrawān with his old mother.³

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. An'am was the teacher of most of the 'ulamā' of Ifrīqiyā of his day in ḥadīth and jurisprudence, such as al-Bahlūl (A. 77) and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Ghānim (A. 79). He is said to have served as a judge for the first time during the reign of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. Muḥammad (d. A.H. 132). The second time 'Abd al-Raḥmān was appointed judge of the city of al-Qayrawān was after the Abbasids' seizure of the city in A.H.144. He continued to work as a judge well into the term of Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād died in A.H.161 of eating what the physician who examined him described as a heavy meal combining fish with milk.⁴

The third generation of the family is represented by his three children. They were Khālīd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, a daughter whose name is not recorded, and An'am. Khālīd is known to have been a traditionist, but apart from this nothing is recorded of him.⁵ The unnamed daughter of 'Abd al-Raḥmān married Sharāḥīl (C. 108) but her dates are not recorded. An'am

¹ Ibid., p. 163; Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, pp. 70-72; al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, p. 231; al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 98.

² Ibn Ḥazm, p. 21; 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Warragāt, vol. 1, p. 384.

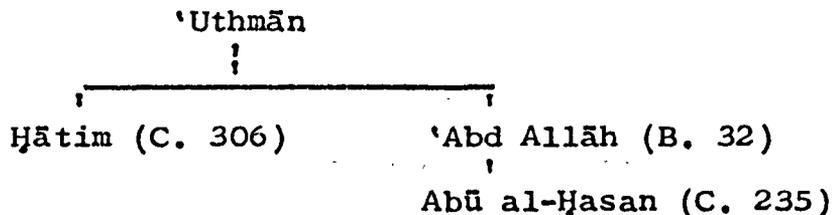
³ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 98.

⁴ Ibn al-Raḥīq, p. 168.

⁵ Al-Dhahabī, al-Mushtabih fī Asmā' al-Rijāl (Leiden, 1863), p. 200.

the second son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, is mentioned by 'Abd al-Raḥmān in verses of poetry which he sent with a letter to his family in al-Qayrawān, when he was preparing to return home to al-Qayrawān from Baghdād.¹

27. 'Uthmān al-Ibzārī al-Mu'āfirī



Mu'āfir was another Yamanī tribe to settle in al-Qayrawān. This settlement in the city followed their mass migration to Egypt, and it was from Egypt that they spread to the rest of North Africa.

'Uthmān's family must have been settled in North Africa some time before the date of the earliest information now available. The earliest known member of the family is 'Uthmān of whom we know nothing, except that he was a spice merchant, as indicated by his name.

The second generation of the family is represented by 'Uthmān's two sons, Ḥātim (C. 306) and 'Abd Allāh (B. 32). They were jurists and studied under Mālik b. Anas. Their activities, however were not entirely religious, for Ḥātim was said to have been in constant travel to and from the east.² His aim

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 99.

² Abū al-'Arab, pp. 109, 150; al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 157; 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 3, p. 69 (M. ed.). The size of their business is clear from the fact that they had dealings with Faraj, the mawlā of the Caliph al-Rashīd. The caliph sent a messenger to al-Qayrawān to recover the money of his mawlā and to order judge Ibn Ghānīm to order Abū Ḥātim to pay the sum which was 10,000 dīnārs. Ibn Ghānīm declined to rule in favour of the caliph's messenger.

in this was to further his business interests. In his travels, Ḥātim used to deliver letters from the students of Mālik in al-Qayrawān, especially Ibn Ghānim,¹ to Mālik in al-Madīnah. They usually contained questions in cases in which they desired to have Mālik's fatwā. It is fair to assume that 'Uthmān's occupation was buying and selling spice and consequently his business trips to the east must have been connected with that purpose. This business must have been very profitable, as is clear from 'Uthmān's life style. Abū al-'Arab gives some information about the marriage of 'Uthmān, who paid two hundred dīnārs as a dowry, which gives the impression that he was very rich. Ḥātim owned slaves which were said to have cost him one hundred dīnārs.²

The other son of 'Uthmān was 'Abd Allāh. He seems to have lived permanently in al-Qayrawān, looking after the retail establishment from which the family directed its commercial transactions.³

The third generation of the family, as represented by Abū al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uthmān al-Ma'āfirī al-Qayrawānī (C.235), seems either to have had no connection with the family business, or to have lacked enthusiasm for it. He was an author and wrote a book called Faṣl al-Khiṭāb.⁴ The nisbah al-Ibzārī was not used of him, either through a change in the family fortunes, or a change in the nature of the business, or through his preference for jurisprudence, to which he devoted most of his energy.

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 157.

² Abū al-'Arab, p. 117.

³ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 3, p. 316 (M. ed.).

⁴ 'Iyāḍ, Tarājim, p. 22 (Faṣl al-Khiṭāb is believed to be lost).

Baghdād.¹ 'Āmir b. Ismā'īl had a brother by the name of Yaḥyā; he acted as the ṣāhib al-khabar for Harthamah b. A'yan, the Abbasid general and ex-wālī of Ifīqiyā. The ṣāhib al-khabar was the equivalent of the head of the military police or military intelligence.

The branch of the family which continued to flourish in North Africa were the descendants of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Āmir b. Nāfi' (C. 124). He had a son called Nāfi', who was himself an Abbasid military commander, but apart from this nothing is recorded of his life. He had three sons, and a daughter whose name is unrecorded (C. 371).

The first son of Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was 'Āmir, who was a military commander and who seems to have been the head of the family in al-Qayrawān. He joined the insurrection of Manṣūr al-Ṭunbudhī, probably from the beginning, and in the later stages of the insurrection 'Āmir began to quarrel with Manṣūr because the latter constantly threatened 'Āmir and insulted him.² The relations between the two caused a split in the rebels' ranks which led to fighting between them and the execution of Manṣūr al-Ṭunbudhī and his brother Ḥamdūn in A.H.211. The death of the overall leader and architect of the insurrection was a relief to the Aghlabids and the remains of the insurrection were insignificant to the amīr to the extent that he was able to despatch an army to Sicily in the following year. Hence the conflict between 'Āmir b. Nāfi' and Manṣūr proved disastrous to the cause of the rebels. The execution of Manṣūr al-Ṭunbudhī antagonised the third leader, 'Abd al-Salām b. al-Mufarrij al-Yashkurī, who never forgave

¹ Ibid.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 101.

'Āmir his deed.¹

'Āmir believed that if he could secure the leadership of the rebels he would be able to gain a decisive victory over the Aghlabids, but this victory never materialized, and 'Āmir b. Nāfi' died in A.H. 214 (some say 213); while he was on the death-bed he asked his sons and the rest of his family to join the Aghlabid amīr and seek his protection and pardon. He thought that the best policy to ensure the safety of his family and children was to send them to Ziyādat Allāh, the Aghlabid amīr.²

The second son of 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was Hāshim (C. 360). He was an assistant to his brother 'Āmir and was the latter's wālī over Bājah.

The third son of Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was Manṣūr. Nothing is recorded of his career. Manṣūr had a son called l-Ḥasan who was a poet and a man of letters. Ibn al-Abbār al-Quḍa'ī wrote a brief biography of him in his Hullah.³ However, his dates are unknown.

The fourth child of Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was a daughter whose name is not recorded. She was an active supporter of her brother 'Āmir b. Nāfi', and in an exchange of insults between her brother's camp and that of Ziyādat Allāh I, she is quoted as having said in anticipation of her brother's victory (which never took place), that she wanted her beans cooked by Marājil (B. 50), the mother of the Aghlabid amīr. She may have been trying to remind people of Marājil's humble origin as a slave girl.⁴

¹ Ibn 'Ithārī, vol. 1, p. 102.

² Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 215.

³ Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 187.

⁴ 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Shahīrāt al-Tūnisīyyāt, p. 23; Ibn al-Raḥīq, p. 212.

The fourth generation of the family is represented by the three sons of 'Āmir b. Nāfi', Ḥamdīs (C. 369), Abū al-'Arab (C. 845), and Abū al-Faḍl (C. 846). Ḥamdīs was the wālī of Jerbah on behalf of his father; he was the man who executed Manṣūr b. Naṣr al-Ṭunbudhī and his brother Ḥamdūn on the order of his father 'Āmir.¹

Abū al-Faḍl, the second son of 'Āmir, is known only through the poetry of his cousin al-Ḥasan b. Manṣūr b. Nāfi', who was also a member of this generation.

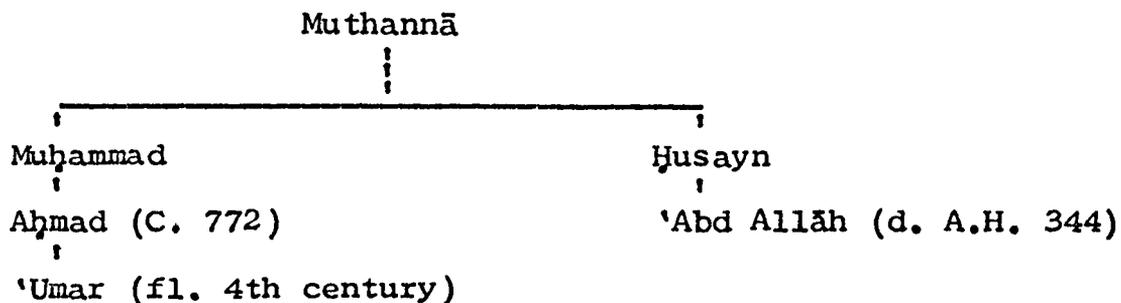
The third son of 'Āmir b. Nāfi' was called Abū al-'Arab; again he is known only through the mention of the name in the poem of al-Ḥasan b. Manṣūr (C. 844).

The family of 'Āmir b. Nāfi' apparently continued to play a leading role in the life of al-Qayrawān, despite the silence of the chronicles. In the time of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad and during the insurrection of the mawālī an unnamed (C. 661) member of the family who was a descendant of 'Āmir b. Nāfi' was asked by the Aghlabid amīr for advice regarding the insurrection. Ibrāhīm took his advice, but before he acted on it he made sure the adviser was kept in custody until the insurrection should be quelled.² This person may have been a son or a grandson of 'Amir b. Nāfi', as he is described as a shaykh (in this case meaning an old, experienced person).

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 102; Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 215.

² Al-'Uyūn wal-Ḥadā'iq, vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 83.

29. Ibn Muthannā or Mathnā (al-Muthannā)



This is an example of a family of obscure origin. It is not clear who Muthannā was or where he came from and the name itself gives no indication. The family was noted for the jurists it produced in the third generation; in the third generation they received their first public office when Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh was appointed Judge of Tripoli.¹ The second generation of the family was represented by two individuals. They were sons of Muthannā. The first son was Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad who is known only through the chain of nisbah of his son Aḥmad and his grandson ‘Umar. Aḥmad was a poet and a jurist. He was one of the companions of ‘Īsā b. Miskīn and his brother Muḥammad b. Miskīn (d. A.H. 297)(A.387).² Aḥmad had a son by the name of ‘Umar but from the biography of the son we can discover parts of the life data of the father, for ‘Umar grew up as an orphan which means his father died prematurely. ‘Umar was fostered by a Qayrawānī jurist called Layth b. Muḥammad (Fl. A.H.295).³ ‘Umar lived in the fourth century. The second son of Muthannā was Ḥusayn, the father of ‘Abd Allāh the Judge of Tripoli. Nothing is recorded of this family after ‘Umar b. Aḥmad who was a scholar and a muwaththiq (notary public).⁴

¹ Roy, vol. 1, p. 252.

² ‘Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol.3-4,p. 229 (B. ed.).

³ Ibid., p. 353.

⁴ Ibid., p. 627.

then he moved to the city itself. Here he (or rather his children) fell out with his neighbours and felt obliged to move. His departure was abrupt, and he went first to a hotel near the great mosque.¹

The biography of 'Abd al-Khāliq and his life is recorded by the biographical authors, despite his having left no written work, because his life was considered an exemplary one in regard to worship and religious duties.

31. Haytham b. Sulaymān b. Ḥamdūn al-Qaysī

Haytham b. Sulaymān b. Ḥamdūn (A. 251)

┌──────────────────────────────────┐
└──────────────────────────────────┘
'Abd Allāh (C. 675)

┌──────────────────────────────────┐
└──────────────────────────────────┘
Muḥammad (C.418)

The history of this family is somewhat obscure. The information given by al-Khushanī does not help to link Haytham to any known family in Ifrīqiyā.² Even with the help of additional information given by the author of al-'Uyūn wal-Ḥadā'iq,³ we still cannot link him with any group of people more precise than Qays. Little can be deduced from the name of his father, Sulaymān b. Muḥammad (Ḥamdūn).

The author of al-'Uyūn wal-Ḥadā'iq throws light on Haytham's political activities (in contrast to the information of al-Khushanī which concerned his judicial career), since he mentions that he was dispatched to Sicily with Qāsim b. Abī al-Munhāl (A. 250) in A.H.281, to settle disturbances that were troubling the province.⁴ Haytham did not want to go because

¹ Abū al-'Arab, p. 143.

² Al-Khushanī, p. 249.

³ Al-'Uyūn wal-Ḥadā'iq, vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 84.

⁴ Ibid.

the weather was very stormy and it was winter, but the amīr insisted. They therefore prepared for the journey with a certain amount of bitterness, which caused Haytham to address his son 'Abd Allāh as follows: "This is the result of knowledge and education; if we were not educated we would not have been in this trap."¹ His fears were justified, as their voyage ended in disaster, the ship carrying Haytham and Qāsim being wrecked and all hands being drowned.

Before this ill-fated voyage, Haytham was the Ḥanafī judge of Tunis, and was noted for his abilities in drafting official deeds. The incident in which Haytham played the part of the representative of the amīr of Ifrīqiyā proves beyond doubt that the Aghlabid establishment depended on Ḥanafī scholars and jurists, not just to run the lawcourts but in running the day-to-day administration of the Aghlabid state.² The Mālikis did not, however, approve this active participation by the 'ulamā' in political administration, but they were not in any case given an opportunity to take a part in administration by the Ḥanfī-Mu'tazilite orientated government.³ Haytham b. Sulaymān composed a book on Adab al-Qāḍī (Etiquette of the Judge). The MS. is preserved in the old library of the great mosque of 'Uqbah b. Nāfi'.⁴

Little is recorded about 'Abd Allāh b. Haytham b. Sulaymān. He seems to have lived with his father who was the Judge of Tunis. His upbringing can be compared with that of

¹ Ibid.

² For examples of the Ḥanafī participation in the running of the Aghlabid imārah, see Asad b. al-Furāt (A. 108), Ibn Qādim (A. 349), and Haytham b. Sulaymān (A. 251); see Al-'Uyūn wal-Hadā'iq, vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 84; al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 186; al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 22; 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 56 (M. ed.).

³ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 285.

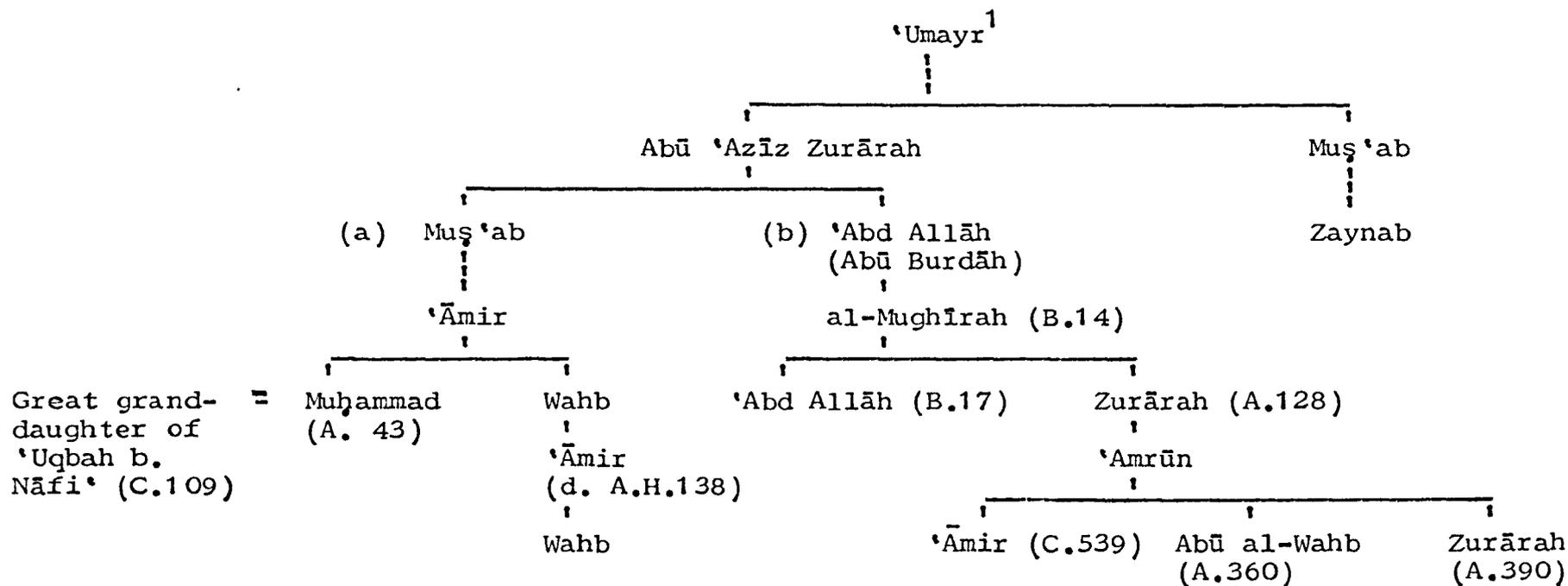
⁴ Al-'Uyūn wal-Hadā'iq, vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 72 (footnotes).

his brother, who was a jurist. Both must have had the same kind of education, even if 'Abd Allāh is not mentioned as a scholar or a jurist in the classes of 'ulamā'. The fate of his father may have caused him to turn from the religious and scholarly professions to something else.¹

The second son of Haytham was Muḥammad, who was a famous jurist of the Ḥanafī school. He died in A.H.307 in the deadly epidemic of that year (not in A.H. 309 as Ibn 'Idhārī states).²

¹ See 'Abd Allāh's father's advice to him in al-'Uyūn wal-Ḥadā'iq, vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 84.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 187; al-Khushanī, p. 249. For the date of the epidemic see above, Chapter III, pp. 78-79.



¹ The paternal lineage of this family is as follows: 'Umayr b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb; see Ibn Ḥazm, p. 126.

Al-Kinānī al-Qurashī

The relationships of this family can only be reconstructed by going back to Abū 'Azīz Zurārah who was a contemporary of the Prophet.

There were three branches of the family, two of which lived in al-Qarawān, and the third in Spain. Like many Qurayshite families this family was split by the rise of Islam into two camps.¹ Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār chose Islam, and was the first teacher and preacher of Islam, after the Prophet, in al-Madīnah. The Meccan, pagan, side of the family was represented by his brother Abū 'Azīd Zurārah b. 'Umayr, who was captured at the battle of Badr. Other than this we know little about Zurārah, except the fact that he was the ancestor of a big family which played an important part in the political, social, and religious life of the Islamic west. As for Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr, the brother of Zurārah, he was killed in the battle of Uḥud and left a daughter called Zaynab.²

Abū 'Azīz Zurārah b. 'Umayr had a very large family according to Ibn Ḥazm.³ One of his sons was Muṣ'ab b. Zurārah, of whom little is known except that he had a son by the name of Wahb and another son by the name of Muḥammad. Wahb was the ancestor of the Spanish branch of the family, and had a son called 'Āmir who was an active supporter of the Abbasid cause in Spain. He was appointed wālī over the province, and made preparations with his son⁴ in Sargossa to seize power from

¹ Ibn Ḥazm, p. 126.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ The son's name was Wahb; see Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 355.

Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fihri. In this he failed and paid for his failure with his life.¹ The other son of 'Āmir, Muḥammad, was one of the leading citizens of al-Qayrawān and played a big part in installing the Fihrids over the province of Ifrīqiyā. After the Abbasid seizure of power, however, their supporters began to agitate in those places which had not pledged loyalty to the new caliphate, and in Ifrīqiyā the event which brought matters to a head was the announcement of his independence from the caliphate by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihri, the self-appointed wāli of Ifrīqiyā. The Abbasid supporters (Muḥammad was one of them), found themselves working against 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and they succeeded after Ilyās and 'Abd al-Wārith, the two brothers of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb al-Fihri, joined their ranks, 'Abd al-Raḥmān being killed in A.H.137 and the link with the Abbasids being restored. This was of course not for long, because Ḥabīb the son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb succeeded in the following year in taking back al-Qayrawān and Ifrīqiyā with it, and this was followed by the execution of those leaders who had helped Ilyās and collaborated with him.² Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Muṣ'ab al-Qurashī was killed in A.H.138. His relationship to Ḥabīb (he was the husband of Ḥabīb's aunt) did not help him.³

It is likely that the executions of Muḥammad and his nephew 'Āmir b. Wahb were because of their loyalty to the Abbasids, and as a result of a certain coordination of action between the two Fihrid states in Ifrīqiyā and al-Andalus; Ḥabīb and Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fihri were both anti-Abbasid

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 2, pp. 37-38; Ibn Ḥazm, p. 127; Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 345-346.

² Ibn al-Raḥīq, p. 139.

³ Ibid.

while the two members of this family involved were pro-Abbasids.

(b) Al-Mughīrah b. Abī Burdah al-Qurashī al-Kinānī

It is clear that Al-Mughīrah Ibn Abī Burdah must have been a member of this family. Ibn Ḥajar gives several versions of the name of al-Mughīrah which help in determining or reconstructing part of his chain of nisbah.¹ His name is given as al-Mughīrah b. Abī Burdah al-Kinānī in most of the biographical works, some of them adding al-'Abdarī (in reference to 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy).² The only part of his nasab we are sure of is the kunyah of his father, which however is not mentioned in the genealogy of the family which is given by Ibn Ḥazm. We therefore do not know whether al-Mughīrah's father was Muṣ'ab b. Zurārah or Zurārah himself. Ibn Ḥajar, although giving five³ versions of the name of al-Mughīrah makes him the son of 'Abd Allāh; assuming this 'Abd Allāh's kunyah to have been Abū Burdah, we still do not know for sure who was the father of Abū Burdah, although the nominal evidence suggests the relationships set out above. The names of the two sons of al-Mughīrah b. Abī Burdah were 'Abd Allāh and Zurārah. This makes the nasab of al-Mughīrah: al-Mughīrah b. Abī Burdah 'Abd Allāh (?) b. Abī 'Azīz Zurārah b. 'Umayr b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār.

Al-Mughīrah b. Abī Burdah al-Kinānī was considered a tābi'i, as he came after the Companions of the Prophet and related ḥadīth from them.⁴ One of his authorities was Abū Hurayrah (d. A.H.59). Al-Mughīrah is first mentioned in Ifrīqiyyā during Mūsā b. Nuṣayr's expeditions in the Maghrib. Al-Mughīrah

¹ Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb, vol. 10, p. 256.

² Abū al-'Arab, p. 89; al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, p. 196.

³ Ibn Ḥajar, loc. cit.

⁴ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, pp. 196-197; Ibn Sa'd, vol. 5, p. 178.

was one of the commanders of the expedition sent against the Berber tribe of Sanhājah.¹ This, however, contradicts the statement of another biographical author to the effect that al-Mughīrah came to the city of al-Qayrawān to live, and actually settled there and took it as his permanent home.²

In A.H.102 Abū al-'Alā'Yazīd b. Abī Ḥātim was assassinated by his bodyguards after deciding to tattoo his name on their hands.³ The people of Ifrīqiyā decided to appoint al-Mughīrah in the place of the slain wālī. Al-Mughīrah, however, refused at the urging of his son, 'Abd Allāh (B. 17), who pointed out that as the wālī was killed in his presence his acceptance would be evidence of his involvement in the crime.

Before these events, al-Mughīrah was the admiral of the Ifriqiyan navy which undertook a joint operation with the one stationed in Egypt in A.H.98. Their activities were directed against the Byzantine empire.⁴

Apart from the account of the caliph's emissary, who was sent from al-Qayrawān to Baghdād, and who related the reason behind al-Mughīrah's declining the post of wālī, no mention of al-Mughīrah is to be found after the turn of the first century.

The second important individual in this family was 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mughīrah b. Abī Burdah al-Kinānī. 'Abd Allāh was a jurist and an eminent figure in Afrīqiyā. He showed his honesty by remaining silent, when together with nine other

¹ Ibn Qutaybah, vol. 2, pp. 54, 68.

² Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, p. 197.

³ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 48; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam states that the death of the wālī Yazīd was the result of a conspiracy led by 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr who paid for it with his life; see Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, pp. 213-215.

⁴ Ibid., p. 119.

African authorities he was asked by Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik about the legality of the kharāj tax and whether it was collected according to the rules of the sharī'ah.¹ This impressed 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz who, after assuming the caliphate, was quick to appoint him as the Judge of Ifrīqiyyā.²

'Abd Allāh continued to be the judge of the city until the time of Kulthūm b. 'Iyāḍ, A.H.123, when he resigned, probably on account of old age and the new outbreak of the Kharijite troubles, which would have forced him to assume more executive authority, a situation which was in fact faced by his successor (C.75) who was given the post of deputy wālī in addition to the post of judge.³

Neither his date of birth nor his date of death are known to us, but an approximation to his life-span can be worked out from the people and events with which he was connected: e.g., his master in tradition (A. 5) who died in A.H.82, and the appointment of Kulthūm b. 'Iyāḍ in A.H.123, which was when he submitted his resignation. Thus, assuming him to have been at least 20 in A.H.82, we are left with an estimated minimum age of 61 years.⁴

The family not only held the post of Judge of al-Qayrawān for 24 years (from A.H.99) but acquired a considerable amount of wealth which included their ownership of a whole village called al-Mughīriyyīn after the name of the head of the family al-Mughīrah. They also owned a castle which may have been a sort of fortress to control their landed property;

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 82.

² Ibid.

³ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, pp. 54-55; Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 113.

⁴ For more examples of estimating the length of some individuals' life spans by choosing appropriate dates to substitute for the missing dates of birth and death, see List B.

this was called Qaşr Mughīrah after the name of the founding father of the family in al-Qayrawān.¹

'Abd Allāh b. al-Mughīrah b. Abī Burdah may have been the father of the jurist Zurārah b. 'Abd Allāh (A.128). However, the connection between 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mughīrah and Zurārah is not certain, as despite the names and their being contemporaries there is no mention of an actual relationship between the two.²

Zurārah was the father of 'Amrūn b. Zurārah, who was living at the beginning of the third century; his dates are not recorded.³ 'Amrūn had three sons, each of whom wielded considerable power in the Aghlabid state. The first son of 'Amrūn b. Zurārah was 'Āmir (C. 539) who was an Aghlabid minister. He was living in the middle of the third century, and died after an accident.⁴ The second son of 'Amrūn b. Zurārah was Abū al-Wahb (A. 360), who was an Aghlabid official and a military commander. He died in A.H.299.

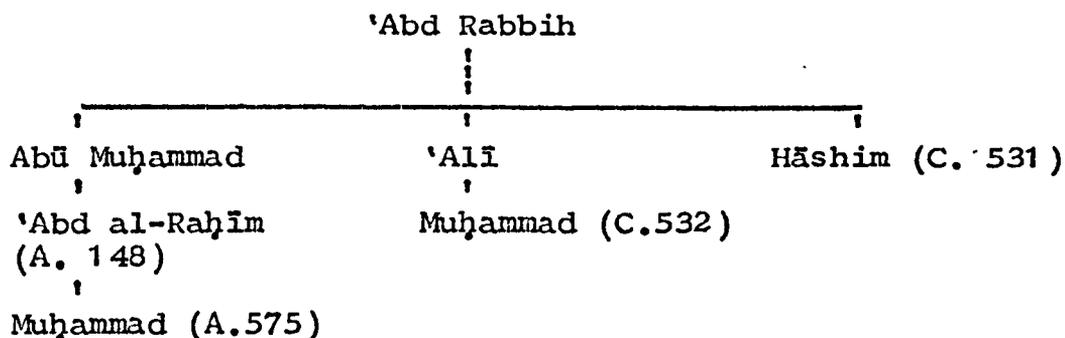
The third son of 'Amrūn was Abū al-Muṣ'ab Zurārah b. 'Amrūn (A. 390), who was an Aghlabid military commander. He participated in the fighting against the advancing Fāṭimids, and was said to have left the city, but it seems he returned to it after the return of normal life to the city. He died in A.H. 303 during the severe plague of the year 303.

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 81.

² Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, pp. 65-66; al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 197.

³ Abū al-'Arab, p. 89; al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, series III, vol. 2, pp. 1971-3

⁴ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 236 (M. ed.).

33. 'Abd Rabbih al-Rab'i

Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Abd Rabbih al-Rab'i was the first member of this family to become eminent, through his project to erect a ribāṭ to provide accommodation for hundreds of people at a time,¹ and with other ribāṭs it was designed to protect the coast and at the same time enable pious persons to devote themselves to religious exercises. His plans for the ribāṭ (Qaṣr Ziyād) were initiated in the same year as the Sicily expedition set out.² He spent twelve thousand dīnārs from his own pocket, and six thousand from those of his brothers.

'Abd al-Raḥīm began as a draper in the drapers' market in al-Qayrawān;³ he seems to have inherited his wealth, as it is difficult to believe that the proceeds of his business were sufficient to fund his ribāṭ project, and to have sufficient to pay for his extensive olive orchards. This suggests that his father 'Abd al-Raḥīm was a rich person, whether or not he made his money as a draper.

'Abd al-Raḥīm had two brothers. 'Alī was probably older than him because Muḥammad, 'Alī's son, is the authority for all the stories about his uncle, and he was his contemporary.

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 2, p. 328, and for Qaṣr Abī al-Ja'd, see ibid., p. 70.

² Ibid., vol. 1, p. 328; Amari, p. 186.

³ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 194 (M. ed.).

There is no mention of 'Alī whatsoever, except that he was the father of Muḥammad (C. 532). The other brother of 'Abd al-Raḥīm was Hāshim, who seems to have worked in the family business. He was noted for his benevolence and piety,¹ but does not seem to have had any special interest in the religious sciences.

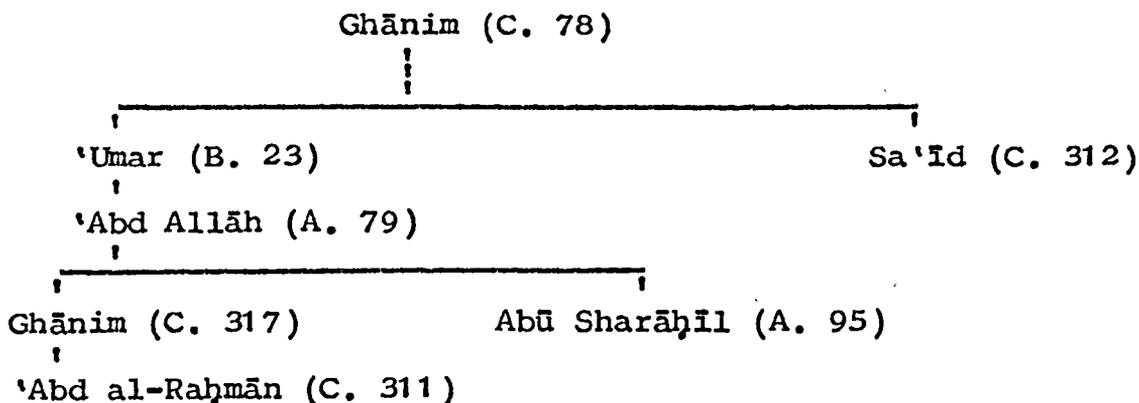
When 'Abd al-Raḥīm died in A.H.246, he gave his books, which he had copied and corrected himself, as an endowment, possibly for a mosque or some other religious foundation.

The statement of al-Mālikī regarding 'Abd al-Raḥīm's unmarried status creates a difficulty, since he rules out the possibility that he ever got married or had any concubine.² This is irreconcilable with statements that he had a son. It is alleged that the son died 99 years after the death of his father.³ This gap is clearly too large, and there must be a discrepancy in the figures or in the relationship with 'Abd al-Raḥīm. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Abd Rabbih was the name of this alleged son. His date of birth has not been recorded, and so we are not likely to know for sure his true relationship to 'Abd al-Raḥīm; if he was born after the death of 'Abd al-Raḥīm, this would mean that he was the son of another member of the family with a similar name, and so would reinforce the claim of al-Mālikī that he had never got married.

¹ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, pp. 193-194 (M. ed.).

² Ibid., p. 197

³ Idem, al-Madārik, vol. 3-4, p. 352 (B. ed.).

34. Ghānim al-Ru'aynī

The tribe of Ru'ayn, one of the first to settle in al-Qayrawān, was of Yamanī origin (a sub-tribe of Ḥimyar). They came to Ifrīqiyā via Egypt, and that is why the sources often label them Egyptian. Despite the numbers of the tribe in al-Qayrawān they did not form an exclusive residential zone in the city, although some large families formed their own lanes.¹ In the east, the constant flow of people from nomadic surroundings into the tribal quarters of cities such as Kūfah and Baṣrah² made up for the loss through assimilation of earlier immigrants into settled, non-tribal society. In North Africa this was not so, as the flow of nomadic Arabs into the city was restricted owing to the distance involved, and those who did come to Ifrīqiyā came mainly as members of armies, and they stuck to their regimental identities. The theory of exclusive tribal quarters in al-Qayrawān is erroneous, since the flow of people to al-Qayrawān from the rural areas brought a continuous stream of non-Arab elements which made the mawālī an important element in the population. This tended to blur tribal differences. The lack of large numbers of nomadic Arab tribes in Ifrīqiyā lessened the importance of the tribe as a social and

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p.120.

² M. Ṭalbī, in E.I., new edition (Leiden, 1977), art. Ḳairawān, p. 828.

economic entity, and caused the emergence of classes.¹

A very large part of the population of al-Qayrawān was of Yamanī origin. This Yamanī bias must have been accentuated by the caliphs' employment of Yamanite wālīs from the turn of the first century to A.H. 184. (In A.H. 116 in the case of 'Ubaydah b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Salamī the people quickly forced the caliph to remove him, and in the case of Kulthūm b. 'Iyāḍ al-Qushayrī (d. A.H.123) he was not given the chance to take up his post.)

The family under discussion is first mentioned by Ibn al-Raḥīq al-Qayrawānī in connection with the Kharijite conflict; Ghānim al-Ru'aynī was one of the heroes of al-Qayrawān. He fought under the Yamanite wālī of Ifrīqiyā, Ḥanzalah b. Ṣafwān al-Kalbī (C. 77).

The second generation of the family is represented by 'Umar and Sa'id, the sons of Ghānim. 'Umar was a soldier like his father, and was one of the leading defenders of the city. He failed to prevent the city from falling into the hands of the Kharijites, and some accuse him of being a party to the initial request for the Kharijites to intervene.²

The second son of Ghānim was Sa'id who was a traditionist and a man of piety. He must have been younger than his brother 'Umar because he is referred to as a contemporary of 'Umar's son, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Ghānim.³

The third generation of the family was neither military nor political, but religious, as represented by the man who was now head of the family, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Ghānim.

¹ See Map No. 2, for al-jund the ṭabaqah (class) which came out of the military migration; and see al-Ya'qūbī, al-Buldān, p. 348.

² Ibn al-Raḥīq, p. 140.

³ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 3, p. 77 (M. ed.).

'Abd Allāh b. Ghānim, unlike Asad b. al-Furāt al-Saḥnūb b. Sa'id, had an alert eye for his own interests, and combined the fiqh of Mālik with that of Abū Ḥanīfah without committing himself to either side. Mālik liked him and offered him the hand of his daughter in marriage if he would agree to live in Madīnah, but 'Abd Allāh refused to stay.¹

'Abd Allāh then went to 'Irāq where he studied Ḥanafī jurisprudence and made many friends at the Abbasid court, especially Abū Yūsuf the famous Abbasid qādī, who later was to recommend 'Abd Allāh for the post of Judge of Ifrīqiyā. This appointment by the caliph proved to be rather of a political nature than a judicial one. Even with strong wālīs such as Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī and Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, 'Abd Allāh managed to preserve his independence in his post with some help from the caliph, who was happy to see a source of opposition to the wālī in the person of the judge.² After the death of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Ghānim the family returned to obscurity.

The fourth generation of the family is represented by Abū 'Amr Ghānim. Abū Sharāḥīl b. 'Abd Allāh was a jurist; Abū 'Amr's profession is not known.

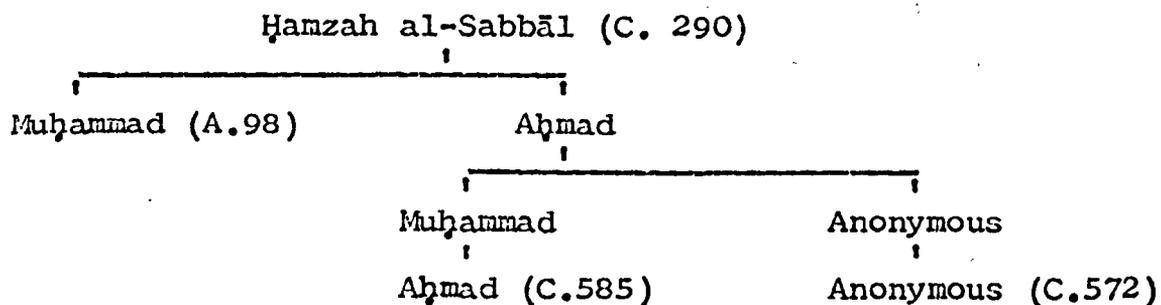
The fifth generation of the family is represented by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī 'Amr Ghānim, who was a poet. From his poetry we can derive some information about his grandfather and about the state of the family itself, since it is devoted to celebrating the praises of his kinsfolk.

The family continued living in the city well into the fourth century, according to Ibn al-Jazzār, who mentions that at that date the members of this family still suffered from a speech defect which was hereditary in the family.³

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 144.

² The Caliph al-Rashīd used to correspond with 'Abd Allāh b. Ghānim and thereby placed him outside the jurisdiction of the wālī; al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, p. 301.

³ Ibid., p. 67.

35. Ḥamzah al-Sabbāl al-Ḥarūn (al-Rāzī)

This was another family of al-jund. The founder of this family in al-Qayrawān was Ḥamzah al-Sabbāl, who was known by the nabaz al-Ḥarūn. Ḥamzah distinguished himself in the service of Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab and remained at his side during the struggle that followed Ibrāhīm's appointment to the post of wālī of Ifrīqiyā. He was dispatched by Ibrāhīm to escort the leaders of the mutinous jund (army) of Ifrīqiyā, who constituted a disruptive factor in opposition to Ibrāhīm (as to most of the wālīs before him), on their way to their exile in Baghdad where they were imprisoned for a time.¹

The tribal origin and the place of origin of Ḥamzah is not mentioned in the sources. However, al-Nuwayrī in referring to Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah (A. 98) calls him in one case al-Rāzī (i.e., of al-Rayy).² That this is accurate is supported by the fact that he is known to have been a Khurasanid officer from the Khurasanid army. This fact coupled with the absolute silence on the part of the chroniclers regarding his origins may simply mean that he was a Persian. Nothing is recorded of Ḥamzah after the early years of the Aghlabid state. He may have died before the end of the second century, because his son Muḥammad, who was a leading Aghlabid general, by that

¹ Ibn al-Raḡīq, p. 225; he was the wālī of Ṭabnah for Ibrāhīm. See Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 107.

² Al-Nuwayrī, pt. 2 (vol. 22), p. 70.

time may have been installed in his place. Muḥammad, the first son of Ḥamzah, was given the command of the Aghlabid army which was fighting the rebellion of Manṣūr al-Tunbudhī. He led a contingent of five hundred men in A.H.208, in an attempt to subdue the rebellion in Tunis, but he failed. He joined the fighting against the advancing army of Manṣūr al-Tunbudhī for the second time in A.H.210. Near the town of Sabibah southwest of al-Qayrawān the two armies clashed in a battle which left Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah dead.¹ Nothing is recorded of the descendants of Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah. However, another branch of the family continued to flourish under Aghlabid rule. They were the descendants of Aḥmad b. Ḥamzah, the brother of Muḥammad.

The family seems to have continued to enjoy a high status at the Aghlabid court, and the death of Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah does not seem to have dealt a serious blow to the family's prestige, despite the silence which surrounds the family in the third generation.² The third generation is represented by the two sons of Aḥmad b. Ḥamzah, Muḥammad and another whose name is not recorded. The careers of Muḥammad and his brother are not known to us, but they must have had an important status in al-Qayrawān. The evidence of this is in the appointment of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad to the post of chamberlain to Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad, with wide powers.³ The other (unnamed) son of Aḥmad b. Ḥamzah had a son (whose name is also unrecorded) appointed wālī of al-Qayrawān. These two appointments give us an idea of the status of the family in the third century.

¹ Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 186.

² Ibid., p. 108.

³ Ibid., p. 187.

36. Al-Şadafī

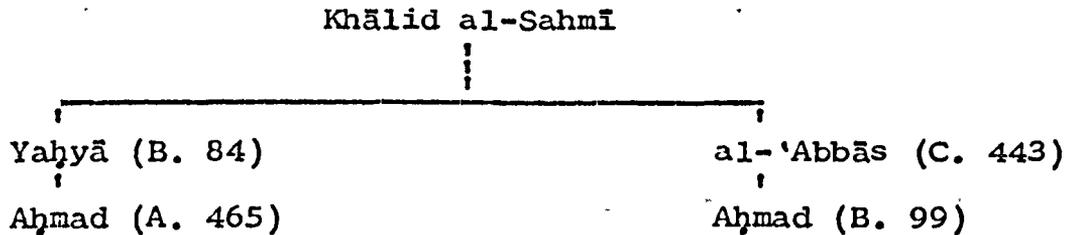
Maslamah al-Aqṭa'
 ↓
 Ḥumūd (fl. A.H. 78?)
 ↓
 'Abd al-Raḥmān (?)
 ↓
 Ḥumūd (C. 361)
 ↓
 Jabalah (A. 353)

The great-great-grandfather of Jabalah was a mawlā of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and his conversion to Islam was at the hands of the third caliph himself. We have no indication of the origin of Maslamah. Ḥumūd, the son of Maslamah, was probably the one who came to al-Qayrawān as a soldier with the army of Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān in A.H.74. Nothing more is recorded of Ḥumūd or his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān. The first three names are known to us only through the family chain of nasab of a very wealthy and influential figure in al-Qayrawān, i.e, Ḥumūd al-Şadafī, who seems to have made a fortune for himself by means which were described by his own son Jabalah (A. 353) as questionable. Jabalah b. Ḥumūd was a very pious and dedicated jurist; he opposed the Aghlabids, and was not on good terms with his father who was an Aghlabid official. He accused his father of misusing his authority.¹ Jabalah was a very severe critic of the Fāṭimids, and he continued to speak against them until his death in A.H.299. With the death of Jabalah all trace of the family is lost.² The nisbah Şadafī refers to a village near al-Qayrawān.³

¹ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 372 (M. ed.); the madhhab of the father Ḥumūd was different from that of Jabalah, and when Ḥumūd died, his son Jabalah refused to accept the inheritance from a fortune estimated to be more than 800 mithqāls.

² Al-Mālikī, vol. 2, p. 16; al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 72.

³ For the village of Şadaf see Map no. 3 (inset).

37. Khālīd al-Sahmī

Khālīd al-Sahmī is the first member of this family to be mentioned, and he may reasonably be considered as representing the first generation of the family in al-Qayrawān. It is, moreover, likely that Khālīd al-Sahmī was a citizen of al-Qayrawān because his two known sons are not mentioned in connection with al-Qayrawān as being outsiders, and his having two sons in the city suggests that the family was established in the place. Nothing more is known of Khālīd al-Sahmī beyond the fact that his name indicates his relationship to the Banū Sahm, a sub-division of Quraysh.¹

Khālīd al-Sahmī had two sons, Abū Ḥātim Yaḥyā and al-'Abbās (C. 443). Abū Ḥātim Yaḥyā (B. 84) was one of the Mālīkī jurists of al-Qayrawān. He travelled to Egypt and studied under its 'ulamā''. He is not described as an outstanding figure in jurisprudence, but he was appointed to the post of Judge of al-Zāb² by Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd (A. 140). Saḥnūn may have taken into account Yaḥyā's piety and integrity, which made up for any shortcomings in jurisprudence. Aḥmad was bitten by a snake in al-Zāb while he was judge there and died as a result. The precise date of his death is unrecorded, but it must have been within the period A.H.234-240 (the dates of office of Saḥnūn) because he was appointed judge by Saḥnūn (hence he was appointed after A.H.234) and it was normal for judges to cease to hold

¹ Abū al-'Arab, p. 206; 'Iyāḍ, Tarājim, p. 397.

² Abū al-'Arab, p. 207.

office after the death or dismissal of the person who appointed them. Yaḥyā had a son Aḥmad who was to become later a prominent Mālikī jurist and traditionist. He was born around A.H.220 and lived into his nineties, dying in A.H.310.

The second son of Khālid al-Sahmī was al-'Abbās. He later related ḥadīth to his brother Yaḥyā. Nothing more is known about al-'Abbās (his date of birth and date of death are both unknown) except that he had a son called Aḥmad who was a traditionist and who related traditions to his uncle Yaḥyā b. Khālid.¹

38. Mu'āwiyah al-Ṣamādiḥī

'Awn
 ↓
 al-Faḍl (Aḥmad) (C. 327)
 ↓
 Mu'āwiyah (A. 83)
 ↓
 Mūsā (A. 120)
 ↓
 Ja'far
 ↓
 Aḥmad (A. 472)

The lineage of this family has been confused through contradictory accounts of the relationship to Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. First the biographers are not sure whether the ancestor of the family was 'Abd Allāh or 'Awn, both sons of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib.² Furthermore, the origin of the family is not certain because of the nature of the family settlement in al-Qayrawān.

Ṣamādiḥ, so the tradition goes, a runaway slave of

¹ Abū al-'Arab, pp. 206-207.

² Ibn Ḥazm, p. 68; 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 93 (M. ed.). 'Iyāḍ makes him a mawlā of the family of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib; al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 51, makes him a descendant of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib.

Mu'āwiyah b. 'Awn b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, came to al-Qayrawān with his master's slave-girl (concubine). The slave-girl had kept back some money from her master Mu'āwiyah but she denied possessing the money. This incident made him send her away to Ifrīqiyyā. However, on her arrival in al-Qayrawān she gave birth to his child (a boy). She then married Ṣamādiḥ, and so the boy was called 'Awn b. Ṣamādiḥ, and his descendants inherited the nisbah al-Ṣamādiḥī.¹ Whether Ṣamādiḥ was his father or his stepfather is not clear. None of the authorities commit themselves on the question of whether he was a Qurayshite, and his name never contained the element Quraysh as a nisbah, despite the persistence in bringing up the alleged link with Quraysh.

Mu'āwiyah b. al-Faḍl (or Aḥmad) b. 'Awn b. Mu'āwiyah was suspected of being a Safarid Kharijite² a fact which does not support his relationship to Quraysh, since Safarid doctrine was against authority or status acquired through being the descendant of a particular Arab family.

Mu'āwiyah (b. Aḥmad) al-Ṣamādiḥī went to study tradition in the east; he transmitted ḥadīths which he related to many eastern jurists and traditionists, such as Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161). He transmitted ḥadīths in al-Qayrawān and one of his students was Saḥnūn b. Sa'id al-Tunūkhī (A. 140). Mu'āwiyah died in A.H. 199.

Mu'āwiyah had one son, Mūsā, who was one of Al-Qayrawān's outstanding jurists. He was born in A.H.160 and

¹ 'Iyād, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 93 (M. ed.).

² Abū al-'Arab, p. 161. Abū al-'Arab is typical of the biographical authors in trying to play down pieces of information which he either did not like or thinks the reader would resent, and so while passing on the information that Mu'āwiyah inclined to the Safarid doctrine, he adds, "but probably this is not correct concerning him."

resemblances between names which were common at the time.¹ Despite the paucity of data regarding the relationships in this family, and the loss of many important parts of the pedigree, it is possible to reconstruct and link up three generations of the family using a combination of nominal and chronological evidence.

The only source of our knowledge of this family is the tombstones of its members, which throw light on their death and also on their lives. The first member of the family was Masrūr (A.202), who was given the nisbah al-Şawwāfi, which indicates his connection with either the market of al-Şawwāfin (wool-dealers) or his residence in the quarter which was occupied mainly by the wool-dealers. A third possibility is that he was a member of a big family that was engaged in dealing with wool. His connection with this profession is strongly suggested by the recurrence of the name in the second generation in a form which leaves little room for doubt that the family's profession was indeed dealing in wool.

The second known member of the family was Qāsim (A.292), whose nisbah is the same as his father's and who was the first son of Masrūr. The father's nisbah was as above, al-Şawwāfi with a yā'; the second son of Masrūr al-Şawwāfi was given the nisbah al-Şawwāf, i.e., the wool-dealer, referring directly to his profession.² Muḥammad, the second son of Masrūr has his ancestors traced further back (on his tombstone) than that of his father and brother, but unfortunately one of the names is illegible.

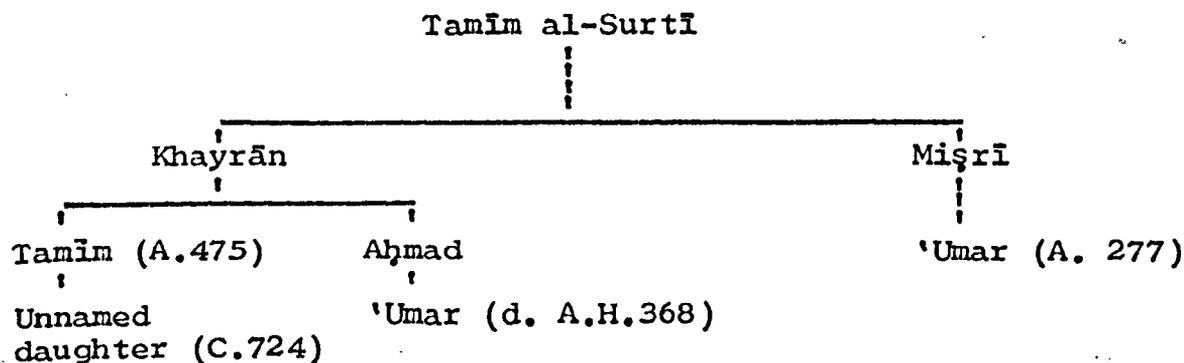
Masrūr was buried in the cemetery of Bāb Salm and so

¹ Ibid., pp. 157-158.

² Ibid., p. 210.

was his son Qāsīm, but Muḥammad (A. 435), the second son of Masrūr, was buried in the cemetery of Bāb Nāfi', where Saḥnūn the Mālikī imām was buried with most of his disciples and where there are no recorded non-Mālikī burials at all. This may indicate a reaction against the Shi'ī use of the cemetery of Bāb Salm, i.e., Muḥammad did not want to be buried near them. Nevertheless, this was exceptional since members of the one family were usually buried in the same ground.¹

40. Tamīm al-Surtī



The reconstruction of this family pedigree is fraught with a number of difficulties, but it would appear to be as given above.

Tamīm al-Surtī was apparently the first member of the family to settle in al-Qayrawān; this is reasonably clear from his nisbah referring to the town of Surt, for he was known as al-Surtī in al-Qayrawān, but not in Surt. Otherwise he is only known as the father of Khayrān and Miṣrī, who are themselves only known as the fathers of their sons. The eldest son of Tamīm was Miṣrī.² The name Miṣrī is a very unusual name and

¹ The burial of Muḥammad b. Masrūr in a Mālikī cemetery may be taken as evidence for the madhhab of the family, which in this case would be Mālikī.

² Roy, vol. 1, p. 152.

B. Roy notes this as an uncertain reading of the monumental inscription in which it occurs; it is moreover an unlikely name for a person in al-Qayrawān in the third century. The name Miṣrī is given with the name of his son on the latter's tombstone as follows: 'Umar b. Miṣrī b. Tamīm al-Surrī.

B. Roy believes that al-Surrī means al-Sūrī, i.e., Syrian, but this is impossible: the relevant adjective at that time was al-Shāmī and al-Qayrawān in any case did not contain many people from that part of the Muslim empire. In fact this word is al-Surtī (السرى not السرتى); it should be remembered that a tā', thā', bā', or nūn followed by yā' in the early Kufic script is hard to distinguish (see above, Chapter VI, annexe, fig. 24a). Tamīm al-Surrī should therefore be Tamīm al-Surtī.

Miṣrī had one son, 'Umar. He is listed by Roy and Poinssot¹ under epitaph no. 73. The denunciation of the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'ān at the end of the inscription does not necessarily mean that he was a religious leader or important jurist, but may simply mean that he was of a leading family in the struggle between the Mu'tazilī school and the Sunnī school. Only three years earlier a Mu'tazilī amīr had been installed in al-Qayrawān.² As will be noticed later, the epitaph of another member of the family repeats the denunciation of the doctrine of the uncreatedness of the Qur'ān ('Umar b. Aḥmad: Roy, epitaph no. 152).

The other son of Tamīm al-Surtī was Khayrān (given, however, by 'Iyāḍ as Ḥamdān). Khayrān is known to us as the father of Tamīm and Aḥmad. Tamīm b. Khayrān b. Tamīm was a muwaththiq (notary public) and jurist. His interests included

¹ Roy, vol. 1, p. 152.

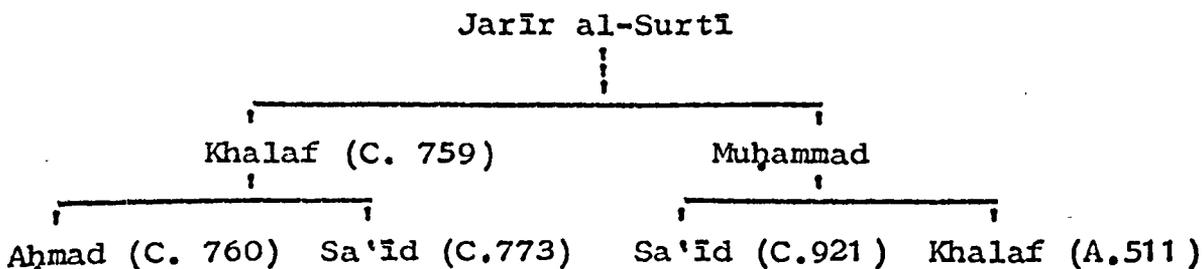
² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 133; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, vol. 3, p. 36.

traditions regarding the history of the province of Ifrīqiyā, one of which was an interesting account of the relations between Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab and his judge 'Abd Allāh b. Ghānim al-Ru'aynī.¹ The life span of Tamīm b. Khayrān extended through most of the latter half of the third century and the first half of the fourth, and he died in A.H. 343.

Abū Muḥammad Tamīm b. Khayrān had a daughter whose name has not been preserved. She is mentioned in connection with the arrangements for her marriage.²

The second son of Khayrān b. Tamīm was Aḥmad, who had a son called Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar (the latter died in A.H.368). The text of his tombstone has been published by B. Roy and P. Poinssot (epitaph no. 152).³

41. Jarīr al-Surtī



The first member of the family mentioned in the biographical literature is Khalaf b. Jarīr, one of the two sons of Jarīr al-Surtī, who is himself not otherwise known. Khalaf was a scholar, and was a contemporary of A.325, who died in A.H.295. Another Khalaf b. Jarīr was recorded, but his being a contemporary to 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb (d. A.H. 197) makes it clear that he was a different person (he was apparently no

¹ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, p. 301.

² Al-Mālikī, vol. 2, p. 73.

³ Roy, vol. 1, p. 270.

relation).

Khalaf b. Jarīr al-Surtī had two sons, Aḥmad and Sa'īd. Their ages are not recorded and so they are here arranged alphabetically, beginning with Aḥmad who was mentioned by al-Rushāfi¹ as a jurist. His floruit is given as that of the date of his father because little is known of the details of his life.

The other son of Khalaf b. Jarīr was Sa'īd, who was a traditionist. He is mentioned by Ibn al-Faraḍī in connection with his visit to Spain.²

The other son of Jarīr al-Surtī was Muḥammad, of whom nothing is recorded except his being the father of two members of the family, Sa'īd and Khalaf b. Muḥammad. This Sa'īd was a traditionist and had related hadīth to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qaṣrī (A.518) who died in A.H.322. Khalaf (b. Muḥammad) b. Jarīr al-Surtī al-Yaḥṣubī is the latest recorded member of the family. He was a murābiḥ.³

The nisbah al-Yaḥṣubī does not refer to the origin of the family, i.e., the tribal origin; if it did, we would find it included in the names of earlier generations. It in fact refers to his place of residence in al-Qayrawān (Yaḥṣub was the name of a Quarter there).⁴ The place of origin of the family was Surt,⁵ which lies on the Mediterranean coast in present day Libya. Many families in al-Qayrawān came from this town, probably for reasons of commerce. Surt lies on the commercial routes from the east to Ifrīqiyyā.

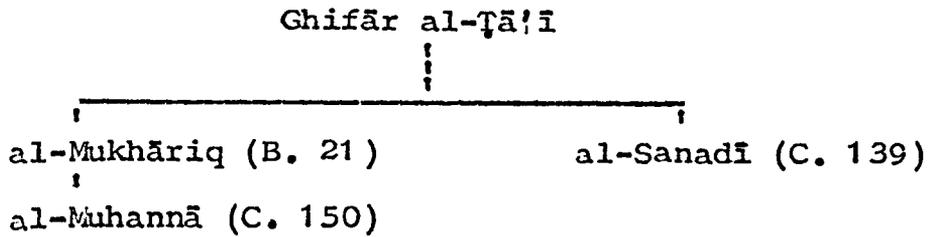
¹ Al-Rashāfi, under the letter sin (M. MS.).

² Ibn al-Faraḍī, vol. 1, p. 152

³ Al-Mālikī, vol. 2, p. 8.

⁴ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 3, p. 310 (M. ed.).

⁵ For Surt see al-Bakrī, pp. 12, 85.

42. Ghifār al-Ṭā'ī

Al-Mukhāriq b. Ghifār al-Ṭā'ī was a leading Abbasid commander and one of the colleagues of Abū Muslim al-Khurasānī, the founder of the Abbasid military machine in Khurasān.¹ Al-Mukhāriq participated in the conquest of Egypt by the Abbasid army, and when Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Khuzā'ī was despatched to Ifrīqiyyā al-Mukhāriq was the third person in the list of generals. He was in line, according to the caliph's instructions, to succeed the wālī and the commander-in-chief, i.e., Ibn al-Ash'ath, in the event of the latter's death, together with the other two generals who were first and second in the list.²

However, the magnitude of the events which followed the dismissal of Ibn al-Ash'ath forced the caliph to change his mind, and despite the removal of Ibn al-Ash'ath and the death of the two superior generals to al-Mukhāriq, he did not get the post of wālī of Ifrīqiyyā, at least not on a permanent basis.³ He acted as a caretaker wālī for several months, and before that he was the deputy of al-Aghlab b. Sālim, and he continued to play a very important role in the fight against the Kharijites. He occupied the post of the wālī's deputy during the term of 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ al-Muhallabi, and he was assisted by his son al-Muhannā (C. 150), who served as a governor

¹ Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 356.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 357; Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 77.

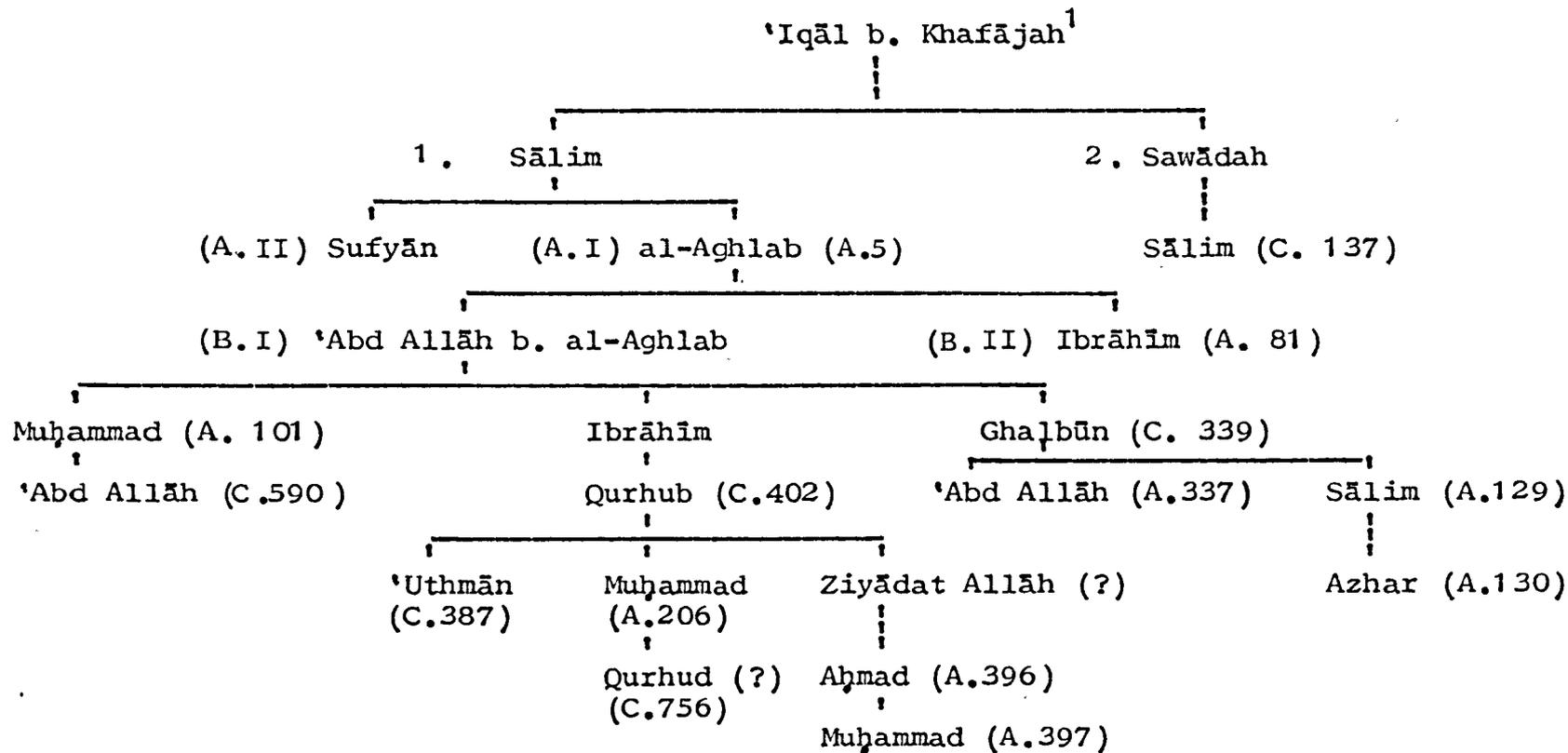
of al-Zāb province during the term of 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ (A.55) and his brother Jamīl (C.142), who succeeded him after he was killed and negotiated the conditions of the surrender which followed eight months of siege by the Kharijites.¹

In A.H.154 a new wālī arrived in al-Qayrawān, who took charge from Jamīl b. Ṣakhr. He was Yazīd b. Ḥātīm al-Muhallabī (A.57). Al-Mukhāriq and his family continued to serve in the Abbasid army under the leadership of the Muhallabid dynasty and he continued to act as wālī of al-Zāb where he faced the rebellious Kutāmah and the remainder of the Fihrid family, who were protected by the impregnable fortresses on the mount of Kutāmah.²

Data regarding the family after the term of Yazīd b. Ḥātīm in office are non-existent. The reason is clearly connected with the Aghlabids' policy towards the jund (the old Abbasid army). Whether the family left the city after the fall of the Muhallabids or not one cannot say.

¹ Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 146.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 79.



¹ The descent of the Aghlabids may be traced back to Tamīm. Their paternal lineage is: Khafājah b. ‘Abbād b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. Ḥirām b. Sa‘d b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm; see Ibn Ḥazm, p. 221.

'Iqāl b. Khafājah

The Aghlabids and the Banū Sufyān b. Sālim were all descendants of Sālim b. 'Iqāl b. Khafājah al-Tamīmī. The father of Sālim was 'Iqāl b. Khafājah, who had another son besides Sālim. He was Sawādah. So far the family was outside Ifrīqiyā. The connection between the family of 'Iqbāl and Ifrīqiyā began in the third generation with the involvement of al-Aghlab in the African army, and his consequent appointment to the post of wālī of Ifrīqiyā. The son of Sawādah b. 'Iqāl was with al-Aghlab in Ifrīqiyā and he led al-Aghlab's army. This was Sālim b. Sawādah (C. 137). After the death of al-Aghlab fighting al-Ḥasan b. Ḥarb al-Kindī in A.H.150, Sālim b. Sawādah continued to fight against the rebels.¹ However, no trace of Sālim's family is to be found in Ifrīqiyā after the return of the Aghlabids in A.H.184 with the appointment of Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab as wālī. Thus the family of 'Iqāl Ibn Khafājah can be divided into two branches:

1. Sālim
2. Sawādah

The family of Sālim was the one which had the greater impact on North Africa with its two sub-branches:

1. Al-Aghlab (A.I)
2. Sufyān (A.II)

(A.I) Al-Aghlab b. Sālim

In the year A.H.144, al-Aghlab b. Sālim al-Tamīmī al-Murwazī came to al-Qayrawān with the army of Ibn al-Ash'ath as his lieutenant. The orders of the caliph were that al-Aghlab should take command if anything happened to Ibn al-Ash'ath. The army under Ibn al-Ash'ath achieved its aim in recovering

¹ Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 72; see also al-Ya'qūbī, Tārīkh al-Ya'qūbī, vol. 2, p. 464.

lost ground, but Ibn al-Ash'ath himself failed to gain the cooperation of his army and he was deposed by leading Khurasanid officers.¹ Al-Aghlab seems to have had no interest in the conflict, and remained in Ifrīqiyā until the caliph asked him to take charge of the country. This he did, but fell into the same difficulty as Ibn al-Ash'ath. Unlike Ibn al-Ash'ath, al-Aghlab determined to crush the rebellious factions in his army, but he failed and was killed in A.H.150.²

Al-Aghlab was a member of the Abbasid underground movement with the title of Dā'ī,³ and he became a high-ranking officer in the army of Abū Muslim al-Khurasānī. He participated in dismantling the Umayyad caliphate in A.H.132. The family of al-Aghlab seemed to have been resident in Merv, from which he took his nisbah al-Murwazī.⁴

The family of al-Aghlab which accompanied him to Ifrīqiyā was big enough to give him effective support when he ran into trouble with his army.⁵ It is not, however, clear whether the bulk of the family of Khafājah b. 'Abbād (his great-grandfather) had come with al-Aghlab, or with his son Ibrāhīm two decades later. The family of al-Aghlab in particular seems to have moved from Khurasān to Egypt from which most of the family came.⁶

The success of Ibrāhīm in gaining the post of wālī of

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 73.

² Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 71; and see for the ruling branch of the Aghlabid dynasty, Zambaur, Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'Islam, vol. 1, p. 63; C.E. Bosworth, Islamic Dynasties (Edinburgh, 1967), pp. 24-25.

³ Farouq Omar, Ṭabī'at al-Da'wat al-'Abbāsiyyah (Beirut, 1970), p. 298 (appendix).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 71-72.

⁶ Ibn al-Raḡīq, pp. 212-213.

Ifriqiyā was the signal for the rest of the family to join him, and among these newcomers were the family of his late brother 'Abd Allāh b. al-Aghlab, who died in Egypt. He seems to have been the elder son of al-Aghlab b. Sālim.

(B.I) 'Abd Allah b. al-Aghlab is known to have had at least three sons, and they all served the Aghlab amirs in various ways. They helped to maintain Aghlabid authority by leading armies against the many factions opposing the new regime. The first of these sons was Muḥammad, who was dispatched by Ziyādat Allāh to Sicily during the first days of his reign, before Muḥammad's death during the insurrection of al-Ṭunbudhī in A.H.210. His son was a leading statesman, who occupied the post of wālī of Tripoli. From there he was transferred to Sicily in A.H.259, and after being dismissed was reappointed there, after which he was appointed wālī of al-Qayrawān. In addition to his political activities he was a poet and man of letters, and a student of jurisprudence and tradition.

The second son of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Aghlab was Ibrāhīm (A. 135), who like his brother held various official posts. He was appointed wālī of Sicily in A.H.221, and consolidated the Aghlabid grip on the island in addition to conquering new parts of it.¹ Before the appointment of Abū al-Aghlab Ibrāhīm, two individuals who appear to have been his son and grandson had ruled the island. The son was Qurhub b. Abī al-Aghlab, who was sacked from his post in Sicily in A.H.217.² The sequence of these incidents is not entirely clear, but up to that time the only member of the Aghlabid family to have both the connection with Sicily and the kunyah Abū al-Aghlab was Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 111.

² Ibid., p. 104.

Allāh. The grandson of Abū al-Aghlab was 'Uthmān.

In addition to 'Uthmān, Qurhub b. Abī al-Aghlab had two sons, Muḥammad and Ziyādat Allāh. Muḥammad was a chamberlain to Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad. He led an army against the Kharijites and was killed in A.H.268.¹ Another Aghlabid chamberlain was Qurhub, whose nasab has not been recorded, but who was clearly a member of the Qurhub b. Abī al-Aghlab family (C. 756). He may have been the son of Muḥammad b. Qurhub who, as mentioned above, was a chamberlain killed in action fighting for the Aghlabids; his descendants would undoubtedly have had a claim to succeed him in his post.

The third son of Qurhub b. Abī al-Aghlab was Ziyādat Allāh b. Qurhub of whom nothing is known except that he was the father of Aḥmad b. Ziyādat Allāh, who was installed as amīr of Sicily by the people of the island. By this means he preserved Sicily from Fāṭimid domination.² He fought the Fāṭimids and defeated them and burnt their ships, and he apparently established a successor Aghlabid state owing allegiance to the caliph of Baghdād.³ This situation was not to continue, because he was eventually abandoned by the people, who sent for 'Ubayd Allāh to come and take the island, which he did. Aḥmad was captured and executed, together with his son Muḥammad, in A.H.304.⁴

The third son of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Aghlab was al-Aghlab (or Ghalbūn) (C.339). He was a military commander for Ziyādat Allāh I, and was dispatched to fight Manṣūr al-Ṭunbudhī. He was however defeated, in A.H.209.⁵ Nothing more is known about

¹ Al-Nuwayrī, vol. 22, pt. 2, p. 84.

² Amarī, pp. 251-253.

³ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 168. The caliph was quick to give his approval of the action taken by Ibn Qurhub: Amarī, p. 252.

⁴ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 174.

⁵ Ibid., p. 100.

Ghalbūn except that he continued to serve the Aghlabid dynasty, probably until his death. His family continued to occupy key positions in the Aghlabid imārah, but they must have been deeply involved in the struggle between Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab and his brother Aḥmad. When Aḥmad lost his fight against Muḥammad, the latter understandably dismissed all those who were loyal to his brother, and the son of Ghalbūn, Sālim, the wālī of al-Zāb was one of them. He was dismissed in A.H.233, but refusing to accept the amīr's decision he marched on al-Qayrawān in an attempt to take it. On the way he changed his destination to al-Arbus, but the inhabitants successfully resisted him. He then marched on Bājah and took it.¹ The amīr, Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab, dispatched one of his leading generals, Khafājah b. Sufyān (A. 167) with a large army to oppose Sālim. The two armies were locked in battle for several days, after which Sālim fled under the cover of night from the battlefield. Khafājah followed him in the morning and was killed. His son Azhar who was in prison was executed on the orders of Ziyādat Allāh in the same year A.H.233.² Nothing more is known about the family of Ghalbūn. These inter-family conflicts did not affect the relations of the rest of the family of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Aghlab with the Aghlabid family.³

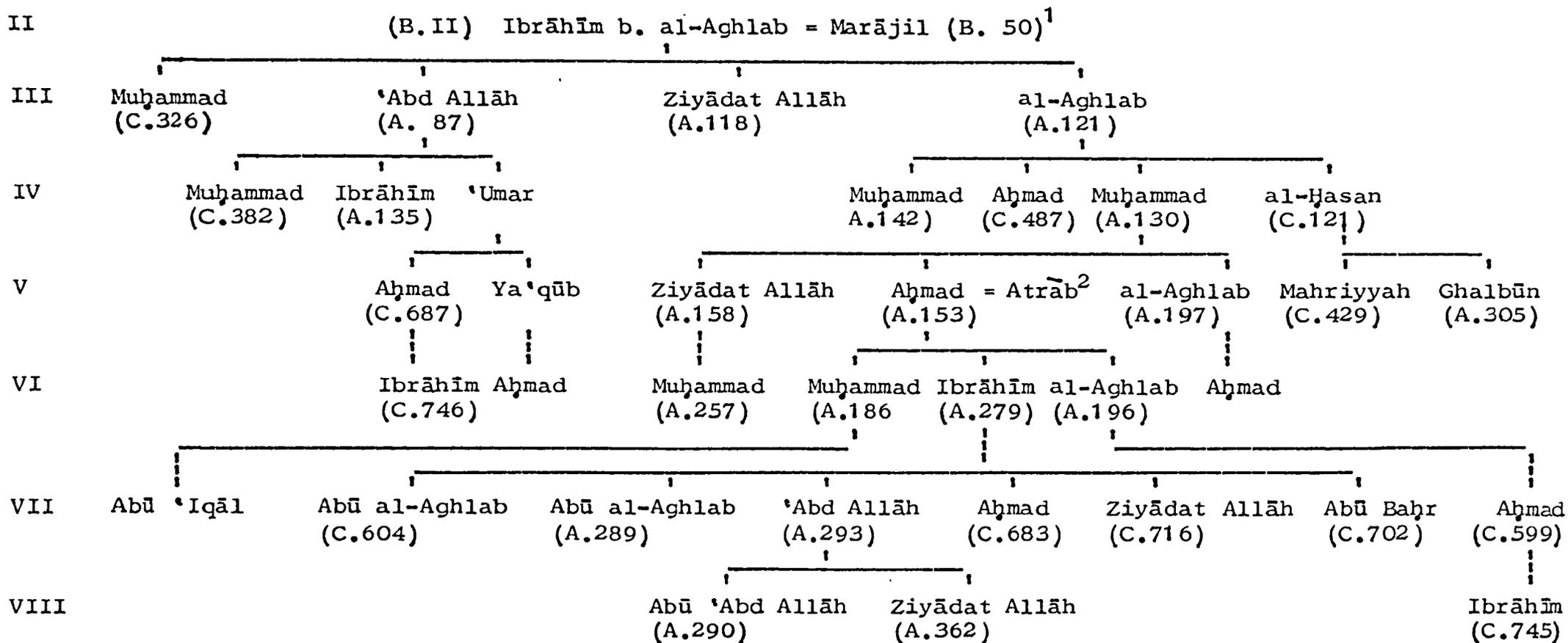
The other son of Ghalbūn was 'Abd Allāh, who is mentioned in connection with the fighting against Manṣūr al-Ṭunbudhī;⁴ nothing further is known about his life or what became of him or his immediate family.

¹ For the town of Bājah, see Map no.3 and see al-Bakrī, p. 56.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 110.

³ Two members, at any rate, continued to hold posts in the Aghlabid administration as governors of Sicily. See Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 181.

⁴ Al-Nuwayrī, vol. 22, pt. 2, p. 70.



¹ Marājil was the mother of Ziyādat Allāh I only.

² Atrāb (B.105) was the wife of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab and the mother of his son Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad. It is not certain if she was the mother of the rest of Aḥmad's sons.

(B.II) Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab b. Sālim al-Tamīmī

(II) The second son of al-Aghlab b. Sālim al-Tamīmī al-Murwazī. He was dispatched from Egypt to take command of the Abbasid army in al-Zāb at about the same time as al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ was appointed wālī of Ifrīqiyā (A.H.176). He kept out of the hostilities between al-Faḍl and his rebellious army. In A.H.184 the Abbasid army and the Tunis garrison decided, with the support of the people of al-Qayrawān, that they could no longer tolerate al-'Akkī. The army advanced on al-Qayrawān and seized it after some fighting, and al-'Akkī was deposed, being exiled to Tripoli. Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Aghlab seized this opportunity to curry favour with the caliph by restoring the wālī to his post. In the end, however, the caliph found it impossible to keep Ibn al-'Akkī as a wālī, because the people and their leaders resented him. He was replaced by Ibrāhīm in Jumādā II, A.H.184. Ibrāhīm was the second individual from this family to govern Ifrīqiyā (the first being his father), and the first amīr in the new dynasty which was to dominate Ifrīqiyā for more than a century.

(III) Ibrāhīm had four sons. The fourth, Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm is something of a mystery, because his activities are connected solely with the east. He was one of the Caliph al-Mahdī's commanders, and his remaining in the east may have been due to his high rank in the Abbasid army.¹

(III) The second son of Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab was 'Abd Allāh who was the governor of Tripoli when his father died in A.H.196. He was then proclaimed amīr. His financial policies proved disastrous for the peasants.² He died in A.H.201 after a

¹ Al-Ṭabarī, Tārikh, series III, vol. 2, p. 911. He calls him Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab al-Ifrīqī.

² Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 238; Julien, p. 47; Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 96.

brief illness.

'Abd Allāh had three sons, Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm, and 'Umar. (IV) Abū Fihr Muḥammad was taken by his uncle al-Aghlab to the east, together with his brother Ibrāhīm, to avoid any retaliatory measures on the part of their uncle (a half brother of their father), Ziyādat Allāh, who was not on good terms with their late father.¹ Al-Aghlab, a full brother of the late amīr, gave the Pilgrimage as the excuse for his journey to the east. This occurred at the beginning of the third century, and the next time we hear of the two brothers is when Abū Fihr was despatched by his uncle Ziyādat Allāh to fight the rebels in Tunis in A.H.218, and of his expedition to Sicily in the previous year.

(IV) Abū al-Aghlab Ibrāhīm was appointed governor of Sicily and almost completed the conquest of the island. He remained amīr of the island until he died, i.e., from A.H.221 to A.H.236. His son, Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm (C. 485), was a scholar and a man of letters who was versed in astrology.²

(IV) The third son of 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm was 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh, of whom we know nothing except that he had a son, Aḥmad. (V) Aḥmad was known by the laqab Habashī. He was amīr of Sicily from about A.H.261 and was later dismissed, to be reinstated in A.H.274.³ He was captured by the Byzantines in A.H.286, but the date of his death is not known. The greatest achievement attributed to him was the conquest of Malta in A.H.255, during the rule of Abū al-Gharāniq Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (A. 186).⁴ Aḥmad had a son called Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 97.

² Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 379-380.

³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, vol. 3, p. 117.

⁴ Amarī, p. 471; Ibn Khaldūn, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 430.

(C. 746), who like his father was a military commander. He was involved in the fighting against the Fāṭimids in A.H.294, when he led an army against them.¹

(III) The third son of Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab was Abū Muḥammad Ziyādat Allāh, who was born in A.H.172 and assumed power in A.H.201. His mother was a slave girl formerly owned by the famous Egyptian jurist and scholar al-Layth b. Sa'd, who presented her to the father of Ziyādat Allāh, Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab.² Her name was Marājil. She lived well into the second decade of her son's rule, but the exact date of her death is not recorded. Ziyādat Allāh died in A.H.223/A.D.838 (A.118). Nothing is known about Ziyādat Allāh's immediate family, or indeed whether he had children at all, since most of the offices of state were filled by his nephews.

(III) The fourth son of Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab was Abū 'Iqāl al-Aghlab (A. 121) who had the laqab of Khazar. From his offspring descend all the Aghlabid amīrs after him, although he was the youngest of his brothers to rule Ifriqiyā. Al-Aghlab was born in A.H.173 (and therefore clearly one year Ziyādat Allāh's junior). The age gap between him and his full brother 'Abd Allāh is not known; it cannot, however, have been very great. He ruled the country for three years and died in A.H.226. He was succeeded by his son Muḥammad, although real power was wielded by his second son Aḥmad. In addition to these two he had another son Muḥammad, with the kunyah Abū 'Abd Allāh,³ and a fourth son al-Ḥasan (C. 121).

(IV) The first son of al-Aghlab b. Ibrāhīm was Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad (A. 142), who was his heir. Muḥammad's rule

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 143.

² Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 212; al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 45.

³ Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 169; Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 112.

began in A.H.226, but he was amīr in name only as real power was in the hands of his brother Aḥmad and the latter's party.¹ Aḥmad circumscribed the authority of Muḥammad's appointees and eventually he succeeded in having some of them executed (see A.123, A.126). He also tried to force the people to accept Mu'tazilism, and so many jurists and scholars were forced to flee. In A.H.232² Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab and his party succeeded in overthrowing Aḥmad and his supporters, and he was sent to exile in Baghdād. Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab then ruled until his death in A.H.242/A.D.956. He was only thirty-six years old when he died. He did not have any children of his own, and the chroniclers state that he was unable to have any.³ He was succeeded by Aḥmad b. Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad (the latter being the brother of Abū 'Abbās Muḥammad) in A.H.242.

(IV) The second son of al-Aghlab was Aḥmad (C. 487) who was mentioned above in connection with his brother Muḥammad. As stated, he was exiled to the east, where he settled in Egypt with his family and children. He died in Egypt⁴ but the date of his death is unknown.

(IV) The third son of al-Aghlab b. Ibrāhīm was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad (A. 130) who was the wālī of Tripoli during the reign of his brother Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad, and he died in the life-time of his brother Muḥammad in A.H.233.⁵ The cause of his death is uncertain; it may have been natural causes or from involvement in the inter-family fighting, the date of which corresponds with the date of his death, i.e., A.H.233.

¹ Al-Nuwayrī, vol. 22, pt. 2, p. 78.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 109.

³ Ibid., p. 106.

⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, vol. 3, p. 22.

⁵ Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 169.

(V) Muḥammad left three sons, Aḥmad, Ziyādat Allāh, and al-Aghlab. Aḥmad succeeded his childless uncle when he was twenty years of age, in A.H.242. He initiated many architectural projects all over Ifrīqiyā and he was well liked by his people. At the age of twenty-eight he died, and was succeeded by his brother (V) Ziyādat Allāh II (A. 158). Aḥmad b.

Muḥammad had three sons: Abū al-Gharānīq Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (A. 186), Ibrāhīm (A. 279), and al-Aghlab (A.160).

(VI) Abū al-Gharānīq Muḥammad succeeded his uncle Ziyādat Allāh II in A.H.250. His era was prosperous, according to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and it witnessed a surge in the activities of the Aghlabids in the islands of the Mediterranean.¹ Abū al-Gharānīq died in A.H.261 after ruling Ifrīqiyā for ten and a half years.² He was succeeded by his young son (VII) Abū 'Iqāl for a short while, after which Ibrāhīm (A. 279), the brother of Abū al-Gharānīq, under great pressure from the people and despite the vows he had given his late brother not to seize power from his son, took charge of the imārah and was installed as amir by the population with the blessing of the Aghlabid ruling family, with some dissentients.³

The second son of Muḥammad was Ziyādat Allāh II, who succeeded his brother Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. He ruled one year only, from A.H.249-250. He then died and was succeeded by his nephew Abū al-Gharānīq Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. Ziyādat Allāh had one son, Muḥammad, who was a leading scholar and historian. He was wālī of Tripoli before being murdered by Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad following a threat by the caliph that if he, Ibrāhīm, did not behave himself he should hand over power to his cousin Muḥammad

¹ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, vol. 3, p. 26.

² Ibid.

³ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 116; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, vol. 3, p. 115.

b. Ziyādat Allāh (A. 257).¹

(VI) The third son of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab was al-Aghlab (A. 196) who did not agree with his brother's seizure of power, and with other dissidents from the family challenged Ibrāhīm. As a result, al-Aghlab was captured and exiled to Sicily, where he together with his uncle of the same name seized power and stirred up trouble for Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad, which resulted in their re-capture and eventual execution in A.H.265.

(VII) Al-Aghlab had a son called Aḥmad of whom we know nothing, except the fact that he was the father of

(VIII) Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Abī 'Iqāl al-Aghlab b. Aḥmad, who was one of the commanders of Ziyādat Allāh III in his fighting against the Fāṭimids. He was appointed by Ziyādat Allāh over the army in al-Arbus in A.H.294.²

(V) The third son of Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab was al-Aghlab (A.197) who was one of the dissidents against the rule of his nephew Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad and this opposition cost him his life: he was executed following his seizure of the post of wālī of Sicily. He had a son by the name of Aḥmad, but we know nothing about him.³

(IV) Al-Ḥasan b. al-Aghlab (C.121) was the fourth son of al-Aghlab b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab and the least known. He is not mentioned by the chroniclers and most of the data regarding him is connected with his descendants, for he had a daughter and a son. The daughter, (V) Mahriyyah (C. 429) was one of the well-known ladies of the Aghlabid court. She was benevolent and had a mājil bearing her name,⁴ and she had her own mawālī.

¹ Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 180.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 142.

³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, vol. 3, p. 116.

⁴ 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Waraqāt, vol. 1, p.96.

One of them was a famous jurist in al-Qayrawān (A.455).¹

(V) The son was Ghalbūn (al-Aghlab) b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Aghlab (A. 305), a jurist and devotee who preferred to leave Ifrīqiyā for Mecca, where he lived the rest of his life and where he died in A.H. 291 (A. 305).²

(VII) Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab, the longest ruling Aghlabid amīr, apparently had many children from many wives. Their names are mixed in a way which makes the distinguishing of individuals very difficult.

Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad had at least six sons and probably more than sixteen daughters.³ The first son of Ibrāhīm was Abū al-Aghlab, and this is as far as the references can go in regard to his name. Abū al-Aghlab was very eager to succeed his father and he even consulted an astrologer called Ḥamdīs. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad was angry on hearing this, and summoned the astrologer and his son Abū al-Aghlab to him. After asking the astrologer about what was in store for himself he ordered them to be executed.⁴

The second son of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad was 'Abd Allāh, who turned to study and the sciences of religion. 'Abd Allāh was appointed the governor of Sicily for his father. However, Ibrāhīm decided to take charge of the command in Sicily, and from A.H.284 he began an assault on the unconquered part of the island which continued until he died in A.H.289. 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm, meanwhile, was in charge in al-Qayrawān.⁵ He tried

¹ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 353.

² Ibid., vol. 2, p. 214; al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 427.

³ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, vol. 3, p. 30. The truth about the atrocities which were committed by Ibrāhīm II against his own family and against the members of his court cannot be proved in the light of the available references, especially in the instances where no names are named.

⁴ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, vol. 3, p. 32.

⁵ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, pp. 131-132. Ibn 'Idhārī disagrees

to discipline the ruling family including his son Ziyādat Allāh whom he imprisoned. Two servants, in order to gain favour with Ziyādat Allāh III, asked him if he wanted them to kill his father and to get him out of prison. He replied that he did, and they killed his father in A.H.289. The killing of 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm was the beginning of the end of the Aghlabid state. (VIII) Ziyādat Allāh III seized the post of amīr despite the severe opposition from his family and his uncles in particular. It seems they did not forgive his involvement in the murder of his father. Ziyādat Allāh faced the Fāṭimid threat apathetically, realizing he could do nothing effective.¹ He appointed his friends, most of whom were with him in prison when his father was killed. He appointed them to the key positions in the government and the army and accepted their advice regarding his family, which he tried to control by force. He sent his uncles to Jazīrat al-Kurrāth where they were murdered on Saturday, 3 Ramaḍān A.H. 289/A.D.902. He also killed an uncle of his who was a devotee in Sousse. His brother (VIII) Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Aḥwal, the wālī of Ṭabnah, was summoned to the city of al-Qayrawān where he was executed.²

(VII) The third son of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad was Abū al-Aghlab who was a devotee and pious man in Sousse. He was the second son of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad to have this kunyah. His ism is not recorded. The fourth son of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad was (VII) Abū Maṣṣūr Aḥmad who held the post of wālī of Sicily in A.H.283. His date of death is not recorded; he may have been killed

with Ibn al-Khaṭīb on the subject of the date of Ibrāhīm's taking the command of Sicily. Ibn 'Idhārī is probably right when he puts it at A.H.289, instead of the A.H.284 given by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (vol. 2, p. 119).

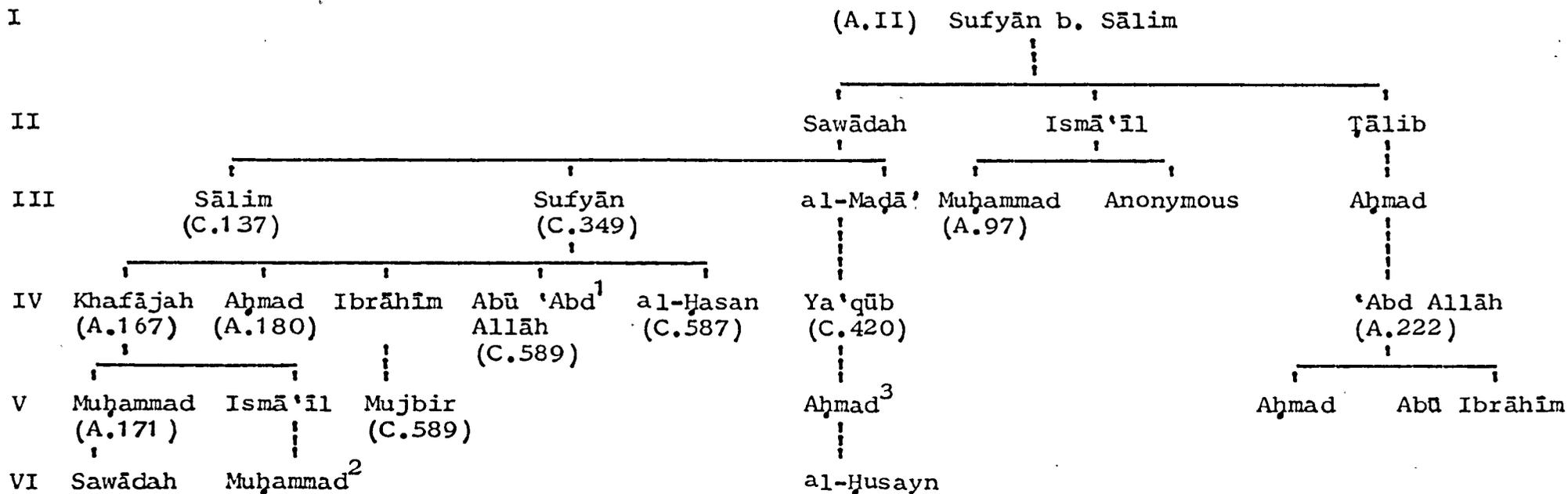
¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 143.

² Ibid., p. 136.

when his nephew Ziyādat Allāh seized the country.

(VII) The fifth son of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad was Ziyādat Allāh who served as a military commander in Sicily during the expedition which was led by his father in A.H.289.

(VII) The sixth son of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad was Abū Baḥr, who was a military commander in his father's army like his other brothers, each of whom had a taste of the military life in Sicily.



¹ Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, vol. 5, p. 341.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 119.

³ Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 364. The life data of Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb (b. al-Maḍā'ī) have been confused with those of another Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb (b. Fizārah); it is therefore possible that Aḥmad (and of course his son al-Ḥusayn) were members of the Fizārah family, and not of this one.

(A.II) Sufyān b. Sālim b. 'Iqāl

(I) Nothing is known of Sufyān, the brother of al-Aghlab b. Sālim al-Tamīmī, except that he was the father of three men who were associated with their Aghlabid kinsmen in founding and securing the new imārah. They were probably part of the seventy or so people, all of whom were warriors, who joined in the expedition of Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab which resulted in his appointment as wālī of Ifrīqiyā, and eventually enabled him to establish a ruling dynasty in Ifrīqiyā. The sons of Sufyān were, Sawādah, Ismā'il and Ṭālib.

(II) The first son of Sufyān was Sawādah, of whose career nothing is recorded. He had three sons who were prominent in the Aghlabid establishment. They were: Sālim, Sufyān, and al-Maḡā'.

(III) The first son of Sawādah was Sālim, who was one of the commanders of Ziyādat Allāh I, and he led an army in the first year of Ziyādat Allāh's rule in A.H.201 against the rebellion of Ziyād b. Sahl.¹ Apart from this, little has been recorded about Sālim b. Sawādah.

The second son of Sawādah was Sufyān, who was a military commander; he was the father of the biggest and the most influential family in Ifrīqiyā apart from the Aghlabids themselves. Sufyān b. Sawādah had five sons: Khafājah, Aḡmad, Ibrāhīm, Abū 'Abd Allāh, and al-Ḥasan. Furthermore, Sufyān b. Sawādah was portrayed by the historians and chroniclers as the protector of the Aghlabid state; without him it might have disintegrated under the pressure of the rebellious army and the angry Arab aristocracy which responded to Ziyādat Allāh's cruelty with a revolt which left Ziyādat Allāh with

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 97.

only a fraction of Ifrīqiyā.¹ In this situation Sufyān was given the command, and in a short time he reversed all the victories of the rebels and restored the authority of the Aghlabids to most parts of Ifrīqiyā.

(IV) The fourth son of Sufyān b. Sawādah was Abū 'Abd Allāh (C.589), who was a military commander for Abū al-Gharānīq Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab. The fifth son of Sufyān b. Sawādah was al-Ḥasan (C. 587), who was the wālī of the town of Wardājah.²

(III) The third son of Sawādah b. Sufyān was al-Maḥā' of whose career nothing is known except that he was the father of (IV) Ya'qūb b. al-Maḥā'; the latter acted as an adviser to the Aghlabid amīrs, probably because of his age and experience. He wielded great power in the Aghlabid state, especially during the rule of Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab³ and his brother Aḥmad. Ya'qūb was asked to arbitrate between the two, which he did. However, he took Muḥammad's side when the conflict was renewed and this ensured the success of Muḥammad in his struggle to retain his authority.⁴

(V) Ya'qūb b. al-Maḥā' had one son, Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb, who seems to have held the post of wālī of Sicily. However, it is difficult to distinguish between him and Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb (b. Fizārah) who is reported to have been wālī of Sicily during roughly the same period. This possibly suggests that the two persons were really one, the nisbah having been confused and later authors having interpreted it to suit the nisbah with which they were dealing. What makes this likely is that both

¹ Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 101.

² Al-Nuwayrī, vol. 22, pt. 2, p. 84.

³ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 284.

⁴ Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 182.

are stated to have had a son by the name of al-Ḥusayn who each became a wālī of Sicily in turn.¹

(II) The second son of Sufyān b. Sālim b. 'Iqāl was Ismā'īl (A. 96) who was a military commander of Ziyādat Allāh I. He fought against the rebellion of al-jund. He was the wālī of Tūnis when the insurrection of al-Ṭunbudhī broke out, and he was killed by the insurgents together with his son

(III) Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl (A.97).²

(IV) The first son of Sufyān b. Sawādah was Khafājah (A.167), who was as important to the Aghlabid state as his father. He supported Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab, the lawful amīr, against his brother Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab, and he succeeded in inflicting a defeat on Aḥmad's army. He was posted to Sicily where he played an important role in completing the conquest of the island, but in the end he was assassinated (A.H.255).³

(V) Khafājah had two sons, Muḥammad and Ismā'īl. Muḥammad b. Khafājah (A. 171) succeeded his father as wālī of Sicily A.H.250. He continued the policies of his father in the island until he was assassinated by his servants A.H.257. The second son of Khafājah b. Sufyān was Ismā'īl, about whose career nothing seems to have been recorded.

(VI) Muḥammad b. Khafājah had a son, who served in his turn as a wālī of Sicily (A.H.271). He was Sawādah b. Muḥammad b. Khafājah (C. 621). Ismā'īl b. Khafājah had a son by the name of Muḥammad (C. 540). He was one of the generals of Abū al-Gharānīq Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab (A. 186).

(IV) The second son of Sufyān b. Sawādah was Aḥmad (A.180). He was the wālī of al-Zāb, and later Tripoli, for many years.⁴

¹ Ibn al-Athīr, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 364.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 99.

³ Ibid., p. 115.

⁴ Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 183.

He, like his brother, Khafājah, was one of the lieutenants of Muḥammad b. al-Aghlab, and he achieved a high reputation through leading the Aghlabid forces in many battles.¹

The third son of Sufyān b. Sawādah was Ibrāhīm, of whose career nothing is recorded. He was the father of an Aghlabid general whose name was Mujbir b. Ibrāhīm.

(V) Mujbir b. Ibrāhīm b. Sufyān was a poet, a singer, and a military commander. He used to entertain the Aghlabid amīr and was very popular with him. His first recorded public post was that of the wālī of al-Arbus. After that he was given a command in Sicily when the Aghlabid forces were fighting in the south of mainland Italy and the north of Sicily. His appointment may have been a direct result of the battle of Milās² between the Aghlabid forces and the Byzantines. Mujbir took charge of operations but was captured while crossing from Sicily to mainland Italy. He was taken as a prisoner to Constantinople where he was kept until his death at an undetermined date.³

(II) The third son of Sufyān b. Sālim was Ṭālib (although a minority of authors of the biographical works make him a grandson of Sufyān, giving Sa'īd as the name of the son of Sufyān,⁴ and the father of Ṭālib). Nothing is recorded of the life of Ṭālib b. Sufyān, except the fact that he had a son called (III) Aḥmad. From the biography of Aḥmad's son Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad, who grew up as an orphan, we can gain an idea of the life of the father (Aḥmad), who seems to have died a young man.⁵ (IV) Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭālib

¹ Ibid.

² Amari, p. 328; for the town of Milās in Sicily, see Map no. 2.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibn Farḥūn, p. 135; al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 375.

⁵ Ibn Farḥūn, p. 135.

as an orphan went to school and was taught by MĀlikī scholars, one of whom was Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd (A.140). Despite being from the ruling dynasty he seems to have had no share in the privileges which that might have entailed. The princes of the family, particularly the young had their own tutors who were among the outstanding Ḥanafī jurists.¹

Saḥnūn was the first to notice the brilliance of Abū al-'Abbās in a session of study of ḥadīth. Abū al-'Abbās became a leading MĀlikī jurist in his own right; that is strange in regard to a family which supported the Ḥanafī madhhab, since the official madhhab of the state was the Ḥanafī, and the MĀlikī madhhab was mainly that of the ordinary people.

Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh's prominence as a jurist together with his relation to the ruling house made him a danger in the eye of the amīr, especially at the time of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad, who came himself as a result of an unlawful seizure of power.² The first office to be held by Abū al-'Abbās was the post of the imām of the great mosque of al-Qayrawān. He faced the Ḥanafī school leaders who objected to the appointment and put forward their own candidate, 'Abd Allāh b. Abī al-Ḥawājib (C. 553). They sent a deputation to the court of the amīr to ask him to instal their man, but they were not allowed to see him because the chamberlain, a friend of Ibn Ṭālib, told them that it was unwise of them to expect the amīr to listen to what they were going to say especially when it was against a member of his family, whom he honoured by appointing him the imām of the great mosque.³ The second appointment of Abū al-'Abbās was to the post of Judge of al-Qayrawān in A.H.257, replacing the

¹ Ḥ.Ḥ. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 226.

² Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 116.

³ Al-MĀlikī, vol. 1, p. 377; al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 161.

former judge Sulaymān b. 'Imrān. He remained in the post for two years, i.e., until A.H.259, when he was dismissed. He was tried after his dismissal and eventually released.

Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh was very ambitious and he seems to have been cut out to be a politician.¹ He built up a reputation among the people of al-Ḡayrawān and he was very generous. He acquired considerable wealth and prestige. His authority in his second term in the office of judge was unchallenged and it can be said that he misused that authority because he tried to silence his opponents and he even executed one of them for allegedly being a heretic (zindīq). He maltreated the Christians and Jews.² All this made him a controversial person among the people of his time.

In A.H.275 he was arrested and brought to trial on a variety of charges. One of them was that of conspiring to overthrow the amīr. The second was giving alms (ṣadaqah) to people who were not entitled to it according to the sharī'ah. The people of al-Ḡayrawān were split on the issue of these charges and the divisions were not along sectarian lines. Some of the jurists who were summoned to brief the court which was trying him, spoke in his favour, while others spoke against him and accused him of aiming for the throne.³ Abū al-'Abbās was condemned to death and was executed by poison in A.H.275.

(V) Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad had a son by the name of Aḥmad. Aḥmad was with his father when he was in prison during the trial which resulted in the execution of the latter.⁴

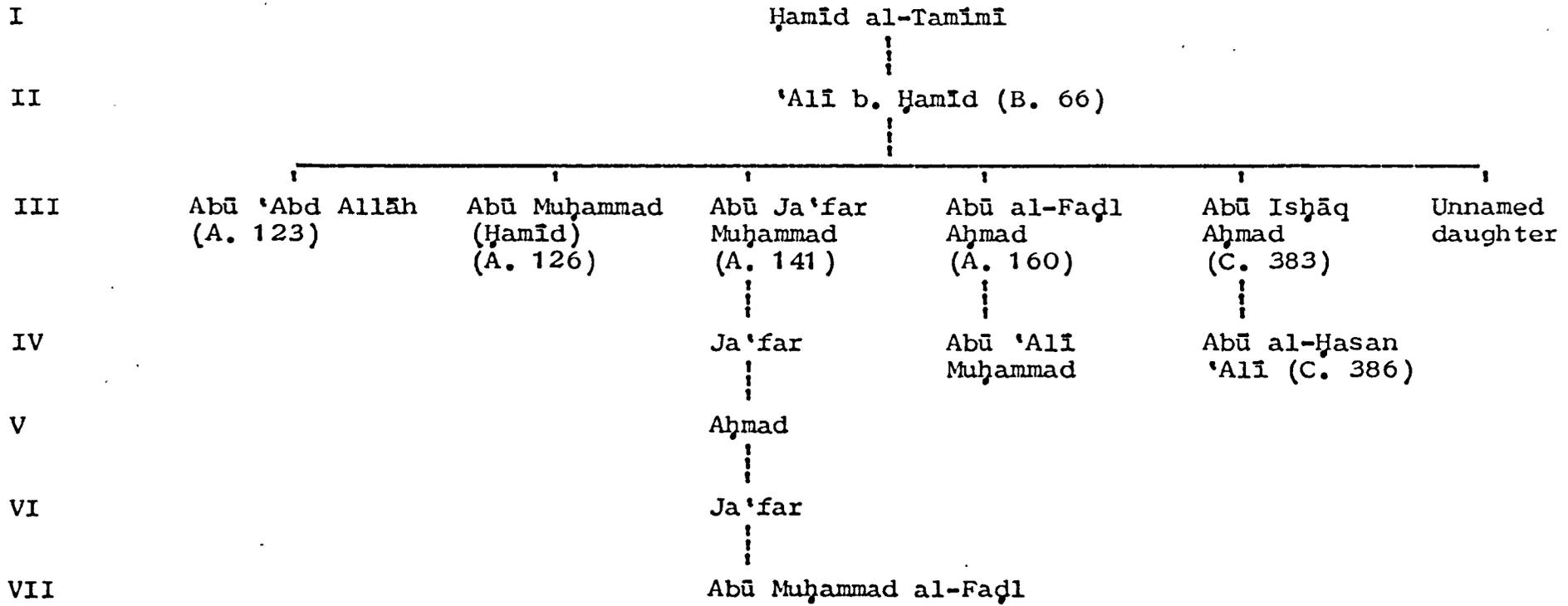
¹ He was opposed to the policies of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad; see al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 386; Abū al-'Arab, Kitāb al-Miḥān, fol. 178a.

² Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 381.

³ Ibid., p. 286.

⁴ Abū al-'Arab, op. cit., fol. 179b.

Abū Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh was another son of Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh. However, one cannot be positive whether the two names are of separate sons or the names of one person because in the latter name the ism is missing, and it might have been Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad. If it was, this means they are the names of one person. Abū Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh ran the estate of his father, and he does not seem to have had an interest in the fields of jurisprudence or the religious sciences.



Hamīd al-Tamīmī

Information regarding the beginning of this family is sparse. The family is not mentioned before the beginning of the third century. Their nisbah relating them to Tamīm must have given them considerable prestige, and although the details of their descent have not been recorded they were clearly related to the Aghlabid family.¹

The first mention of the family occurs in the reign of Ziyādat Allāh I (A. 118), when 'Alī b. Ḥamīd, as an adviser and wazīr to the new amīr, advised him to appoint Asad b. al-Furāt a judge in A.H.203. From then on the authority of 'Alī b. Ḥamīd, as a minister (wazīr) to Ziyādat Allāh, grew from strength to strength. In addition to his position in the Aghlabid state he was one of the biggest merchants in al-Qayrawān, dealing in ivory.² The members of 'Alī b. Ḥamīd's family acquired great authority, coupled with considerable wealth (one of them was rich enough to bring his furniture especially made from Baghdād). The cuisine of 'Alī b. Ḥamīd was famous in the city and people considered it the epitome of good living.³ The date of death of 'Alī b. Ḥamīd is not known but he must have died at some time in the third decade of the third century.

After the death of 'Alī b. Ḥamīd two of his sons replaced him, concentrating great power in their own hands. The two were Abū 'Abd Allāh (A. 123) and Abū Ḥamīd (A. 126). These became the envy of the Aghlabid princes. Aḥmad b. al-Aghlab accused the two brothers of taking the power of the amīr into their own hands; because of this he resolved to seize

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 307; al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 45.

² Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 388.

³ Ibid.; al-Khushanī, p. 240.

power from his brother Muḥammad and put an end to the authority of 'Alī b. Ḥamīd's family. In this he succeeded, and the two brothers were executed,¹ despite the undertaking which Aḥmad had given to his brother Muḥammad for their safety.

The rest of 'Alī b. Ḥamīd's family were not prominent in public life. One of them was Abū Ja'far whose descendants continued to live in al-Qayrawān until the last half of the fourth century, or later.

The fourth brother was Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad (A.160), who was a Mālikī jurist. He, unlike his brothers, rejected politics and lived the life of a lawyer and merchant. He had a taste for luxury and possessed a big library.²

Abū Ishāq Aḥmad (C. 383), the fifth son of 'Alī b. Ḥamīd was a contemporary of Ziyādat Allāh I. He reported the events that followed the insurrection in the city of Tunis in A.H.218.³ He had a son called Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī (C.386), of whom we have no record except his dateless tombstone.⁴

The females of the family are not mentioned; however, it seems highly probable that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥassan al-Baghdādī was the son-in-law of 'Alī b. Ḥamīd, which fact enables us to add to the pedigree of the family an (unnamed) daughter of 'Alī.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī (C. 507) was, like 'Alī b. Ḥamīd, a rich individual. He is mentioned in a transaction involving a slave, which may throw some light on his occupation.⁵ He had considerable influence in al-Qayrawān.

¹ Al-Nuwayrī, vol. 22, pt. 2, p. 76.

² Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 388.

³ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 170 (C. 383).

⁴ See Fig. No. 29.

⁵ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, pp. 413-414 (M. ed.).

The name of Aḥmad's wife is, however, not known nor the date of her death.

With the executions of Abū 'Abd Allāh and Abū Ḥamīd, the influence of the family was destroyed, and they are not mentioned again in connection with the administration of the state. They must have turned to a more secure profession.

The fourth generation of the family is represented by the offspring of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad, who had two sons, Ja'far and Abū 'Alī Muḥammad. Ja'far's life data are not recorded and his name only occurs in the chain of the nasab of one of his descendants. Abū 'Alī's tombstone is recorded as epitaph No. 52 in Roy and Poinssot's collection but the date of his death is unknown because the tombstone has suffered damage and the date is missing.¹

The subsequent descent of the family may be traced to the seventh generation, represented by Abū Muḥammad al-Faḍl, who died in A.H.372. The continuance of this family in al-Qayrawān shows that the Fāṭimid takeover of the city did not necessarily produce a migration of the prominent people from it, and that even families who had been most loyal to the Aghlabids were able to continue and indeed thrive under the new regime.²

Some members of the Aghlabid family remained in al-Qayrawān, contrary to the assumption of some authors.³

¹ Roy, vol. 1, pp. 113-114.

² One of them was the family of Abū Muḥriz al-Kinānī (Pedigree No. 21), and the family of Ibn al-Munhāl (Pedigree No. 3).

³ The Aghlabid family did not all leave Ifrīqiyā, as assumed by Abū al-Fidā; Annales Muslemisi (Hafiniae, 1890), vol. 2, p. 306; a number of its leading members stayed behind. See Ibn 'Idhārī, vol. 1, p. 150; al-'Uyūn wal-Ḥadā'iq, vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 163.

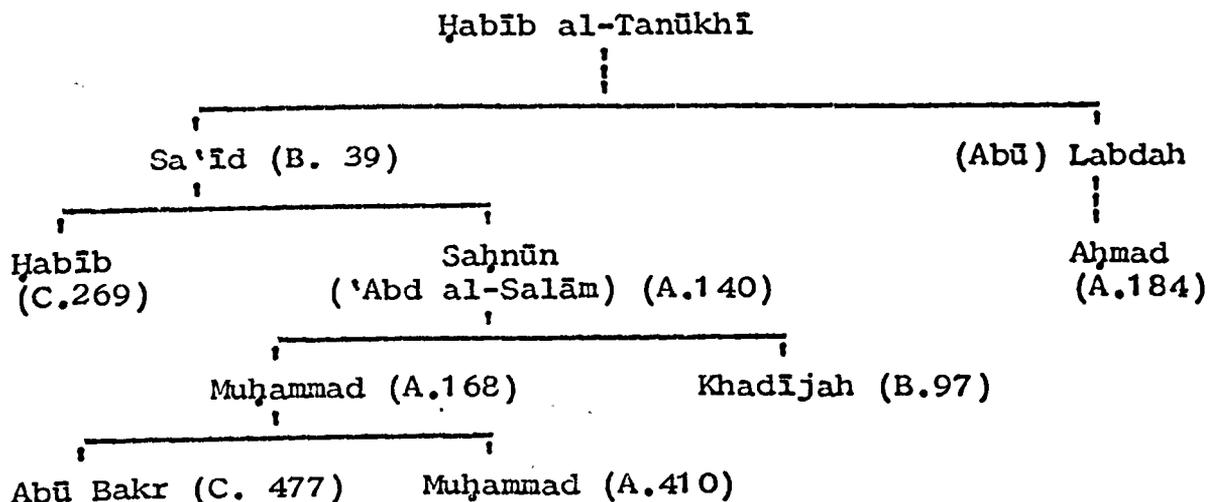
A.H.235, and also in the name of his other grandson, Ḥabīb b. Naṣr b. Saḥl al-Tamīmī (A.266) who was a prominent jurist of al-Qayrawān. He was the first individual in Ifrīqiyā to be appointed to the post of judge of al-maḥālim,¹ and was appointed by Saḥnūn b. Sa'īd shortly after the latter's appointment as Judge of Ifrīqiyā in A.H.234. Ḥabīb was an author and wrote a book, which is believed to be lost, called Kitāb al-Aqḍiyah² which concerned the fatāwā he received from Saḥnūn which were connected with his post. Ḥabīb died later in the third century at an advanced age. The other two members of the family, i.e., the two sons of Saḥl, Najm and Naṣr, are ignored by the biographical dictionaries and works of history.

Saḥl b. Ḥajīb was also an influential figure in Ifrīqiyā. He was a military commander during the Muhallabid period and was one of the important Abbasid generals. He was entrusted with the rule of Ifrīqiyā by Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab during the interregnum which followed the unseating of Muḥammad b. Muqātil al-'Akkī from the post of wālī of Ifrīqiyā in A.H. 183-184.³ The choice by Ibrāhīm of Shihāb points to the social status and influence the family had reached in the eyes of the people of the city.

¹ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 370 (M. ed.).

² Ibid.

³ Al-'Uyūn wal-Ḥadā'iq, vol. 3, p. 302. Ibn al-Raḳīq, p. 221.

46. Al-TanūkhīSa'īd b. Ḥabīb al-Tanūkhī

The history of this family in al-Qayrawān began with the arrival of the expedition led by Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath b. 'Uqbah al-Khuzā'ī in A.H.144,¹ which brought with it the founder of the family in Ifrīqiyā, Sa'īd b. Ḥabīb b. Ḥassān b. Hilāl al-Tanūkhī. He was a soldier from the jund of Ḥimṣ in Syria, and his small family seem to have had deep roots there. The evidence for this comes from information concerning the dignity and status which Saḥnūn, the son of the founder, had from a person who was acquainted with the family in Ḥimṣ.²

When Sa'īd first came to Ifrīqiyā with the Abbasid expedition, which was aimed at restoring the Maghrib to Abbasid control, he was stationed at a village called Maryānah al-Sharq,³ where his son Saḥnūn was born in A.H.160. Another son of Sa'īd was Ḥabīb b. Sa'īd, who was born before Saḥnūn, and he was considerably older than Saḥnūn (the latter studied under him). Ḥabīb like Saḥnūn was a jurist. In the second century, jurists in Ifrīqiyā were not committed to a specific law school. It was

¹ Abū al-'Arab, p. 184.

² 'Iyād, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 45 (M. ed.)

³ Ibid., p. 249.

Saḥnūn who devoted himself to promoting the madhhab of MĀlik.¹

In his search for knowledge, Saḥnūn travelled a great deal and in A.H.188 he set out for the east, meeting scholars from different schools of law and ḥadīth. He spent three years on his journey, returning to Ifrīqiyā in A.H.191, and stopping on his way in Ajdabiyah and probably some other places, where he taught people.²

The epithet Saḥnūn was the laqab of 'Abd al-Salām b. Sa'īd; the word sahnun denotes a type of sharp-eyed bird and doubtless was a reference to the intellectual sharpness of its bearer.³ The first achievement of Saḥnūn was his challenge to Asad b. al-Furāt and the jurists in al-Qayrawān. He proved the inaccuracy of some of Asad's work in his collection of the traditions of MĀlik. The second achievement of Saḥnūn was his composition of al-Mudawwanah, a collection of thousands of hypothetical cases and his fatāwā regarding them.

People came to al-Qayrawān from far and wide to study under Saḥnūn, and his fame inside and outside Ifrīqiyā opened the way for a major change in the MĀlikī attitude towards cooperating with the secular authorities.⁴ The appointment of Saḥnūn to the post of Judge of Ifrīqiyā put the Malikis in no doubt about the determination of Saḥnūn to influence the situation in Ifrīqiyā. His acceptance of the post of judge did not,

¹ The Ḥanafī madhhab continued to be the madhhab of the ruling class and the aristocracy, and what C.A. Julien describes as a mass change in favour of the MĀlikī madhhab is a considerable exaggeration. The post of Judge of al-Qayrawān did not become a MĀlikī monopoly as he tries to maintain, and even Saḥnūn himself shared the post of Judge of al-Qayrawān with a Ḥanafī called Ibn al-Ṭabnī; Julien, p.46; al-MĀlikī, vol. 1, p. 284.

² Abū al-'Arab, p. 186.

³ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 77.

⁴ Al-MĀlikī, vol. 1, p. 274. The reaction to the acceptance by Saḥnūn of the appointment was mixed.

however, mean his acceptance of the status quo. He kept his court during his term independent from the secular authority, especially financially, by financing staff salaries from the legal taxes like the poll-tax,¹ for he believed the taxes which were levied by the government were mostly not according to the rule of the sharī'ah. Other Mālikī judges tried to copy Saḥnūn's policy with varying degrees of success. In short, Saḥnūn was the first Mālikī judge to institutionalise a Mālikī court system, especially in the Islamic west.²

Saḥnūn is known to have had two children, Muḥammad and Khadījah. The upbringing of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn by Saḥnūn and the concern of Saḥnūn for his son's future is described in most of the biographies of Saḥnūn. Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn himself included in his book Ādāb al-Mu'allimīn quotations from his father in the field of education.³ Saḥnūn himself asked his son's tutor not to use corporal punishment on his boy, for only encouragement would help him, and he had great expectations of him.⁴

Muḥammad's brilliance showed at an early age and he was ranked among the outstanding Mālikī jurists in his early twenties. After the death of Saḥnūn, Muḥammad's status and prestige created many friends for him, but they also made many enemies of persons who had been personal friends of his father.⁵ His arrest was sought by the Judge of al-Qayrawān on an unnamed charge, and because of this he went into hiding for a time

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 275.

² Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, pp. 87-88.

³ Ādāb al-Mu'allimīn, ed. Ḥ. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, p. 12.

⁴ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 345; Ibn Farḥūn, p. 234; 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 205 (M. ed.).

⁵ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 131.

until the amīr himself came out in his support.

Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn shared the leadership of the Mālikī school with his fellow student Muḥammad b. 'Abdus (A. 174). Despite Muḥammad's qualities, he could not obtain the post of Judge of al-Qayrawān because there was another outstanding Ḥanafī jurist who was older and possibly of higher qualifications than Muḥammad. He was Sulaymān b. 'Imrān (A. 212), who worked as one of the judges appointed by Saḥnūn to one of the provincial cities.¹ Another reason was the inclining of the amīr back to the side of the Ḥanafī jurists. This was clear even in the life of Saḥnūn when the amīr appointed a Ḥanafī jurist, Ibn al-Ṭabnī (C. 489), to share the post with Saḥnūn.²

Muḥammad, unlike his father, enjoyed his eminence. He acquired vast wealth and surrounded himself with concubines and slaves,³ a state of affairs hardly appropriate for a jurist let alone a judge. He acted like a prince and was in the company of the Aghlabid amīr for most of the time. People were as much dazzled by his outward show and new status as they were compelled to admire his intellectual abilities and his fatwās.

Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn died in A.H.256,⁴ and is said to have been mourned for four months. The amīr had to intervene to stop those who camped beside his tomb.⁵ The works of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn are numerous, some authorities putting them as high as two hundred volumes. This number may, however, rest on a misunderstanding of the word kitāb, which may sometimes only be

¹ Ibid.

² Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 284

³ 'Iyāḍ, al-Madārik, vol. 4, p. 217 (M. ed.).

⁴ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 134.

⁵ Ibid., vol. 2, p. 136.

used for a section of a book. Among the works by him which are apparently lost is his commentary on al-Mudawwanah,¹ the book written by his father. Two other books by Muḥammad were his Ādāb al-Mu'allimīn (which has been printed), and the Fatāwā which is still in manuscript.²

The vacancy caused by Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn's death was filled by another member of the family, from the branch of Labdah or Abū Labdah. This was Aḥmad b. Labdah who was a cousin of Saḥnūn (A. 184). Aḥmad was nicknamed "the scholar of the amīr" because he was not rated among the outstanding jurists of al-Qayrawān, and he had to ask for help from other scholars when questions were directed to him. The aim of the amīr may have been to preserve the balance between the two major madhhabs in the city by treating him as the head of the Mālikī madhhab--he was a person acceptable to all parties.

The first action of Aḥmad b. Labdah was to disperse the crowds of mourners of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn, who were threatening to disrupt life in al-Qayrawān. He did this after being urged to intervene by the Aghlabid amīr.³

He does not seem to have had a wife, but at least nine concubines of his are mentioned. He is only known to have had two children: Abū Bakr and Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad. Abū Bakr died in his childhood during the life of Saḥnūn, and Muḥammad was born much later. He appears to have been the only child of Muḥammad or at least the only son, and the joy that accompanied his birth is clear from the fact that Muḥammad (the father) emancipated the slave who announced the news of the boy's birth. He was born in A.H.256, the same year his father

¹ Ibid., p. 134.

² This MS. is under no. 18668 in the Archives section of Dār al-Kutub al-Waḥaniyyah in Tunis.

³ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 136.

died. The mother of Abū Sa'id Muḥammad was a slave girl called Qarāḩīs, whom Muḥammad b. Saḩnūn had brought from Egypt to Ifrīqiyā, where her family was living. As he put it, he wanted to reunite her with her parents.¹ Eventually she became his umm walad.

Abū Sa'id Muḥammad continued the family tradition in the field of jurisprudence. He became a famous Mālikī jurist. When the Fāḩimids seized power in Ifrīqiyā, Abū Sa'id was in the front like of the Mālikī resistance to the new doctrine. al-Murwazī, the Shi'ite judge of the city, punished him for his resistance to Fāḩimid authority but was quoted as saying that "I have never punished anyone more leniently than him, for the sake of his grandfather."²

Abū Sa'id Muḥammad died in A.H.307 and was buried beside his father in the cemetery of Bāb Nāfi', not far from his grandfather, and no doubt the rest of the family.

Khadijah, the second child of Saḩnūn, is described as a wise woman. Her father Saḩnūn used to seek her advice.³ It is not clear why her brother Muḥammad objected to her marriage to Aḩmad b. Labdah, the cousin of her father. Aḩmad b. Labdah had unsuccessfully asked for her hand from her father before, and he asked her hand from Muḥammad after Saḩnūn's death. After the death of Muḥammad b. Saḩnūn, Aḩmad b. Labdah asked Khadijah herself for her hand, but by then it was apparently too late and she did not want to accept something refused by both her father and her brother. She died an unmarried woman, but the date of her death is not recorded.

¹ Ibid., vol. 1, p. 346.

² Ibid., vol. 2, p. 348.

³ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 273.

47. Wuhayb al-Tanūkhī

Wuhayb (A. 117)
 ↓
 Yazīd
 ↓
 'Ubayd
 ↓
 'Abd al-Khāliq (A. 448)

The founder of this family is known to us largely through Saḥnūn b. Sa'id's (A. 140) biography. He was the foster brother of Saḥnūn. From this relationship we know the approximate date of birth of Wuhayb, viz. A.H. 160 (plus or minus a year to allow for the period of weaning as recognised by the sharī'ah). Wuhayb died in A.H.221-223 and Saḥnūn led the prayers over his corpse.¹

Yazīd, the son of Wuhayb, is not mentioned in his own right, but is known from the recorded descent of the family. The same applied to 'Ubayd, his son.

Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Khāliq who represents the fourth generation of the family in al-Qayrawān is known to us from his tombstone, which is dated Tuesday, the fifth of Muḥarram, of the year three hundred and eight of the Hijrah.²

48. Sinān al-Taymī

Al-Mu'ammār b. Sinān (A. 61)
 ↓
 'Āmir (C. 291)
 ↓
 Aḥmad (C. 300)

The first known member of this family in al-Qayrawān is al-Mu'ammār b. Sinān. He served as an adviser to Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī and died about A.H.177, i.e., before the

¹ Al-Dabbāgh, vol. 2, p. 93.

² Roy, vol. 1, pp. 204-205.

struggle for power between the Muhallabī family and the rebellious leaders of the jund.

'Āmir b. al-Mu'ammār b. Sinān did not play any part in the civil strife either, and the first mention we have of him is as chief of police for Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab. Their loyalty to both the Muhallabids and the Aghlabids was absolute and this may be interpreted as a sign of the small size of the family; Taym itself was a small tribe, even in its original form in Arabia,¹ and those who settled in al-Qayrawān were undoubtedly even fewer in number.

'Āmir was appointed by the Aghlabid amīr as wāllī of Qasṭīliyah,² and from there he and other commanders of the original army, which helped Ibrāhīm establish himself in Ifriqiya, rebelled against their ex-colleague and new master. They might have been antagonized by the policy of Ibrāhīm towards the army and its leaders, which he was in the process of replacing by an army of black mercenaries and slaves. The rebellion was crushed by Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab and 'Āmir and the leaders of the rebellion fled to the province of al-Zāb. They asked Ibrāhīm to forgive them for what they had done and he agreed.

The third generation of the family in al-Qayrawān is represented by Aḥmad about whom we know nothing. Aḥmad had a son who was an author.³ Apart from this, nothing is known about Aḥmad, or indeed about Ḥamzah b. Aḥmad b. 'Āmir.

¹ Ibn Ḥazm, p. 199. Taym was a sub-division of Muḍar.

² Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 106.

³ Ibid., p. 107.

The second son of 'Ubayd was Abū Bakr (C. 796) al-Wakīl, who was living in the same neighbourhood as the Abū Sa'id who seems to have been his brother, but he was less well known than the latter.

The mother of Abū Sa'id was the sister of Yazīd b. Sinān, a member of what seems to have been an influential family, about which little is recorded.¹

Abū Sa'id 'Abd al-Raḥmān died during the early years of the Fāṭimid state, and left a fortune for his two sons. However, the authorities decided to confiscate part of the legacy. The minister responsible for finance took forty thousand mithqāls,² probably in gold, in addition to jewellery and clothes.

The two sons of Abū Sa'id 'Abd al-Raḥmān were Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan and Abū 'Alī Ḥusayn. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan (A.464) was the man who was in charge of the family wealth when his father died. He was an author and a man of letters, but other than this information provided by al-Khushanī,³ we know very little about him.

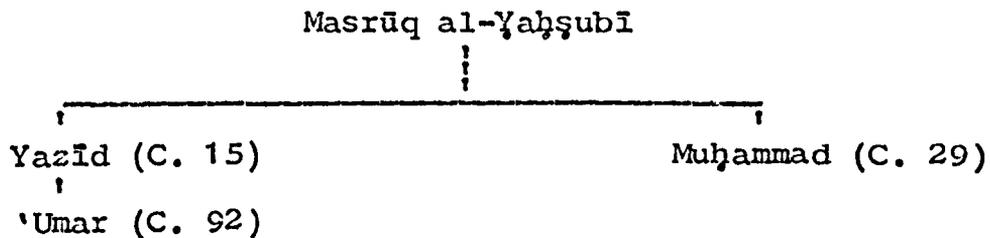
The second son was Abū 'Alī Ḥusayn b. Abī Sa'id 'Abd al-Raḥmān, who was an important authority on the history of North Africa. His book al-Kitāb al-Mu'rib 'an Akhbār al-Maghrib⁴ is widely quoted by the authors of biographical literature, but the book itself is, sadly, believed to be lost.

¹ Al-Khushanī, pp. 228-229; see also Ibrāhīm b. Sinān (C. 437).

² Al-Khushanī states that the three government officials who took the goods from al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān did this by force, which suggests illicit confiscation. However, it may well be that some kind of regular death duty was being levied.

³ Ibid., p. 229.

⁴ Ibn al-Abbār, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 50; 'Abd al-Wahhāb, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 69 (footnote).

50. Al-Yahşubī

Masrūq al-Ḥaḥşubī was a military commander in Mūsā b. Nuşayr's army. He was very close to Mūsā, who made him his deputy and governor in his absence. From the data available about C.29 the extent of the family wealth may be realized.¹ How this wealth, which included entire villages, was acquired is not at all clear. Ibn Qutaybah is the first historian to hint at the answer. He states that the basis of the family fortune was the salvage of the ships of the naval expedition of ‘Aḥa’ b. Rāfi’, which were wrecked in A.H.84.² Yazīd the son of Masrūq was despatched to the place where the wrecking took place. He acquired many valuable items from the wreckage, which made him and his family rich. Whether this was approved by Mūsā b. Nuşayr or not is not recorded.

The fortunes of this family, however, suffered a decline. Mūsā b. Nuşayr, the man behind the success of the family, was disgraced and dismissed, and his family, agents, and friends were persecuted.³ Their property was confiscated and they were lucky to escape with their lives. This family is not likely to have escaped the aftermath of Mūsā's disgrace, especially in view of their role in his administration.⁴ The biographers record the family's giving away their estate; this was done by

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, p. 126; al-Dabbāgh, vol. 1, p. 329.

² Ibn Qutaybah, pt. 2, p. 57.

³ Ibn ‘Idhārī, vol. 1, pp. 47, 49.

⁴ Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, p. 215.

Muḥammad b. Masrūq, to their tenants. It may be that they were under pressure by the wālī to give their land back to the wālī but instead of doing that they preferred to leave it for their emancipated slaves who were occupying it. Muḥammad b. Masrūq, who was nicknamed al-Zāhid (Ascetic) may have been motivated to free his slaves and give away his inherited wealth because of his religious convictions and because (as is clear from the account of Ibn Qutaybah) the original source of the wealth was somewhat questionable.

After this the family led a life of religious devotion. Both branches of the family of Masrūq, i.e., 'Umar b. Yazīd and Muḥammad b. Masrūq turned to a life of asceticism, and Muḥammad eventually emigrated to Alexandria in search of a quieter life.¹ Yazīd b. Masrūq, who was the son of Masrūq and an important army commander of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, is mentioned many times by historians and biographical authors in connection with his ḥadīth, which he related to Mūsā b. Nuṣayr.² The fate of 'Umar the son of Yazīd is unknown. After this the family appears to have received no further mention on the part of the biographers, and it is doubtful whether they continued to live in al-Qayrawān.

¹ Al-Mālikī, vol. 1, pp. 126-127.

² Ibn al-Faraḍī, vol. 2, pp. 18-19.

Chapter IX

CONCLUSIONS

The present dissertation has sought to study the people of al-Qayrawān in the first two and a half centuries of the city's existence, first from the aggregative point of view, in regard to the size and growth of the population, and secondly from the point of view of all known citizens, against the geographical, historical, and economic background of the city.

In regard to the geographical background it can be shown that much more of the early plan of the city can be reconstructed than has hitherto been attempted. This involves the use of the information regarding features of the city to be found scattered through the works of biographical literature. The surviving monuments of the city helped us determine the locations of these features.

The economic background of the city is highlighted here by the role of al-Qayrawān as a commercial centre and as the centre of all the trade routes which converged from all over the Islamic world and the old world. The economic background to the people is studied in Chapter VII, and reflects the trades and occupations for which the city was renowned.

The study here presented of the historical background

deals with the political atmosphere which the people were living in. This includes historical events which must have had effects on the growth of the city.

In regard to an aggregative assessment of population it is clear that previous attempts to arrive at the approximate size of the population must be adjudged failures. All have failed to take into account the diversities of the city and its population. A tentative assessment may however be made which takes into account all the results of the population assessment procedures, adding to this the approximate number of the population which seems to have been given by a contemporary authority, and also making allowances for the loopholes in the procedures mentioned above (pp. 89-97). The number reached is around 60,000 inhabitants.

In regard to the known citizens of the city, we have compiled the names of over 1,600 individuals who are assumed to have been permanent settlers. The majority of these individuals represent the continuous presence of large families about whom we know very little.

Despite this apparent difference between the approximate size of the population and the known citizens of the city (the ratio of the known inhabitants to the estimated total is around 1 : 20 in the third century, and 1 : 100 over the whole period of two and a half centuries); this figure is representative of the trends of the population changes especially the fluctuation of the death rate in list A, especially during the plague epidemics. This figure is high compared not only with the European cities of comparable size and time, but also with other Islamic cities which were more prominent than al-Qayrawān.

In the listing of known citizens of the city, it has been demonstrated that a simple abstracting of the relevant names from biographical and historical works is quite inadequate, and may in many cases be totally misleading. It is only through a procedure which involves comparison between the data of different works of biographical literature and through the use of epigraphical evidence, where available, that the valuable evidence contained in them can be exploited. The crucial problem here is the identification of individuals in the past, and space corresponding to the importance of this problem has been accorded it (Chapter V). The chief function of the procedure of identification is to avoid recording the same individual under different forms of his name or in different contexts.

Study of known individuals shows that we can discover a great deal regarding the ways in which men made their living in al-Qayrawān. The bias in the sources in favour of 'ulamā' has by no means excluded the recording of a very wide range of occupations, trades and professions: 115 different occupations are recorded here as having been pursued at some time during the period A.D. 667-909. This compares with the figure of 410 given by H.J. Cohen for the occupations of jurists during the first five centuries of Islam (i.e., to circa A.D. 1100) throughout the whole of the east, including Egypt.

The analyses of the people's racial and geographical backgrounds gives us an insight into the racial formation of al-Qayrawān. Many factors played their role in this formation, such as the importing of slaves from Europe and the Sahara, the armies of the conquest, which itself had a variety of racial formations, and the rural migration to the city coupled with

a flow of people from all parts of North Africa to the city in search of knowledge or to make a living.

The study of the population and the known citizens leads to the study of the most important unit in the community, i.e., the family. This includes establishing the connections and relationships, and from there sets out to reconstruct the individuals with common backgrounds and data in separate family pedigrees. To each pedigree there has been appended a history of the family, its status, and its duration in the social scale through many generations and different political climates. The short history of each family includes if possible the origin of the family and its religious affiliations, the history of its settlement in the city and the circumstances which led to its settlement. It also takes into account the duration of the family in the same occupation, and the causes behind the changing of occupations.

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al-Dīn Qāsim
- Ibn al-Raḥīq
- Ibn Sa'd, Muḥammad
- Al-Ṣafadī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn
b. Aybak
- Saḥnūn, Muḥammad b.
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- Al-Sam'ānī, 'Abd al-Karīm
b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī
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N.B. These sources were used solely in the making of the maps. Other sources consulted are in the other bibliography sections, above.

Appendix I

Tribal Affiliations of Individuals listed in Chapter VI

Name	Yamanite	Qaysite	Berber	No. of mentions
1. 'Abd al-Qays	-	*	-	1
2. 'Abs	-	*	-	2
3. 'Akk	-	*	-	2
4. al-Anṣār	*	-	-	18
5. Asad	-	*	-	6
6. Ash'ar	*	-	-	8
7. Aslam	-	*?	-	2
8. Azd	*	-	-	52
9. Bāhilah	-	*	-	1
10. Balī	*	-	-	2
11. Bujaylah	*	-	-	3
12. Buṭmah	-	-	*	1
13. Daghash	*	-	-	2
14. Ḍabbah	*	-	-	2
15. Fizārah	-	*	-	18
16. Ghāfiq	-	*	-	7

1. For the early history of this tribe, see Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 295-296.
2. Ibid., p. 250.
3. Ibid., pp. 328-329.
4. Ibid., p. 332.
5. Ibid., p. 192.
6. Ibid., p. 397.
7. Ibid., pp. 240-241.
8. Ibid., p. 267.
9. Ibid., p. 245.
10. Ibid., pp. 441-442.
11. Ibid., pp. 387-388.
12. Ibn Khaldūn, vol. 7, pp. 248-250.
13. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Lubāb, vol. 1, p. 503.
14. Ibn Ḥazm, p. 203.
15. Ibid., pp. 255-259.
16. Ibid., pp. 329, 440.

Name	Yamanite	Qaysite	Berber	No. of mentions
17. Ghassān	*	-	-	11
18. Ghifār	-	*	-	1
19. Ḥadramawt	*	-	-	10
20. Ḥarash	-	*	-	1
21. Hamadan	*	-	-	7
22. Banū Ḥanīfah	-	-	-	6
23. Hawwārah	-	-	*	4
24. Ḥimyar	*	-	-	4
25. Hudhayl	-	*	-	1
26. Jarāwah	-	-	*	2
27. Judhām	*	-	-	3
28. Juhaynah	*	-	-	2
29. Kalb	*	-	-	10
30. Khath'am	*	-	-	1
31. Khawlān	*	-	-	6
32. Khushayn	*	-	-	1
33. Khuzā'ah	*	-	-	6
34. Kilā'	*	-	-	3
35. Kinānah	-	*	-	13

17. Ibid., pp. 472-474.

18. Ibid., p. 186.

19. Ibn Ḥazm, p. 479.

20. Ibn al-Athīr, al-Lubāb, vol. 1, p. 357.

21. Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 392-395.

22. Ibid., p. 309.

23. Ibid., p. 500.

24. Ibid., pp. 432-438.

25. Ibid., pp. 196-198.

26. Ibn Khaldūn, vol. 6, p. 432.

27. Ibn Ḥazm, pp. 320-321.

28. Ibid., pp. 444-445.

29. Ibid., pp. 455-460.

30. Ibid., pp. 390-392.

31. Ibid., p. 418.

32. Ibid., p. 455.

33. Ibid., p. 480.

34. Kaḥḥālah, Mu'jam Qabā'il al-'Arab, vol. 3 (Beirut, 1968), p. 990.

35. Ibn Ḥazm, p. 465.

Name	Yamanite	Qaysite	Berber	No. of mentions
36. Kindah	*	-	-	20
37. Kutāmah	-	-	*	1
38. Lakhm	*	-	-	31
39. Lawātah	-	-	*	2
40. Layth	*	-	-	1
41. Liḥyān	-	*	-	1
42. Madhhaj	-	*	-	16
43. Malzuzah	-	*	*	1
44. Maharah	*	-	-	2
45. Miknāsah	-	-	*	1
46. Mu'āfir	*	-	-	22
47. Murād	*	-	-	4
48. Nafūsah	-	-	*	1
49. Nafzah	-	-	*	4
50. Nahshal	-	*	-	1
51. (deleted)				
52. Qatabān	-	*	-	1
53. Qays	-	*	-	20
54. Quḍā'ah	*	-	-	1

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36. Ibid., pp. 425-429.
37. Ibid., pp. 495, 501.
38. Ibid., pp. 422-425.
39. Ibid., p. 448.
40. Ibid., p. 443.
41. Ibid., pp. 196-197.
42. Ibid., pp. 475-477.
43. Ibid., pp. 496, 498.
44. Ibid., p. 485.
45. Ibid., pp. 496, 498.
46. Ibid., p. 485.
47. Ibid., pp. 406-407.
48. Ibid., p. 496.
49. Ibid., p. 497.
50. Ibid., p. 456.
51. (deleted)
52. Kaḥḥālah, vol. 3, p. 938.
53. Ibid., p. 972.
54. Ibid., p. 957.

Name	Yamanite	Qaysite	Berber	No. of mentions
55. Quraysh	-	*	-	104
56. Rabī'ah	-	*	-	26
57. Ru'ayn	*	-	-	19
58. Sulaym	-	*	-	4
59. Sa'd	*	-	-	1
60. Şaddīnah	-	-	*	1
61. Salūl	-	*	-	3
62. Shaybān	-	*	-	2
63. Tamīm	-	*	-	145
64. Tanūkh	*	-	-	11
65. Taym (al-Rabāb)	-	*	-	9
66. Ṭayy	*	-	-	8
67. Thaḳīf	-	*	-	2
68. Tujīb	*	-	-	13
69. Warfajūmah	-	-	*	1
70. Yaḥşub	*	-	-	1
71. Zāk	-	-	*	4
72. Zanātah	-	-	*	3
73. Zawāwah	*	-	-	12

55. Ibid., pp. 947-951.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibn Ḥazm, p. 438.

58. Ibid., pp. 543-546.

59. Ibid., p. 515.

60. Ibn Khaldūn, vol. 6, p. 239.

61. Ibn Ḥazm, p. 540.

62. Ibid., p. 622.

63. Kaḥḥālah, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 125-132.

64. Ibid., p. 133.

65. Ibid., p. 137.

66. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 689-691.

67. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 148-151.

68. Ibid., p. 116.

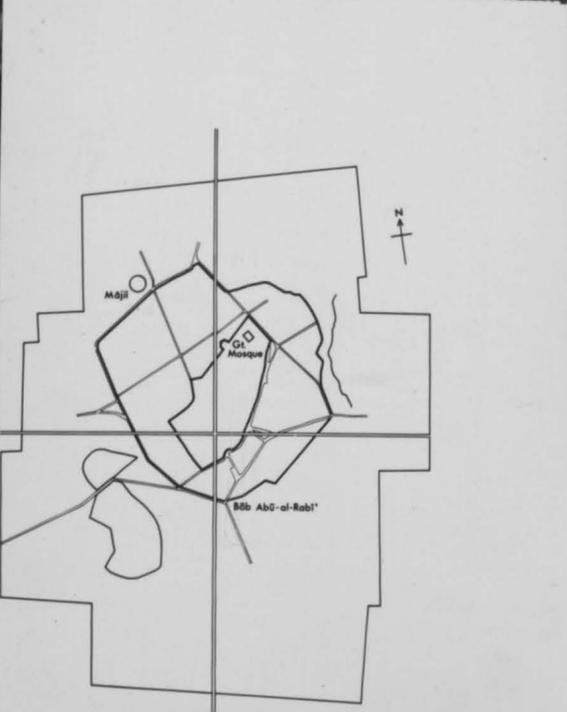
69. Ibn Khaldūn, vol. 6, pp. 224-225.

70. Kaḥḥālah, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 1260.

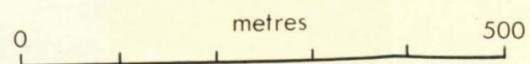
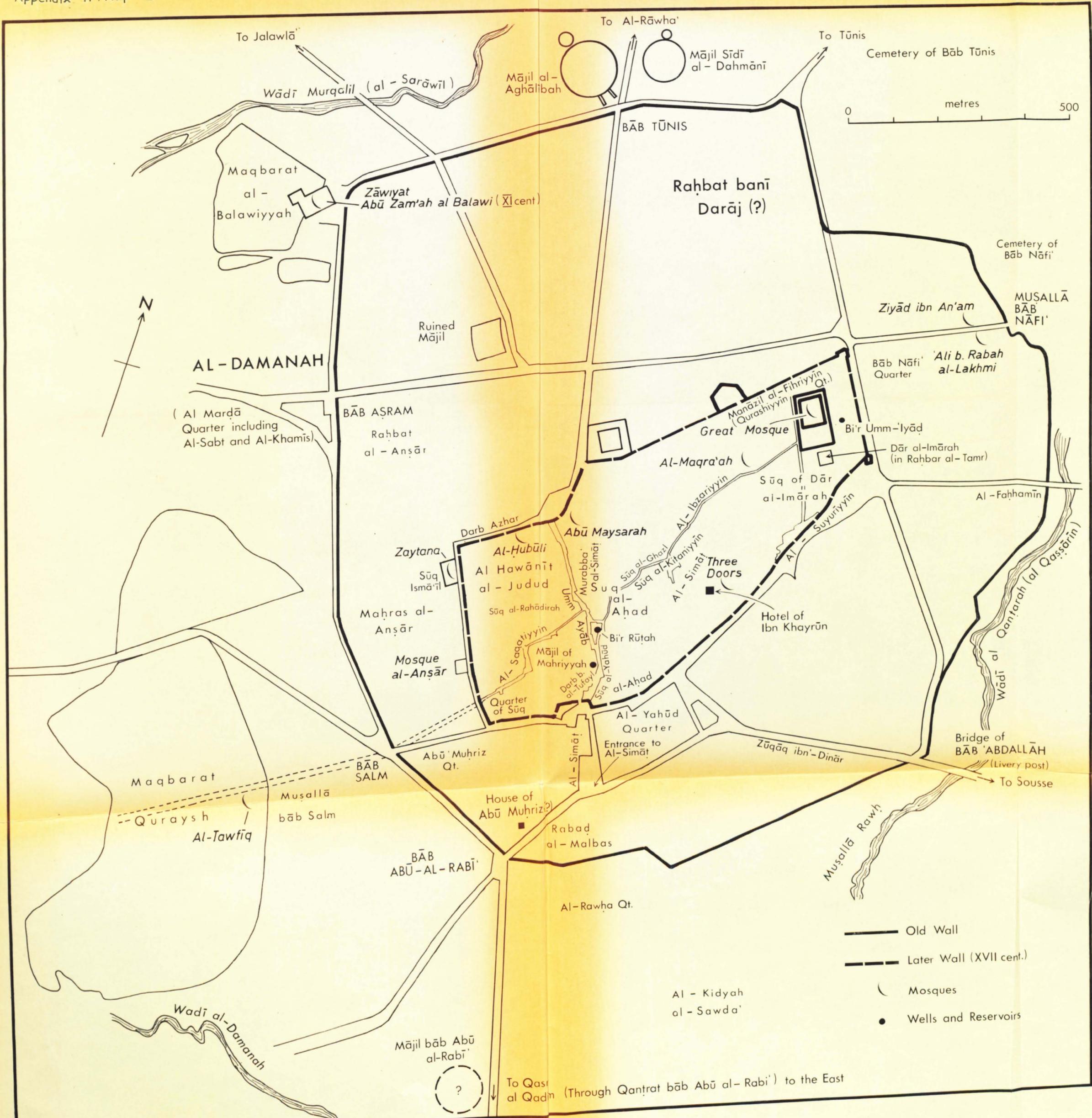
71. Ibn Khaldūn, vol. 6, p. 284.

72. Ibid., pp. 214-220.

73. Ibid., pp. 261-262.



Aerial View of al-Qayrawān, courtesy of the National Institute for Art and Archaeology. Tunis



- Old Wall
- - - Later Wall (XVII cent.)
- ☉ Mosques
- Wells and Reservoirs

Maqbarat Quraysh / Al-Tawfiq

To Qasr al-Qadim (Through Qanṭrat bāb Abū al-Rabī') to the East

Wādī al-Damanah

Bridge of BĀB 'ABDALLĀH (Livery post) To Sousse

AL-DAMANAH

BĀB TŪNIS

BĀB AŞRAM

BĀB ABŪ-AL-RABĪ'

BĀB SĀLM

Raḥbat banī Darāj (?)

Maḥras al-Anṣār

Al-Yahūd Quarter

(Al Marḍā Quarter including Al-Sabt and Al-Khamīs)

Raḥbat al-Anṣār

Rabaḍ al-Malbas

Al-Rawḥa Qt.

Mājil bāb Abū al-Rabī'

Cemetery of Bāb Tūnis

Cemetery of Bāb Nāfi'

Ziyād ibn An'am

MUŞALLĀ BĀB NĀFI'

Bāb Nāfi' Quarter 'Ali b. Rabah al-Lakmi

Bi'r Umm-Iyād

Dār al-Imārah (in Raḥbar al-Tamr)

Al-Faḥhamīn

Zaytana

Sūq Ismā'īl

Maḥras al-Anṣār

Mosque al-Anṣār

Abū Muḥriz Qt.

House of Abū Muḥriz(?)

Rabaḍ al-Malbas

Al-Rawḥa Qt.

Al-Kidyah al-Sawda'

To Al-Rāwḥa'

To Tūnis

To Jalawlā'

Wādī Murqalil (al-Sarāwīl)

Mājil al-Aghālibah

Mājil Sīdī al-Dahmānī

Darb Azhar

Al-Hubūli

Al Hawānīt al-Judud

Sūq al-Rahādīrah

Al-Saqāṭiyyīn

Quarter of Sūq

Abū Muḥriz Qt.

House of Abū Muḥriz(?)

Rabaḍ al-Malbas

Al-Rawḥa Qt.

Al-Kidyah al-Sawda'

Mājil bāb Abū al-Rabī'

To Qasr al-Qadim (Through Qanṭrat bāb Abū al-Rabī') to the East

Wādī al-Damanah

Maqbarat Quraysh / Al-Tawfiq

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Maqbarat Quraysh / Al-Tawfiq

Mediterranean Sea

