

THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

VOLUME XL

Index



The History of al-Ṭabari

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The History of al-Ṭabarī
(*Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*)

VOLUME XL

INDEX

Comprising an Index of Proper Names and
Subjects and an Index of Qur'ānic
Citations and Allusions

Prepared by
Alex V. Popovkin
under the supervision of
Everett K. Rowson
New York University

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Foreword



With the publication of this index volume, the annotated English translation of al-Ṭabari's *History* (*Ta'rikh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) in forty volumes is completed. The project began in 1979 and the last volume of the translation itself (Volume V, tr. by C. E. Bosworth) appeared in 1999.

The history of the project, the principles followed in the translation and annotation, the choice of the Leiden edition as the basis for the translation, the composition of the Board of Editors, the division of the *History* into manageable and to some degree self-contained volumes, the selection of translators-annotators, the funding of the project by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), and other pertinent points, were all explained in the General Editor's Preface to Volume I, which also included a General Introduction on al-Ṭabari and his *History* by the eminent translator of the volume, Franz Rosenthal. As for subsequent changes in the Editorial Board, Jacob Lassner was replaced by Everett Rowson in 1989, and the translations were thereafter reviewed and carefully scrutinized by him and C. E. Bosworth. Two members of the Editorial Board, Ihsan Abbas and Franz Rosenthal, regrettably passed away in 2003.

Although there is an index of proper names at the end of each volume, furnished by its translator, it was decided from the outset that a cumulative and wide-ranging index encompassing all the volumes would be a prerequisite to render the work fully serviceable to both academic researchers and interested general readers. The envisaged index would include such diverse topics as ethnic groups in the early Islamic world, specific questions of theology and law, aspects of economic and cultural life, music, architecture, and literature, battle tactics and weaponry, tribal groupings, taxation, religious heresies, Biblical history, Persian ancient history and legends, mints and coin issues. Moreover, the reader needed the assistance of a detailed and well-organized subject index covering

both the text and relevant information from the annotations, the latter embodying the results of the translators' own research and original scholarship. The usefulness of such an index cannot be sufficiently emphasized.

The initial work on this Index began immediately after the completion of the translation project itself, but the search for a competent indexer proved a lengthy one. Fortunately, Alex Popovkin, a professional indexer with a good grounding in Arabic, agreed to take on the project under the able supervision of Professor Everett Rowson, and this collaboration was carried out in an exemplary manner.

A particularly vexing problem with indexing a work like al-Ṭabarī's *History* is the complex formation of Arabic personal names, which can have up to five or six components, only some of which are regularly cited and then not always the same ones for a given individual. For instance, the name of the historian and *ḥadīth* scholar Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī al-Kinānī al-Miṣrī, includes a title, a teknonym (*kunya*), a given name, name of the father, the family name, attribution to a locality, attribution to a tribe, and attribution to a country. To know by which element the bearer of a name is most commonly known requires considerable knowledge of Arabic literature. For example, al-Jāḥiẓ, the famous *adab* scholar, is known by his nickname ("one with protruding eyes"), the historian Ibn Qutaybah by the name of his father, the Prophet's companion Abū Hurayra by his teknonym, the son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib by his given name and his father's teknonym, the polymath al-Birūnī by attribution to the locale of his birth, the philosopher and physician Abū 'Alī Ibn Sīnā by a combination of his teknonym and the name of his grandfather, the mystic al-Ḥallāj by a profession ("wool-carder"), the self-styled and rebellious prophet al-Muqanna' by a sobriquet ("the veiled one"), the brave brigand-poet Ta'abbata Sharran by a characterization ("the one who carries wickedness under his arm"). Considerable sophistication and effort have been required to achieve consistency in the selection of standard names, and cross-references have been supplied generously. For the details of this and other technicalities the reader is urged to consult the Guide to the Index.

Inevitably, the volumes have not been free from some typographical errors in spite of the translators' careful proofreading. Reviews of the volumes in learned journals occasionally proposed a better reading or a more accurate rendering. The process of indexing itself brought out a few minor discrepancies among the various volumes.

The publication of the General Index also provided an opportunity to include the corrigenda for the entire series. To this purpose the scholars who had collaborated with the project were asked to provide a list of the errata that they had noticed in their published volumes. To these were added a few spotted in the course of the indexing and they were sent to the translators for checking and approval. In the case of two volumes, the list of errata was exceptionally long. This was partly due to the fact that the checking of their manuscripts had not been done as carefully as had been expected. It is hoped that in a second printing the corrections will be inserted in the texts themselves.

It is my pleasant duty to express my profound gratitude to all the scholars who have participated in this scholarly enterprise. I am most grateful to the National Endowment for the Humanities for its unfailing support; without its financial assistance the Project could not have been accomplished. The Project owes a great deal to Professor Everett Rowson whose incomparable editorial skills, his dedication to sound scholarship, and his exacting supervision of the indexing process have been a great asset. I cannot thank him enough for the tremendous amount of time he has spent on the Project. I would also like to express my deep appreciation to George Farr, the former Director of the Division of Preservation and Access at the NEH and Dr. Helen Agüera, Senior Program Officer in the same Division, for their unstinting encouragement and support of the Project, and would also like to thank the NEH officers who were involved in the earlier stages of the Project: Susan Mango, Dr. Martha Chomiak and Dr. Margot Backas. And finally I would like to thank Dina Amin of the Center for Iranian Studies, Columbia University, who has so ably attended to all the administrative and financial aspects of this Project.

Ehsan Yarshater, General Editor
December 22, 2005

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Preface



Perhaps the magnitude and richness of a work like al-Ṭabari's *History* can be fully appreciated only when one attempts to index it. Thousands of personal names (all too many of them beginning with Muḥammad), thousands of place names (some of them otherwise unknown, and what are the vowels?), and most of all thousands of subjects alluded to, briefly elucidated, or dwelt on at length present the indexer with a formidable task. Questions about al-Ṭabari's general approach to writing history, his preconceptions, his biases, his sources and their nature, and his reliability, feed an ever growing scholarly literature; but the task of the indexer is simply to provide optimal access to the information afforded by his text. With a work of this complexity, however, even that is not so simple.

To this task Alex Popovkin has brought impressive skills, both as an indexer and as an Arabist. Taking as his starting point a collocation of the indices to individual volumes of the translation—quite varied in their approaches but mostly restricted to proper names—he has proceeded to enrich them with an extraordinary range of subject entries, keyed in large part to the translators' explanatory footnotes but also embracing many other topics, from “pomegranates” to various forms of “punishment.” Comprehensiveness in subject indexing for such a large work is of course an unattainable goal, but it has been both his and my hope that the results will offer scholars access to that crucial bit of information on a given subject that they otherwise would never have found in this sprawling text. It is in this regard that I have found both Mr. Popovkin's imaginativeness and his meticulousness most impressive.

We have both learned a great deal as well about the complexities of the Arabic personal name. Literally thousands of email messages between us have been dedicated to such questions as whether Muḥammad b. Aḥmad in volume X is the same person as Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad in volume Y, and whether this person is al-Sulamī or al-Salmī.

We certainly have not solved all the problems, but I believe we have managed to devise a cross-referencing system that will alert readers to both the possibilities and the ambiguities when trying to track down a given individual. At the same time, we have identified, and worked out strategies for dealing with differences in individual translators' styles in coping with nomenclature, as well as pinpointing some errors, many of them due to the specific problems of individual manuscripts, that became apparent only by comparing different sections of the work. Except for minor vocalization problems, such errors are noted in the *Errata et Emendanda* section of this volume.

Publication of this index volume represents the completion of a project of extraordinary scope, and an instance of extraordinary scholarly collaboration. Over the course of twenty-five years more than thirty scholars of Islamic history have contributed to producing a fully annotated English translation of the single most important primary source in their field. It is regrettable that Professors Moshe Perlmann, W. Montgomery Watt, Ihsan Abbas, Martin Hinds, and Franz Rosenthal are no longer with us to enjoy its completion, and I am particularly saddened that that enjoyment is denied the late Estelle Whelan, who so expertly shepherded my own volume and many others through the editing process. But my greatest thanks, and those of all the participants, are reserved for Professor Ehsan Yarshater, who initially conceived the project and has overseen it from beginning to end. His unflagging dedication (and at times doggedness) have assured both the project's completion and its quality—and he has been a joy to work with. It is only his many other major contributions to the field that prevent this from being unambiguously his most outstanding one.

Everett K. Rowson



List of Volumes and Scholars



The list of the scholars who participated in the translation and annotation of the Volumes

I	General Introduction/From the Creation to the Flood	Franz Rosenthal
II	Prophets and Patriarchs	William M. Brinner
III	The Children of Israel	William M. Brinner
IV	The Ancient Kingdoms	Moshe Perlmann
V	The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen	C. E. Bosworth
VI	Muḥammad at Mecca	W. Montgomery Watt and M. V. McDonald
VII	The Foundation of the Community	M. V. McDonald, annotated by W. Montgomery Watt
VIII	The Victory of Islam	Michael Fishbein
IX	The Last Years of the Prophet	Ismail K. Poonawala
X	The Conquest of Arabia	Fred M. Donner
XI	The Challenge to the Empires	Khalid Yahya Blankinship
XII	The Battle of al-Qādisiyyah and the Conquest of Syria and Palestine	Yohanan Friedmann
XIII	The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia, and Egypt	Gautier H. A. Juynboll
XIV	The Conquest of Iran	G. Rex Smith
XV	The Crisis of the Early Caliphate	R. Stephen Humphreys
XVI	The Community Divided	Adrian Brockett
XVII	The First Civil War	G. R. Hawting
XVIII	Between Civil Wars: The Caliphate of Mu‘āwiyah	Michael G. Morony

XIX	The Caliphate of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiyah	Ian K. A. Howard
XX	The Collapse of Sufyānid Authority and the Coming of the Marwānids	G. R. Hawting
XXI	The Victory of the Marwānids	Michael Fishbein
XXII	The Marwānid Restauration	Everett K. Rowson
XXIII	The Zenith of the Marwānid House	Martin Hinds
XXIV	The Empire in Transition	David Stephan Powers
XXV	The End of Expansion	Khalid Yahya Blankinship
XXVI	The Waning of the Umayyad Caliphate	Carole Hillenbrand
XXVII	The ‘Abbāsīd Revolution	John Alden Williams
XXVIII	‘Abbāsīd Authority Affirmed	Jane Dammen McAuliffe
XXIX	Al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī	Hugh Kennedy
XXX	The ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate in Equilibrium	C. E. Bosworth
XXXI	The War between Brothers	Michael Fishbein
XXXII	The Reunification of the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate	C. E. Bosworth
XXXIII	Storm and Stress along the Northern Frontiers of the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate	C. E. Bosworth
XXXIV	Incipient Decline	Joel L. Kraemer
XXXV	The Crisis of the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate	George Saliba
XXXVI	The Revolt of the Zanj	David Waines
XXXVII	The ‘Abbāsīd Recovery	Philip M. Fields
XXXVIII	The Return of the Caliphate to Baghdad	Franz Rosenthal
XXXIX	Biographies of the Prophet’s Companions and Their Successors	Ella Landau-Tasseron



Guide to the Index



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I. General

The cumulative index to *The History of al-Ṭabarī* includes both proper names and subjects. For the former, and to a very limited extent the latter, it is based on the existing indices to the individual volumes. However, numerous revisions and adjustments have been required, mostly in order to achieve consistency across volumes, so that this cumulative index should be considered as superseding the individual ones. Translators' footnotes are not indexed directly, but much of their content is made accessible through relevant subject entries keyed to al-Ṭabarī's

text. The intent has been to make this an index specifically to al-Ṭabari's *History*, so that names mentioned only in the footnotes, for example, do not appear.

A list of Qur'ānic quotations and allusions (based on individual translators' footnotes) is provided in a separate section.

2. Transliteration and orthography

Tā' marbūṭah preceded by alif has been standardized as -āh for common nouns, -āt for proper names, e.g., *mu'ākhāh* (brotherhood bond) but Banū 'Abd Manāt.

Pairs of letters that might be mistaken for digraphs are separated by a ' sign, e.g., Abū Mus'hir, Ad'ham, Fak'hah.

Dual and sound masculine plural forms are cited in the nominative, e.g., al-Ḥaramān, al-Khallālūn (vinegar-sellers' quarter, in al-Baṣrah), excluding the traditional exceptions, e.g., al-Baḥrayn.

Compound personal names with Allāh as their second element are spelled as one word, e.g., 'Abdallāh, 'Āidhallāh, Hibatallāh, etc.

Dā'ūd has been standardized as Dāwūd.

Khuwārizm/Khwārizm has been standardized as Khwārazm.

3. Alphabetization

The alphabetization is word-by-word, with occasional adjustments mentioned below. When otherwise identical, common nouns and toponyms appear before personal names.

Non-sorting elements:

al-

Abū (Abī)

Banū (Banī)

Bint (bt.)

Ibn (b.) (except when followed by a common noun, e.g., *ibn al-sabīl*)
 Umm (except when followed by a common noun, e.g., *umm walad*,
 Umm Abīha, Umm al-Banīn)

When several non-sorting elements follow each other they appear alphabetically.

Letters without diacritics precede those with diacritics.

The few unvocalized (or partially vocalized) readings are sorted as is, e.g., B.n.j.r (? , ethnic group) appears after Bl- and before Bo-.

Dhī preceded by non-sorting elements is sorted with Dhū, so that their common identity is not broken, e.g., Ibn Dhī al-Burdayn al-Hilālī is sorted among entries beginning with Dhū.

4. Personal names

4.1. Order of elements

The normal ordering of name elements is as follows: *ism* + (b. *ism*) + (*nisbah*) (*kunyah*) (*laqab*), where the elements in parenthesis are optional, e.g., ‘Amr (*mawlā* of Abū Bakr); ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ribī al-Ṭā’ī, Abū Ghānim.

4.2. Exceptions

However, when a person is traditionally best known by his *kunyah*, *nisbah*, or *laqab* (or when al-Ṭabarī does not provide an *ism*), the ordering changes accordingly, e.g., Abū Ma‘bad al-Khuzā‘ī; al-Farazdaq (Hammām b. Ghālib b. Ṣa‘ṣa‘ah); Mā’ al-Samā’ (Māriyah bt. ‘Awf b. Jusham). In such cases the necessary cross-references are provided.

4.3. Ambiguous cases

On occasion it is uncertain whether persons mentioned by al-Ṭabarī with different name forms represent one individual or two, either due to variation in the components of the name cited or because of possible textual corruption. In such cases, the index records both variants separately, but adds a *see also* cross-reference to each entry to indicate their possible identity.

5. Toponyms

For the most part entries for toponyms are provided with identifying glosses, e.g., al-Kallā' (port and market, in al-Baṣrah). When further identification was not feasible the gloss is reduced to a generic "toponym", e.g., al-Abāriq (toponym).

6. Glosses

6.1. *General principles*

Glosses are used as follows:

- to distinguish otherwise identical entries by means of information provided by context or by the translators, e.g., Abū 'Umar (*kātib* of Sīmā al-Sharābī); Abū 'Umar (*qāḍī*);
- to supply an alternative name, or part thereof, as indicated by translators' notes, e.g., Abū Hishām al-Rifā'ī (Muḥammad b. Yazīd);
- to supply the translators' rendering of the Arabic (when the Arabic form is chosen as the main entry), or the Arabic original of the translated term, e.g., Nahr Abī al-Asad (Abū al-Asad Canal); or-nithomancy (*iyāfah*);
- to provide an explanation, e.g., al-Ḥiṣnān (i.e., al-Mawṣil and Nīnawā);
- to help in identifying the entry on the page, e.g., Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd (uncle of 'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd).

6.2. *List of Arabic terms*

The following Arabic terms because of variation in their rendering by the translators are left untranslated in glosses:

'ayyār vagabond
dihqān landlord, village head
ghulām page, servant boy
iṣbahbadh provincial military governor
jāriyah slave girl
kātib secretary
khādim eunuch, servant
khaṣī eunuch
mawlā (f. *mawlāh*) client, freedman
naqīb tribal chief

qāḍī judge

rāwī transmitter

umm walad concubine who has borne her master a child

7. Subject entries

7.1. *Scope*

Selection of entries has been discretionary and based in part on individual translators' choices, with index entries pointing to places where translators' notes supply additional information or al-Ṭabarī's text offers some substantial discussion and together with abundant cross-references maximize accessibility of al-Ṭabarī's discussion of a given topic. Comprehensiveness should not be assumed. Technical terms are a particular focus. Most common terms are indexed to their first occurrence only, or where they are discussed in translators' notes.

7.2. *English versus Arabic*

When a term has a single obvious English equivalent, the latter is selected as the main entry (with cross-references from the Arabic). In the more frequent cases of divergent translations it is the Arabic form that appears as the main entry, with the translations relegated to the glosses and appearing as cross-references, e.g., 'Ām al-Ramādah (Year of the Drought, Year of the Destruction).

8. Errors

Most errors encountered in standardizing the index across volumes pertain to the spelling and vocalization of proper names, and the line between error and simple variant is often a fuzzy one. Both glosses and cross-references have been utilized to accommodate individual translators' choices while ensuring that references to a single person or place are not fragmented. The index aspires to be as accurate as possible, staying true to al-Ṭabarī's text, and minor differences in vocalization between the index and the text are to be expected.

For a list of errors consult the Errata and Emendanda section.

9. Uncertainty about proper vocalization or identity

A question mark after a name or page reference indicates uncertainty about proper vocalization or identity, e.g., Ak.r.m (? , ethnic group) XXXIV:141; Banū Tha‘labah (of Ghaṭafān) XXXIV:26?; Abān (b. Ṣāliḥ?) XXXIX:203.