

Contents

List of Maps ix

Preface xi

Acknowledgments xv

A Note on Conventions xvii

- | | | |
|---|--|----|
| 1 | The Near East on the Eve of Islam | 1 |
| | The Empires of the Late Antique Near East | 3 |
| | Arabia between the Great Powers | 27 |
| | Mecca and Yathrib (Medina) | 34 |
| 2 | Muhammad and the Believers' Movement | 39 |
| | The Traditional Biography of Muhammad the Prophet | 39 |
| | The Problem of Sources | 50 |
| | The Character of the Early Believers' Movement | 56 |
| 3 | The Expansion of the Community of Believers | 90 |
| | Sources | 90 |
| | The Community in the Last Years of Muhammad's Life | 92 |

Succession to Muhammad and the <i>Ridda</i> Wars	97	
The Character of the Believers' Early Expansion	106	
The Course and Scope of the Early Expansion	119	
Consolidation and Institutions of the Early Expansion Era		133
4 The Struggle for Leadership of the Community, 34–73/655–692		145
Background of the First Civil War	146	
The Course of the First Civil War (35–40/656–661)	155	
Between Civil Wars (40–60/661–680)	170	
The Second Civil War (60–73/680–692)	177	
Reflections on the Civil Wars	189	
5 The Emergence of Islam		194
The Umayyad Restoration and Return to the Imperial Agenda		195
The Redefinition of Key Terms	203	
Emphasis on Muhammad and the Qur'an	205	
The Problem of the Trinity	212	
Elaboration of Islamic Cultic Practices	214	
Elaboration of the Islamic Origins Story	216	
The Coalescence of an "Arab" Political Identity	217	
Official vs. Popular Change	220	
<i>Appendix A: The umma Document</i>	227	
<i>Appendix B: Inscriptions in the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem</i>		233
<i>Notes and Guide to Further Reading</i>	237	
<i>Glossary</i>	257	
<i>Illustration Credits</i>	265	
<i>Index</i>	267	

Maps

1. The Byzantine and Sasanian Empires, ca. 565 C.E. 2
2. The last Byzantine-Sasanian War, ca. 610–628 C.E. 26
3. Arabia, ca. 600 C.E. 28
4. Early campaigns of expansion 120
5. The civil wars 156
6. Later campaigns of expansion 198

Index

- Abazqubadh, 128
Abbasid dynasty, 212
‘Abd Allah ibn Abi Sarh (early governor of Egypt for ‘Uthman), 130, 152, 155
‘Abd Allah ibn al-‘Abbas (early Qur’an exegete and scholar, and sometime political figure), 152, 168, 177–178
‘Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr (rival *amir al-mu’minin* to Umayyads): Second Civil War, 177–188, 192–193; as *amir al-mu’minin*, 182; coins issued by, 187, 205; changes to Ka‘ba by, 215
‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Amir ibn Kurayz (governor of Basra), 130, 152, 171, 173–174
‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Umar (prominent early follower of prophet), 177–178
‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (Umayyad *amir al-mu’minin*, 65–86/685–705): Second Civil War, 183, 186–188; as *amir al-mu’minin*, 188, 195–203, 221, 253; campaigns of expansion of, 196–199; piety of, 197; Dome of the Rock of, 199–202, 205, 208, 213, 221, 233–235, 254–255; new Qur’an of, 206–208, 221; icons of dynasty of, 208–210, 221, 254; *khalifat allah* title of, 209–211, 255; *hajj* of, 215–216. *See also* Emergence of Islam
‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Abi Bakr, 177–178
‘Abd al-Rahman ibn ‘Awf (early convert, member of *shura*), 41, 168
‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Khalid ibn al-Walid (commander in conquest of Armenia), 117
Abraha, Yemenite king, 34
Abraham, 49, 60, 66, 71
Abu Bakr (father-in-law and first successor of Muhammad, 11–13/632–634), 41, 43, 94–95; selection as successor of Muhammad, 98–99, 146–148; campaigns of expansion of, 99–106, 120–123, 151; taxation by, 100–102; death of, 123; on succession, 169
Abu Jahl (chief of Makhzum clan and bitter opponent of prophet), 42
Abu Lahab (uncle and bitter opponent of prophet), 42

- Abu Musa al-Ash'ari (commander in conquest and governor of Iraq), 128–129, 152, 154, 159, 161–162, 165
- Abu Sufyan (chief of Umayya clan in Muhammad's time), 44, 50, 95–96
- Abu Talib (paternal uncle and key supporter of Muhammad), 40, 42
- Abu 'Ubayd al-Qasim ibn Sallam (ninth-century author), 227
- Abu 'Ubayd al-Thaqafi (commander in conquest of Iraq), 126
- Abu 'Ubayda ibn al-Jarrah (commander in conquest of Syria), 121, 124–125
- Activism of early Believers, 82–88, 246–247; *hijra* as, 43, 85–86, 118, 134, 203–204; *jihad* as, 82–88, 116, 172
- Adam, 60
- Adhruh, 152
- Adulis, 4, 33
- Adultery, 135
- Aelana, 139
- Afghanistan, 105, 129–130, 173–174
- Africa (Byzantine province), 130, 173
- Ahriman, 18–20
- Ahwaz, 128
- 'A'isha (favorite wife of prophet, daughter of Abu Bakr), 43, 50, 95, 157–159
- Alcohol and intoxication, 66
- Aleppo, 124
- Alexander the Great, 5
- Alexandria, 132
- 'Ali ibn Abu Talib (cousin and son-in-law of prophet and his fourth successor, 35–40/656–661), 41, 43, 98, 102, 133; as *amir al-mu'minin*, 157–158, 160, 163; First Civil War of, 157–166, 170; death and succession of, 166–167; kinship to prophet of, 168; Shi'a allegiance to, 178–180, 183–184, 190–191
- Almsgiving, 63–64, 245
- Amir al-mu'minin*, 98–99, 105, 133, 134, 144, 150; First Civil War struggles over, 163, 164–165, 167; Second Civil War struggles over, 177–188
- 'Amir tribe, 101
- 'Ammar ibn Yasir (early Believer and supporter of 'Ali), 168
- 'Amr ibn al-'As (conqueror and governor of Egypt), 120–121, 132, 151–152; political and military career of, 93, 95, 157, 160–163, 165, 169; Syrian estates of, 96–97, 247; as governor of Egypt, 171
- 'Amr ibn al-Zubayr (brother of 'Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr), 180, 189
- 'Amr ibn Sa'id ibn al-'As (Umayyad rebel against 'Abd al-Malik), 186–188
- Amsar* (garrison towns), 136–141, 251; immigrants from Arabia in, 150; as bases for standing armies, 172
- Anastasius of Sinai, 107
- Anatolia, 174
- Anbar, 122
- Angels, 60–61
- Antioch, 8, 124
- Anti-Semitism, 13
- Apocalypticism, 15–16, 240, 246; of early Believers' movement, 78–82, 97, 125; as motivator for conquests, 143–144; redeemer (*mahdi*) of, 183–184, 192
- 'Aqraba', 101
- Al-Aqsa Mosque, 125
- Arabian peninsula: of late antiquity, 4, 27–34; map of, 28; tribal structure of, 28–29; pre-Islamic religious practices in, 29–31, 35, 41, 58–59, 241–242; *haram* settlements of, 30, 35–36, 40; Christian communities of, 30–31, 38, 54, 56; Jewish communities of, 30–31, 35, 38, 42; tradition of prophecy in, 31; economic significance of, 32–34; *rida* campaigns unifying, 100–105, 242, 248. *See also* Mecca; Medina (Yathrib)
- Arabic language, 139–140, 218–220
- '*arabiyya* literary language, 3, 218
- Arab political identity, 88, 217–220
- 'Arafat, 64
- Arculf (seventh-century European traveler to Palestine), 125
- Armenia, 130–131

- Arwad, 174
 Asad clan, 41, 103
 Asceticism, 13–15, 67, 240
 Ashja' tribe, 102
 'ashura', 64
 Aslam tribe, 100, 102
 Aswad al-'Ansi ("false prophet" in Yemen), 100, 127
 Awraba tribe, 172–174
 Aws clan, 35, 42, 74, 98
 Axum (Ethiopia), 4, 33, 34
 Ayla, 136–138, 140
 'Ayn al-Tamr, 122
 'Ayn Warda, battle of, 184, 189
 Azd tribe, 103, 124
- Badr raid, 46
 Bajila tribe, 102, 103, 126
 Bakr tribe, 100, 102
 Ba'labakk, 123
 Bali tribe, 102, 124
 Balqa', 121
 Bam, 130
 Banu Qayla clan, 42
 Banu Sa'ida clan, 98
 Bar'an Temple, Ma'rib, 29
 Barca, 130
 Bar Penkaye. *See* John bar Penkaye (Syriac chronicler)
 Basra, 128–130, 136, 172; First Civil War in, 154–156, 159, 165; Battle of the Camel of, 159; strategic importance of, 173–174
 Baysan, 123
 Believers' (*mu'minun*) movement, 24, 43–45, 58, 203–204. *See also* Early Believers' movement; Emigrants (*muhajirun*); Helpers (*ansar*)
 Belisarius (Byzantine general), 7
 Berbers, 172–174
 Bi'r Ma'una raid, 46
 Blessings, 68
 Bostra, 123
 Busr ibn Abi Artat (general for Mu'awiya), 166
- Bridge, battle of the, 126
 Buzakha, battle of, 101
 Byzantine Empire, 1–9, 239; maps of, 2, 26; Constantinople, 4–8, 131, 174–175, 196; Christianity of, 5, 9–16; reach of, 5–6, 9; vision of united world order of, 5–7, 10; Justinian's goals for, 7; wars with Sasanians of, 8–9, 18, 23–27; anti-Semitism in, 13; daily life in, 16–17; instable frontiers of, 22; alliances in Arabia of, 32–34; accounts of Islam in, 52–53, 92, 106–109, 111–113, 116–118, 134, 142, 248–250; Believers' expansion into, 105–107, 115–118, 121–126, 130–133, 174–175, 196–197; attacks on Arabian empire by, 186
 Byzantine-Sasanian Wars, 8–9, 18, 23–27
- Caesarea, 107, 118, 125
 Caliphs (*khalifa*), 99
 Camel, battle of the, 159
 Campaigns of expansion. *See* Expansion of the Believers' rule
 Cathisma Church, 115, 214
 Caucasus, 105, 117
 Central Asia, 105, 130
 Charity (*zakat* and *sadaqa*), 63–64, 245
 Christians/Christianity, 3; liturgical languages of, 3; of Byzantine empire, 5, 9–16; Justinian's Edict of 529 C.E., 5; doctrinal debates and sectarianism in, 10–13, 56, 239–240; anti-Semitism of, 13; asceticism and the monastic movement in, 13–15, 67–68, 240; apocalypticism in, 15–16, 246; of Sasanian Empire, 20–22; in Arabia, 30–31, 38, 241–242; trinitarian doctrine of, 58–59, 70, 77, 200–201, 204, 212–214, 221; fasting practices of, 64; in Believers' movement, 69–71, 87, 204, 206, 212–214, 221–222, 249; writings on the Believers by, 92, 111–112, 222–223; role of Jerusalem

- Christians/Christianity, (*continued*)
 for, 97, 201; conquest by early Believers
 of, 109–110, 124, 173, 176–177; in
 Believers' civil wars, 176, 177, 181–183;
 persistence in Syria of, 222
- Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem,
 125
- Civic life, 3, 17
- Civil wars (*fitna*), 145–193, 156, 251–253;
 leadership disputes causing, 145–155,
 189; First Civil War, 154–170; the year
 of coming together of, 170; Second
 Civil War, 177–188; ideological basis
 of, 189–190; savagery of, 189–190;
 new era emerging from, 190–193;
 ecumenism of, 193; as sign of the Last
 Judgment, 199
- Coins, 91–92, 99, 187, 205, 208–210, 221,
 254
- Commerce. *See* Trade
- Community of Believers. *See* Believers'
 (*mu' minun*) movement
- Conciliation of hearts, 169
- Conquests. *See* Expansion of the
 Believers' rule
- Constantine I, Byzantine emperor, 5, 9
- Constantinople, 4–5, 131; land walls of, 6;
 great buildings of, 7–8; Believers' raids
 on, 174, 175, 196
- Council of Chalcedon (451), 11
- Council of Ephesus (431), 11–12
- Crete, 174
- Crusades, 125
- Ctesiphon, 17–18, 19, 21, 128
- Cursing the opponent (*sabb*), 174
- Cyrenaica, 130
- Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria, 132
- Dahhak ibn Qays (shifts allegiance from
 Umayyads to Ibn al-Zubayr in Syria),
 182–183
- Damascus, 123, 139–140, 152
- Darabgird, 130
- Dathemon, battle of, 107
- Dathin, battle of, 106, 121
- Dayr al-Jathliq, battle of, 188
- Dhuhl tribe, 122
- Dhu Nuwas, Himyarite king, 34
- Diacritical marks, xvii–xviii, 207–208
- Dietary rules, 66, 202
- Diocletian, Byzantine emperor, 6
- Diwan* system, 136, 251
- Documentary sources. *See* Sources
- Dome of the Rock, 199–202, 205, 208,
 213, 221, 233–235, 254–255
- Donatists, 12
- Double *shahada*, 205–206, 208–210, 221,
 254–255
- Dress, 66
- Dumat al-Jandal, 47, 96, 162
- Dvin, 131
- Dyophysite churches, 11
- Early Believers' movement, 56–86, 94–95,
 164, 172, 190, 204, 206, 244–247;
umma (community) document, 44, 72–
 75, 227–232, 245; literary sources on,
 50–57; core tenets of, 57–61, 197–199;
 piety and righteous behavior of, 61–68;
 ecumenical monotheism of, 68–74, 87,
 212–214, 221, 244–245, 249; Muham-
 mad prophetic status in, 74–77; apoca-
 lypticism of, 78–82, 97, 246; activism
 (*jihad* and *hijra*) of, 82–88, 118, 134,
 172, 246–247; leadership struggles in,
 97–106, 145–155. *See also* Civil wars
 (*fitna*); Emergence of Islam; Expansion
 of the Believers' rule
- Earthquakes, 7
- Ecumenism, 68–74, 87, 119, 212,
 244–245; in expanded territories of
 Believers, 108–118, 176–177, 249–250;
 in shared places of worship, 115, 250;
 during civil wars, 193; later restrictions
 on, 203–204, 221–222
- Edict of Milan, 9–10
- Egypt, 105, 107; Believers' expansion into,
 108–110, 131–132; language use in,
 139; governance of, 141, 152; First Civil
 War in, 160; Second Civil War in, 183

- Ella Asbeha, Axumite king, 34
- Emergence of Islam, 194–224; reunification under Umayyad dynasty in, 195–203; Dome of the Rock, 199–202, 205, 213, 221, 233–235; Muslim identity in, 203–204, 217, 220–223; double *shahada* in, 205–206, 208–210, 212; status of Muhammad as prophet in, 205–206, 216–217; collection of *hadiths* in, 206, 215; improved Qur'an (Koran) of, 206–208; standardized iconography of, 208–210, 254–255; standardized weights and measures of, 209; *khalifat allah* title in, 209–211, 255; anti-trinitarian message of, 212–214, 221; ritual practices in, 214–216; origin and conquest stories of, 216–217, 255; Arab political identity in, 217–220
- Emigrants (*muhajirun*), 43–45, 49, 98, 102, 147–148
- Enjoyment, 68
- Erzurum, 131
- Eschatology. *See* Apocalypticism
- Ethiopia (Axum), 4, 33, 34
- Expansion of the Believers' rule, 90–144, 247–251; traditional Muslim accounts of, 90–91, 119–120; contemporary accounts of, 91–92, 106–109, 142; during Muhammad's last years, 92–97; religious motivation in, 94, 97, 107–119, 125, 143–144, 148, 172, 197; taxation (*sadaqa*) of, 94, 98, 100–102, 112–113, 117, 122, 130, 197; year of delegations of, 94; leadership struggles during, 97–106; under Abu Bakr, 99–105; *ridda* campaigns of, 100–105, 116, 242, 248; hierarchy of Believers during, 102–103; subject populations of, 102–103; conquest beyond Arabia, 105–109, 116–118, 120–133, 172–174; ecumenical monotheism of, 107–119, 176–177; treaties of, 117–118; maps of, 120, 198; military units of, 124–127, 129; institutions of governance of, 133–142, 171–172; material incentives for, 143; under Mu'awiya, 171–174, 253; late conquests of, 196–198
- Fahl, 123
- False prophets, 100–101
- Fars, 187, 205
- Fasting, 64–65, 215, 245
- Fatima (daughter of prophet), 43, 133, 157
- Fihri clan, 171, 182
- First Civil War, 154–170, 252; early dissidents of, 154–156; Battle of the Camel of, 159; Kharijites of, 162–165, 166, 167; ending of, 166–167
- Fitna, Fitan*, 145–146. *See also* First Civil War; Second Civil War
- Followers of Muhammad. *See* Believers' (*mu'minun*) movement
- Fustat, 132, 139, 154–156, 172
- Gabitha, battle of, 107
- Gadara, 201
- Gaza, battle of, 106, 121
- Georgia, 117
- Ghassan tribe, 32, 124
- Chatafan tribe, 100–101
- Ghifar tribe, 102
- Gorgan region, 129
- Gordian III, Byzantine emperor, 21
- Governance by the Believers, 133–142, 250; the *shura* in, 132–133, 147, 158, 163, 251; enforcement of religious observance in, 134–135, 142–143; role of *amir al-mu'minin* in, 134–135, 144, 150; generals and governors of, 135–136, 140–141, 152–153; distribution of lands and wealth under, 136, 140–141, 148–149, 176, 251–252; standing army in, 136, 172, 174; Believers' settlements (*amsar*) in, 136–141, 150, 251; Arabic language of, 139–140; resettlements of native populations under, 141–142; under Mu'awiya, 171–172; Christian and Jewish administrators of, 176, 182, 192, 222–223, 250

- Habib ibn Maslama al-Fihri (commander in conquests of Mesopotamia and Armenia), 117, 131
Hadith collections, 206, 215
 Hadramawt tribe, 124
 Hafsa, 95
 Hagia Sophia, 7–8
 Hajjaj ibn Yusuf (general and governor of Iraq for 'Abd al-Malik), 188, 197, 206–208
 Hamdan tribe, 124
 Hanifa tribe, 101, 102
 Harams, 30, 35–37, 40
 Harra, battle of the, 180–181, 190
 Hasan ibn 'Ali (elder son of 'Ali), 158, 166–167, 178
 Hashim clan, 42, 147, 161
 Hassan ibn Malik ibn Bahdal (chief of Syrian Kalb tribe), 182
 Hawazin tribe, 49, 95, 101
 Helpers (*ansar*), 43–45, 49, 102; in leadership struggles, 98, 151, 168; in First Civil War, 156–157, 159–160
 Hephthalites (White Huns), 173–174
 Heraclius, Byzantine emperor, 24–26, 124, 240
 “The Heresy of the Ishmaelites” (John of Damascus), 223
 Hijaz region, 34–35, 120, 126–127; in First Civil War, 160; in Second Civil War, 180–188; loss of political power of, 191; standardized weights and measures of, 209. *See also* Mecca; Medina (Yathrib)
Hijra, 43, 85–86, 118, 134, 203–204
 Hims, 124, 131, 139–140, 152, 172
 Himyar kingdom, 28, 124
 Hira, 122
 Hisham ibn 'Abd al-Malik (*amir al-mu'minin*, 105–125/724–743), 222
 The Hour. *See* Last Judgment
 Hudaybiya agreement, 48–49, 60, 65–66, 92–93
 Hujr ibn 'Adi al-Kindi (early Shi'ite dissident), 174–175
 Hunayn, battle of, 49
 Husayn ibn 'Ali (younger son of 'Ali, rebel against Yazid ibn Mu'awiya), 177–180, 184–185, 190–191
 Iberia, 105, 196
 Ibn Mas'ud (early Kufan Qur'an reciter), 154
 Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri (early scholar), 216
 Ibrahim ibn al-Ashtar (Shi'ite leader in Iraq), 185
 'Ijl tribe, 122
 Indus valley, 105, 196–197
 Inscriptions in the Dome of the Rock, 233–235, 254–255
 Iran, 105; Believers' expansion into, 108–112, 129–131; language use in, 140
 Iraq, 105; Believers' expansion into, 107–110, 122, 125–129; *amsar* (garrison towns) in, 136; First Civil War in, 160; Second Civil War in, 183–188
 Isfahan, 129
 Islam: core tenets of, 41, 46, 49; meaning of *islam*, 57–58, 71–72; emergence from the Believers' movement of, 111–112, 119, 194–224; statement of faith of, 112; Christian writings on, 222–223. *See also* Qur'an (Koran)
 Islamic calendar (AH), xviii, 43
 Islamic era, 3
 Istakhr, 130, 140
 'Iyad, 117
 'Iyad ibn Ghanm (commander in conquest of Mesopotamia), 131
 Jafnid clan of al-Jabiya, 32
 Jalula', battle of, 128
 Jarir ibn 'Abd Allah al-Bajali (commander in conquest of Iraq), 126, 152
 Jawlan plateau, 121
 Jerusalem, 97, 250; Mar Saba monastery of, 12; religious significance of, 13, 25, 27, 125, 143–144; Temple Mount of, 13, 125, 200–202; Sasanian occupa-

- tion of, 25–27; Believers' raids on, 107; Believers' occupation of, 125; Dome of the Rock of, 199–202, 205, 208, 213, 221, 233–235, 254–255
- Jesus, 60, 212–213, 255; doctrinal debates over nature of, 10–13; on the Temple Mount, 13; in apocalyptic predictions, 16
- Jews/Judaism: anti-Semitism of Christians toward, 13; Babylonian communities of, 20, 212; Arabian communities of, 30–31, 35, 38, 42, 44, 240; clashes with Muhammad of, 46–47, 73–74, 82; fasting practices of, 64; in Believers' movement, 69–74, 87, 204, 206, 221–222, 245–246, 249; writings on the Believers by, 92, 111–112; role of Jerusalem for, 97, 201; under conquest by early Believers, 109–110, 141–142, 176–177
- Jihad*, 87–88, 116; as activism of early Believers, 82–86, 116, 172, 246–247; classic doctrine of, 85
- Job, 60
- John bar Penkaye (Syriac chronicler), 112–114, 142, 176
- John of Damascus (financial administrator for later Umayyads), 176, 222–223, 253
- Judgment Day. *See* Last Judgment
- Judham tribe, 124, 182–183
- Juhayna tribe, 102
- Julanda clan of Oman, 32
- Jurjan, 196
- Justinian I, Byzantine emperor, 7; Edict of 554 C.E., 5; Hagia Sophia of, 7–8; invasion of Yemen by, 34
- Ka'ba shrine, 35, 37, 40, 241; as pilgrimage destination, 47, 64–66; origins of, 49, 66; purification of, 49, 66; Second Civil War, 181; restoration of, 215
- Kabul, 173–174
- Kalb tribe, 176, 177, 181–183, 192–193, 212, 252
- Karbala', 178, 184–185, 190–191
- Kaskar, 122
- Kavad II, Sasanian king, 26–27
- Kazerun, 130
- Khadija, first wife of Muhammad, 40–42
- Khalid ibn al-'As (governor of Mecca for 'Umar and Mu'awiya), 171
- Khalid ibn al-Walid (military commander), 93, 95, 151; *ridda* campaign of, 100–105; foreign campaigns of, 121–123, 126
- Khalid ibn Asid (military commander during *ridda*), 100
- Khalifat allah* title, 209–211, 255
- Kharijites, 189–190, 191; in First Civil War, 162–165, 166, 167; in Second Civil War, 186, 187
- Khath'am tribe, 124
- Khawla bint Ja'far "al-Hanafiyya" (captive of Hanifa tribe, concubine of 'Ali), 102–103, 183
- Khawlan tribe, 124
- Khaybar, 47, 48, 93, 95
- Khazraj clan, 35, 42, 74, 98
- Khorezm, 196
- Khosro I Anoshirwan, Sasanian king, 18, 22
- Khosro II Parviz, Sasanian king, 8–9, 18, 24–25, 26, 34
- Khurasan, 129, 130
- Khutba* (sermon), 214–215
- Khuza'a tribe, 95
- Khuzistan, 128–129
- Kinana tribe, 100, 124
- Kinda tribe, 102, 124
- Kitab al-amwal*, 227
- Koran. *See* Qur'an (Koran)
- Kufa, 150; Believer's expansion into, 128–131, 136, 139; leadership in, 153; First Civil War in, 154–156, 158–159, 163–164, 167; strategic importance of, 172, 173–174; Second Civil War in, 177–188, 191–192; Shi'ism of, 183–186; Penitents of, 184–185, 189
- Kusayla (Berber chief), 173

- Lakhm tribe, 124, 128
 Last Judgment, 59, 78–82, 97; as motivator for conquests, 125, 143–144, 197–199; redeemer (*mahdi*) of, 183–184, 192; Dome of the Rock, 202
 Late antiquity, 1–3, 238–239; maps of, 2, 26; Sasanian Empire of, 3–4, 17–27; Byzantine Empire of, 3–17; commerce of, 23–24, 32–34, 36–37; wars of, 24–27; Arabia of, 27–34
 Late-origins hypothesis (of Qur'an), 54–56, 243
 Later campaigns of expansion, 196–198
 Later Roman Empire. *See* Byzantine Empire
 Leadership: of early advisors to Muhammad, 94–96; Quraysh tribe in, 95–97, 98, 102, 105, 147–151, 171, 189, 192–193; succession struggles in, 97–106, 145–155; *amir al-mu'minin* title, 98–99, 150; piety of, 151–152, 153, 162–163, 167, 169–170, 180; Umayyad clan in, 152–153, 170–171, 177–188; role of precedence in, 167–168; role of kinship in, 168; effectiveness of, 168–169; Kharijite views of, 189. *See also* Civil wars (*fitna*)
 Leather, 33
 Libya, 130
 Literary sources. *See* Sources
 Lot, 60
 Madhar, 122, 185
 Madhhij tribe, 103, 124
 Maghrib, 173
Mahdi, 183–184, 192
 Mahra, 100
 Makhzum clan, 42, 93, 171
 Makran, 130
 Malik "al-Ashtar" al-Nakha'i (commander in conquest of Iraq), 150, 158–159
 Malik ibn Bahdal (chief of Syrian Kalb tribe), 128
 Ma'mun (Abbasid caliph, 198–218/813–833), 233, 235
 Manadhir, 128–129
 Manbij, 124
 Manichaeism, 20, 22, 76
 Maps: Byzantine Empire, ca. 565 C.E., 2; Sasanian Empire, ca. 565 C.E., 2; last Byzantine-Sasanian War, 26; Arabia, ca. 600 C.E., 28; campaigns of expansion, 120, 198
 Mardaite tribe, 186
 Marj Rahit, battle of, 183, 185
 Mar Saba monastery, 12
 Martyrdom, 191
 Martyrium design, 200–202
 Marv, 130, 140, 173–174
 Marwan ibn al-Hakam (Umayyad chief and *amir al-mu'minin*, 64–65/684–685), 158, 170, 182–183
 Massisa, 131
 Maurice, Byzantine emperor, 24
 Maysun (Mu'awiya's wife, of Kalb tribe), 176, 177
 Mazdakism, 20, 22
 Mecca, 34–38, 102; Ka'ba shrine of, 35, 37, 40, 64–66, 181, 215, 241; commerce of, 36–38, 40; Muhammad's struggle with, 40–49, 80–81, 92–93, 151; pilgrimages to, 47–48, 50, 64, 215–216; Hudaybiya agreement of, 48–49; Muhammad's return to, 49–50, 93–95, 169; as direction of prayer, 125; First Civil War in, 166; Second Civil War in, 180–182, 188. *See also* Emigrants (*muhajirun*)
 Medina (Yathrib), 34–35, 102; Jewish community of, 35, 43–44, 45–47, 72–74, 82; Muhammad's emigration to, 42–43; political autonomy of, 43–44; emigrants to, 43–45, 98; Muhammad's work in, 43–50, 74–77, 92–95; *umma* (community) document of, 44, 72–75, 227–232, 245; social regulation of, 81; taxation (*sadaqa*) by, 94, 98, 100–102; leadership struggles in, 98–99; succession struggles in, 98–100; First Civil War in, 166; Second Civil War

- in, 180–182. *See also* Emigrants (*muhajirun*); Helpers (*ansar*)
- Mesopotamia, 130–131
- Militancy. *See* *Jihad*
- Military forces, 124–127, 129; nomads in, 100, 102, 124, 126; standing army of, 136, 172, 174, 248; garrison towns (*amsar*) of, 136–141, 150, 172–174, 191–192; salaries of, 174, 175, 197; Christians and Jews in, 176, 181, 212. *See also* Leadership
- Modesty, 66
- Monastic movement, 12, 14–15, 240
- Monophysite churches, 11, 16, 20–21, 132, 176, 212
- Monotheism, 38, 87; of Christianity and Judaism, 10, 30–31, 204, 221; Zoroastrian form of, 20; of Believers, 41, 46, 49, 58–59, 204; ecumenism of, 68–74, 109–114, 119, 212, 249–250; expansion of, 101–102
- Montanists, 31
- Moses, 60
- Mosques, 44
- Mosul, 131
- Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan (Umayyad *amir al-mu'minin*, 41–60/661–680), 50, 96; as *amir al-mu'minin*, 99, 102–103, 163–165, 167, 170–177, 252–253; ties with Syrian Christians of, 128, 176–177, 182, 252; as governor of Syria, 141–142, 152; First Civil War of, 158–166, 169; appointments by, 170–171; conquests by, 171–174; dissatisfaction with leadership of, 174–177; wealth of, 175–176; death and succession of, 177–178; *maqsurah* screen of, 215–216
- Mu'awiya II ibn Yazid (Umayyad *amir al-mu'minin* briefly in 64/684), 181–182, 192
- Mughira ibn Shu'ba (prophet's body-guard; governor of Kufa), 171, 174
- Muhajir ibn Abi Umayya (military commander during *riddah*), 100
- Muhajirun*, 85, 203–204
- Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah, the prophet, 1; birth of, 38; traditional biography of, 39–56, 242, 244–245; status as prophet of, 60, 74–77, 93, 111–112, 204–206, 216–217; expanded influence of, 92–97, 120, 169; death and succession of, 97–106, 146; kinship of, 168; *hadiths* of, 206, 215; origin stories of, 216–217. *See also* Leadership; Qur'an (Koran)
- Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr (governor of Egypt for 'Ali), 159–160, 164–165
- Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya (son of 'Ali by Khawla), 102, 183–184
- Muhammad ibn al-Qasim al-Thaqafi (conqueror of Sind), 196–197
- Muhammad ibn Ishaq (eighth-century author), 227
- Mukhtar ibn Abi 'Ubayd (Shi'ite leader in Iraq), 178–180, 183–186, 191–192
- Mu'minin, 57. *See also* Believers' (*mu'minin*) movement
- Mus'ab ibn al-Zubayr (governor of Iraq for his brother 'Abd Allah ibn al-Zubayr), 182, 185–188
- Musa ibn Nusayr (commander in conquest of North Africa), 196
- Musaylima ("false prophet" of Hanifa tribe), 101
- Mushrikun*. *See* Polytheism
- Muslim ibn 'Aqil ibn Abi Talib (cousin and supporter of Husayn ibn 'Ali), 178
- Muslims (*muslimun*), 57–58; original meaning of *muslim*, 71–72; redefined meaning of *muslim*, 203–204, 217, 220–223
- Muthanna ibn Haritha (chief of Shayban tribe during conquest), 122, 126
- Muzayna tribe, 95, 102
- Nabi*. *See* Prophets/prophecy (*nabi* and *rasul*)
- Nadir clan, 35, 42, 46–47, 73
- Nahrawan massacre, 162–164, 166

- Najd, 101, 127
 Najda ibn 'Amir (Kharijite leader in eastern Arabia), 186
 Najran, 166
 Nakhla raid, 45, 51
 Namir ibn al-Qasit tribe, 122
 Nasrid clan, 32
 Nazoreans, 31
 Nestorians, 11–12, 13, 20–22, 212, 249
 Nihavand, 129
 Nishapur, 129
 Noah, 60
 Nomads, 86, 95, 134; participation in *ridda* wars of, 100, 102; as target of expansion, 121–122; participation in Believers' expansion campaigns of, 124, 126
 North Africa, 105, 131–132, 172–173, 253
 Numerology, 51
 Oases, 35–36
 Occasions of revelation literature, 53–54
 Ohrmazd (Ahura Mazda), 18–20
 Origin stories, 216–217, 255
 Orthodox Christianity. *See* Christians/Christianity
 Pagans. *See* Polytheism
 Palestine: Believers' expansion into, 106–107, 108–110, 118, 121, 124–125; *amsar* (garrison towns) in, 136; Second Civil War in, 183
 Papyri, 91–92, 99
 Passivity, 83
 Penkaye. *See* John bar Penkaye
 Persian Empire. *See* Sasanian Empire
 Philip the Arab, Byzantine emperor, 21
 Phocas, Byzantine emperor, 24–25
 Piety and righteous behavior, 61–68, 245, 255; prayer as, 44–45, 61–63, 115, 125, 139, 214–216, 245, 255; pilgrimage as, 47–48, 50, 64, 215–216; charity (*zakat* and *sadaqa*) as, 63–64, 245; fasting as, 64–65, 215, 245; dietary rules of, 66, 202; modesty as, 66; expectations of leaders of, 151–152, 153, 162–163, 167, 169–170, 180; of Kharijites, 162–164
 Pilgrimages, 153, 215–216; lesser (*'umra*) pilgrimages, 47–48, 64; major (*haji*) pilgrimages, 50, 64
 Plague, 7–8
 Polytheism, 29–31, 35, 41, 58–59, 87
 Prayer, 44–45, 61–63, 214–216, 245, 255; direction of, 45, 115, 125; Arabic language of, 139; at Friday services, 214–215
 Precedence (*sabiqa*), 167–168
 Prophets/prophesy (*nabi* and *rasul*), 31, 59–61, 76–77, 242, 246; Muhammad's status as, 60, 74–77, 93, 111–112, 204–206, 216–217; false prophets, 100–101
 Qadisiyya, battle of, 128
 Qashan, 129
 Qatari ibn al-Fuja'a (Kharijite leader), 187
 Qaynuqa' clan, 35, 42, 46, 73–74
 Qayrawan, 173
 Qays tribe, 182–183
 Qazvin, 129
Qibla (prayer orientation), 45, 115, 125, 214
 Qinnasrin, 124
 Qom, 129
 Qumis, 129
 Qur'an (Koran), 53–57; origin of, 40–41, 54–56, 116, 243–244; occasions of revelation literature on, 53–54; monotheism in, 68–72, 87; Meccan and Medinese sections of, 80–81; escape clauses of, 83–84; 9th chapter (*Surat al-tawba*) of, 83–84; Arabic language of, 139, 218; codification under 'Uthman of, 153–154; early reciters of, 154; original codices of, 154; use in battle of, 161; definition of *muslim* in, 204; legitimation by al-Malik of, 206–208, 221; English translations of, 242–243

- Quraysh tribe, 35–37, 40; clashes with Muhammad of, 41–42, 44–48, 49; as early Believers, 42–43, 93; Hudaybiya agreement of, 48–50, 92–93; leadership roles of, 95–97, 98, 102, 105, 124, 147–151, 171, 189, 192–193; wealth of, 149–150; in First Civil War, 156–158, 177–178; in Second Civil War, 181, 182. *See also* Umayyad clan
- Qurayza clan, 35, 42, 47, 73, 82
- Qurra ibn Sharik (governor of Egypt), 207
- Al-Rabadha, 100, 104, 248
- Ramadan fast, 64, 215
- Ramhormuz, 128–129
- Rasul*. *See* Prophets/prophecy (*nabi* and *rasul*)
- Rayy, 129
- Redeemer (*mahdi*), 183–184, 192
- Reunification. *See* Emergence of Islam
- Rhodes, 174
- Ridda* campaigns, 100–105, 116, 242, 248; subject populations from, 102–103; ideological goals of, 103–104; military organization of, 103–105; loyalists of, 127
- Righteous behavior. *See* Piety and righteous behavior
- Ritual practices. *See* Piety and righteous behavior; Prayer
- Roman Empire, 1–10; reach of, 5–6, 9; coordinate emperors of, 6–7; deified emperors of, 10. *See also* Byzantine Empire
- Ruqayya (daughter of prophet), 41
- Rustam (Sasanian general), 128
- Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas (commander in conquest of Iraq), 41, 127–128, 152–153, 160
- Safar, battle of, 161
- Sahm clan, 171
- Sa'id ibn al-'As (governor in Kufa and Medina), 150, 152, 170
- St. Menas Church, 108
- St. Sergius, 181
- St. Simeon monastery, 14–15, 222–223
- St. Simeon the Stylite, 13, 15
- Sajah ("false prophetess" of Tamim tribe), 101
- Sakun tribe, 102, 124
- Salih, 60
- San'a', 166
- Sarakhs, 130
- Sarat region, 126–127
- Sarjun (Sergius) ibn Mansur (chief financial administrator for Mu'awiya), 176, 182, 192, 253
- Sasanian Empire, 3–4, 17–27, 240–241; maps of, 2, 26; wars with Byzantium of, 8–9, 18, 23–27; Zoroastrianism of, 13, 18–20, 22; Ctesiphon, 17–18, 19, 21, 128; reach of, 17–18, 22–23; non-Zoroastrian communities of, 20–22; hierarchical society of, 22; alliances in Arabia of, 31–34; Believers' expansion into, 105–107, 115–118, 121, 125–131
- Script, 207–208
- Sebeos (Armenian bishop and chronicler), 114, 136
- Second Civil War, 177–188, 253; early Shi'ism in, 178–180; Battle of the Harra of, 180–181; in Arabia, 180–182, 188; in Syria, 181–183, 186–188; Battle of Marj Rahit of, 183, 185; in Iraq, 183–188; Kharijite rebellion of, 186, 187
- Sergius ibn Mansur. *See* Sarjun (Sergius) ibn Mansur (chief financial administrator for Mu'awiya)
- Shahada*, 112, 205–206, 208–210, 212, 249, 254–255
- Shapur I, Sasanian king, 21
- Shayban tribe, 100, 102–103, 122, 126–128
- Shi'ism: emergence of, 157, 178, 190–191; eschatological redeemer (*mahdi*) of, 183–184, 192; in the Second Civil War, 183–186; role of 'Ali and Husayn in, 190–191; martyrdom in, 191

- Shurahbil ibn Hasana (commander in conquest of Syria), 121
- Shuras*, 132–133, 147, 158, 163, 251
- Sijistan, 130, 196
- Silk Road, 23–24, 33
- Single *shahada*, 112, 212, 249, 254–255
- Sira* (biography of Muhammad), 227
- Sistan, 173–174
- Slavery, 102–103, 107, 197
- Sophronius (bishop of Jerusalem), 107, 110, 116
- Sources: traditional Muslim accounts, 50–52, 91, 98, 104, 106, 119–120, 133–134; contemporary non-Muslim accounts, 52–53, 92, 106–113, 116–118, 134, 142, 248–250; the *Qur'an* (Koran), 53–57, 90–91; documentary evidence, 91–92, 99, 104, 107, 112–116, 205
- South Asia, 105–106
- Statement of faith (*shahada*), 112, 205–206, 208–210, 212, 254–255
- Struggles among Believers. *See* Civil wars (*fitna*)
- Sulayman ibn 'Abd al-Malik (Umayyad *amir al-mu'minin*, 96–99/715–717), 196
- Sulaym tribe, 95, 101, 102, 124
- Sunni, 191
- Susa, 128–129
- Syria, 96–97, 105; Believers' expansion into, 107–110, 120–126; *amsar* (garrison towns) in, 136–139; language use in, 139–140; Believers' governance of, 141–142; governance of, 152; First Civil War in, 160–166, 252; Kalb tribe of, 176, 177, 181–183, 192–193, 212, 252; Second Civil War in, 181–183, 186–188; Umayyad dynasty in, 194–224
- Tabala, 166
- Al-Tabari, 117
- Tabaristan, 130, 196
- Tabuk, 50
- Ta'if, 42, 49, 93, 95, 102, 126, 166
- Talha ibn Khuwaylid ("false prophet" of Asad tribe), 101, 127
- Talha ibn 'Ubayd Allah (Meccan leader in First Civil War), 41, 149–150, 157–159, 168
- Tamim tribe, 101, 102–103, 122
- Tariq ibn Ziyad (commander in conquest of North Africa and Spain), 196
- Tarsus, 131
- Taxation (*sadaqa*), 94, 98, 100–102; of monotheist populations, 112–113, 117, 122, 176; of foreign populations, 130, 136, 140–142, 149, 197; non-Muslim administrators of, 176
- Taym clan, 41
- Tayyi' tribe, 101, 102
- Temple Mount, Jerusalem, 13, 125, 200–202
- Thaqif, 102, 127, 129
- Thaqif tribe, 49, 126, 171
- Theodore (Byzantine general), 124
- Theodosius I, Byzantine Emperor, 9, 13
- Theophanes (ninth-century Byzantine chronicler), 174
- Thomas the Presbyter, 53, 106
- Trade, 23–24; on the Silk Road, 23–24, 33; in Arabia, 32–34, 36–37, 40
- Transformation of Believers' movement. *See* Emergence of Islam
- Transliteration conventions, xvii–xviii
- Trench, battle of the, 47, 74, 82, 103
- Trinitarian doctrine of Christianity, 58–59, 70, 77, 200–201, 204, 212–214, 221
- Tripoli, 125, 141–142, 172
- True Cross, 25, 27
- Tunisia, 130, 173
- Tus, 130
- Tustar, 129
- 'Ubayd Allah ibn Ziyad (governor of Iraq), 174, 178–180, 182–185, 189
- Ubayy ibn Ka'b (early Syrian *Qur'an* reciter), 154
- Ubullā, 122, 128

- Uhud, battle of, 46, 93, 103
- ‘Ukaz, 33
- ‘Uman, 93, 96, 100
- ‘Umar ibn al-Khattab (second successor of Muhammad, 13–23/634–644), 95, 97; selection as *amir al-mu’minin* of, 105, 146–148; foreign campaigns of, 105–106, 123, 125–127, 130–133; death and succession of, 132–133; governance of foreign lands under, 149; leadership policies of, 151; on succession, 169
- ‘Umar II ibn ‘Abd al ‘Aziz (Umayyad *amir al-mu’minin*, 99–101/717–720), 221–223
- Umayyad clan, 41, 44, 95–96; leadership roles of, 152–153, 170–171, 177–188; recognition by Sunnis of, 191; transformation of Believers’ movement under, 195–203, 216–217; coins of dynasty of, 208–210, 255. *See also* ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan (Umayyad *amir al-mu’minin*, 65–86/685–705); Emergence of Islam; Second Civil War
- Umma* (community) document, 44, 72–75, 227–232, 245
- Umm Kulthum (daughter of prophet), 41
- Umm Qays, 201
- ‘Uqba ibn Nafi‘ (governor of North Africa for Mu‘wiya), 171, 173
- ‘Urwa ibn al-Zubayr (early scholar), 216
- ‘Utba ibn Ghazwan (commander in conquest of southern Iraq, governor), 134–135
- ‘Uthman ibn ‘Affan (third successor to Muhammad, 23–34/644–656), 41; foreign campaigns of, 105–106, 130–133; as *amir al-mu’minin*, 133, 146–148; institutions of governance of, 139; dissatisfaction with leadership of, 150–156, 170; family favoritism of, 152–153; religious practice of, 153; codification of the Qur’an (Koran) by, 153–154, 252; First Civil War of, 155–156; murder of, 156–157, 158, 162–163
- Valerian, Byzantine emperor, 21
- Wadi al-Qura, 95
- Walid ibn ‘Abd al-Malik (Umayyad *amir al-mu’minin*, 86–96/705–715), 196
- Walid ibn ‘Uqba (early governor in Iraq), 152, 153, 157–158
- Wars. *See* Civil wars (*fitna*); Expansion of the Believers’ rule
- Writing, 207–208
- Yamama, 101, 175
- Yarmuk, battle of, 107, 124, 125, 127
- Yathrib. *See* Medina (Yathrib)
- Yazd, 129
- Yazdagird III, Sasanian king, 128–129
- Yazid ibn Abi Sufyan (commander in conquest of Syria), 50, 96, 121, 151,
- Yazid ibn Mu‘awiya (Umayyad *amir al-mu’minin*, 60–64/680–683), 177–182, 192
- Year of delegations, 94
- Yemen, 27–28, 127; Jewish communities of, 30; economic significance of, 33–34; Ethiopian invasion of, 34; Sasanian occupation of, 34; early outposts of Believers in, 96; military recruits from, 103; in Believers’ expansion campaigns, 124, 127
- Zabulistan, 130
- Zachariah, 60
- Zaranj, 173–174
- Zayd ibn Haritha (adopted son of prophet), 47, 48
- Zayd ibn Thabit (charged with preparing first edition of Qur’an), 153–154

Ziyad ibn Abihi (or ibn Abi Sufyan)
(Mu'awiya's long-term governor in
Iraq), 113, 171, 173–174

Zoroastrians/Zoroastrianism, 13,
18–20, 22, 110–111, 130, 212, 241,
249

Zubayr ibn al 'Awwam (Meccan leader in
first civil war), 41, 149–150, 158–159, 168

Zuhra clan, 41

Al-Zuhri. *See* Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri (early
scholar)

Zurvanism, 20