

VARIORUM COLLECTED STUDIES SERIES

**Jews and Arabs in
Pre- and Early
Islamic Arabia**



Professor Michael Lecker
(Photo: Douglas Guthrie, Jerusalem)

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Pre- and Early
Islamic Arabia**

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PREFACE

The articles included in this volume were published between the years 1985–97. As can be seen from the table of contents, they are not arranged chronologically but according to subjects. I have taken the opportunity to correct some slips and add several notes. The extensive index prepared for this volume, while giving away a love for details, demonstrates the egalitarian nature of Islamic historiography which accords thousands of men and women a name and a voice of their own.

The study of Islamic history and literature is a relatively young field of research, hence the large number of unexplored Arabic sources. In fact, the gap between current research and the potential evidence seems to be growing as more and more sources, some of which are quite voluminous, arrive at our libraries. Considering the difficulties of language and interpretation, progress is bound to be arduous and slow. However, we are now better equipped than ever before to study the history and literature of Islam during its formative centuries.

The tradition of philological training in Arabic is still alive in Jerusalem which is a hub of research into a variety of Islamic texts. Theories come and go, but in order to thoroughly study the history of Islam and the emergence of Islamic historiography we must explore the broadest possible spectrum of the textual evidence.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to Professor M.J. Kister and Professor L.I. Conrad for initiating this volume.

My thanks are due to the editors and publishers of the journals in which the articles originally appeared, for permission to

reprint them in this volume: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* (II, VIII, IX, X, XI); the American Oriental Society (XIV); *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, and the University of Chicago Press (III, VII); *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* and Cambridge University Press (XV); *Journal of Semitic Studies* and Oxford University Press (XVI); *Le Muséon* (I, VI); *Oriens* and E.J. Brill, Leiden (IV); *al-Qanṭara* (XII); *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* (V); *Studia Islamica* (XVIII); *Die Welt des Orients* (XIII); and *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (XVII).

I am grateful to Dr John Smedley and Mrs Ruth Peters for their good counsel and help with regard to the organization and production of this volume.

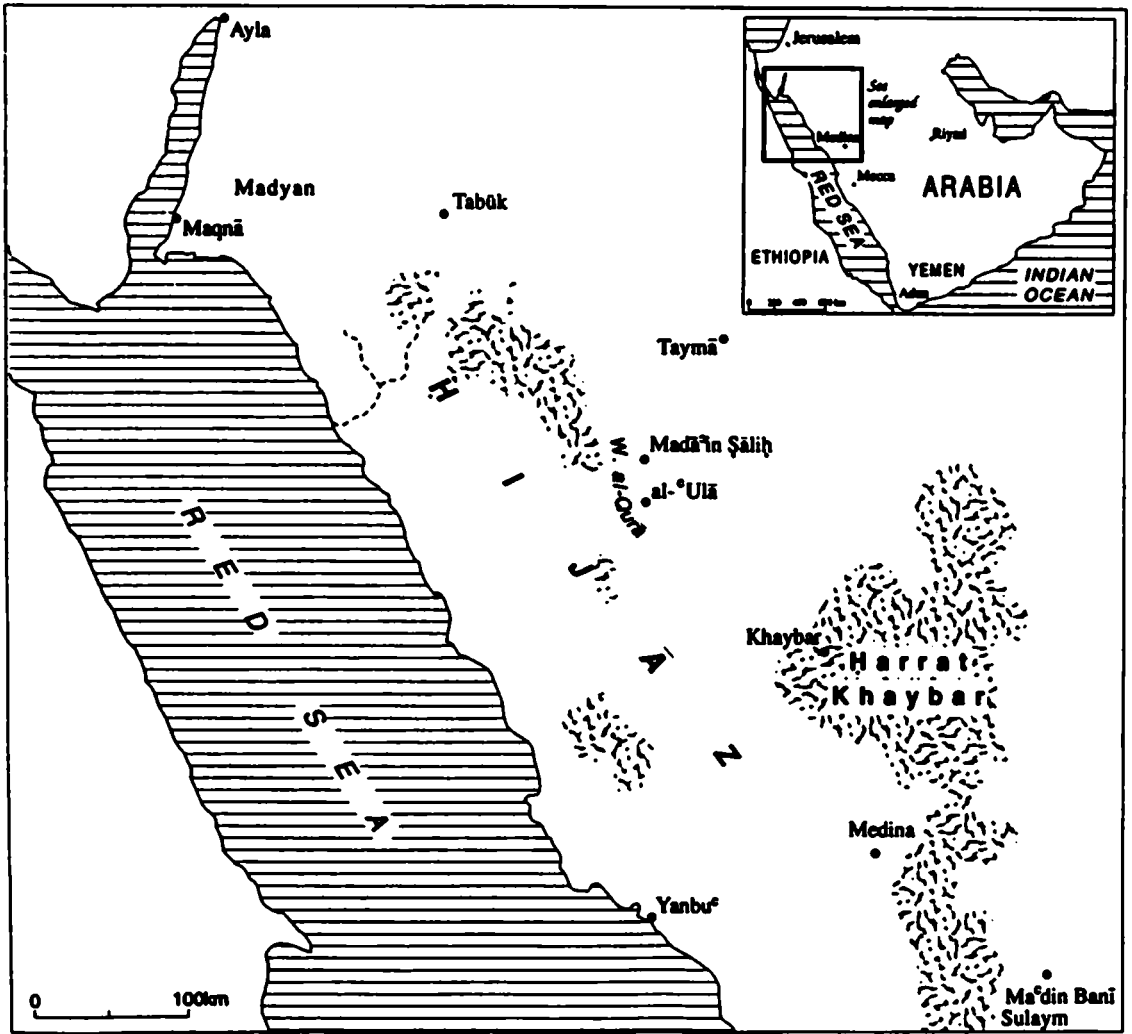
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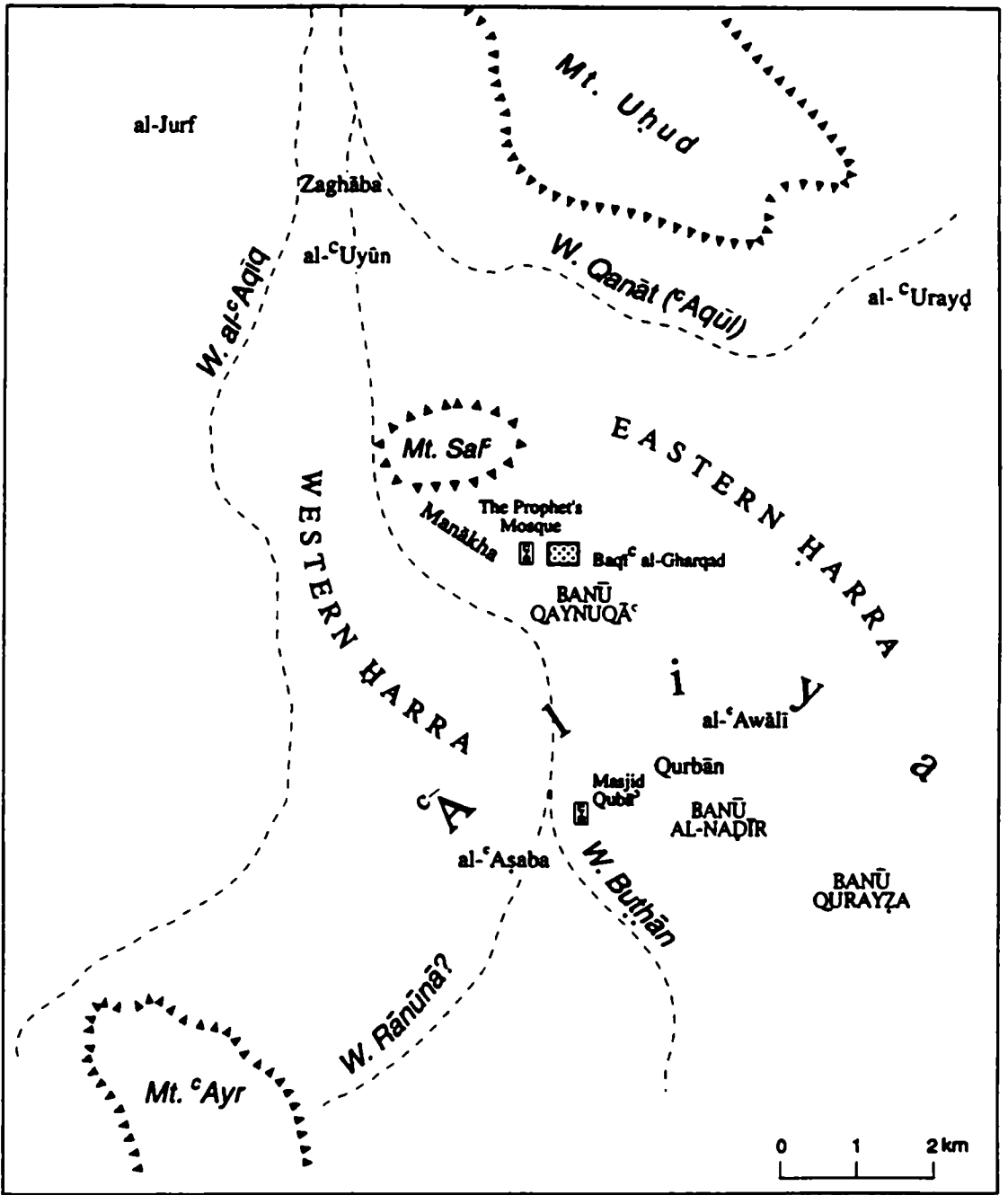
The articles in this volume, as in all others in the Collected Studies Series, have not been given a new, continuous pagination. In order to avoid confusion, and to facilitate their use where these same studies have been referred to elsewhere, the original pagination has been maintained wherever possible.

Each article has been given a Roman numeral in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page and quoted in the index entries.



Map 1: North-Western Arabia

Reproduced by kind permission of E.J. Brill, Leiden.



Map 2: Medina and its surroundings

Reproduced by kind permission of E.J. Brill, Leiden.

IDOL WORSHIP IN PRE-ISLAMIC MEDINA (YATHRIB)¹

Maqrīzī's universal history *al-Khabar 'ani l-hashar* includes a few passages which add considerably to our knowledge of pre-Islamic idol worship in Arabia in general and in Medina in particular².

Maqrīzī obviously collected these passages over a long period of time from different sources which he does not specify³. However, a little earlier in the MS (p. 425) 'Umar b. Shabba (d. 264/877) is quoted as the source of a report concerning the idol Sa'd (situated near Jedda). Ibn Shabba could well be the source of the information about the idols of Medina also, or at least of part of it, although the text discussed in this article could not be found in the printed edition of his *Akhbār al-Madīna*. But, as is well-known, the MS on which this edition is based is incomplete⁴. Alternatively, if Ibn Shabba is indeed the source, then the information could come from another book of his. A few pages earlier than the text discussed here Maqrīzī quotes Ibn Shabba's *Akhbār Makka*, and it is quite feasible that this work was the source of Maqrīzī's information. There is some indirect evidence in support of this possibility: Samhūdī quotes from *Akhbār Makka* a notice about Mukaymin, an idol located in the 'Aqīq near Medina⁵. If the *Akhbār Makka* has information on an idol near Medina it may well contain information on idols inside it also.

The Arabic text examined here appears at the end of the study. Its eight passages have been rearranged in the discussion for the sake of lucidity.

¹ The first draft of this study was read in Jerusalem in July 1987 at the Colloquium "From Jāhiliyya to Islam". I wish to thank the participants for their comments and suggestions. I am indebted to M. J. Kister for commenting on the final draft of this paper. Thanks are also due to S. Hopkins for the many improvements he suggested. Ever since I first came across the following passages I have tried in vain to find an Arabic text which will establish the readings of the idols' names.

² *MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Ta'rikh* 947, vol. III,iii, 426-7. I wish to thank the authorities of the Dār al-Kutub for their kind permission to work there in December 1983.

³ *Al-Khabar 'ani l-hashar* was one of Maqrīzī's last works and he was still working on it in 844/1441 (i.e., shortly before his death in 845 A.H.); C. BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Suppl. II, Leiden, 1938, 37f.

⁴ Ḥamad al-Jāsir, "Mu'allafāt fi ta'rīkhī l-Madīna", no. 3, in *Majallat al-'arab*, IV.iv (January 1970), 327f; Majd ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Firūzābādī, *al-Maghānim al-muṭāba fi ma'ālim ṭāba*, Riyād, 1389/1969, Introduction, p. zāy.

⁵ Samhūdī, *Wafā*, s.v. Mukaymin, II, 1311 (*wa-fi akhbār Makka li-'bn Shabba annahu kāna bi-Jammā 'i l-'Aqīq bi-'Aqīqī l-Madīna ṣanam yuqālu lahu l-Mukaymin*).

1. *The list of clans and idols*

(1). He said: Every clan (*baṭn*) of the Aws and the Khazraj, who are the Anṣār, had an idol in a room (*bayt*) belonging to the whole clan which they honoured and venerated and to which they sacrificed.

1. The Banū (henceforward: B.) 'Abd al-Ashhal had al-Ḥarīsh.
2. The B. Ḥāritha had Ṣakhr.
3. The B. Ḥafar had Shams⁶.
4. The B. Mu'āwiya had al-B.hām.
5. The B. 'Amr b. 'Awf had al-Qayn.
6. The B. Khaṭma had Shafr.
7. The Qawāqila had al-Ḥabs⁷.
8. The B. Umayya had Ghayyān.
9. The B. Salima had Isāf.
10. The B. 'Adī b. an-Najjār had Samūl.
11. The B. Dīnār b. an-Najjār had Ḥusā (Ḥusan).
12. The B. Mālik b. an-Najjār had aṭ-Ṭamm (Alṭam?).
13. The B. Zurayq had as-Samḥ.

This passage (some of the readings and vocalizations are naturally uncertain) significantly increases our knowledge of pre-Islamic idolatry because the idols mentioned in it (presumably with the exception of no. 9 in the list, on which see below) are unknown to us from other sources⁸. The first six clans and the eighth are of the Aws and the rest are of the Khazraj. It seems unlikely that the other clans of the Aws and the Khazraj did not have idols; our information simply is incomplete.

Each *baṭn* had an idol of its own. That 'Abd al-Ashhal, Ḥāritha, Ḥafar etc. were *buṭūn* is confirmed by the genealogical information⁹.

2. *The Aws*

For some reason Maqrīzī's information is most detailed concerning the idols of a subgroup of Aws called Nabīl. To this group belong the first four *buṭūn*: 'Abd al-Ashhal, Ḥāritha, Ḥafar and Mu'āwiya¹⁰.

⁶ Cf. the idol Shams of Tamūm, e.g. WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*, 60-1; HÖFNER, *Die Stammesgruppen*, 467f.

⁷ For 'Ubāda b. aṣ-Ṣāmit of the Qawāqila see below, p. 340.

⁸ WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*, 215, has remarked correctly that we know only a fraction of the names of the Arabian idols.

⁹ See for example Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 338 ('Abd al-Ashhal, Ḥāritha and Ḥafar are each defined as a *baṭn*), 358 (Salima are defined as a *baṭn*).

¹⁰ In fact the Mu'āwiya were not included in the genealogy of Nabīl although they cooperated with them. For an attempt of 'Abd al-Ashhal, Ḥafar, Mu'āwiya and "the people of Rātij" on the eve of the Hijra to ally Quraysh see LECKER, *Muḥammad at Medina*,

Concerning the idols of the 'Amr b. 'Awf, no. 5 in the list, it should be noted that Sahl b. Ḥunayf of the Ḥanash subdivision of 'Amr b. 'Awf is said to have destroyed the idols of his clan. He reportedly brought the wooden debris to a destitute Muslim woman in Qubā' to be used as firewood. Sahl was among the closest supporters of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and it comes as no surprise that the story is told on 'Alī's authority¹¹.

2.1. Qays b. al-Khaṭīm's wife

(6) Ḥawwā' bint Yazīd was the wife of Qays b. al-Khaṭīm. She said: "Qays was a man whom others did not dare to challenge (*lā yurāmu*). One day I assaulted his idol and destroyed it. When he entered he looked at it and said: "What is this? Did you do this?" She(!) said: 'No, the ewe butted it'". So he went to the ewe and slaughtered it.

This comic passage is a further reference to idol worship among the Nabīṭ to which both Ḥawwā' and her husband, the renowned poet Qays b. al-Khaṭīm, belonged. Ḥawwā' was of the *baṭn* called 'Abd al-Ashhal, more precisely of the abovementioned Za'ūrā', as is shown by her pedigree: Ḥawwā' bint Yazīd b. Sakan b. Kurz b. Za'ūrā' b. 'Abd al-Ashhal¹². Qays b. al-Khaṭīm was of the *baṭn* called Zafar¹³.

2.2. Idols and genealogy

Al-Ḥarīsh of the 'Abd al-Ashhal¹⁴ and al-Ghayyān of the Umayya (viz. nos. 1 and 8 in the list) are of interest because their names can be traced in the genealogies of the respective clans. Perhaps these two were ancestor statuettes (images of dead kin), in which case we may expect them to have been at least roughly anthropoid¹⁵.

44; M. J. KISTER, *On strangers and allies in Mecca*, in *JSAI*, 13 (1990), 142f. We do not hear of idols belonging to the Za'ūrā', a *baṭn* of the Nabīṭ (IBN ḤAZM, *Ansāb*, p. 338), presumably because they were Jewish; cf. LECKER, *op. cit.*, 44f.

¹¹ IBN HISHĀM, II, 138-9. Cf. BALĀDH., *Ansāb*, I, 265 ('Abdallāh b. Jubayr [of the 'Amr b. 'Awf; cf. *Iṣāba*, IV, 35] and Sahl b. Ḥunayf used to break the idols and bring the debris to the Muslims). BUHL, *Leben*, 79, remarks correctly that the household idols were made of wood since they were usually said to have been burnt.

¹² Sa'd b. Mu'ādh of 'Abd al-Ashhal was Ḥawwā's maternal uncle: *Usd*, V, 431:13.

¹³ See also IBN SA'D, VIII, 323-4; *Usd*, V, 431:12; *Iṣāba*, VII, 589-90.

¹⁴ Cf. WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*, 64 (who notes the appearance of al-Ashhal in the theophoric name 'Abd al-Ashhal).

¹⁵ Cf. perhaps J. HENNINGER, *Einiges über Ahnenkult bei arabischen Beduinen*, in J. HENNINGER, *Arabia Sacra*, Göttingen, 1981, 170f. (originally published in W. HOENERBACH [ed.], *Der Orient in der Forschung: Festschrift für Otto Spies*, Wiesbaden, 1967, 301f.). Also K. VAN DEER TOORN, *The Nature of the Biblical Teraphim in the Light of the Cuneiform Evidence*, in *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, 52 (1990), 203f. (where it is argued that the teraphim are more likely to have been ancestor figurines than household idols), 207.

Al-Ḥarīsh is 'Abd al-Ashhal's brother and the eponym of the B. al-Ḥarīsh, a brother-clan of the B. 'Abd al-Ashhal¹⁶. At some stage the Ḥarīsh were incorporated into the 'Abd al-Ashhal¹⁷, which should perhaps be linked to the fact that the idol al-Ḥarīsh is said to have been worshipped by the B. 'Abd al-Ashhal.

The Ghayyān were a subdivision of the B. Khaṭma (no. 6 in the list)¹⁸. We find Ghayyān b. 'Āmir b. Khaṭma in the pedigree of the Prophet's Companion Khuzayma b. Thābit b. al-Fākih b. Tha'laba b. Sā'ida b. 'Āmir b. Ghayyān b. 'Āmir b. Khaṭma¹⁹.

The Umayya said by Maqrīzī to have worshipped Ghayyān were a subgroup of Khaṭma: the abovementioned Ghayyān had a brother called Umayya who was presumably the eponym of another branch of Khaṭma. This Umayya appears in the pedigree of the Prophet's Companion 'Umayr b. 'Adī b. Kharasha b. Umayya b. 'Āmir b. Khaṭma²⁰. In other words the statement "the B. Umayya had Ghayyān" involves two different branches of Khaṭma; similarly the statement "the B. 'Abd al-Ashhal had al-Ḥarīsh" involves two clans who were (initially) brother-clans.

The late Islamization of the Khaṭma and their indifferent or even hostile attitude to the Prophet account for the scarcity of information about them in the genealogical sources²¹. These deal with the Khaṭma very briefly and mention only a few of them, including the abovementioned Companions Khuzayma and 'Umayr. It so happens that both of them are said to have destroyed the idols of the Khaṭma²².

On the basis of the above data alone one could argue that idol worship was most widespread among the Nabī while the 'Amr b. 'Awf had only one idol (al-Qayn), the Khaṭma had two (Shafr and al-Ghayyān) and the

¹⁶ IBN ḤAZM, *Ansāb*, 338; IBN AL-KALBĪ, *Jamharat an-nasab*, ed. N. ḤASAN, Beirut, 1407/1986, 633. IBN QUDĀMA, *Istīḥṣār*, 299f., dedicates to the Ḥarīsh a separate item. (Another Ḥarīsh, of the 'Amr b. 'Awf, does not concern us here: al-Ḥarīsh b. Jahjabā was the forefather of the pre-Islamic leader Uḥayha b. al-Julāh. It is not clear why az-Zubayr [b. Bakkar] says that al-Ḥarīsh b. Jahjabā is the only Ḥarīsh in the genealogy of the Anṣār, the rest being Ḥarīs [with a *sin*]; IBN MĀKŪLA, *al-Ikmāl*, ed. AL-YAMĀNĪ, Hyderabad, 1381/1962, II, 420.)

¹⁷ Cf. LECKER, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 45, n. 115 (Ḥarīsh figures as 'Abd al-Ashhal's son in the pedigree of a Companion).

¹⁸ The *Tāj al-'arūs* mentions two groups in Medina called Ghayyān: B. Ghayyān b. 'Āmir b. Ḥanzala (read: Khaṭma!) of the Aws and the B. Ghayyān b. Tha'laba b. Ṭarīf of the Khazraj. The former are meant here.

¹⁹ IBN ḤAZM, *Ansāb*, 343f. He was nicknamed *Dhū sh-shahādātayni*; see *Usd*, II, 114; *Iṣāba*, II, 278-9.

²⁰ Incidentally, 'Umayr assassinated the Jewish poetess 'Aṣmā' bint Marwān; IBN ḤAZM, *Ansāb*, 343.

²¹ E.g. IBN ḤAZM, *Ansāb*, 343.

²² *Usd*, II, 114:6; *Istī'āb*, III, 1218. See also *Iṣāba*, II, 278 (Khuzayma).

rest of the Aws, namely the Imru'ū al-Qays b. Mālik (the Wāqif and the Salm) and the Murra b. Mālik (the Umayya, the Wā'il and the 'Aṭīyya) had none. But this would be wrong. For example, the idols of the Wāqif are mentioned elsewhere in the context of the Islamization of one of them²³.

3. The Khazraj

Maqrīzī's text mentions idols of the Qawāqila (a subdivision of the 'Awf b. al-Khazraj), the Salima, the Zurayq and three subdivisions of the Najjār²⁴. We shall mention below references to the idols of the Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj (section 3.3), the Sā'ida and the Bayāḍa (section 3.5).

3.1. The Najjār

A man of Najjār was in charge (?) of their idols. This is shown by the report about the expulsion, at the Prophet's behest, of the Munāqifūn (the hypocrites) from the Prophet's mosque. Abū Ayyūb of the Ghanm b. Mālik b. an-Najjār, a subdivision of the Mālik b. an-Majjār (cf. no. 12 in the list), violently expelled 'Amr b. Qays who was of the same subdivision from the mosque. We are told in this context that 'Amr was in the Jāhiliyya in charge(?) of their idols (*kāna ṣāhibā ālihatihim fī l-jāhiliyya*)²⁵.

Three prominent members of Najjār reportedly destroyed idols when they embraced Islam: As'ad b. Zurāra, 'Umāra b. Ḥazm and 'Awf b. 'Afrā²⁶. They destroyed the idols of the Mālik b. an-Najjār²⁷. All three were of the Ghanm b. Mālik b. an-Najjār²⁸.

²³ *Usd*, V, 66, s.v. Hilāl b. Umayya al-Wāqifi (... *wa-kāna yukassiru aṣnāmu B. Wāqif*).

²⁴ Owing to our incomplete evidence there is no mention of an idol belonging to the fourth component of Najjār, the Māzin b. an-Najjār.

²⁵ IBN ḤISHĀM, II, 175. The 'Amr b. Qays of the Ghanm b. Mālik mentioned in the dictionaries of the Companions is identical with our 'Amr b. Qays (although the dictionaries tell us nothing of his attitude to the Prophet). 'Amr's pedigree shows that he was of a subdivision of the Ghanm called B. Sawād b. Ghanm b. Mālik (or Sawād b. Mālik b. Ghanm b. Mālik); IBN QUDĀMA, *Istibṣār*, 64f., 68; *Iṣāba*, IV, 671; *Usd*, IV, 127:4 from bottom; *Istī'āb*, III, 1199; IBN SA'D, III, 495.

²⁶ 'Awf b. al-Ḥārith, also called 'Awf b. 'Afrā' (after his mother), was killed at Badr; IBN SA'D, III, 493. He was As'ad's relative: his mother 'Afrā bint 'Ubayd was the sister of As'ad's grandfather; cf. IBN ḤISHĀM, II, 71; IBN SA'D, III, 608. See on 'Awf *Iṣāba*, IV, 739; *Usd*, IV, 155-6 (cf. s.v. 'Awdh b. 'Afra', *op. cit.*, 153; *Istī'āb*, III, 1247, 1225-6).

²⁷ IBN SA'D, III, 609f. (... *yukassirūna aṣnāmu B. Mālik b. an-Najjār*). See also IBN SA'D, III, 486.

²⁸ The Ghanm are a separate group in the entries on the participants of Badr found in IBN SA'D, III, 484-97. The same list appears in WAQ., I, 161-3, who has an even more detailed account of Ghanm's subdivisions. Wāqidī and Ibn Sa'd (who mention the same people) follow basically the same order of names; however, Ibn Sa'd lists the *ḥulafā'* of the Ghanm after the Ghanm themselves while Wāqidī incorporates them in the relevant

Of these three As'ad b. Zurāra was by far the most important figure. His position, we are told, was unparalleled by that of other Anṣārī leaders. A report going back to his grandson (from his daughter; As'ad had no sons) claims that at the 'Aqaba-meeting he was *ra's an-nuqabā*²⁹.

As'ad is associated with another close supporter of the Prophet, Abū l-Haytham b. at-Tayyihān. It is reported that Abū l-Haytham and As'ad hated the idols and were disgusted by them, and they believed in monotheism (*yakrahu l-aṣnāma... wa-yu'affīfu bihā wa-yaqūlu bi-t-tawhīd*). Both were among the first Anṣār to embrace Islam (which they did in Mecca, before the Hijra)³⁰.

3.2. The Salima

(2). Every nobleman (*rajul sharīf*) had one of these idols. In the house of 'Amr b. al-Jamūh there was an idol called Sāf (cf. above, section I no. 9) which was destroyed by Mu'ādh b. Jabal (may God be pleased with him) and Mu'ādh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūh.

14. Al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr had an idol called ad-Dībāj.

15. Al-Jadd b. Qays had an idol called az-Zabr.

(8) The Salima had an idol called Manāf (cf. above, section I, no. 9). One of them, a man called al-Jamūh (read: Mu'ādh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūh) attacked it, bound a dog (i.e. dog's carrion) to it and then threw it into a well where it was found. Al-Jamūh (read: 'Amr b. al-Jamūh) said:

"Praise be to God, the Great, the conferrer of favours, indeed He has disgraced Manāf, the sullied one;

I swear: had you been a god you would not have been bound together with a dog in the middle of a well".

This is a garbled fragment of a report found in other sources as well. According to Ibn Ishāq's report concerning the Islamization of 'Amr b. al-Jamūh³¹, 'Amr was one of the *sayyids* of the Salima and one of their noblemen (*sayyidan min sādāt B. Salima wa-sharīfan min ashrafihim*).

subdivisions of the Ghanm. Similarly, the Ghanm form a separate group in the information on the territory of the B. Mālik b. an-Najjār: it is reported that the Ghanm built a fortress called Fuwayri'; in its place the court of Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib was later situated; SAMHŪDĪ, *Wafā'*, I, 210.

²⁹ IBN SA'D, III, 602, 611, quoting Wāqidī, from Ma'mar b. Rāshid, from Zuhri, from (As'ad's grandson) Abū Umāma b. Sahl b. Hunayf. Abū Umāma's name was As'ad: he received both the name and the *kunya* of his famous grandfather; IBN SA'D, III, 471; *Tahdh.*, I, 263-5; *Iṣāba*, I, 181-2 (d. 100/718-9). Cf. BALĀDH., *Ansab*, I, 243:13 (*naqīb an-nuqabā*).

³⁰ IBN SA'D, III, 448.

³¹ IBN HISHĀM, II, 95-6.

In his house he had a wooden idol, as was common among the noble-men. They would take for themselves an idol, honour and purify (i.e. consecrate) it (*kamā kānati l-ashraf yaşna'ūna, tattakhidhuhu ilāhan tu'azzimuhu wa-tuḥahiruhu*)³².

The name of the idol in the source just quoted, Manāt, is identical to the name of the main idol of the Anşār which was located at al-Mushallal near the seashore. But the letter *fā'* is consistent in Maqrīzī's text and it seems that the version Manāf is preferable³³. Manāf is presumably identical with the idol of the Salima and the idol of 'Amr b. al-Jamūh, mentioned above as "Isāf" and "Sāf"³⁴.

The verses of 'Amr b. al-Jamūh belong to a pattern known from similar stories of idol worshippers who repented having realized, upon the humiliation of their idol, the falsity of their belief. The Muslim youths who attacked the idol included 'Amr's son Mu'ādh; conflict between fathers and sons is a prevalent topic in the *sīra*.

Abū Nu'aym adduces another piece of Ibn Ishāq's report, not preserved by Ibn Hishām, on the Islamization of 'Amr b. al-Jamūh³⁵. After the rest of the (Salima) clan had embraced Islam, 'Amr expressed readiness to follow suit. However, before doing so he went to consult the idol (called here: Manāt!). Whenever they wanted to talk to the idol, the report goes on, an old woman came, stood behind it and answered on its behalf. However, when 'Amr came, the old woman was concealed (*wa-ghuyyibati l-'ajūz*). 'Amr talked to the idol for a long time but it could not answer. 'Amr said (crossly): "I think that you are angry although I have not done anything yet" (*aẓunnuka qad ghaḍibta wa-lam aşna' ba'du shay'an*), and he broke it to pieces. The story of the frustrated dialogue ridicules the gullibility of the naive worshipper.

³² Cf. ABŪ NU'AYM, *Dalā'il*, 266: 'Amr washed his idol, purified and perfumed it after it had been rescued from a dung pit. In other words he "reconsecrated" it after it had been profaned.

³³ WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*, 28 (= Ibn Hishām) thought that Manāt of Medina was an image of the main idol Manāt; see also BUHL, *Leben*, 80, n. 217. Cf. T. FAHD, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris, 1968, 29; 122, n. 11 (read: Salima instead of Salama); and see on Manāt HÖFNER, *Die Stammesgruppen*, 454f.; FAHD, *op. cit.*, 123-6; *El'*, s.v. Manāf and Manāt (T. Fahd). Fahd's location of Manāt "about 15 km. from Yathrib" (373R) must be a misprint.

³⁴ Isāf is also the name of a Meccan idol; cf. WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*, 92 (the occurrence of the name Isāf among the Khazraj suggests a link with Quraysh). IBN KALBI, *Aṣnām*, 32, mentions an idol called Manāf which appears in the Qurashite theophoric name 'Abd Manāf; WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*, 3, 56f.; BUHL, *Leben*, 75, n. 195; HÖFNER, *Die Stammesgruppen*, 453f.; ID., *Die vorislamischen Religionen Arabiens*, 367.

³⁵ *Dalā'il*, 267-8; Minjāb b. al-Hārith (d. 231; *Tahdh.*, X, 297-8), from Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh al-Bakkāṭī, from Ibn Ishāq, from his father Ishāq b. Yasār, from a man of the Salima.

In addition we learn from Maqrīzī that there were at least two other idols of Salima, one belonging to al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr of the 'Ubayd subdivision of Salima and the other to al-Jadd b. Qays of the same subdivision. ('Amr b. al-Jamūh was of the Ḥarām subdivision of the Salima). We realize that in addition to the idol worshipped by the whole clan of Salima (*jamā'ati l-baṭn*, section 1), plausibly kept by 'Amr b. al-Jamūh, two noblemen of the Salima, viz. al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr and al-Jadd b. Qays, had idols of their own. Domestic idols presumably existed in every household. In other words, we may speak of a hierarchy of idols which correlated with the social status of their owners.

Another correlation which is noteworthy is the one between idols and fortresses. Of the three noblemen of Salima mentioned above, two are known to have owned fortresses: al-Barā' of the 'Ubayd subdivision owned one called al-Ashnaq and 'Amr of the Ḥarām subdivision owned Jā'is³⁶.

3.3. *The Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj*

(3). When the seventy who participated in the 'Aqaba-meeting arrived, they began destroying the idols. 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa (may God be pleased with him) entered the house of an old man, bound up his idol with some carrion, then laid it at his door. The old man woke up and saw it. He said: "Who did this to our god?" He was told: "This is the deed of Ibn Rawāḥa". Ibn Rawāḥa came to him and told him: "Are you not ashamed, being one of our distinguished men, to worship wood which you made with your own hand?" The old man said: "I do not attack it, I am worried about my young children". Bashīr b. Sa'd laughed³⁷ and said: "Does it have the power to harm or benefit?" Then 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa broke it and the old man embraced Islam.

The old man was presumably of the Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj because both 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa and Bashīr b. Sa'd were of this clan³⁸. The report

³⁶ SAMHŪDĪ, *Wafā'*, I, 202. This leaves us on one hand with the third nobleman al-Jadd and on the other with a fortress of the 'Ubayd called al-Aṭwal the owner of which is unspecified; SAMHŪDĪ, *Wafā'*, *loc. cit.* Perhaps it should be suggested that al-Jadd was the owner of al-Aṭwal. Incidentally, al-Jadd was Barā''s paternal cousin; *Usd*, I, 274. In other words, we can talk of the leading family of the 'Ubayd subdivision.

³⁷ Bashīr b. Sa'd's abrupt appearance on the scene shows that this is an abridged version of the report.

³⁸ Bashīr was married to 'Abdallāh's sister; IBN SA'D, III, 531; WAQ., II, 476; IBN QUDĀMA, *Istibṣār*, 112-3. Both 'Abdallāh and Bashīr were literate before Islam; IBN SA'D, III, 526, 531. 'Abdallāh was also one of the Prophet's scribes; *Iṣāba*, IV, 83.

concerning 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa and Abū d-Dardā' (see below), who was also a member of the Ḥārith, points in the same direction.

'Abdallāh, who was at the 'Aqaba-meeting the *naqib* of the Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj³⁹, was chosen by the Prophet to break the news of the victory at Badr to the people of the 'Āliya of Medina⁴⁰. There are also other indications that 'Abdallāh was trusted by the Prophet. He and Mu'ādh b. Jabal (above, p. 336) were in charge of the shares from the crops of Khaybar given to the Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj and the Salima, respectively⁴¹. 'Abdallāh was sent by the Prophet to Khaybar as evaluator of its produce of dates as a basis for deciding the Muslims' share. He continued in this office until he was killed in the battlefield of Mu'ta⁴².

(4). Abū d-Dardā' was the last person in the territory of his clan (or his family) to embrace Islam. 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa used to urge him to embrace Islam but he refused. And he was his friend. He waited for an opportunity and when Abū d-Dardā' left (the house), 'Abdallāh entered his house and broke his idol, reciting: "I repudiate the names of the devils, all of them. Verily, everything which is associated with God in prayer is void". His wife said: "You have ruined me, O Ibn Rawāḥa".

³⁹ *Usd*, III, 157.

⁴⁰ *IBN SA'D*, III, 526. Note that the territory of the Ḥārith was considered part of the 'Āliya; *SAMHŪDĪ, Wafā'*, I, 198-9.

⁴¹ *WAQ.*, II, 690. See also *IBN SA'D*, III, 526 ('Abdallāh in command of an expedition to Khaybar to kill a Jewish leader); *WAQ.*, II, 566 ('Abdallāh and three others collect intelligence in Khaybar). Cf. the report on the aftermath of the battle of Uhud: Mu'ādh brought the women of the Salima and 'Abdallāh brought the women of the Ḥārith to bewail the death of the Prophet's uncle Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; *WAQ.*, I, 317.

⁴² *IBN SA'D*, III, 526. *WAQ.*, II, 691 and *SUYŪTĪ, ad-Durr al-manthūr fi t-tafsīr bi-l-ma'thūr*, Cairo, 1314 A.H., II, 284:14, report on attempts by the Jews to bribe him. It is not clear who replaced him after his death: Abū l-Haytham b. at-Tayyihān, or Jabbār b. Sakhr, or Farwa b. 'Amr; *WAQ.*, II, 691. Jabbār b. Sakhr (of the 'Ubayd subdivision of Salima) reportedly replaced 'Abdallāh after the latter had held the office of evaluator for one year; *Majma' az-zawā'id*, III, 76; *Iṣāba*, I, 449. It is said of Jabbār: *wa-kāna khāriṣa ahli l-Madīna wa-ḥāsibahum*; *Iṣāba*, I, 450. These three, together with Zayd b. Thābit, were the "dividers" (*qussām*) who helped 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb re-allocate the crops of Khaybar after the expulsion of the Jews; *WAQ.*, II, 718 (read: Jabbār instead of Ḥubāb; see *WAQ.*, II, 720, 721). Farwa (on whose role in destroying idols see section 3.5 below) was very skilful in evaluating crops; *Iṣāba*, V, 365. He had been in charge of Bayāda's share in the crops of Khaybar; *WAQ.*, II, 690. According to another report he was put in charge of the spoils of Khaybar; *IBN SA'D*, III, 599. There are reports that Farwa carried out evaluation in Medina itself. This is important because it indicates that the Prophet received a fixed share from the crops of Medina. The reports on this are explicit; see *IBN SA'D, loc. cit.*: *wa-'sta'malahu rasūlu llāhi (Ṣ.) 'alā l-maghānimi yawma Khaybar wa-kāna yab'athuhu khāriṣan bi-l-Madīna*; *Iṣāba*, V, 364-5: *anna n-nabiyya (Ṣ.) kāna yab'athu ... Farwa b. 'Amr fa-yakhrūsu thamra ahli l-Madīna*. Also *Usd*, IV, 179:4: *wa-kāna n-nubiyyu (Ṣ.) yab'athuhu yakhrūsu 'alā ahli l-Madīna thimārahum*.

Then he left. Abū d-Dardā' came (and found) his wife crying. He said: "What is the matter with you?" She said: "Your brother (i.e. friend) Ibn Rawāḥa entered and said: "Had there been in this (idol) any good it would have defended itself". So he came to the Prophet (in order to embrace Islam).

This is an abridged version of a report found elsewhere in its entirety. In the complete version we find two important additional details: Abū d-Dardā' hung a veil (*mindīl*) on his idol and it was placed in a room (*bayt*) inside his house possibly dedicated to the idol (cf. "an idol in a room", *ṣanam fī bayt*; above, section 1)⁴³.

Like 'Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa, Abū d-Dardā' was of the Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj. Abū d-Dardā's Islamization, we are told, was slightly belated and he was the last person in the territory of his clan to embrace Islam⁴⁴.

16. (7). The B. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj worshipped (literally: "took for themselves") an idol called Huzam which was situated in their *majlis*, (also) called Huzam⁴⁵, in Buthān⁴⁶.

3.4. The 'Awf b. al-Khazraj

(5). Ka'b b. 'Ujra's Islamization was belated and he had an idol in his house (*fī baytihi*)⁴⁷. 'Ubāda b. aṣ-Ṣāmit was a friend of his. One day he entered Ka'b's house (*manzilahu*) when Ka'b was absent and broke his idol. When Ka'b returned and saw what had been done to it he said: "This (idol) is of no use". Then he came to 'Ubāda's house. 'Ubāda suspected that he wanted to slander him but Ka'b said: "I realize that had it been of any use it would not have let you do to it what I have seen"⁴⁸.

⁴³ *Mustadrak*, III, 336-7 (from Wāqidī). The word *bayt* in the report is used in the sense of both "house" and "room": once he was in Abū d-Dardā's *bayt* (house), Ibn Rawāḥa entered with his adze (*qadūm*) the *bayt* (room) in which the idol was placed, brought it down (from an elevated place such as a shelf; this suggests that the idol was a small object) and started cutting strips (of wood) out of it, *fa-dakhala baytahu* (Abū ad-Dardā's room, a room in Abū d-Dardā's house) *'lladhī kāna fīhi ṣ-ṣanam wa-ma'ahu l-qadūm fa-anzalahu wa-ja'ala yuqaddiduhu fildhan fildhan*. See also WAQ., II, 871; *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. *f.l.dh.* (Hind bint 'Utba destroys an idol in her house using an adze).

⁴⁴ *Ta'akhhara islāmuhu qatilan* (note the apologetic phrasing!) *wa-kāna ākhira ahli dārihi islāman*; *Usd*, V, 185; *Istī'āb*, IV, 1646. Cf. DHAHABI, *Nubalā'*, II, 340.

⁴⁵ The name is vocalised in the MS in both places.

⁴⁶ The territory of the Ḥārith was east of Buthān and Turbat Ṣu'ayb; SAMHŪDĪ, *Wafā'*, I, 198.

⁴⁷ Read *fī bayt* ("in a room") instead of *fī baytihi*? Later in this report Ka'b's house is called *manzil*.

⁴⁸ See a similar text in DHAHABI, *Nubalā'*, III, 53 (from Wāqidī).

At the time of the Hijra Ka'b b. 'Ujra was 23 years old: he died in 52 A.H. aged 75⁴⁹. Ibn al-Kalbī says that his Islamization was belated⁵⁰. Indeed Ka'b plays no role before Ḥudaybiyya at the end of 6 A.H.⁵¹

There are conflicting reports concerning Ka'b's status and tribal affiliation. According to some he was a full-fledged Anṣārī while others say that he was originally a client of foreign ancestry. As usual we choose the less flattering option: Wāqidi's claim that Ka'b was an Anṣārī is duly rejected by Ibn Sa'd who states that he was of the Balī tribe, a client of the Anṣār. The identity of the Anṣārī clan with which Ka'b was associated is much disputed but the evidence points to the 'Awf b. al-Khazraj⁵².

'Ubāda died in 34/654 aged 72⁵³. At the time of the Hijra he was 38 years old. He was the *naqīb* of his subdivision, the Qawāqila (cf. no. 7 in the list)⁵⁴. His prominence among the Qawāqila is reflected in his role in the siege and expulsion of the Jewish tribe Qaynuqā'⁵⁵. 'Ubāda's loyalty to the Prophet was rewarded: he was appointed as a tax-collector⁵⁶.

3.5. People of the Sā'ida and the Bayāda destroy the idols of their respective clans

Indirect evidence on idol worship among the Sā'ida (Khazraj) is gained from reports about three devoted Muslims who destroyed the idols of their clan: Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, al-Mundhir b. 'Amr (who were both *nuqabā'*) and Abū Dujāna. When they embraced Islam they destroyed the idols of the Sā'ida⁵⁷.

⁴⁹ *Mustadrak*, III, 479.

⁵⁰ *Usd*, IV, 244 (according to Ibn al-Kalbī, Ka'b adopted the genealogy of the 'Amr b. 'Awf; he probably means the B. Ghanm b. 'Awf b. 'Amr b. 'Awf b. al-Khazraj, i.e., the Qawāqila; IBN QUDĀMA, *Istibṣār*, 188).

⁵¹ Cf. WAQ., II, 578; ṬABARĪ, *Jāmi' al-bayān fi tafsīr al-qur'ān*, Būlāq, 1321-1330.

⁵² *Iṣāba*, V, 599; *Usd*, IV, 243-4. The sources mention the Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith (of the Aws), the 'Awf b. al-Khazraj and the Sālim; *Usd*, *loc. cit.*; a report in the *Iṣāba*, V, 600, presents him as a member of the Sālim. In fact 'Awf (b. al-Khazraj) and Sālim are not in disharmony: the latter were a subdivision of the former. But Ka'b's association with 'Ubāda b. aṣ-Ṣāmit, a member of the Qawāqila (who are also called: Qawāqil), lends weight to yet another version: he was a *ḥalīf* of the B.Qawqal/Qawāqila; IBN QUDĀMA, *Istibṣār*, 195.

⁵³ *Mustadrak*, III, 355.

⁵⁴ *Usd*, III, 106:11 (incidentally, his mother was the great-granddaughter of Mālik b. al-'Ajlān who struggled against the Jewish king al-Fityawn); IBN SA'D, III, 546.

⁵⁵ *Iṣāba*, III, 625 (*wa-kāna lahu mina l-ḥilfi mithlu 'lladhī li-'Abdillāh b. Ubayy*).

⁵⁶ *Usd*, III, 106 (*wa-'sta'malahu n-nabiyyu [Ṣ.] 'alā ba'di ṣ-ṣadaqāt*).

⁵⁷ IBN SA'D, III, 614 (from Wāqidi).

As to the Bayāda (Khazraj), Farwa b. 'Amr and Ziyād b. Labīd destroyed their idols when they embraced Islam⁵⁸.

Farwa and Ziyād, like other loyal supporters of the Prophet mentioned in this study, were rewarded for their loyalty and during the Prophet's lifetime held offices of authority. Farwa's financial skills were put to use when he served as an evaluator of agricultural produce, while Ziyād held a far more important position: he served as the Prophet's governor in Ḥaḍramawt and was still its governor when the Prophet died⁵⁹.

4. Conclusions

1. It appears that three different types of idols are to be discerned in the short passages preserved for us by Maqrīzī:

a. Clan idols worshipped by the whole clan (*jamā'at al-baṭn*) and probably used in public cult. They were kept in rooms presumably dedicated to their worship (which is possibly true for the idols of the other categories as well).

b. Idols held by each nobleman (*rajuḷ sharīf*) of the Aws and the Khazraj.

The case of the Salima (above, section 3.2) suggests that the clan idols are a subgroup of the idols held by the noblemen: their clan idol Isāf is presumably identical with the idol of the nobleman 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ, Sāf/Manāf. The nobleman in charge of the clan idol, i.e. the one worshipped by *jamā'at al-baṭn*, must have been the recognized leader of the whole clan⁶⁰.

c. Lesser idols of the domestic family cult which were presumably part of every household in Medina. The idols of the former categories had names while those of this domestic category were perhaps anonymous. "The idols of B. so-and-so" reportedly destroyed by certain Companions are above all these domestic idols⁶¹.

2. The association of the clan idol with the clan's *majlis* on one hand (see the end of section 3.3) and with the clan leader on the other (the Salima) suggests that the *majlis* was near the leader's house. When the leadership shifted to another, the *majlis* shifted with it.

⁵⁸ Ziyād belonged to a small and distinguished group of people who were both Muhājirūn and Anṣār: he set out to Mecca to join the Prophet and stayed with him until his Hijra to Medina; IBN SA'D, III, 598, 599.

⁵⁹ *Majma' az-zawā'id*, III, 76 and above, n. 42 (Farwa); IBN SA'D, III, 598 (Ziyād).

⁶⁰ The concept being that the idol is an image of a god and that control of the idol means control of the god?

⁶¹ See for instance above, n. 23. Cf. on the manufacturing and sale of idols in Mecca P. CRONE, *Meccan trade and the rise of Islam*, Princeton, 1987, 107.

3. One thing is certain: the Arabs of Medina on the eve of the Hijra were immersed in idol worship⁶². The extent of this is surprising indeed because the Jewish inhabitants of Medina are believed to have had an immense spiritual influence on their Arab neighbours⁶³.

4. Unsurprisingly, idols figure in the stereotypical stories of conversion to Islam which have a recurrent pattern: the destruction of the idol by the former pagan (or by his friend) signifies a break with past superstitions and symbolizes loyalty to the new faith. These stories are of little value as a direct historical source but they are a true reflection of conditions in Yathrib.

5. Since the worship of idols was closely connected with the tribal leadership, the destruction of idols (especially clan idols) defied the old leadership and undermined its authority. In other words, in the historical context of the Prophet's struggle against many of the leaders of Medina the destruction of idols was a political act.

6. The destroyers (or alleged destroyers) of idols belonged unmistakably to the front-line of the Prophet's supporters among the Anṣār. A few of them were *nuqabā'* at the great 'Aqaba-meeting and some were rewarded for their loyalty with important offices in the emerging Islamic state.

⁶² Cf. U. RUBIN, *Ḥanīfiyya and Ka'ba: An Inquiry into the Arabian pre-Islamic Background of dīn Ibrāhīm*, in *JSAI*, 13 (1990), 98 (a Medinan *ḥanīf* who abandoned idol worship).

⁶³ The fact that Qays b. al-Khaṭīm does not mention in his poetry *Manāt*, *Allāt* and other idols (BUHL, *Leben*, 203) should not be given too much weight. Cf. A. J. WENSINCK, *Muhammad and the Jews of Medina*, trans. and edited by W. Behn, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1975, 4, who says about the inhabitants of Yathrib: "Their receptiveness for monotheism can only be explained by their long contact with the Jews". Goldziher quotes approvingly Dozy's words that "religion, of whatever kind it may have been, generally had little place in the life of the Arabs, who were engrossed in worldly interests like fighting, wine, games and love"; *Muslim studies*, ed. S. M. STERN, trans. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern, London, 1966, I, 12. Goldziher, basing himself on the testimony of Arabic poetry, has in mind the tribes which inhabited central Arabia, whose religious sense he contrasts with the monuments of South Arabia. Concerning the inhabitants of Yathrib he writes (13f.): "At Yathrib the indigenous disposition of immigrant tribes from the south produced a mood more easily accessible to religious thought which was a great help to Muhammed's success". Goldziher obviously thinks of the influence of Yemenite monotheism on the Arabs of Yathrib. But the widespread idol worship among them seems to suggest that whatever the extent of this influence, it did not make them abandon their idols.

١. قال: كان لكل بطن من الاوس والخزرج وهم الاتصار صنم في بيت لجماعة للبطن يكرمونه ويعظمونه وينحون له. وكان في بني عبد الاشهل صنم يدعا الحريش وصنم في بني حارثة يقال له صخر وصنم في بني ظفر يقال [له] شمس وصنم في بني معوية يقال له للبهام وصنم في بني عمرو بن عوف يقال له القين وصنم في بني خطمة يقال له شفر وصنم للقواقله يقال له الحبس وصنم في بني امية يقال له غيان وصنم في بني سلمة يقال له اساف وصنم في بني عدي بن النجار يقال له سمول وصنم في بني دينار بن النجار يقال له حسا وصنم في بني مالك بن النجار يقال له الطم وصنم في بني زريق يقال له السمح.

٢. ولكل رجل شريف صنم من هذه الاصنام. وكان في بيت عمرو بن الجموح صنم يقال له ساف كسره معاذ بن جبل رضي الله عنه ومعاذ بن عمرو بن الجموح وللبرا بن معرور صنم يقال له اللدياج وصنم للجد بن قيس يقال له للزبر.

٣. فلما قدم السبعون الذين شهدوا العقبة جعلوا يكسرون الاصنام فدخل عبدالله بن رواحة رضي الله عنه على شيخ منهم قديم فربط مع صنمه ميتة ثم وضعه على بابه فاصبح الشيخ فراه فقال: من صنع هذا بالاهنا؟ فقيل له: هذا عمل ابن رواحة فتاه ابن رواحة فقال له: اما تستحي وانت من كبرائنا تعبد خشبة انت عملتها بيدك؟ فقال الشيخ: اني غير متعرض له اخاف على صبيتي. فضحك بشير بن سعد وقال: وهل عنده ضر او نفع؟ فكسره عبدالله بن رواحة واسلم للشيخ.

٤. وكان ابو الدرداء اخر داره اسلاما وكان عبدالله بن رواحة يدعوه الى الاسلام فيابا وكان له صديقا فتحينه فلما خرج ابو الدرداء دخل عبدالله منزله فكسر صنمه وهو يقول

تبرا من اسما للشياطين كلها الا كل ما يدعا مع الله باطل
فقال امراته: اهلكتني يا ابن رواحة. وخرج وجا ابو الدرداء وامراته تبكي.
فقال: ما لك؟ قالت: اخوك ابن رواحة دخل فصنع ما ترى. فغضب ثم فكر
فقال: لو كان عند هذا خير لدفع عن نفسه. فأتى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم.

٥. وكان كعب بن عجرة تاخر اسلامه وله صنم في بيته. وكان عبادة بن الصامت له صديقاً فدخل منزله يوماً وكعب غائب عن منزله فكسر صنمه. فلما جا كعب فرأى ما صنع به قال: ما عند هذا طابيل. واتي منزل عبادة فظن عبادة انه يريد ان يقع به فقال: قد رايت انه لو كان عنده طابيل ما تركك تفعل به ما رايت.

٦. قال: وكانت حوا بنت يزيد امراة قيس بن الخطيم فقالت: كان قيس لا يرام فعنوت يوماً على صنمه فكسرتة فلما دخل نظر اليه وقال: ما هذا؟ انت فعلت هذا؟ قالت: لا ولكن الشاة نطحته. فقام لى للشاة فنبجها.

٧. قال: واتخذت بلحرث بن الخزرج صنما يقال له هزم وكان موضعه في مجلسهم الذي يقال له هزم ببطحان.

٨. وكان لبني سلمة صنم يقال له مناف فعدا عليه رجل منهم يقال له الجموح فربطه بكلب ثم طرحه في بئر فوجد فيها فقال الجموح:
الحمد لله للجليل ذي المنن فبح بالفعل منافا ذا الدرر
لسم لو كنت الاها لم تكن انت وكلب وسط بئر في قرن

Abbreviated References:

- ABŪ NU'AYM, *Dalā'il*: ABŪ NU'AYM AL-IŞFAHĀNĪ, *Dalā'il an-nubuwwa*, n.d., n.p. (reprint Aleppo, 1397/1977).
- BALĀDHURI, *Ansāb al-ashraf*: 1, ed. M. ḤAMĪDULLĀH, Cairo, 1959.
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- DHAHABĪ, *Siyar a'lām an-Nubalā*: ed. AL-ARNĀWŪT *et al.*, Beirut, 1981.
- HÖFNER, *Die Stammesgruppen*: Maria HÖFNER, *Die Stammesgruppen Nord- und Zentralarabiens in vorislamischer Zeit*, mit Beiträgen aus griechischen und römischen Quellen von E. Merkel, in H.W. HAUSSIG, *Götter und Mythen im vorderen Orient*, I, Stuttgart, 1965 (*Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, I,i), p. 407f.
- ID., *Die vorislamischen Religionen Arabiens*: Maria HÖFNER, *Die vorislamischen Religionen Arabiens*, in H. GESE, M. HÖFNER and K. RUDOLPH, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer*, Stuttgart, 1970, 233f.

- IBN HISHĀM: IBN HISHĀM, *as-Sīra an-nabawiyya*, ed. as-Saqqā, al-Abyārī and Shalabī, Beirut, 1391/1971.
- IBN ḤAZM, *Ansāb*: IBN ḤAZM AL-ANDALUSĪ, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. 'A. as-Salām HĀRŪN, Cairo, 1382/1962.
- IBN KALBĪ, *Aṣnām*: ed. A. Z. BĀSHĀ, Cairo, 1343/1924.
- IBN QUDĀMA, *Istibṣār*: IBN QUDĀMA AL-MAQDISĪ, *al-Istibṣār fī nasab aṣ-ṣaḥāba mina l-anṣār*, ed. 'A. NUWAYHID, Beirut, 1392/1972.
- IBN SA'D, *aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut, 1380/1960-1388/1968.
- Iṣāba*: IBN ḤAJAR AL-'ASQALĀNĪ, *al-Iṣāba fī tamayīzi ṣ-ṣaḥāba*, ed. 'A.M. AL-BUĀWĪ, Cairo, 1392/1972.
- Istī'āb*: IBN 'ABD AL-BARR, *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rīfatī l-aṣḥāb*, ed. 'A. M. AL-BUĀWĪ, Cairo, n.d.
- JSAI*: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*.
- LECKER, *Muḥammad at Medina: A Geographical Approach*, in *JSAI*, 6 (1985), p. 29-62.
- Majma' az-zawā'id*: 'A. b. Abī Bakr AL-HAYTHAMĪ, *Majma' az-zawā'id wa-manba' al-fawā'id*, Beirut, 1967.
- Mustadrak*: A.'A. al-Ḥākīm AN-NAYSĀBŪRĪ, *al-Mustadrak 'alā ṣ-ṣaḥīḥayni fī l-ḥadīth*, repr. Riyāḍ, 1968.
- SAMHŪDĪ, *Wafā' l-wafā bi-akḥbār dāri l-muṣṭafā*, ed. M. M. d-Dīn 'ABD AL-HAMĪD, Cairo, 1374/1955 (reprint Beirut).
- Tahdh.*: IBN ḤAJAR AL-'ASQALĀNĪ, *Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb*, Hyderabad, 1325.
- Usd*: IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Usd al-ghāba fī ma'rīfat aṣ-ṣaḥāba*, Cairo, 1280 A.H.
- WAQ.: M. b. 'Umar AL-WĀQIDĪ, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. M. JONES, London, 1966.
- WELLHAUSEN, *Reste*: J. WELLHAUSEN, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², Berlin, 1897.

II

A NOTE ON EARLY MARRIAGE LINKS BETWEEN QURASHIS AND JEWISH WOMEN

The commercial interests of Quraysh, the tribe of the Prophet Muhammad, went far beyond Arabia, and along its routes of commerce Quraysh maintained a system of links of various kinds with the local tribes and communities. The relations with Medina are of major importance because of implications for the Prophet's activity there after the Hijra. We shall examine here several cases of marriages with Jewish women from Yathrib/Medina and from Khaybar. The more significant cases contribute to the discussion of the extent of Muhammad's knowledge of Jews and Judaism before the Hijra. Their contribution is enhanced by the fact that some data refer to a rather early period in terms of the Islamic literature, i.e. a few generations before the Prophet. The case of a Jewish woman marrying a number of men successively is of some interest, since, as she was of noble extraction, this pattern of marriage probably was aimed at forming a solid link between her clan and the various clans in Quraysh into which she married. In addition, links amongst the Qurashi clans themselves were strengthened, each of them now including half-brothers and half-sisters.

Before turning to the facts, one question should be raised, namely the nature of the marriages between Jewish women and pagans. There are three possibilities: 1. that the woman remained Jewish and she and her kin did not consider that marrying a pagan was a problem; 2. that she turned her back upon her faith in order to marry a pagan; 3. that the pagan to whom she was married embraced Judaism. The first possibility must be ruled out: the Jews of Medina (and obviously also the Jewish converts among the Arabs of Medina) remained faithful to the Holy Law¹ and cannot be

* This is a revised version of a paper read in the 8th Congress of Jewish Studies on August 19, 1981.

¹ See M.J. and Menahem Kister, "On the Jews of Arabia — Some Notes", in *Tarbiz*, 48 (1979), pp. 231-247, esp. pp. 236-243.

considered to have acted so carelessly in such matters. For similar considerations the second possibility should also be rejected. As a result, we are left with the third possibility in at least some of the cases. But conclusions concerning so sensitive a matter, and one relating to some important personalities in Quraysh, must be based on more solid grounds.

Most of the following details relating to marriages with Jewish women are quoted from the book of Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245/860) *Kitāb al-munammaq fī akhbār quraysh*,² which has a special section on "the Qurashis who were sons of Jewish women" (pp. 506-7). This section appears amongst similar sections dealing with "the Qurashis who were borne by Abyssinian women" (pp. 503-5), "the sons of Sindī women" (p. 505), "the sons of Nabatean women" (pp. 505-6) and "the sons of Christian women" (p. 508).³

Since Jewish origin is not considered in the Islamic literature to be praiseworthy,⁴ one wonders why Muslim compilers found it appropriate to preserve records concerning the Jewish origin of prominent people from the tribe of Quraysh who had died many years before the records were put to writing. (The same question applies, though with less vigor, to the other similar sections.) Tracing the early compilations of reports in which these facts were first recorded may lead us to a possible answer.

The central report in the following pages derives from a book of Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā (d. 210/825) called *Kitāb al-mathālib* ("the Book of Faults"). A similar matter is mentioned, as will be shown below, in *Kitāb al-munammaq*, which does not specify its sources (the section on "the sons of Jewish women" does not mention any source at all;

² Ed. Khurshid Aḥmad Fāriq, Hyderabad, 1384/1964; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur (GAL) — Suppl.*, I, pp. 165-6.

³ And see also Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad, 1361/1942, which has an item on the sons of Christian women (pp. 305-6) and the sons of Abyssinian women (pp. 306-9). Ibn Rusta, *al-A'lāq an-nafisa*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1892, (BGA VII), p. 213 has an item on the Ashrāf who were sons of Christian women.

⁴ "Ibn al-Yahūdiyya", "the son of a Jewish woman", is always used in a pejorative manner. According to one report the Prophet's Jewish wife Ṣafiyya bint Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab came to her husband and complained that his other wives had insulted her by calling her *yahūdiyya bint yahūdiyyayni* ("O Jewish woman, the daughter of a Jewish father and a Jewish mother"). The Prophet is reported to have consoled her by saying, "Would you not answer them: 'My father is Aaron, my uncle is Moses and my husband is Muḥammad?'" According to one commentary, Qur'an 49:11 was revealed in connection with her, see al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb an-nuzūl*, Cairo 1387/1968, p. 224 (who quotes 'Ikrima <Ibn 'Abbās). Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut 1380/1960, VIII, p. 127.

cf. below, n. 7). A contemporary of Abū ʿUbayda, Ibn al-Kalbi (d. 204/819) also compiled a book titled *Kitāb mathālib al-ʿarab*.⁵ Although we know of several other compilations on the same topic⁶ one may perhaps suggest that Abū ʿUbayda and Ibn al-Kalbi were possible sources for the records in Ibn Ḥabīb's *Kitāb al-munammaq*, since Ibn Ḥabīb was a pupil of them both.⁷ The *Mathālib* compilations, which came into existence in the second half of the second Hijrī century as part of the huge literary movement aimed at preserving records of the pre-Islamic and Islamic history of the Arabs, were of a very special nature in that they endeavoured to preserve details concerning faults in the conduct or pedigree of people from prominent families, mainly Qurashis. A sincere interest in the past, combined with some taste for "historical gossip" and, more often than not, a nasty tendency to tease an adversary, resulted in the preservation of these details, even though they are somewhat embarrassing. We may now turn to the facts concerning those marriages.

It is appropriate to start with the most important among Qurashi clans, the clan of B. ʿAbd Manāf.

B. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf

A very unusual story is told concerning Umayya the son of ʿAbd Shams, who was the grandfather of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, the great Meccan enemy of the Prophet Muḥammad and the great-grandfather of the caliph Muʿāwiyā. He went to Shām (Palestine) and stayed there for ten years. He had intercourse with Turnā, a Jewish slave-girl of the Lakhm tribe who inhabited Ṣaffūriya (= Sipori in the lower Galilee). She had, at that time, a Jewish husband in Ṣaffūriya. Turnā gave birth to a son called Dhakwān, and Umayya, alleging that he was the father, adopted him (*fa-ʿdda ʾāhu umayya wa-ʿstalḥaqahu*) and gave him the *kunya* Abū ʿAmr. Afterwards he

⁵ See F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, I, (GAS), Leiden, 1967, p. 270.

⁶ See GAS, pp. 271, 261, 272.

⁷ Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī, *Taʾriḫ baghdād*, Cairo, 1349/1931, II, p. 277; Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig, 1872, p. 106, 23; Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, ed. Margoliouth, Leyden, 1907 (Gibb Memorial Series), VI, pp. 473-4. At the beginning of the item on the sons of Sindī women, Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 505 the words *qāla hishām* appear, and it seems that Hishām b. Muḥammad, that is Ibn al-Kalbi, is referred to. And see below, n. 8. See esp. M.J. Kister and M. Plesner, "Notes on Caske's *Ġamharat an-nasab*", in *Oriens*, 25-26(1976), pp. 64f.

brought him to Mecca. As a result the Prophet told 'Uqba b. Abi Mu'ayt (b. Abi 'Amr b. Umayya): "You are but a Jew from the people of Şaffūriya" (*innamā anta yahūdī min ahl şaffūriya*).⁸

Among the B. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf there were others who had Jewish wives. Sufyān, son of Umayya b. 'Abd Shams (from another

⁸ Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*, ed. Tharwat 'Ukāsha, Cairo, 1969, p. 319, quoting Ibn al-Kalbi (probably from his *Kitāb al-mathālib*, Kister-Plessner, "Notes..." pp. 65-6); al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta 'jama*, ed. Muṣṭafā as-Saqqā, Cairo, 1364/1945f, s.v. Şaffūriya; Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-maqāl fi sharḥ kitābi l-amḥāl*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās and 'Abd al-Majid 'Ābidīn, Beirut, 1401/1981, p. 401; al-Maydānī, *Majma'u l-amḥāl*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi d-Dīn 'Abd al-Hamid, Cairo, 1374/1955, I, p. 191, no. 1018; al-Himyarī, *ar-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fi khabari l-aqṭār*, p. 363, s.v. Şaffūriya; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, IVa, ed. Schloessinger - Kister, Jerusalem, 1971, p. 2, 1.10; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, pp. 104-107. According to al-Haytham b. 'Adī's (d. 206/821 or 207/822, *GAS*, p. 272) *Kitāb al-mathālib*, Dhakwān/Abū 'Amr was Umayya's slave, see Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghāni*, Cairo, 1285, I, pp. 7-8; and see I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. S.M. Stern, London, 1967, I, pp. 177f. Cf. aṭ-Ṭabartī, *Ta'riḫ ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1380/1960f, II, p. 155; *ET*¹, s.v. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams (G. Levi Della Vida). Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahji l-balāgha*, Cairo, 1329/1911, III, p. 475, 1.5 quotes a report on the authority of Ibn al-Kalbi according to which Umayya used to steal from the pilgrims when he was a youngster, and he was called Ḥāris (= "thief", cf. *Lisān al-'arab* s.v. ḥ.r.s.). Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, MS., fol. 796a reports that Abū 'Amr/Dhakwān married Umayya's wife, Āmina bint Abān b. Kulayb b. Rabī'a (see on her Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd as-Salām Ḥārūn, Cairo, 1382/1962, p. 280, 1. 6; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 99, 1. 14) who bore him Abū Mu'ayt = Abān and Musāfir; Ibn Ḥazm, p. 114; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, pp. 135-137; *Aghāni*, VIII, pp. 48f; Ibn Hishām, *as-Sira an-nabawiyya*, ed. as-Saqqā, al-Abyārī, Shalabi, Beirut, 1391/1971, I, 158-159 (all the above sources quote verses of Musāfir boasting of feeding and supplying water to the pilgrims, as well as of the ownership of the well of Zamzam; on Musāfir see also Ibn al-Kalbi, *Jamharat an-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., fol. 17a; and see al-Qurtubī, *al-Jāmi' li-ahkāmī l-quṛ'ān*, (*Tafsir al-qurtubī*), Cairo, 1387/1967, V, p. 103. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, pp. 106-107 (who mentions only Abān) adduces another version: and some say that Dhakwān on his part adopted Abān. Al-Jāhiz (see Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahji l-balāgha*, III, pp. 464-465) argues that Umayya permitted his son Abū 'Amr to marry his wife while he was still alive and she bore him Abū Mu'ayt. This is obviously a lie. The other version concerning the pedigree of the Şaffūriya woman depicts her as free-born, see Muṣ'ab az-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, ed. L. Provençal, Cairo, 1953, p. 100, 1. 8; Cf. Kister - Plessner, p. 66, n. 108; Kister (above, n. 1), p. 236, n. 19. On the circumstances of Umayya's exile and the contest for nobility (*munāfara*) see also Ibn Sa'd, I, p. 76; ash-Shāmi, *Subul al-ḥudā wa-r-rashād fi sirati khayri l-'ibād (as-Sira ash-shāmiyya)*, I, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wahid, Cairo, 1392/1972, pp. 319-20; aṭ-Ṭabartī, *Ta'riḫ ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1380/1960f, II, p. 253; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, I, ed. Muḥammad Hamīdullāh, Cairo, 1959, pp. 60-1. According to one report, the *munāfara* was between Ḥāshim b. 'Abd Manāf, the great-grandfather of the Prophet, and Ḥarb b. Umayya, *Tabartī, op. cit.*, pp. 253-4 (quoting Ibn Sa'd < Ibn al-Kalbi), but this is just the second part of the report on the Jew protected by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, see below, p. 37.

woman)⁹ married a Jewish woman: her name was ar-Ribāb, “from the people of Yathrib” and her mother was a Jewish woman of noble extraction (*sharīfa yahūdiyya*). She gave birth to al-Ḥuṣayn.¹⁰ Another member of that family married a Jewish woman, though in much later times. ʿUmāra, the son of ʿUqba b. Abī Muʿayt b. Abī ʿAmr b. Umayya, who was the great-grandson of Abū ʿAmr/Dhakwān, married a Jewish woman of the people of Dūrān, and she gave birth to a son named ʿIsā (*sic!*).¹¹

⁹ Harb b. Umayya, the father of Abū Sufyān, was also born to the same woman. These two, together with other sons of Umayya, were called al-ʿAnābis (“the lions”), see e.g. Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, p. 100; *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, IVa, p. 3, 1. 2 and the notes.

¹⁰ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 507: *wa-l-ḥuṣayn b. sufyan b. umayya b. ʿabd shams, wa-ummuhum* (that is, the mother of al-Ḥuṣayn and of three other Qurashis) *wāhida yuqālu lahā ar-ribāb min ahl yathrib, wa-ummuhā (sic) sharīfa yahūdiyya*. In the MS. of *al-Munammaq*, *ummuhumā* appears in both places, and the editor corrected as quoted. See Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, p. 200. (Perhaps *wa-ummuhum* should be preferred in the latter place as well; the text is not smooth, however.) Muṣʿab mentions a fuller pedigree of that woman without referring to the fact that she was Jewish: ar-Ribāb bint al-Ḥārith b. Ḥubāb. On *ahl yathrib* see *JSAI* 6 (1985), p. 43. Al-Ḥuṣayn is not mentioned among the sons of Sufyān b. Umayya in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, IVb, ed. Max Schloessinger, Jerusalem, 1938, p. 124.

¹¹ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 507. The editor suggests (*loc. cit.*, n. 9) that one should read here: Dawrān, and identify it with the village Dhū Dawrān between Qudayd and al-Juhfa (roughly in the middle of the way between Mecca and Medina, on the shore), see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, Beirut, 1957, s.v. Dawrān. Indeed, al-Juhfa near Dawrān was inhabited by Jews in the time of the Prophet, see e.g. az-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ ʿalā l-mawāhib al-laduniyya*, Cairo 1329, I, 362, 1. 13, but the place referred to in *Munammaq* is Dūrān, which was, according to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. a locality behind the bridge of Kūfa incorporating the castle of Ismāʿīl al-Qasrī, the brother of Khalīd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qasrī, who was one of the governors of Kūfa in the Umayyad period. The reason is that ʿUmāra was an inhabitant of Kūfa and it is plausible that he married a woman from the neighbourhood of Kūfa, see Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyizi ṣ-ṣaḥāba*, ed. al-Bijāwī, Cairo, 1392/1972, IV, p. 585; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat an-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., fol. 17b *supra*; Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, p. 140, 1. 3. *raḥā ʿumāra* (“the mill of ʿUmāra”, see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v.) was a quarter (*maḥalla*) in Kūfa, named after ʿUmāra b. ʿUqba b. Abī Muʿayt; and see Ibn al-Faqīh, *Mukhtaṣar kitābi l-buldān*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1885 (BGA, V), p. 183. ʿUmāra’s brother al-Walīd was governor of Kūfa under ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, VI, pp. 616, 618. The family of Abū Muʿayt had contacts with Persia in the pre-Islamic period, as is indicated by the fact that ʿUqba b. Abī Muʿayt, among other Qurashis, most prominently Abū Sufyān b. Harb, embraced the faith of Mazdak, Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad, 1942; M.J. Kister, “al-Hīra”, *Arabica*, 15(1968), p. 145 (they are reported to have “learnt the *zandaqa* from the Christians of Hīra). ʿUqba b. Abī Muʿayt is reported to have been a wine-seller, Ibn Rusta, *al-Aʿlāq an-nāfisa*, p. 215, 1. 6; he probably imported it from the region of Hīra, cf. A. Oppenheimer in collaboration with B. Isaac and M. Lecker, *Babylonia Judaica in the Talmudic Period*, Tübingen Atlas des vorderen Orients, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden, s.v. Neharpanya.

Also in another branch of B. ʿAbd Shams a marriage with a Jewish woman can be found. Al-Walid b. ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa b. ʿAbd Shams was married to a Jewish woman, who bore him ʿĀṣim.¹² In another source¹³ we learn of her identity, although here her faith is not mentioned. It is reported that two of the children of al-Walid b. ʿUtba, namely ʿĀṣim and Hind, were born to him from Hind (she had the same name as her daughter) bint Jarwal b. Mālik b. ʿAmr b. ʿAziz b. Mālik b. ʿAwf b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. al-Aws. As this detailed pedigree reveals, she was from one of the lesser-known (but not necessarily less important) families of B. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf (from the Aws), B. ʿAziz b. Mālik.¹⁴ The Jewish wife of al-Walid b. ʿUtba

Also the brother of ʿUmāra's grandfather, Musāfir b. Abī ʿAmr (see above, n. 8) had contacts with Hīra, *Kitāb al-aghāni* (Būlāq), VIII, pp. 48-51; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, s.v. Hubāla. His affair with Hind bint ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, who finally married Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb (see below) is of some interest, especially the report according to which he asked the help of an-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, the King of Hīra (580-602; other versions have ʿAmr b. Hind, but an-Nuʿmān is preferable due to chronological considerations) in this matter — an-Nuʿmān was the son of a Jewish slave-girl taken captive at Fadak, see M.J. Kister, "On the wife of the goldsmith from Fadak and her progeny", in *Le Muséon*, 92(1979), pp. 322-324.

The item dealing with "the sons of Nabatean women", *Munammaq*, p. 506 lists another son of ʿUmāra, called ʿUmar, which means that ʿUmāra was married to a "Nabatean" woman as well. The epithet "Nabatean" can also apply to a Jewish woman, see the "Nabatean Jewess" by the name of Qāmi, below, p. 27. Among the "Nabatean" women appears also a woman from Sūrā, who was the mother of ʿAqil b. Jaʿda b. Hubayra al-Makhzūmi, *Munammaq*, p. 506. See on Jaʿda Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, I, pp. 527-8 (his mother was Umm Hāni bint Abī Ṭālib, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's sister; Jaʿda was governor of Khurāsān under ʿAlī). As is well-known, a majority of the inhabitants of Sūrā were Jewish, at least by the beginning of the 10th century AD, al-Qifṭī, *Taʾriḫ al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903, p. 194.

¹² Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 507. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, III, p. 575 lists ʿĀṣim among the companions of the Prophet Muḥammad. According to him, he was eight years old at the time of the Ḥajj al-Wadaʿ (10AH). Strangely enough, Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, fol. 804a reports that after the death of al-Walid b. ʿUtba at Badr, Hind bint ʿUtba claimed that a man named ʿĀṣim was his son (*fa-ddaʿat...rajulan yuqālu lahu ʿāsim annahu bnuhu*). ʿĀṣim was for a short time a governor of Medina under Muʿāwiya. Balādhuri also says that ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa had no offspring except the descendants of al-Mughira b. ʿAmmār b. ʿĀṣim b. al-Walid b. ʿUtba, who are in Shām.

¹³ Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, pp. 153-4.

¹⁴ In Ibn al-Kalbi, *Jamharat an-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., fol. 251a; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 334 Hind's father Jarwal and her brother Zurāra are mentioned. The latter rebelled against the caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. When Busr b. Arṭaʿa carried out a punitive expedition under Muʿāwiya, he destroyed his house in Medina, which was located in the market, see Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾriḫ dimashq*, X, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān, Damascus, 1383/1963, p. 10, l. 16.

was not from one of the main Jewish clans but from B. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, and it seems that one of her ancestors embraced Judaism.¹⁵

Fascinating links between the family of ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa and the Jews of Medina are revealed in a report on a marriage which took place in Mecca before Islam. When Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb married Hind bint ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa (who afterwards bore him Muʿāwiya, the first Umayyad caliph), ʿUtba sent his son al-Walid (who, as mentioned, was, or was to be, married to a Jewish woman) to B. Abī l-Ḥuqayq, the leading house of B. Naḍir (in Medina), and he borrowed jewellery from them. Al-Walid and a group from B. ʿAbd Shams personally guaranteed the jewellery's safe return (the text implies that they remained in Medina as hostages; however, it is clear that al-Walid was permitted to return to Mecca). Al-Walid carried the jewellery to Mecca and one month later it was brought back in its entirety and the hostages were released.¹⁶

¹⁵ It may not have been a coincidence that another son of ʿUtba, Abū Ḥudhayfa, also married a woman from B. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, from a family called B. ʿUbayd b. Zayd (see on them Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 334). After the marriage she lived in Mecca and made the Hijra to her home-town: Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, VII, pp. 547-8. She was Thubayta bint Yaʿṣar (there are also other versions regarding the name of her father) b. Zayd b. ʿUbayd b. Zayd b. Mālik b. ʿAwf b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf. She was the woman who freed Sālim, the *mawla* of Abū Ḥudhayfa. Ibn Ḥajar (p. 548) objects to the statement of Abū ʿUmar (= Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, see his *al-Istiʿāb fī maʿrifati l-aṣḥāb*, ed. al-Bijāwī, Cairo, n.d., IV, p. 1799) that she was from the early Muhājirāt; she was, he says, from the Anṣār. However, there seems to be no difficulty here, because she moved to Mecca following her marriage to Abū Ḥudhayfa. As an outcome of ʿUtba's contacts with the inhabitants of Medina, among them the Jews, two Khazrajis, Asʿad b. Zurāra and Dhakwān b. ʿAbd al-Qays, referred to him for arbitration. However, when they heard of the Prophet Muḥammad they went to him and embraced Islam, Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, I, p. 54 (quoting al-Wāqidi).

¹⁶ Ibn Saʿd, VIII, p. 236, quoting Wāqidi <Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Shuraybīl al-ʿAbdārī <his father (Ibrāhīm and his father are also included in the chain of transmitters attached to a report on the battle of Uhūd, Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, ed. M. Jonea, London, 1966, I, p. 239). On Ibrāhīm (b. Muḥammad b. Thābit b. Shuraybīl) see al-Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrikh al-kabir*, Hyderabad, 1380, I, pp. 320-1; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ wa-t-taʿdil*, Hyderabad, 1371/1952f., II, p. 125. On his father see Bukhārī, *Taʾrikh*, I, p. 50; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarḥ*, VII, pp. 215-6 (Muḥammad b. Thābit b. Shuraybīl al-Qurashī, and some say: Muḥammad b. Shuraybīl). Text: *lammā banā abū sufyan b. ḥarb bi-hind bint ʿutba b. rabīʿa baʿatha ʿutba b. rabīʿa bi-bnihi l-walid ilā bani abi l-ḥuqayq fa-ʿstāʿara ḥuliyahum. wa-rahamahum l-walid nafsahu fī nafar min bani ʿabd shams wa-dhahaba bi-l-ḥuliyi fa-ghāba shahran. thumma raddūhu wāfiran wa-fakkū r-rahna.*

Hind bint al-Walid b. ʿUtba, who was born, as mentioned, to a Jewish woman from B. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, married Qudāma b. Maẓʿun al-Jumaḥī (and also al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayya al-Makhzūmī), Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, pp. 153-4, see on both Caskel, II, index, s.vv. Qudāma b. Maẓʿun and al-Muhājir b. Ḥuḍaifa, respectively. It may not have been a coincidence that

B. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf

Al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf himself had children from a Jewish woman: she gave birth to Makhrama and Abū Ruhm (Unays).¹⁷ The identity of this woman will be mentioned below. A Jewish woman of the people of Khaybar (a slave-girl) gave birth to Qays b. Makhrama.¹⁸ While *Kitāb al-munammaq* says merely that she was “from the people of Khaybar” (*wāḥida min ahl khaybar*) another source reveals her identity: she was Asmā’ bint ʿAbdallāh b. Subayʿ (or Sabʿ) b. Mālik b. Junāda b. al-Ḥārith b. Saʿd b. ʿAnaza b. Asad b. Rabīʿa b. Nizār. It seems that she belonged to an ʿAnazi family which embraced Judaism and settled in Khaybar.¹⁹

Qudāma also married a Jewish woman, who bore him his son ʿAmr. She is referred to by a very extraordinary epithet: *min yahūdi l-anṣār*, that is, from “the Jews of the Anṣār”, meaning: from the Anṣār who were Jewish, Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 507. It seems that, in this case as well, the woman was not a member of one of the main Jewish clans in Medina (this expression will be mentioned again, below, p. 26). Ibn Saʿd, III, p. 401 does not mention ʿAmr among Qudāma’s sons. His *kunya* was Abū ʿUmar, and it is reported that Hind bint ʿUtba bore him ʿUmar and Fāʿima. Cf. the other version found in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, V, p. 423, according to which his *kunya* was Abū ʿAmr. This version was more common, Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istiʿāb*, III, p. 1277.

¹⁷ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 506; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Ḥubāsha (quoting the *Kitāb al-mathālib* of Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthanna, see below); Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, pp. 92, 16, 1. 12. See also Caskel, *Ḡamharat an-nasab...*, I, no. 15, II, index, s.v. Maḥrama b. al-Muṭṭalib. Ibn al-Kalbi, *Jamharat an-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., fol. 7a *infra* mentions only Makhrama.

¹⁸ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, pp. 506-7; Caskel, II, index, s.v. Qays b. Maḥrama. Qays b. Makhrama and the Prophet were born at the same time, Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, V, p. 501; Ibn al-Athir, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, IV, p. 226; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istiʿāb*, III, p. 1299. One wonders whether its Jewish background had any connection with the bad reputation of this family, see Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, MS., fol. 806b where it is reported that ʿAbdallāh b. Qays b. Makhrama was appointed as governor of Mecca under ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (see also Ibn al-Kalbi, *Jamharat an-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., fol. 20a) and al-Ḥajjāj appointed him governor of Medina or Mecca. On the latter occasion ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān said to Ḥajjāj, that he had chosen a member of the most unwitty of the families of Quraysh (*laqad wallaytahu min aḥmaqi bayt fi quraysh. wa-kāna ʿabdu l-malik yaqūlu: aḥmaqu bayt fi quraysh āl qays b. makhrama*). ʿAbdallāh served, however, as governor of Iraq under ʿAbd al-Malik, Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, V, p. 23.

¹⁹ Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, pp. 92, 398. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, says that Makhrama’s wife was a slave-girl (*umm walad*), while Ibn al-Athir, *op. cit.*, has: Bint ʿAbdallāh b. Sabʿ b. Mālik b. Junāda from B. ʿAnaza (al-Ghanawiyya in Ibn Ḥajar, *op. cit.* should read: al-ʿAnaziyya. Similarly ʿUtba in Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Diwān*, ed. W. ʿArafāt, London, 1971, I, p. 381, n. 1, should read: ʿAnaza). See Ḥassān, *loc. cit.* for slightly different pedigrees of that woman. Ḥassān, who dedicated to Qays a few verses of *hijāʿ*, refers to his mother in the diminutive

B. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf

'Adi b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf was married to ar-Ribāb bint al-Ḥarīth b. Ḥubāb, the noble woman from Yathrib, who was also married to Sufyān b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams (above, p. 20). She gave birth to al-Khiyār.²⁰

We can trace marriages to Jewish women also in other Qurashī clans.

B. Jumah

'Abd Manāf b. 'Umayr b. Uhayb al-Jumahī was linked to the 'Anazi woman from Khaybar who was also linked to Makhrama b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf (see above, p. 24). She gave birth to Musāfi'.²¹ As was already

form: Sumayya, and in the margin of one of the manuscripts it is said that she was taken captive (*sabiyya*), as is confirmed by the second verse, which calls her *umayyatu saw* (or *sū'*), "a bad slave-girl". Cf. the typical case of a slave-girl in Ibn al-Athir, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, IV, pp. 115-116; *Isti'āb*, III, p. 1184: the mother of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ as-Sahmī was an-Nābigha bint Harmala, a slave-girl from B. Jallān of 'Anaza (Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 294) who was taken captive and sold in 'Ukāz to al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī. Then 'Abdallāh b. Jud'an at-Taymī bought her and afterwards she became the property of al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il and bore him 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. 'Amr had two half-brothers, one from B. 'Adi b. Ka'b and the other from B. Fīhr, as well as a half-sister from B. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf, which means that his mother had been the property of at least three other Qurashīs; Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, MS., fol. 885a: the mother of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ was an-Nābigha bint Khuzayma (read: Harmala) from 'Anaza who was taken captive, and some say that she belonged to people who alighted in Mecca (*wa-yuqālu innahā mimman saqaṭa ilā makka*).

The presence of 'Anaza in or near Khaybar is important. M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, I, Leipzig, 1939, p. 65 (followed by E. Graf, *El²*, s.v. 'Anaza, p. 482) thought that the 'Anaza appear in Khaybar in the 12th century and connected this with the movements of the Qarmāṭians in Eastern Arabia. However, the case of Makhrama b. al-Muṭṭalib and Asmā' al-'Anaziyya from the people of Khaybar, in the sixties or seventies of the sixth century, proves that by that time they had already been there. Moreover, this is no doubt the factual basis of the identification between the 'Anaza and the Jewish inhabitants of Khaybar, cf. von Oppenheim, p. 66. And see al-Ālūstī, *Bulūgh al-arab fi ma'rifati aḥwāli l-'arab*, Cairo, 1342/1924, I, p. 192 (*qila kānat li-l-'amāliqa thumma ṣārat li-bani 'anaza b. asad b. rabi'a*).

²⁰ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 507. And see Caskel, I, no. 16; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 200. The hand of al-Khiyār b. 'Adi was cut off in the Jāhiliyya as a punishment for theft, Ibn Rusta, *al-A'lāq an-naḥiyya*, p. 194, l. 1; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 530. Cf. perhaps the marriage link between 'Adi al-Akbar (that is the elder of the two sons who carried the name 'Adi) b. al-Khiyār and Uthātha/Hind bint Sufyān b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 201.

²¹ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 506; Caskel, I, no. 24 (Musāfi' b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Umayr b. Uhayb b. Ḥudhāfa b. Jumah). Cf. Caskel, II, index, s.v. Uhaib b. Ḥudāfa and s.v. Musāfi' b. 'Abd Manāf. Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, fol. 882a erroneously identifies 'Abdallāh b. 'Umayr with 'Abd Manāf b. 'Umayr: *musāfi' b. 'abd manāf wa-huwa 'abdallāh b. 'umayr b. uhayb ash-shā'ir*.

pointed out (above, n. 16) Qudāma b. Mazʿūn was married to a woman *min yahūdi l-anṣār*, i.e. from the Jewish Anṣār, or from the Anṣār who were Jewish. The brother of ʿAbd Manāf, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmayr, also married a Jewish woman, who gave birth to ʿAmr, i.e., Abū ʿAzza the poet. The woman was ar-Ribāb, the noble woman from Yathrib, two other husbands of whom were mentioned above.²²

B. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā

Habib b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā was married to a woman *min yahūdi l-anṣar* (cf. above, n. 16) who gave birth to Tuwayt.²³ Az-Zubayr b. Bakkār says that she was aṣ-Ṣaʿba bint Khālid b. Ṣaʿl, while his uncle Muṣʿab az-Zubayrī has: aṣ-Ṣaʿba bint Khālid b. Ṣuql. The latter tells us that she was from B. Jaḥjabā. Aṣ-Ṣaʿba was married to the father of Ḥabīb, Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, and bore him three sons. After Asad's death Ḥabīb married his late father's wife and she bore him, as mentioned, Tuwayt.²⁴ A full and slightly different pedigree of that woman is reported by Ibn al-Kalbi²⁵ who mentions two sons borne by her to Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā. She was aṣ-Ṣaʿba bint Khālid b. Ṣaʿl b. Mālik b. Ama b. Ḍubayʿa b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. Mālik b. al-Aws b. Ḥāritha. It was an old marriage link with a woman of one of the B. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf groups. B. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf obviously maintained close connections with Mecca in pre-Islamic times (cf. also above, p. 22).

²² Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 507; Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, pp. 397-8 (who does not mention his mother). On Murra b. Abī ʿAzza see Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, VI, p. 81 (he is called here: Murra b. Abī ʿAzza b. ʿAmr b. ʿUmayr b. Wahb etc.). And see Caskel, I, no. 24; II, index, s.vv. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmair and ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallāh A. ʿAzza.

²³ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 507; Caskel, II, s.vv. Ḥabīb b. Asad and Tuwait b. Ḥabīb; *Jamhara*, Ms. Br. Mus., fol. 26a. According to Ibn al-Kalbi Tuwayt's mother was a slave-girl of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib called Majd; and see Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, Ms., fol. 821a. On Tuwayt see also az-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab quraysh wa-akhbārihā*, I, ed. Maḥmūd Shākir, Cairo, 1381, pp. 434-5, 439. Ḥabīb b. Asad and his brother Nawfal b. Asad were killed in the battle of Fijār al-Ākhir, Balādhuri, MS., fol. 812a *infra*; Ibn al-Kalbi, *Jamharat an-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., fol. 24a. On this battle see Ibn ʿAbd Rabbīhi, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amin *et al.*, Cairo, 1384/1965, V, pp. 253-260.

²⁴ *Loc. cit.*; Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, pp. 206-207, 211 (on p. 211 she is called: aṣ-Ṣaʿba bint Khālid b. Ṭufayl, Ṭufayl being a *lectio facilior* for Ṣaʿl or Ṣuql).

²⁵ *Jamharat an-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., fol. 24a; cf. fol. 24b.

B. ʿĀmir b. Luʿayy

The Jewish woman who was married to ʿAdi b. Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf (above, p. 25) and to Sufyān b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams, as well as to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmayr al-Jumaḥī, was also married to al-Ḥuṣayn b. Rabiʿ from B. ʿĀmir b. Luʿayy and gave birth to ʿUmayr.²⁶ This Jewish woman, who was of noble extraction, was married to men from four different clans of Quraysh, and to each of them she bore a son.

B. Zuhra

ʿUtba b. Nawfal az-Zuhri was married to a "Nabatean Jewish woman" named Qāmi, who bore him Hāshim and ʿĀmir.²⁷

We may turn now to an early link which is by far the most interesting, between the great-grandfather of the Prophet Muḥammad, Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf, and a Jewish woman.²⁸ His brother al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf was linked to the same woman. It must immediately be added that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim, the grandfather of the Prophet Muḥammad, was borne to Hāshim from another woman.

It is worthy of note, however, that Hāshim's links with the Jewish woman and with the mother of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib seem to have come about as a result of his connections in Medina or his commercial activi-

²⁶ Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, p. 200. Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Rabiʿa is mentioned on p. 431, l. 4. After mentioning his son ʿUmayr, p. 432, l. 15, Muṣʿab says that his mother was ar-Ribāb (vocalised: ar-Rabāb) bint al-Ḥārith b. Ḥubāb and mentions his half-brothers al-Khiyār b. ʿAdi, Abū ʿAzza, ʿAmr b. ʿAbdallāh al-Jumaḥī and al-Ḥuṣayn b. Sufyān b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams; Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, MS., fol. 874a mentions as ʿUmayr's half-brothers only the first two, al-Khiyār and Abū ʿAzza.

²⁷ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 507. See Caskel, I, no. 20, II, index, s.v. ʿUtba b. Nawfal. ʿUtba was a brother of Makhrama b. Nawfal b. Uhayb b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhra, who was born to Ruqayqa (printed: Ruqayya) bint Abi Ṣayfi b. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf (see below, n. 51), Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, pp. 262-3.

ʿUtba b. Nawfal obviously lived in the time of the Prophet, cf. perhaps as-Suyūṭī, *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ aw al-Jāmiʿ al-Kabir*, Cairo, 1978, II, p. 812, l. 10 from bottom (Marāsīl Muḥammad b. Shihāb az-Zuhri): *ʿan maʿmar ʿani z-zuhri, qāla: nakaha rajul min qawmi fi ʿahdi n-nabiyyi ṣʿmraʿatan min ahli l-kitāb.*

²⁸ See already Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, *Le prophète de l'islam*, Paris, 1959, I, p. 392.

ties. Hāshim played a central role in widening the scope of Qurashī trade and formed links with the Byzantine emperor and with Bedouin tribes on the route to Syria. He died in Gaza.²⁹ Concerning his marriage to the mother of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib we are told that he led a Qurashī caravan through Medina. The caravan camped in “the market of the Nabateans” (*sūq an-nabaʿ*)³⁰ where the annual fair took place. The people of the caravan were conducting their business when they saw a woman who stood elevated in the market. She was giving instructions for the purchase and sale of goods on her behalf. She was a resolute, strong and beautiful woman. When Hāshim asked whether she was married, he was told that she was unmarried at that time. She had been previously married to Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāḥ and gave birth to ʿAmr, Maʿbad and Unaysa. Afterwards she was separated from him. She refused to marry another man because of her nobility among her people (*li-sharafihā fi qawmihā*) unless he complied with the following conditions: that she would be free to sever the marriage if she so desired and that should she dislike her husband, she would separate from him (on her initiative). The woman was Salmā bint ʿAmr b. Zayd b. Labīd b. Khidāsh b. ʿĀmir b. Ghanm b. ʿAdī b. an-Najjār. She was from the clan of B. ʿAdī, one of the B. an-Najjār clans.³¹ Her former husband, Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāḥ, was one of the leaders of B. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf.³² Hāshim married her and this marriage became by far his

²⁹ See M.J. Kister, “Mecca and Tamīm”, in *JESHO*, 8(1965), pp. 116ff; *idem*, “Some reports concerning Mecca”, in *JESHO*, 15(1972), pp. 61-64.

³⁰ Cf. M.J. Kister, “The market of the Prophet”, in *JESHO*, 8(1965), pp. 274-5 (*Sūq an-Nabaʿ* = *Sūq an-Nabaʿ* is probably identical with the market of B. Qaynuqāʿ).

³¹ For a reference to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib as Ibn Salmā see al-Kalāʿī, *al-Itāfāʾ fi maghāzi rasūli llāhi wa-th-thalāthati l-khulafāʾ*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wahīd, Cairo, 1387/1968, I, pp. 160, 161. According to ash-Shāmī (above, n. 8), I, pp. 308-9 Hāshim came to Medina for trade and dwelt in the house of ʿAmr b. Zayd, Salmā’s father. Hāshim was a friend of both ʿAmr b. Zayd and his father, Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, I, p. 64, l. 8. It was reported that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib used to frequent his uncles and was kind to them (*wa-yabarruhum*), ash-Shāmī, p. 310; Balādhurī, p. 65, l. 16. Salmā was a woman who had the freedom to separate from her husband (on her own initiative) because of her nobility and rank, Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 398; Salmā in her time was like Khadija in later times, ad-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrikh al-khamīs*, Cairo, 1283AH, I, p. 158, l. 3; and see Muṣṭafā, *Nasab*, p. 15, l. 4 from bottom. Cf. al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *al-Fakhr*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm at-Ṭahāwī, Cairo, 1380/1960, p. 97; Caskel, II, index, s.v. Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf.

³² Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāḥ b. al-Ḥarīsh b. Jaḥjabā b. Kulfa b. ʿAwf b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. al-Awḥ, Ibn Saʿd, I, p. 79; as-Suhaylī, *ar-Rawḍ al-unṣaf*, ed. Ṭāḥā ʿAbd ar-Raʿūf Saʿd, Cairo, 1391/1971, I, p. 162; Caskel, II, index, s.v. Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāḥ; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 335; al-Baghdādī,

most important one since Salmā gave birth to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Prophet. She bore, as well, a daughter called Ruqayya, who died in childhood. According to another version³³ she bore, besides ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, a daughter named ash-Shifāʾ.

The first names on the list of Qurashis who were born to Jewish women in Ibn Ḥabīb's *Kitāb al-munammaq* are Ṣayfi and Abū Ṣayfi, the sons of Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf. Concerning their mother, Ibn Ḥabīb says merely that she was a Jewish woman from Khaybar. We may assume that she was the first woman who bore Hāshim children, because Abū Ṣayfi is said to have been his firstborn.³⁴ One has to trust that their mother was Jewish. Firstly, no one would dare invent such a story concerning the prophet's great-grandfather. Secondly, there is some corroborative evidence to this effect. Among the sons of Jewish women Ibn Ḥabīb also mentions

Khizānatu l-adab, ed. ʿAbd as-Salām Ḥārūn, Cairo, 1969f, III, p. 357-8. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, VI, p. 326, s.v. Muḥammad b. Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāḥ al-Anṣārī and his biography in Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, IV, p. 310. According to Suhaylī, I, p. 130, she bore Uḥayḥa ʿAmr and Maʿbad "after Hāshim", that is, after she had divorced him or after he had died; and see Ibn Qudāma al-Maqḍisī, *al-Istibṣār fī nasabī ṣ-ṣahāba mina l-anṣār*, ed. ʿAlī Nuwayhid, Beirut, 1392/1972, p. 312, l. 12: *qila: khalāfa uḥayḥa ʿalā asmāʾ* (read: Salmā) *baʿda hāshim fa-waladat lahu ʿamran wa-maʿbadan wa-unaysa*. Al-Maqḍisī tries to harmonize the two versions: it is possible that Uḥayḥa married her again after Hāshim had died in Gaza. J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, 4. Heft. Berlin, 1889, p. 27, n. 2, who quotes Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Būlāq, 1285AH, XIII, p. 124, erroneously rejects the report on the marriage of Hāshim to Salmā. A rare report found in Ibn Qudāma, *al-Istibṣār*, p. 314, l. 14 accords Muḥammad b. ʿUqba b. Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāḥ a role in the digging of the well of Zamzam: *aʿāna akhāhu ʿabda l-muṭṭalib ʿalā ḥafr zamzam*; ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was in fact a half-brother of Muḥammad b. ʿUqba's uncles ʿAmr and Maʿbad when Zamzam was discovered he slaughtered a hundred sacrifice animals and fed the people of Mecca.

³³ Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾriḫ*, Beirut, 1379/1960, I, p. 244, l. 13; Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, pp. 15, l. 18, 16-7. Ibn al-Kalbi (Caskel, I, no. 4) lists ash-Shifāʾ among Hāshim's children along with Asad, Shayba (= ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib), Ṣayfi, ʿAmr (= Abū Ṣayfi) and Naḍla.

³⁴ Ibn Saʿd, I, pp. 79-80. Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, I, p. 87, l. 9 states that Hāshim called Abū Ṣayfi ʿAmr, in his own name. According to Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-ishtiqāq*, ed. ʿAbd as-Salām Ḥārūn, Cairo, 1378/1958, p. 69 the name of Abū Ṣayfi was ʿAbd ʿAmr, "according to what has been contended" (*zaʿamū*). According to one report, the *kunya* of Hāshim was Abū Yazīd, and according to another it was Abū Asad, after his son Asad born to a woman from B. al-Muṭṭalīq, Ibn Saʿd, I, p. 80. (I could not find a son called Yazīd among Hāshim's sons.) According to ash-Shāmi, I, p. 319 the *kunya* of Hāshim was Abū Naḍla; and see also Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾriḫ*, p. 243; Caskel, II, index. s.vv. Ṣayfi b. Hāshim; ʿAmr b. Hāshim Abū Ṣayfi. As it seems that both Ṣayfi and Abū Ṣayfi were born when Hāshim was still a young man, it has to be remarked that the choice of the name looks somewhat unusual. According to Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, pp. 69, 163 the name Ṣayfi derives from the verb *asāfa*, which means: to have a child at an old age. Ṣayfi is therefore "he who was born to an old man".

Makhrama b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf (above, p. 24), and we are told that Makhrama was the half-brother of Ṣayfi and Abū Ṣayfi, from the same mother.³⁵ This means that the two brothers, Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib, sons of ʿAbd Manāf, had children from the same woman.

The woman's exact identity, however, is disputed. Our sources seem to differ over the question whether she was a slave-girl or free-born. According to Ibn al-Kalbī and Muṣʿab az-Zubayrī she was free-born. Ibn al-Kalbī records the following pedigree: Hind bint ʿAmr b. Thaʿlaba b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Sālim b. Ghanm b. ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj.³⁶ Muṣʿab has: Hind bint ʿAmr b. Thaʿlaba b. Salūl b. al-Khazraj.³⁷ According to these pedigrees she was from the Khazraji clan of B. ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj, to which ʿAbdallāh b. Ubayy, the obstinate adversary of the Prophet, belonged.³⁸ Moreover, the name Sālim in Ibn al-Kalbī's more detailed pedigree indicates that she was from the family to which Ibn Ubayy belonged, namely B. Sālim b. Ghanm b. ʿAwf, also referred to as B. al-Ḥublā (al-Ḥublā, "the pregnant woman", was Sālim's nickname — he reportedly had a big belly).³⁹

Although Ibn Ḥabīb was the pupil of Ibn al-Kalbī, his statement that the mother of Ṣayfi and Abū Ṣayfi was a Jewish woman from Khaybar hardly conforms to the statement of Ibn al-Kalbī and it cannot be argued that they complement each other. Indeed, it is clear that there were Jew-

³⁵ Thus Ibn al-Kalbī, quoted in Ibn Saʿd, I, pp. 79-80; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Ḥubāsha, who quotes Abū ʿUbayda's *Kitāb al-mathālib* also mentions that Makhrama was the brother of Ṣayfi and Abū Ṣayfi from the same mother (and see on this source below). Cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, I, p. 380, II, p. 280.

³⁶ Ibn Saʿd, *loc. cit.*. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat an-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., fol. 7a is less detailed: Hind bint ʿAmr b. Thaʿlaba from B. ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj. And see Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, I, p. 87, who quotes Ibn al-Kalbī: the mother of Ṣayfi and Abū Ṣayfi was Hind bint ʿAmr b. Thaʿlaba from Khazraj. In addition Balādhurī has another version: and some say that the mother of Abū Ṣayfi was a slave-girl (*wa-yuqālu inna abā ṣayfi li-umm walad*).

³⁷ Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, p. 92. This pedigree is probably quoted from Ibn al-Kalbī as well, see his *Jamharat an-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., fol. 7a *infra*, 20a (Hind bint ʿAmr b. Thaʿlaba b. Salūl from the Anṣār); Caskel, II, index, s.v. ʿAmr b. Hāshim Abū Ṣayfi. Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, II, p. 280 (see below) has: Hind bint ʿAmr b. Thaʿlaba b. Salūl b. Mālik b. Qays b. ʿAbd b. ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj.

³⁸ See about them Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 353-355; Ibn Qudāma, *al-Istibṣār fī nasabi ṣ-ṣaḥāba mina l-anṣār*, pp. 184f.

³⁹ Below, pp. 31-2; Ibn Qudāma, *al-Istibṣār*, pp. 184-187; cf. Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-wafā' bi-akhbār dāri l-muṣṭafā*, Cairo, 1326AH, I, pp. 141-2 (p. 141, l. 15: al-Ḥublā = Mālik b. Sālim b. Ghanm etc.); Caskel, II, index, s.v. ʿAbdullāh b. Ubayy.

ish converts among the B. 'Awf, and it may not be surprising to find some of them in Khaybar at some period.⁴¹ But Ibn al-Kalbi's report seems to be a variant of a report on the authority of another teacher of Ibn Ḥabīb's, Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna. In his *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v. Ḥubāsha, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī records two reports, one on the authority of 'Abd ar-Razzāq <Ma'mar <Zuhri,⁴² and another from Abū 'Ubayda's *Kitāb al-mathālib*. The first report relates how Khadija bint Khuwaylid, before she married Muḥammad, had dispatched him, together with another man from Quraysh, to a market called Ḥubāsha.⁴³ The other report, from Abū 'Ubayda, is rare. It says that Ḥāshim b. 'Abd Manāf was the father of Ṣayfī and Abū Ṣayfī, the latter being 'Amr or Qays.⁴⁴ Their mother was Ḥayya, a black slave-girl, who had been previously the property of Mālik or 'Amr b. Salūl, the brother of Ubayy b. Salūl, who was the father of 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl the *munāfiq* (this seems impossible, Ibn Ubayy's uncle lived much later). She was bought in the market of Ḥubāsha, which belonged to Qaynuqā'.⁴⁵ Both versions, of Ibn

⁴¹ Cf. the exile of B. Ḥāritha (Aws) in Khaybar for almost a year, *Samhūdī*, I, p. 136, l. 12.

⁴² 'Abd ar-Razzāq d. 211/827 (*GAS*, 99); Ma'mar (b. Rāshid) d. 154/770 (*op. cit.*, p. 290f); and Zuhri d. 124/742 (*op. cit.*, p. 280f).

⁴³ On the Prophet's travel to Ḥubāsha in the service of Khadija see also Zurqānī (above, n.11), I, p. 198, l. 12; Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, II, pp. 281-2; 'Abd ar-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb ar-Raḥmān al-A'ẓamī, Beirut, 1390/1970f, V, p. 320; al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il an-nubuwwa*, ed. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān, al-Madīna, 1389/1969, I, 338.

⁴⁴ Cf. above, n. 34 and cf. Kister-Plessner (above, n. 7), p. 66.

⁴⁵ The market of Ḥubāsha appears in other reports as well and its location can be determined with considerable precision.

According to a report in Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, II, p. 543 the *mawlā* of the Prophet, Zayd b. Ḥāritha al-Kalbi, who became the Prophet's adopted son, was taken captive and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām bought him in the market of Ḥubāsha, "which is a market in the neighbourhood of Mecca" (*bi-nāḥiyati makka*; on its exact location see below). It was a gathering place (*majma'*) of the Bedouins and there they would carry out trade every year. Ḥakīm, who was a nephew of Khadija bint Khuwaylid, the Prophet's first wife, bought him for Khadija, who gave him to the Prophet. Another report has that Ḥakīm bought him for his aunt Khadija in the market of 'Ukāz for the sum of 400 Dirham, *Istī'āb*, II, p. 543-4; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, II, p. 224. According to a third report the Prophet himself bought him in the Baṭṭā' of Mecca with Khadija's money.

In the story of the journey which the Prophet undertook for Khadija, Ḥubāsha is sometimes replaced by Ḥawrān. This is also the case with the story of the mysterious death of one of the sons of Abū Lahab, the Prophet's uncle, following a curse put on him by the Prophet (cf. U. Rubin, "Abū Lahab and Sūra CXI", in *BSOAS*, 42 (1979), pp. 24-25). The market of Ḥubāsha is mentioned in the *Diwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit, ed. W. 'Arafat, London, 1971, II, p. 310, in a quotation from the margin of one of the *Mas*, which refers to a poem compiled

al-Kalbi and of Abū 'Ubayda, link the woman to B. al-Ḥublā and may be considered variants of one and the same report. The names Hind and Ḥayya are similar in the Arabic script, especially when written without

by Ḥassān against 'Uṭayba b. Abi Lahab. In the introduction to the poem itself, I, p. 429 it is only said (without specifying the direction) that 'Uṭayba set out on a journey with people from his tribe. Following the curse of the Prophet he was killed by a wild beast. The first verse of the poem addresses B. al-Ash'ar, that is al-Ash'ariyyūna, a southern tribe, the territory of which was indeed south of Mecca, in the vicinity of Ḥubāsha (see below). In the margin of the Ms. there is a report according to which 'Uṭayba (the text has: 'Utba) went in the direction of Yemen (*ilā nāhiyati l-yaman*) to the market of Ḥubāsha. It is also reported that the Prophet went to the market of Ḥubāsha with Maysara, Khadija's slave and that this market was close to Mecca. Some say, it is added, that 'Uṭayba went to the Ḥawrān; those who read in the first verse *sā'il bani l-ash'ar* state that he went to the market of Ḥubāsha, while those who read *sā'il bani al-asfar* state that he went to Ḥawrān. Cf. as-Suyūṭi, *al-Khasā'is al-kubrā*, ed. Muḥammad Khalīl Harās, Cairo, 1387/1967, I, p. 368 (*sā'il bani l-ashqar*). And cf. Suyūṭi, *op. cit.*, pp. 366-9; Bayhaqi, *Dalā'il*, II, pp. 96-7; Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, I, p. 131.

The market of Ḥubāsha has a place of honour in the history of Arabic literature, because we owe it, or rather the people's ignorance of it, the compilation of Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*, see Yāqūt's introduction to his dictionary, I, p. 10. The pre-Islamic poet ash-Shanfarā was killed by people from the tribe of Azd who ambushed him after he had been seen in the market of Ḥubāsha, *Mufaddaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, Oxford, 1921, I, p. 198, l. 10; *Aghāni*, XXI, p. 137.

It seems that the market of Ḥubāsha should be reckoned as one of the main markets of Arabia before Islam and in the beginning of the Islamic period. Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bāri sharh ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī*, Bulāq, 1301AH, III, p. 473, l. 19 (quoting al-Fākihi) reports that it was in the territory (*diyār*) of Bāriq, in the neighbourhood (*naḥw*) of Qanūnā, at a distance of six days from Mecca in the direction of Yemen. On B. Bāriq b. 'Adi b. Ḥāritha b. 'Amr Muzayqiyā' see Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 367, 473; Ibn Durayd, *Ishṭiqāq*, pp. 480-1; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Bāriq.

Fath al-bāri records the details on Ḥubāsha on the margin of a report in Bukhārī which mentions Dhū l-Majāz and 'Ukāz as being markets before Islam (that is to say, at the time of pilgrimage). When Islam came, they seemed to hate it (that is, dealing with commerce during the period of pilgrimage), until the Qur'anic verse 2,198 was revealed: *laysa 'alaykum junāḥun an tabtaghū faḍlan min rabbikum — fi mawāsimi l-ḥajj* (the last three words are an exegetical addition). The report, on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, runs as follows: *kāna dhū l-majāz wa-'ukāz matjara n-nās fi l-jāhiliyya fa-lammā jā'a l-islām ka-annahum kariḥū dhālika ḥattā nazalat: laysa 'alaykum junāḥun an tabtaghū faḍlan min rabbikum fi mawāsimi l-ḥajj*. And see M.J. Kister, "Some reports concerning Mecca" *JESHO*, 15 (1972), p. 76. According to Fākihi, Ḥubāsha was not mentioned in the report because it was not included in the pilgrimage rites and the market took place there in Rajab. Fākihi also reports that the markets of Dhū l-Majāz, 'Ukāz, Majanna and Ḥubāsha were existent in the Islamic period as well. The first to be abandoned was 'Ukāz, and that took place in the time of the Khārijites, in 129AH. (And see al-Qastallāni, *Irshād as-sāri li-sharḥ ṣaḥīḥi l-bukhārī*, Bulāq, 1304, III, p. 259, l. 12.) The last to be abandoned was Ḥubāsha, in the time of Da'ūd b. 'Isā al-'Abbāsī, in 197AH. Azraqī (*Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 131-2; ed. Rushdi Malhas, Beirut, n.d., I, pp. 191-2) supplies additional data on Ḥubāsha. He mentions it together

the diacritical point. Nevertheless there is an important difference between them. The pedigree of Ibn al-Kalbi presents her as a free-born

with the markets of ʿUkáz, Majanna and Dhū l-Majāz and says that it was the market of Azd, in the territory of the Awsām, from Bāriq (on the Awsām see W. Caakel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, I. no. 202). Ḥubāsha was located at the upper part (*ṣadr*) of Wādī Qanūnā and Haly, in the Yemen (*min nāhiyati l-yaman*) and it is at a distance of six days from Mecca. It was the last of the Jāhiliyya markets to be destroyed. The governor of Mecca would appoint a person to deal with it and would give him troops. The troops would stay in the market for three days at the beginning of Rajab. Things went on in this manner until the Azd killed a person from Ghani who had been appointed to be in charge of the market, in 197AH. Daʿūd b. ʿIsā b. Mūsā who had appointed that person, consulted the scholars of Mecca, who advised him to destroy the market. See also Ājūsi, *Bulūgh al-arab fi maʿrifati aḥwāli l-ʿarab*, Cairo, 1342, I, p. 267; Saʿīd al-Afghāni, *Aswāq al-ʿarab fi l-jāhiliyya wa-l-islām*, Damascus, 1356/1937, pp. 222–4. It should be pointed out that in spite of its importance, the market of Ḥubāsha is not mentioned in the list of markets in Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾriḥ*, I, pp. 270–1; al-Marzūqī, *Kitāb al-azmina wa-l-amkina*, Hyderabad, 1332, II, pp. 161–70; Hamdāni, *Kitāb ṣifāt jazirati l-ʿarab*, ed. Müller, Leiden, 1884, pp. 179–80; ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ al-Ḥawālī, Riyāḍ, 1394/1974, p. 332. Bakrī *Muʿjam*, s.v. al-Ḥubāsha (“and some say: Ḥubāsha, without the article”) says, that it was a well-known market of the Bedouins, in the vicinity (*nāhiya*) of Mecca, and was the greatest market of Tihāma. It took place every year for eight days. Hereafter Bakrī quotes Hakīm b. Hizām, who said: “I saw the Messenger of God taking part in it and there I bought from him (*minhu*, the word is missing in two Ms. of Bakrī, and should possibly be omitted) cloth from the cloth of Tihāma”. The location reported by Bakrī is not different from what has already been reported: “at the upper part (*ṣadr*) of Qanūnā, and its territory belongs to Bāriq”.

The place-name Qanūnā leads us to a more exact location of Ḥubāsha. Wādī Qanūnā is one of the Wādīs which descend from the Sarāt mountains westward to the sea, see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Sarāt, p. 205 left column. Yāqūt mentions in the lower part of the Sarāt the Wādīs al-Lith and Qanawnā (thus vocalised); cf. Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, s.v. Qanawnā; al-Iṣfahānī, *Bilād al-ʿarab*, ed. Hamād al-Jāsir and Šālih Aḥmad al-ʿAlī, Riyāḍ, 1968 pp. 415–6; Kutayyir ʿAzza, *Diwān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut, 1971, pp. 215, 217, 221, 222. An independent corroboration of the link between Ḥubāsha and Qanūnā can be found in Yaʿqūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1892 (BGA VII), p. 317: from mecca to Sanʿāʾ there is a distance of twenty-one days, and Qanūnā is at a distance of six days from Mecca; as mentioned above, Ḥubāsha was at a distance of six days from Mecca.

Wādī Qanūnā appears on the modern maps. It flows into the sea at al-Qunfudha, about the latitude 1900N. Further south Wādī Yaba, and to its south, at about the latitude 1840 the above-mentioned Wādī Haly flow into the sea. (Along Wādī Qanūnā, before it flows to the sea, there is a place called Sūq al-Aḥad, at about 1910.) The region is presently called ʿAsir, see the study of Maḥmūd Šakīr, *Shibh jazirati l-ʿarab: ʿAsir*, in the series *Mawāṭin ash-Shuʿūb al-Islāmiyya fi ʿĀsiyā*, published by al-Maktab al-Islāmi, n.d. And see Kaḥḥāla, *Jughrāfiyyat shibh jazirati l-ʿarab*, Mecca, 1284/1964, pp. 74, 221; *El²*, s.v. ʿAsir (R. Headley, W. Mulligan, G. Rentz); United States Board on Geographic Names, *Official Standard Names Gazetteer, Saudi Arabia*, p. 260 (Wādī Qanūnah, also called Wādī Qanūnak, located at 1908N, 410SE).

There was also another Ḥubāsha, to the south of the Ḥubāsha of the market; the latter Ḥubāsha cannot be identical with the Ḥubāsha mentioned in Bakrī, *Muʿjam*, s.v. Darwān,

woman, whereas Abū ʿUbayda states clearly that she was a black slave-girl.⁴⁶

We have mentioned three versions concerning the mother of Ṣayfi and Abū Ṣayfi: 1. Ibn Ḥabīb: a Jewish woman from Khaybar; 2. Ibn al-Kalbī: Hind bint ʿAmr from B. Ṣalīm/al-Ḥublā (a free-born woman); and 3. Abū ʿUbayda: Hayya, a black slave-girl, who had been the slave-girl of Mālik or ʿAmr b. Ṣalūl, the brother of Ubayy b. Ṣalūl. Fortunately, a few *hijāʾ* verses are preserved which enable us to add a fourth version: ʿAqila (a slave-girl).⁴⁸ Ḥassān b. Thābit, who composed *hijāʾ* verses against Qays b. Makhrama b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf (a son of a Jewish woman from Khaybar, see above, n. 19) also dedicated some verses to Makhrama b. al-Muṭṭalib (Qays' father) and Abū Ṣayfi b. Ḥāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf, who were borne by the same woman. The faith of that woman is not mentioned in the verses, but her name appears in the first verse: ʿAqila.⁴⁹

III, p. 859, l. 7 and in Ḥamdāni, *Ṣifat jazirati l-ʿarab*, ed. Müller, I, p. 110, l. 9; ed. Muḥammad al-Akwaʿ, p. 241, l. 2 (in the item concerning the territory of Ḥamdān). On Ḍarwān see also Ḥamdāni, *Kitāb al-iklil*, ed. Muḥammad al-Akwaʿ, Cairo, 1383/1963, pp. 33.

It remains for us now to deal with the link between the market of Ḥubāsha and B. Qaynuqāʿ. As mentioned Abū ʿUbayda states that the market of Ḥubāsha belonged to Qaynuqāʿ. Al-Firūzābādī, *al-Qāmūs al-muḥit*, s.v. Ḥubāsha says, that there were two Ḥubāshas, one of them was the old market of Tihāma and the other was another market, belonging to B. Qaynuqāʿ. Samḥūdi, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ* (above, n. 39), II, p. 326, l. 3 quotes the *Qāmūs*: Ḥubāsha, a market which belonged to B. Qaynuqāʿ. Al-Afghāni, *Aswāq al-ʿarab*, p. 222 argues as well that there were two markets called Ḥubāsha. However, we have at our disposal quite extensive descriptions of Medina, including its markets (see *JSAI* 8, 1986), and as far as I could find there was no market in Medina carrying that name. One is inclined to accept that Qaynuqāʿ, or a branch of them, controlled a market at a considerable distance from Medina; however, the statement of Abū ʿUbayda needs further corroboration.

⁴⁶ Cf. the case of the grandmother of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. According to Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, p. 347, l. 14 the mother of al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl, who was ʿUmar's father, was Hayya bint Jābir b. Abi Ḥabīb al-Fahmī. However, according to Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 306 Hayya was an Abyssinian slave-girl of Jābir b. Abi Ḥabīb. (See also *loc. cit.* for the epithet "Ibn as-Sawda", "the son of the black woman", directed to ʿUmar; as mentioned, it refers to his grandmother, not his mother.) And cf. the differences over the pedigree of the mother of Abū ʿAmr/Dhakwān, above, n. 8.

⁴⁸ Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Diwān*, I, p. 380, II, p. 280.

⁴⁹ *Idhā dhukirat ʿaqilatu bi-l-makhāzi taqannaʿa min makhāzihā l-liʾāmu abū ṣayfi lladhi qad kāna minhā wa-makhramatu d-daʿiyyu l-mustahāmu idhā shutimū bi-ummihim tawallaw sirāʿan mā yabīnu lahum kalāmu.*

A note found on the margin of one of the manuscripts leads us to the identity of those who attached to this woman a Khazraji pedigree (presenting her as free-born): 'Aqila was the mother of both of them (that is, Makhrama b. al-Muṭṭalib and Abū Ṣayfi b. Hāshim), and her offspring claim that she was from the Khazraj (*'aqila ummuhumā jamī'an wa-wulduhā yansibūnahā ilā l-khazraj*).

It is difficult to determine which of the versions concerning this woman's identity should be preferred. One is inclined, however, to choose the "less praiseworthy" reports, which present her as a black slave-girl bought in the market of Ḥubāsha. It seems, as mentioned above, that no one would have dared to invent such reports.

All of Abū Ṣayfi's descendants perished except those from his daughter Ruqayqa, and Ṣayfi died young.⁵¹ Two sons of Ṣayfi, aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk and 'Amr, are mentioned among those who took part in the signing of the treaty between 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the tribe of Khuḏā'a.⁵² On the other hand, Ibn Durayd⁵³ says that Ṣayfi b. Hāshim was among those participating in the conclusion of that treaty. Ibn Ḥazm,⁵⁴ who mentions

⁵¹ Ya'qubī, *Ta'rikh*, I, p. 244; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 16, l. 12 (printed: Ruqayya); Mu'arrij as-Sadusi, *Hadhf min nasab quraysh*, ed. al-Munajjid, Cairo, 1960, p. 4. The item on Ruqayqa bint Abi Ṣayfi in Ibn Sa'd, VIII, pp. 222-3 includes the name of her mother: Hāla, and some say Tumāḍīr, bint Kalda b. (printed: bint) 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd ad-Dār. Ruqayqa married Nawfal b. Uhayb from B. Zuhra and bore him Makhrama, Ṣafwān and Umayya, Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, p. 16, l. 13, 262. l. 15 (both places have: Ruqayya); above, n. 27; Ibn Sa'd, *loc. cit.* And see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, VII, pp. 646-7; and also Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Isti'āb*, IV, pp. 1838-9; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, V, pp. 454-5 (Ruqayqa bint Ṣayfi; Ibn Sa'd, VIII, pp. 51-2 also has: Ruqayqa bint Ṣayfi, and it seems that it should be corrected: Ruqayqa bint Abi Ṣayfi). And see 'Alī b. Burhān ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insānu l-'uyūn fī sirati l-amīni l-ma'mūn (as-Sira al-ḥalabiyya)*, Cairo, 1320AH, I, p. 110, l. 26: Ruqayqa bint Abi Ṣayfi, and the following *zawjat 'abdi l-muṭṭalib* should read: *lidat 'abdi l-muṭṭalib*, meaning that Ruqayqa and 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib were born at the same time, Ibn Sa'd, I, pp. 89-90: Zurqāni (above, n. II), I, p. 82, l. 11 from bottom; Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, I, pp. 82-3. From this we may infer that Abu Ṣayfi was much older than 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and that the link of Hāshim with Hind/Hayya took place many years before his marriage to Salmā. And cf. above, n. 34.

⁵² Ḥasan b. Thābit, *Diwān*, II, p. 17, l. 3; Ibn Sa'd, I, p. 85. Cf. Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, I, p. 71, l. 13.

⁵³ Ibn Durayd, *Ishṭiqāq*, p. 69.

⁵⁴ *Ansāb*, p. 14, l. 14.

only Abū Ṣayfi, but not Ṣayfi (adding that his offspring perished)⁵⁵ mentions by name ʿAmr b. Abī Ṣayfi.⁵⁶

The Prophet's grandfather, then, had elder brothers of Jewish extraction, borne by a Jewish woman. From this fact one cannot necessarily draw the conclusion that the Prophet Muḥammad had direct links with Jews and Judaism before the revelation. These links can be deduced from the data concerning contacts between Mecca and Medina before the Hijra. The Jews played a dominant role in Medina before the Hijra and links with them, including some knowledge of their faith, were an inevitable result of the contacts between Mecca and Medina.

It can be shown that contacts with Medina continued in the family of the Prophet also after his great-grandfather Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf. The sources preserve records pertaining to the Prophet's grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, his father ʿAbdallāh and his mother ʿĀmina. (Usually the Jews

⁵⁵ Ibn Hishām, *as-Sira an-nabawiyya*, ed. as-Saqqā, al-Abyārī and Shalabī, Beirut, 1391/1971, I, p. 113 has the same. According to Ibn Hishām, Hind bint ʿAmr bore Hāshim Abu Ṣayfi and Ḥayya (!). Ad-Diyārbakrī (above, n. 31), I, p. 158 has: Ḥamna instead of Ḥayya. As-Suhaylī (above, n. 32), I, p. 130, remarks on it that according to what is common among the genealogists the mother of Ḥayya was a woman from Thaqif named Jaḥl (read Jaḥd bint Ḥubayyib, Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl*, ed. al-Yamānī, Hyderabad, 1381/1962, II, p. 392). Ibn Saʿd, I, p. 80 lists among Hāshim's children Hanna (read: Ḥayya), whose mother was ʿUdayy bint Ḥabīb ath-Thaqafiyya, and it is clear that the same daughter is referred to. Also Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾriḫ*, I, p. 244 has: Hanna, and her mother: Umm ʿUdayy bint Ḥabīb ath-Thaqafiyya, and see also Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, p. 16, l. 17; Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, I, p. 87, l. 15 (Ḥayya, her mother was from Thaqif).

⁵⁶ Ibn Ḥazm, *loc. cit.* referred briefly to an intriguing affair from the period prior to the conquest of Mecca by the Prophet, in 8AH. He said that it had been ʿAmr b. Abī Ṣayfi who had manumitted his slave-girl Sāra. Sāra carried with her a letter, written by Ḥāṭib b. Abī Baltaʿa al-Lakhmī, warning Quraysh against the Prophet's imminent attack. However, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and az-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām followed her and took the letter. (Ḥāṭib was a *ḥalīf* of B. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, the Qurashī clan to which az-Zubayr belonged; and some say that he was a *ḥalīf* of az-Zubayr himself, Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, II, p. 4). And see Ibn Hishām, IV, pp. 40-1 (who records two versions regarding that woman: according to one version, she was from Muzayna, while according to the other she was Sāra, "a slave-girl of one of Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib"), 52-3; Waqidī, *Maḡhāzī*, I, p. 39 (Sāra, the slave-girl of ʿAmr b. Hāshim b. al-Muṭṭalib - *sic*, and it seems that the above-mentioned Sāra is meant here), 43 (Sāra, the slave-girl of ʿAmr b. Hishām - read: Hāshim), III, pp. 825, 860. And cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 797-9.

On a grandchild of Abū Ṣayfi called Umayma see Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, V, pp. 403-4; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, VII, p. 511. On a slave-girl of Abū Ṣayfi b. Hāshim called Thuwayba who nursed the Prophet and al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib see Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā, "*Tasmiyat ar-wāji n-nabiyyi ṣ wa-awlādihi*", ed. Nuḥād al-Mūsā, in *Majallat maʿhadi l-makhtūṭāti l-ʿarabiyya*, 13(1967), pp. 277; but see the editor's note to this place.

of Medina are not specifically mentioned in these records.) Of interest is the report concerning the links between ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and a Jew from Najrān which is typical of commercial partnerships between Meccans and people from other localities who did business investing the Qurashis' funds and enjoying their protection. It is reported that the Najrāni Jew acted as a commercial agent for ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and traded in the markets of Tihāma (as mentioned above, n. 45, the market of Ḥubāsha was in Tihāma) with the latter's money. His name was Udhayna (one report has: Adhanya = ʿAzanya?) and he was under the protection of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.⁵⁷ The details concerning this relationship appear in a report on a contest over glory (*munāfara*) between ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and Ḥarb b. Umayya, Abū Sufyān's father. Ḥarb was a boon companion of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He was enraged by the fact that the Jew Udhayna, who was under the protection of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, handled the latter's money in the markets of Tihāma. He incited young people from Quraysh against him, saying, "This stranger (*ʿilj*) who comes to you from long distances and enters your country with a great fortune, without protection (*sic*) and without military power to defend him (literally: and without horses), by Allāh, if you killed him and took his money, you would not have to fear a request of blood-money and nobody would ask to revenge his blood". Two of the young people (ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Manāf b. ʿAbd ad-Dār and Ṣakhr b. ʿAmr b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murra) assaulted the Jew and murdered him. When ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib discovered what had happened, he demanded that Ḥarb hand over to him the two killers, so as to revenge Udhayna's death. Ḥarb refused and an arbitration was agreed upon which was to decide who was more meritorious (*munāfara*). The arbiter, Nufayl b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā (the grandfather of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb) decided in favour of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. The latter insisted on receiving from Ḥarb compensation for the killing. So Ḥarb gave a hundred she-camels to the Jew's cousin.⁵⁸ In another source⁵⁹ a different reason for Ḥarb's anger towards

⁵⁷ Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, I, pp. 72-3; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 94 (he adds to what is said in *Ansāb al-ashraf*, that it was a Jew from Najrān); ash-Shāmi, I, pp. 310-1 (quoting Balādhuri). Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaq*, p. 64 has: A.dh.n.ya.

⁵⁸ Text (Balādhuri, *loc. cit.*, quoting Muḥammad b. as-Sāʿib al-Kalbi and others): *kāna ʿabd al-muṭṭalib min ḥulamāʾi quraysh wa-ḥukkāmihā, wa-kāna nadīmahu ḥarb b. umayya b. ʿabd shams b. ʿabd manāf. wa-kāna fī jiwār ʿabdi l-muṭṭalib yahūdīyyun yuqālu lahu udayna (sic, with a dāl). wa-kāna l-yahūdīyyu yatasawwaqu fī aswāqi tihāma bi-mālihi. fa-ghāza dhālika ḥarban, fa-allaba ʿalayhi fityānan min quraysh, wa-qāla: ḥadhā l-ʿilju lladhi yaqta ʿu*

the Jew is reported: the Jew had talked to him rudely in one of the markets of Tihāma.

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s family relations in Medina were of great benefit to him: when his uncle Nawfal b. ‘Abd Manāf tried to deprive him of a tract of land which he owned in Mecca, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib turned to B. an-Najjār, and they aided their relative preventing the wrongful act.⁶⁰

The Prophet’s father ‘Abdallāh died in Medina while returning from Gaza with a Qurashi caravan. He stopped in Medina, became ill, went to stay with his father’s uncles B. ‘Adī b. an-Najjār and died.⁶¹ Another version of ‘Abdallāh’s death also reflects his contacts with Medina.⁶² According to this version, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib sent ‘Abdallāh to Medina to get dates for him. According to a third version, which is not essentially different, ‘Abdallāh came to visit his father’s uncles, fell ill and died.⁶³

Āmina, the Prophet’s mother, died in al-Abwā’, between Mecca and Medina. She brought Muḥammad to visit his grandfather’s uncles, B. ‘Adī b. an-Najjār, and on their way back to Mecca, she died.⁶⁴ According to

ilaykum wa-yakhūdu bilādakum bi-māl jamm kathir min ghayr jiwār wa-lā khayr, wa-llāhi law qataltumūhu wa-akhadhūm mālahu mā khiftum tabi‘atan wa-lā ‘arāḍa lakum aḥad yaṭlubu bi-damihi. fa-shadda ‘alayhi etc. For the expression *yatasawwaqu...bi-mālihi* cf. Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’riḥ dimashq* (the volume beginning with ‘Ubāda b. Awfā), ed. Shukri Fayṣal *et al.*, Damascus, 1402/1982, p. 122; al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib had twenty slaves, who were merchants and traded with his money (*kulluhum tājirun, māli fi yadihi*).

⁵⁹ Al-Ḥalabī (above, n. 51), I, p. 4, l. 11; see also al-Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, Cairo, 1924, I, p. 323.

⁶⁰ See e.g. Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḥ*, II, pp. 248f.

⁶¹ In the house of a man from B. ‘Adī b. an-Najjār, see e.g. Ibn Sa‘d, I, p. 99. Waqidi (who is quoted by Ibn Sa‘d) thinks that this is the most trustworthy version concerning the death of ‘Abdallāh. Cf. al-Ḥalabī, I, p. 50, l. 16; ad-Diyārbakrī, I, p. 229, l. 22; Zurqānī, I, pp. 109-10; Ṭabarī, *Ta’riḥ*, II, p. 246. Al-Ḥalabī, *loc. cit.*, has a report which says that the Prophet recognized the house after the Hijra and said that his mother had lodged him in it and that his father had been buried there. It is also reported on the authority of the Prophet, that he swam well in the pool of B. ‘Adī b. an-Najjār, and see Zurqānī, I, p. 164; Samḥūdī, II, p. 126.

According to another version (al-Ḥalabī, *loc. cit.*, l. 24) ‘Abdallāh died and was buried in al-Abwā’ between Mecca and Medina (al-Ḥalabī suspects this version and thinks that it is a confusion resulting from the fact that the Prophet’s mother was buried in al-Abwā’).

The family relations with B. ‘Adī are reflected in the fact that Umm Burda Khawla bint al-Mundhir from B. ‘Adī, who was a cousin of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s mother Salmā, nursed the son of the Prophet, Ibrāhīm, Ibn Qudāma (above, n. 32), pp. 41-2; ash-Shāmi, I, p. 460.

⁶² Ibn Sa‘d, I, p. 99.

⁶³ Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, I, p. 92, l. 11.

⁶⁴ Ibn Hishām, I, p. 77 (there are different versions regarding the age of the Prophet when she died); Zurqānī, I, pp. 163f. According to one version her grave is in Mecca, al-Ḥalabī, I, pp. 105-6; ad-Diyārbakrī, I, p. 229; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, I, p. 95, l. 3.

another version, when Muḥammad was six years old, his mother visited, as she did regularly, the tomb of her late husband in Medina, escorted by ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Umm Ayman, Muḥammad’s nurse. In al-Abwā’, on their return to Mecca, she died and was buried.⁶⁵ According to another version, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib visited his maternal uncles B. an-Najjār, and took with him Āmina and Muḥammad. On their way back to Mecca, in al-Abwā’, Āmina died.⁶⁶

One should not attach too much weight to the reports on marriages between Qurashis and Jewish women (even when they deal with the Prophet Muḥammad’s great-grandfather), but because of their potential bearing on early Islam they should not be overlooked. They form only one aspect of the system of links between Mecca and Medina prior to the Hijra, the pursual of which is of great benefit for the study of the life of the Prophet.

⁶⁵ Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, I, p. 94.

⁶⁶ *Loc. cit.*

III

ZAYD B. THĀBIT, "A JEW WITH TWO SIDELOCKS": JUDAISM AND LITERACY IN PRE-ISLAMIC MEDINA (YATHRIB)*

I. INTRODUCTION

ABDALLĀH b. Mas^cūd is said to have disparagingly referred to Zayd b. Thābit as a former Jewish boy with two sidelocks. While we cannot of course be certain that Ibn Mas^cūd actually made this insulting comment, we have evidence that Zayd in his early years learned the Arabic script, and probably the Aramaic/Syriac script as well, from a member of a Jewish group called the Banū Māsika which lived in the lower part or *sāfila* of Medina. I submit that for an unknown length of time between the ages of six and eleven, i.e., between his father's death in the Battle of Bu^cāth and the Hijra, Zayd was educated by the Jews and might well have been brought up as a Jew.

II. DISPARAGING COMMENTS ABOUT ZAYD B. THĀBIT'S ASSOCIATION WITH THE JEWS

The backdrop of this discussion is the preparation of the official edition of the Qur^ʿān with which the caliph ^cUthmān b. ^cAffān is credited, more precisely, the personal rivalries over this matter among three Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad who were among the most prominent scholars of their time. Zayd b. Thābit's selection by the caliph for the task of preparing this edition¹ embittered two older competitors, Ubayy b. Ka^cb and ^cAbdallāh b. Mas^cūd, of whom the former is mentioned as the scribe of many of the Prophet's letters.² He reportedly said:

I read the Qur^ʿān while this Zayd was still a boy with two locks of hair³ playing among the Jewish children in the literacy (or Torah) school (*maktab*).⁴

* This paper was presented at the Seventh International Colloquium "From Jāhiliyya to Islam" (Jerusalem, 28 July–1 August 1996). I wish to thank the participants, in particular Harald Motzki, for their helpful comments.

¹ Cf. A. Neuwirth, "Koran," in H. Gätje, ed., *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie*, vol. 2, Literaturwissenschaft (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 96–135, at pp. 103–4; Gätje, *The Qur^ʿān and Its Exegesis*, trans. and ed. by A. T. Welch (London and Henley, 1976), pp. 24–25.

² Ubayy is even said to have been the first [Muslim] who wrote at the end of a letter the formula *wakataba fulān b. fulān*; al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Wasāʿil ilā ma^crīfat*

al-awāʿil, ed. Ibrāhīm al-^cAdawī and ^cAli Muḥammad ^cUmar (Cairo, [1400/1980]), p. 129. Reportedly, Ubayy was the first who wrote Qur^ʿānic verses dictated by the Prophet (*huwa awwal man kataba l-wahy bayna yaday rasūli llāh [ṣ]*); Ibn Kathir, *Bidāya*, vol. 5, p. 341 (< Ibn Abi Khaythama).

³ I.e., the typically Jewish sidelocks?

⁴ *La-qad qara^ʿtu l-Qur^ʿān wa-Zayd hādihā ghulām dhū dhu^ʿābatayni yal^cabu bayna ṣibyāni l-yahūd fi l-maktab*; Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, 2d ed., ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1378/1959–1383/1964; reprint, Beirut, 1407/1987), vol. 20, p. 26. (I thank I. Hasson for this reference.) Cf. Charles C. Torrey, *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York, 1933), p. 31: "Schools of some sort must have been ancient institutions in the Hijaz, even though we know nothing in regard to them"; B. Dodge, *Muslim Education in Medieval Times* (Washington, 1962), p. 1: "At the time of the Prophet Muḥammad no organized system of education existed in Arabia."

Ubayy (who probably died in the early thirties of the first century A.H.)⁵ and Zayd belonged to different subgroups of the Mālik b. al-Najjār (a subdivision of the Khazraj); the former was of the Ḥudayla,⁶ while the latter was of the ʿAbd ʿAwf b. Ghanm.⁷ Ubayy in fact argued that his longer acquaintance with the Qurʾānic text, going back to a time when Zayd was still playing with Jewish boys, gave him precedence over the latter. Of course, Ubayy was also alluding to Zayd's study at the Jewish *maktab* (or *kuttāb*), not just to his playing there.⁸ (As we shall see, Ubayy himself graduated—a decade or more before Zayd—from the same school.)

A similar utterance is ascribed to Ibn Masʿūd.⁹ It exists in several versions (with *isnāds* going back to Ibn Masʿūd's companions), which are mere variations on the theme "Ibn Masʿūd's (unbecoming) reaction to ʿUthmān's selection of Zayd." One of these versions is of particular importance for us here:¹⁰ Ibn Masʿūd claimed that his own *qirāʾa* or reading of the Qurʾān was superior to that of Zayd, adding that before Zayd embraced Islam, he had been Jewish:¹¹

... It was said [i.e., teasingly] to ʿAbdallāh [b. Masʿūd]: "Would you not read [the Qurʾān] according to the reading of Zayd?"

He said: "What business do I have with Zayd and the reading of Zayd? I took from the mouth of the Messenger of God seventy *sūras*, when Zayd b. Thābit was still a Jew with two locks of hair" (*dhuʿābatāni*) [i.e., sidelocks].¹²

⁵ Mizzi, vol. 2, pp. 271–72.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁷ See p. 5, n. 29 below: T. Nagel, *Medinensische Einschübe in mekkanischen Suren* (Göttingen, 1995), p. 127.

⁸ J. M. Landau, *El*, 2d ed., s.v. *Kuttāb*, p. 567b, writes that "*kuttāb* has also been known to designate Jewish *heder*-type schools in Arabic speaking countries," adding, however, that there are no precise indications as to when the Islamic *kuttāb* was first established. But there can be little doubt that the Islamic *kuttāb* was the continuation of its Jewish predecessor.

⁹ A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad*, 2d ed. (Berlin, 1869), vol. 3, p. L: "Ibn Masʿūd verbarg seine Eifersucht gegen Zayd nicht, doch wußte er nichts Erhebliches gegen seinen Text vorzubringen."

¹⁰ Some of the versions are quoted, for example, in *Maṣāḥif*, pp. 14–17; al-Nasāʿi, *Sunan* (Cairo, 1348/1930), vol. 8, p. 134. Al-Zuhri, a representative of the official Umayyad point of view who counted among his teachers at least two of Zayd's offspring, namely, a son and a grandson (see p. 8, n. 53 below) was critical of Ibn Masʿūd's reaction (*Maṣāḥif*, p. 17, l. 19; *Two Muqaddimas*, p. 20 [with the correct word order]). The sympathy of the author of *Maṣāḥif* was, however, with Ibn Masʿūd who "was a Badri while the other one [i.e., Zayd] was not; he [Zayd] was only appointed [to prepare the edition of the Qurʾān] because he was the Messenger of God's scribe": see *Maṣāḥif*, pp. 17–18.

Zayd is said to have written for the Prophet both Qurʾānic verses (*al-waḥy*) and letters to the kings;

Tabarāni, *Kabir*, vol. 5, p. 108. See a specific case of the former category in *Kabir*, pp. 123–24, 132–33, 146. See also Aḥmad b. Hanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣāḥāba*, ed. Waṣiyy Allāh b. Muḥammad ʿAbbās (Mecca, 1403/1983), vol. 1, p. 391: *wa-ahlu l-Madina yusammūna Zayd b. Thābit kātibā l-waḥy*. Besides Qurʾānic verses, of which Zayd is said to have written more than any other Companion, he reportedly wrote many of the Prophet's letters; see *Istīʿāb*, vol. 1, p. 68. See also Masʿūdi, *Tanbih*, p. 283: *yaktubu ilā l-mulūk wa-yujibu bi-ḥaḍrati l-nabiyyi (s)*; al-Jahshiyāri, *Al-Wuzarāʾ wa-l-kuttāb*, ed. al-Saqqa, al-Abyāri, and Shalabi (Cairo, 1401/1980), p. 12; see p. 9, n. 58 below. However, a perusal of the sections in Ibn Saʿd dealing with the Prophet's letters and the tribal delegations which came to him (vol. 1, pp. 258–91), in which Zayd is not mentioned even once, does not inspire much trust in the statement concerning the letters.

¹¹ The reference was brought to my attention by M. J. Kister to whom I am also indebted for comments on a draft of this study. On Ibn Masʿūd, see J.-C. Vadet, *El*, 2d ed., s.v. Ibn Masʿūd (Vadet erroneously says [p. 873b] that al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām belonged to the Zuhra subdivision of Quraysh; in fact, he was of the Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā). About him, see also Kister, "Land Property and Jihād," in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34 (1991): 270–311, at pp. 271–76.

¹² *Qila li-ʿAbdillāh: alā taqraʿu ʿalā qirāʾati Zayd? Qāla: mā li wa-li-Zayd wa-li-qirāʾati Zayd? la-qad akhadhtu min fi rasūli llāhi [s] sabʿina sūra wa-inna Zayd b. Thābit la-yahūdī lahu dhuʿābatāni*; Ibn Shabba, vol. 3, p. 1008, l. 4. Cf. my *Muslims, Jews and Pagans: Studies on Early Islamic Medina* (Leiden, 1995), p. 150

The proximity of *yahūdī* to *dhu²ābatāni* shows that in this case Ibn Mas^cūd is supposed to have referred to the typically Jewish sidelocks called in Hebrew *pe²ot* (sing. *pe²a*).

Admittedly, two locks of hair usually mark the young age of their owner.¹³ Even two locks tucked behind one's ears are not necessarily proof of one's Jewishness: Ibn Mas^cūd himself is said to have had two locks of hair (*ḍafiratāni*) behind his ears.¹⁴ In the Anṣārī environment to which Zayd belonged, however, this hairstyle was considered an emulation of a Jewish custom:

In the very early period after the death of the Prophet some young boys kept their side curls uncut. Anas b. Mālik was enraged when he saw a young boy with such curls and ordered him to shave them immediately because this was the fashion of the Jews.¹⁵

I could not find this version of Ibn Mas^cūd's utterance outside of Ibn Shabba's *Ta²rikkh al-Madina al-munawwara*. Muslim scholars must have considered it rather distasteful. Even a modern monograph about Zayd b. Thābit avoids this version, although its author no doubt saw it in Ibn Shabba's book.¹⁶

Some versions of Ibn Mas^cūd's saying preserve the dual form *dhu²ābatāni*. For example, Ibn Mas^cūd says:

I read from the mouth of the Messenger of God seventy *sūras*, when Zayd b. Thābit still had two *dhu²ābas* and was playing in Medina.¹⁷

One version associates *dhu²ābatāni* or two locks of hair with *kuttāb* (i.e., the Jewish literacy/Torah school).¹⁸ Also attested is a combination of *kuttāb* and one *dhu²āba* (i.e., a lock of hair hanging down loosely from the middle of the head to the back, or over the

(Ibn Mas^cūd learned from the Prophet more than ninety, or more than seventy, *sūras*; on p. 150, n. 2, read, instead of Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 2, p. 339; Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 2, p. 355. I now realize that "seventy" is probably the correct reading). Regarding the phrase used by Ibn Mas^cūd cf. *Tahdhīb*, vol. 8, p. 154 (*mā lanā wa-li-^cAnbasa?*); *TMD, Mukht.*, vol. 11, p. 307 (*mā lanā wa-laka yā ^cUbadā*); Ṭabarī, vol. 3, p. 379, l. 5 (*mā li wa-lakum*). See also Judges 11:12: *mah li va-lakh*, "What have I to do with you."

¹³ For the *dhu²ābatāni* of young Labid b. Rabī^ca, see Ibn al-Anbārī, *Sharh al-qaṣā'id al-sab^c al-ṭiwāl* (Cairo, 1969), p. 506. (I thank A. Arazi for this reference.) See also *TMD, Mukht.*, vol. 17, p. 6: *qāla ^cUrwa* [b. al-Zubayr]: *kuntu ghuḷāman li dhu²ābatāni*. See also p. 4, n. 19 below.

The two locks of hair typical of young boys were also called *qarnāni* or *quṣṣatāni*; see Ibn al-Athīr Majd al-Dīn, *Al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-l-athar*, ed. Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Zāwī and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Taṇāḥī (Cairo, 1385/1965), vol. 4, p. 71: *wa-minhu ḥadīth Anas* [b. Mālik]: *wa-anta yawma² idhin ghuḷām wa-laka qarnāni aw quṣṣatāni*.

¹⁴ *Lahu ḍafiratāni yursiluhumā min warā²i udh(u)nayhi*; *TMD*, vol. 39 (^cAbdallāh b. Mas^cūd—^cAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bakkār), ed. Sukayna al-Shihābī (Damascus, 1986), p. 11, l. 3; *TMD, Mukht.*, vol. 14, p. 46.

¹⁵ Kister, "'Do Not Assimilate Yourselves . . . : Lā Tashabbahū,'" in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*

12 (1989): 321–53, at p. 324. Cf. E. Zimmer, *Society and Its Customs: Studies in the History and Metamorphosis of Jewish Customs* (Jerusalem, 1996), pp. 63–65 [in Hebrew].

¹⁶ Ṣafwān ^cAdnān Dāwūdī, *Zayd b. Thābit, kātib al-wahy wa-jāmi^c al-Qur²ān* (Damascus, 1411/1990). On p. 127, Dāwūdī quotes from Ibn Shabba's book a rather benign version of Ibn Mas^cūd's saying: . . . *wa-inna Zaydan la-dhū dhu²ābatayni yal^cabu bi-l-Madina* (see below).

¹⁷ Ibn Shabba, vol. 3, p. 1006, l. 1. See also Aḥmad, vol. 1, p. 411, l. -8: *khaṭabanā ^cAbdullāh b. Mas^cūd fa-qāla: la-qad akhadthu min fī rasūli llāhi (ṣ) biḍ^can wa-sab^cina sūra wa-Zayd b. Thābit ghuḷām lahu dhu²ābatāni yal^cabu ma^ca l-ghilmān*. Cf. *Mustadrak*, vol. 2, p. 228 (instead of Ḥamza b. Mālik, read: Khamr/Khumayr b. Mālik; Ibn Mākūlā, *Al-Ikmāl*, ed. ^cAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā al-Yamānī [Hyderabad, 1381/1962], vol. 3, p. 191): . . . *wa-Zayd b. Thābit dhū dhu²ābatayni yal^cabu ma^ca l-ṣibyān*; al-Dāraquṭni, *Al-Mu²talif wa-l-mukhtalif*, ed. Muwaffaq b. ^cAbdallāh b. ^cAbd al-Qādir (Beirut, 1406/1986), vol. 2, p. 672: *wa-inna Zaydan dhū dhu²ābatayni/wa-inna Zaydan lahu dhu²ābatāni yal^cabu ma^ca l-ṣibyān*.

¹⁸ . . . *La-qad qara²tu min fī rasūli llāh (ṣ) sab^cina sūra wa-inna Zayd b. Thābit lahu dhu²ābatāni fī l-kuttāb*; Ṭabarānī, *Kabir*, vol. 9, p. 70. In *Two Muqaddimas*, p. 30, Ibn Mas^cūd speaks of seventy-three *sūras*, adding: *wa-inna Zaydan la-ghuḷām fī l-kuttāb*.

forehead, etc.).¹⁹ In some versions, Ibn Mas'ūd merely refers to the fact that Zayd was still a young boy when he himself was already an authority on the Qur'ān. For instance: "I read . . . when Zayd was still a boy" (*wa-Zayd ṣābi*).²⁰ According to other versions, Zayd (who is not explicitly mentioned) was at that time in the loins of an unbeliever,²¹ or was still a nonbeliever—he did not yet believe in God.²²

Incidentally, Ibn Mas'ūd's abusive remark regarding Zayd's former faith is reminiscent of a comment attributed to him regarding the famous Jewish convert, Ka'b al-Aḥbār:

A man came to 'Abdallāh [b. Mas'ūd] and said: "Ka'b sends you his regards and informs you that this verse was not revealed concerning you: 'Reckon not that those who rejoice in what they have brought'" . . . [Qur'ān 3:188]. He [Ibn Mas'ūd] said: "Inform him that it was revealed when he was still a Jew."²³

At this point some further biographical details are in place. The age difference between Ibn Mas'ūd and Zayd was roughly twenty years. When Ibn Mas'ūd died in 32/652–53 or 33/653–54, he was over sixty years old. According to some, he was sixty-three.²⁴ In A.H. 32, Zayd, who was eleven years old when the Prophet came to Medina,²⁵ was forty-three. According to Wāqidi, Zayd died in 45/665–66 aged fifty-six.²⁶

Zayd lost his father in the Battle of Bu'āth (617 C.E.).²⁷ In an alleged autobiographical report Zayd says:

The Battle of Bu'āth took place when I was six years old. It was five years before the Hijra of the Messenger of God, and when the Messenger of God came to Medina, I was eleven. I was brought to the Messenger of God, and they [i.e., those who presented Zayd to the Prophet] said: "[This is]

¹⁹ *Qara'tu min fi rasūli llāhi (ṣ) sab'ina sūra wa-Zayd b. Thābit lahu dhu'āba fi l-kutāb*; Aḥmad, vol. 1, p. 389, l. -7. For the use of *wa-lahu dhu'āba* in the sense of "he was then a young boy," see the entry about Bishr b. Mu'āwiya al-Bakkā'i in *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 1, p. 190; *Ma'rifat al-ṣahāba*, vol. 3, p. 88. See also *ghulam lahu dhu'āba*; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳ'at Ṣiffīn*, 3d ed., ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo, 1401/1981), p. 520, l. 5.

²⁰ Ibn Shabba, vol. 3, p. 1006, l. 7. In the version of this report found in Aḥmad, vol. 1, p. 414, l. 9, the words *wa-Zayd ṣābi* are missing. Cf. Abū Nu'aym al-Isfahāni, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* (Cairo, n.d.; reprint, Beirut, 1387/1967), vol. 1, p. 125, l. 4 (where the context of Ibn Mas'ūd's utterance is missing): . . . *wa-Zayd b. Thābit la-ṣābi mina l-ṣibyān, wa-anā ada'ū mā akhadhtu min fi rasūli llāhi (ṣ)?*

²¹ *La-qaḍ qara'tu 'alā rasūli llāh (ṣ) sab'ina sūra, fa-qāla li la-qaḍ aḥsanta, wa-inna lladhi yas'alūna an aqra'a 'alā qirā'atihi fi ṣulb rajul kāfir*; Ibn Shabba, vol. 3, p. 1006, l. 12. It is noteworthy that the version of this saying quoted by al-Zuhri via a grandson of Ibn Mas'ūd's brother ('Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uṭba b. Mas'ūd) gives Ibn Mas'ūd far less credit than the one quoted above: *la-qaḍ aslamtu wa-innahu la-fi ṣulb rajul kāfir*; see *Two Muqaddimas*, p. 20. Does *kāfir* mean here "Jewish"? 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib is said to have called the former Jew, al-Ash'ath b. Qays, *munāfiq b. kāfir*; see my article "Judaism among Kinda and the Ridda of Kinda," in *The Journal of the American Oriental*

Society 115 (1995): 635–50, at p. 641, n. 28.

²² *La-qaḍ qara'tu min fi rasūli llāh (ṣ) sab'ina sūra wa-inna Zayd b. Thābit la-kāfir bi-llāh mā āmana bihi*; Ṭabarāni, *Kabir*, vol. 9, p. 73.

²³ *Akhbirūhu annahā nazalat wa-huwa yahūdi*; al-Ṭabari, *Jāmi' al-bayān fi tafsir al-Qur'ān* (Būlāq, 1321/1903–1330/1912), vol. 4, p. 139, l. 9. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 135, l. -10. Cf. Ibn Mas'ūd's prohibition to query the *Ahl al-Kitāb*; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa-faḍlihi*, ed. Abū l-Ashbāl al-Zuhayri (al-Dammām, 1414/1994), vol. 2, pp. 800, 804.

²⁴ *TMD*, vol. 39, ed. Sukayna al-Shihābi (Damas-cus, 1986), pp. 135–39.

²⁵ Zayd was one year older than Anas b. Mālik (al-Dhahabī, *Ma'rifat al-qurrā' al-kibār 'alā l-ṭabaqāt wa-l-a'ṣār*, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq [Cairo, 1969], vol. 1, p. 36), who was ten when the Prophet arrived at Medina; *Iṣāba*, vol. 1, p. 126. But cf. *Ma'rifat al-ṣahāba*, vol. 2, pp. 197, 202–3 (Anas was then either ten, nine, or eight years old).

²⁶ Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, vol. 2, p. 441 (other versions mention A.H. 51 and 55); Mizzi, vol. 10, p. 31. Yet others date his death to A.H. 48 and calculate his age then as fifty-nine. This is based on the claim that at the Battle of the Ditch (A.H. 4) his participation was confirmed, i.e., he was then fifteen years old; see Ṭabarāni, *Kabir*, vol. 5, p. 109.

²⁷ Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, vol. 2, p. 427; cf. Wāqidi, vol. 2, p. 448; A. J. Wensinck, *Et*, 1st ed., s.v. Zaid b. Ṭhābit.

a boy of the Khazraj who read sixteen *sūras*." I was not yet permitted [to fight] in the Battles of Badr and Uḥud but was allowed [to fight] in the Battle of the Ditch.²⁸

Zayd's widowed mother, al-Nawār bint Mālik of the ʿAdī b. al-Najjār, married ʿUmāra b. Ḥazm who belonged to the same subgroup of the Mālik b. al-Najjār as her deceased husband, namely, the ʿAbd ʿAwf b. Ghanm.²⁹ As is well known, the Prophet settled in the midst of the people of the Najjār. Zayd's mother boasted that her house (*bayt*) was the tallest among those surrounding the Prophet's mosque (or his "place of prayer"); Bilāl [b. Rabāh]³⁰ used to make the call to prayer from the roof of her house until the Prophet constructed his mosque.³¹

Zayd's stepfather, ʿUmāra b. Ḥazm, merits some attention. His brother, ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, was raised by the Jewish Naḍīr as a Jew; when the Naḍīr were expelled from Medina, ʿAmr, then a boy of eleven, went with them.³² The stepfather himself was considered an expert on amulets,³³ a field of magic also practiced by the Jews of Medina.³⁴

Zayd was considered an authority on calendrical calculations,³⁵ the mastery of which—as the following report implies—he received from a Jewish teacher: Zayd's son, Khārija (d. 99/717 or 100/718),³⁶ reported that ʿĀshūrā³⁷ was celebrated at different times during the year ("it went around the year," i.e., in the Islamic period). The people used to come to so-and-so the Jew and ask him (i.e., about its time). When the Jew died, they came to Zayd b. Thābit and enquired of him (about it).³⁷

III. ARABIC TUTORING BY A JEW IN PRE-ISLAMIC MEDINA

Further evidence about Zayd's education takes us beyond the Jewish *maktab/kuttāb* mentioned above. He is said to have learned "the script of the Jews"³⁸ (or Aramaic/Syriac

²⁸ *Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 214.

²⁹ Ibn Qudāma, *Istibṣār*, pp. 69 f., 73; *Iṣāba*, vol. 8, p. 144; Ibn Saʿd, vol. 8, pp. 419–20. See also Wāqidi, vol. 2, p. 448 (ʿUmāra jokingly stole Zayd's weapons at the Battle of the Ditch); Wāqidi, vol. 3, p. 1003; *TMD*, *Mukht*, vol. 1, p. 165 (during the Tabūk expedition, the banner of the Mālik b. al-Najjār was taken from ʿUmāra and given to Zayd).

³⁰ On whom see *El*, 2d ed., s.v.

³¹ Ibn Saʿd, vol. 8, p. 420: *kāna bayt al-wala bayt al-hawla l-masjid fa-kāna Bilāl yuʿadhhdhinu sawqahu min awwali mā adhdhana ilā an banā rasūlu llāh masjidahu fa-kāna yuʿadhhdhinu baʿdu ʿalā zahri l-masjid wa-qad rufʿa lahu shayʿ sawqa zahrihi. Zayd's statement that he was the Prophet's neighbor emphasizes that he was always at hand: kuntu jāra rasūli llāh (s) fa-kāna idhā nazala l-wahy arsala ilayya fakatabtu l-wahy; *Maṣāhif*, p. 3.*

³² See my article, "ʿAmr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī and Qurʾān. 2, 256: 'No Compulsion is There in Religion,'" in *Oriens* 35 (1996): 57–64. Incidentally, one of Zayd's sons married a daughter of ʿAmr b. Ḥazm: Ibn Saʿd, vol. 5, p. 265.

³³ *Iṣāba*, vol. 4, pp. 313, 579.

³⁴ ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Mukhtaṣar fī l-ṭibb*, ed. Camilo Álvarez de Morales and Fernando Girón Irueste (Madrid, 1992), p. 96, l. 7. Cf. my article "The Bewitching of the Prophet Muḥammad by the Jews: A

Note à propos ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb's *Mukhtaṣar fī l-ṭibb*" in *al-Qanṭara* 13 (1992): 561–69.

³⁵ Cf. A. Moberg, *El*, 2d ed., s.v. Nasī²; al-Birūnī, *Chronology*, ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1923), pp. 11–12.

³⁶ Mizzi, vol. 8, pp. 8–13; *TMD* (Dār al-Fikr), vol. 15, pp. 397–99. Khārija, a Medinan who transmitted *ḥadīth* from his father and was described as *kathīr al-ḥadīth*, owned a court (*dār*) in Damascus; *TMD* (Dār al-Fikr), vol. 15, p. 391.

³⁷ Ṭabarānī, *Kabir*, vol. 5, p. 138: ... wa-kāna yadūru fī l-sana, fa-kāna l-nās yaʿtūna fulānan al-yahūdiyya fa-yasʿalūnahu, fa-lammā māta l-yahūdī ataw Zayd b. Thābit fa-saʿalūhu. When Zayd died, Abū Hurayra reportedly remarked: "Today, the rabbi of this nation (*ḥabr ḥādhihi l-umma*) died, perhaps God will make Ibn ʿAbbās his successor"; see Ibn Saʿd, vol. 2, p. 362. A. J. Wensinck, *El*, 1st ed., s.v. Zaid b. Thābit, wrote: "His quickness of understanding, his sagacity and his knowledge are praised by his contemporaries; he was called 'the rabbi of the community.'" But it would seem that the term *ḥabr* was used here with reference to Zayd's knowledge of Jewish matters.

³⁸ Not their language, as correctly observed by A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moham-mad*, 2d ed., vol. 3, p. xxxix, n. 1; cf. N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, vol. 2, *Qurʾānic Commentary and Tradition* (Chicago, 1967), pp. 8, 257–58.

or Hebrew; see below) in *madāris* (variant: *midrās*) *māsila*.³⁹ But *māsila* is a corruption of *Māsika*: Zayd received his instruction at the *midrās* of a Jewish clan called *Māsika*.⁴⁰ The *Māsika* inhabited a village called al-Quff⁴¹ in the lower part or *sāfila* of Medina. Since there is evidence that al-Quff was the village of the Qaynuqāʿ, one assumes that the *midrās* of the *Māsika* was identical to the *bayt al-midrās* of the Qaynuqāʿ mentioned elsewhere; it is less likely that there were in this village two institutions of this kind. The precise relationship between the *Māsika* and the Qaynuqāʿ is not clear. Either the former were a subgroup of the latter or, perhaps more plausibly, both were independent groups. Whereas the Qaynuqāʿ may well have been the dominant component in the population of al-Quff, the village was also inhabited by other Jewish groups,⁴² including the *Māsika*.

It is perhaps possible to identify the man who was Zayd's teacher (or "headmaster"). According to Zayd's above-mentioned son, Khārija, a certain woman (al-Sha^cthā³) mentioned in verses by Ḥassān b. Thābit was

the daughter of ʿAmr, from the Jewish Banū *Māsika* whose houses were in the area of al-Quff. Her father was the head of the Jews who were in charge of the House of Torah Study and was a man of stature among them.⁴³

A crucial report by Wāqidi about literacy in pre-Islamic Medina lists Zayd along with other Arabs who were literate before Islam (and obviously learned to read at different periods). It is quoted in the *Ṣubḥ al-a^cshā* of al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), which was completed in 814/1412:⁴⁴

³⁹ TMD, Xerographic edition of the *Zāhiriyya* MS (Amman, n.d.), vol. 6, p. 559, l. -5 (... Ibn Saʿd < Wāqidi ... ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm): *kāna Zayd b. Thābit yataʿallamu fī madāris* [var. *midrās*] *māsila* [TMD (Dār al-Fikr), vol. 19, p. 305, has at this point: *madāris bāsila*, var. *māsila*; *Tarātib idāriyya*, vol. 1, p. 204, quoting this report from Ibn ʿAsākir, has: *midrās Māsika*] *fa-ʿallamahu kitābahum* [sic; *Tarātib idāriyya*: *fa-ta-ʿallama k. i. b. hum*] *fī khamsa ʿashrata layla hattā kāna yaʿlamu mā ḥarrāfū wa-baddalū* (the choice of words is clearly polemical; cf. F. Buhl, *El*, 1st ed., s.v. *Tahrif*). The plural form *madāris* is also attested to in the report about the encounter between Abū Bakr and the Jewish leader, Finḥās b. ʿĀzūrā; see al-Thaʿlabī, *al-Kaṣf wa-l-bayān* (MS Br. Lib., 9060), fol. 109a: *fa-dakḥala Abū Bakr dhāta yawm madārisahum*. (I thank E. Kohlberg for this reference.) For *bayt madārisihim* mentioned with regard to the same encounter, see my article "Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān and ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, Jewish Converts to Islam," in *Quaderni di studi arabi* 11 (1993): 149–62, at p. 159.

⁴⁰ According to the Arab lexicographers, the *midrās* of the Jews is their house in which the Book of the Law revealed to Moses is repeatedly read, or their house in which the Book of God is read, or read repeatedly, or their synagogue, as well as one who reads, or reads repeatedly, or studies, the books of the Jews; see E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863–93), p. 871b. The Islamization of the term is

reflected in *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Beirut, 1968), s.v., p. 80a: *wa-l-midrāsu l-baytu lladhi yudrasu fīhi l-Qurʿān*.

⁴¹ See my article "Muḥammad at Medina: A Geographical Approach," in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 6 (1985): 29–62, at p. 39; Samhūdī, vol. 1, p. 164, l. 2: ... *wa-kāna lahumu l-uḡmāni lladhāni fī l-Quff, fī l-qarya*; al-Samhūdī, *Khulāṣat al-wafā bi-akḥbār dār al-muṣṭafā* (Medina, 1392/1972), p. 158, who provides details about the location of the village's remains. Ibn Rusta, *Al-Aʿlāq al-nafisa*, ed. M. de Goeje (Leiden, 1892), p. 62, l. 6; Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*, vol. 1, p. 656, l. 6 (printed: *māsila*). In *Kitāb al-manāsik wa-amākin ʿuruq al-ḥajj wa-maʿālim al-jazīra*, ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir (Riyad, 1401/1981), p. 402, the name *Mātika* in the phrase *masjid Bani Mātika* is probably a corruption of *Māsika* ("the mosque located in the former territory of the Banū *Māsika*").

⁴² Cf. my article "Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān," pp. 160–61.

⁴³ *Wa-kāna Abū l-Sha^cthā³ qad ra³asa l-yahūda llati tali bayta l-dirāsa li-l-tawrāt wa-kāna dhā qadr fihim*; Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *K. al-aghāni*, 3d ed. (Cairo, 1345/1927–1394/1974), vol. 17, pp. 169–70; Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, ed. W. ʿArafat (London, 1971), vol. 1, p. 176; vol. 2, p. 208. The information about ʿAmr is valid even if the woman in question was, as some argued, the daughter of another Jewish leader, namely, Sallām b. Mishkam of the Naḍir; *Iṣāba*, vol. 7, p. 727.

⁴⁴ C. E. Bosworth, *El*, 2d ed., s.v. al-Kalkashandī, p. 510a.

Wāqidi reported [the following], with an *isnād* of his going back to Sa^cd b. Sa^cid [of the Mālik b. al-Najjār]:⁴⁵

Literacy (*al-kitāba*)⁴⁶ in Arabic among the Aws and Khazraj was rare. A Jew of the Yahūd Māsika was instructed in it (*ullimahā*) and used to teach it to the [Arab] children. When Islam came, some ten of them were literate. They were: Sa^cid b. Zurāra, al-Mundhir b. ^cAmr, Ubayy b. Ka^cb, Zayd b. Thābit—who could write in both Arabic and Hebrew—Rāfi^c b. Mālik, Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr, Ma^cn b. ^cAdī, Abū ^cAbs b. Jabr,⁴⁷ Aws b. Khawli, and Bashir b. Sa^cd.⁴⁸

Another version of Wāqidi's report is found in Balādhuri's *Futūḥ al-buldān*.⁴⁹ The latter version, however, which contains no mention of Māsika, is corrupt with regard to the link between the unspecified Jew and his young Arab students; it is as if the Jew's command of Arabic and the students' study of it were unrelated to each other.⁵⁰ Yet from the *Futūḥ* version we learn the names of three literate Arabs who are not listed in the *Ṣubḥ al-a^cshā*: Sa^cd b. ^cUbāda (who appears at the beginning of the list, where the *Ṣubḥ al-a^cshā* places the obscure Sa^cid b. Zurāra), Sa^cd b. al-Rabi^c, and the *munāfiq*, ^cAbdallāh b. Ubayy. The *Futūḥ* adds the following passage about an important social concept common in pre-Islamic Medina, at the same time restating two of the three names only found in this source, i.e., Sa^cd b. ^cUbāda and ^cAbdallāh b. Ubayy:

And "the perfect men" (*al-kamala*) among them—"a perfect man" was one who combined literacy (*al-kitāb*) with [the skills of] shooting and swimming⁵¹—were Rāfi^c b. Mālik, Sa^cd b. ^cUbāda,

⁴⁵ Elsewhere Wāqidi (vol. 1, p. 152) quotes from Ibn Abi Sabra (= Abū Bakr b. ^cAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abi Sabra al-Qurashī al-^cĀmiri; Mizzi, vol. 33, pp. 102–8) < Sa^cd b. Sa^cid, who was "Yahyā's brother." On Sa^cd b. Sa^cid b. ^cAmr (d. 141/758–59), see Mizzi, vol. 10, pp. 262–65; on Sa^cd, Yahyā, and ^cAbd Rabbihi, the sons of Sa^cid b. Qays b. ^cAmr (or Sa^cid b. Qays b. Qahd), see Dhahabi, *Nubalā*², vol. 5, pp. 468–81 (Yahyā), 482. Sa^cd belonged to a subgroup of the Mālik b. al-Najjār called ^cUbayd b. Tha^claba b. Ghanm. His grandfather, Qays b. ^cAmr/Qahd was a *munāfiq*; *Iṣāba*, vol. 5, pp. 491–92, 496–97; Ibn Qudāma, *Istīḥṣār*, p. 61; see my *Muslims, Jews, and Pagans*, p. 118.

⁴⁶ Literally, the art of writing.

⁴⁷ Erroneously printed: Abū ^cAbs b. Kathir.

⁴⁸ *Ṣubḥ al-a^cshā* (Cairo, 1331/1913–1338/1919), vol. 3, p. 15; ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1407/1987), vol. 3, pp. 14–15: . . . rawā l-Wāqidi bi-sanadihi ilā Sa^cd b. Sa^cid, qāla: kānati l-kitāba l-^carabiyya qalilan [sic] fi l-Aws wa-l-Khazraj wa-kāna yahūdī min yahūd Māsika qad ^cullimahā fa-kāna yu^callimuhā l-^cshibyāna, fa-jā'a l-Islām wa-fihim bi^cata ^cashara yaktubūna, minhum Sa^cid b. Zurāra wa-l-Mundhir b. ^cAmr, wa-Ubayy b. Ka^cb, wa-Zayd b. Thābit—yaktubu l-kitābayni jamī'an l-^carabiyya wa-l-^cibrāniyya—wa-Rāfi^c b. Mālik, wa-Uṣayd b. Ḥuḍayr, wa-Ma^cn b. ^cAdī, wa-Abū ^cAbs b. Kathir [!] wa-Aws b. Khawli, wa-Bashir b. Sa^cd. See also Jawād ^cAli, *Ta^criḥ al-^carab qabla l-Islām* (Baghdad, 1950–60), vol. 7, pp. 59, 65–66. The editor of the more recent edition of the *Ṣubḥ al-a^cshā*, Shams al-Dīn, wrongly

replaced Māsika with Māsikha, whom he identified as a group of the Azd.

⁴⁹ Balādhuri's report was mentioned by J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, 2d ed. (Berlin, 1897; reprint, Berlin, 1961), p. 93; R. Leszynsky, *Die Juden in Arabien zur Zeit Mohammeds* (Berlin, 1910), p. 21; Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, 2d ed., vol. 2, ed. F. Schwally (Leipzig, 1919), p. 139; F. Buhl, *El*, 1st ed., s.v. al-Madīna, p. 86a; J. Obermann, "Islamic Origins: A Study in Background and Foundation," in N. A. Farris, *The Arab Heritage* (Princeton, 1944), pp. 58–120, at p. 68; H. Z. Hirschberg, *Yisra^cel be-^carav* (Tel Aviv, 1946), pp. 194, 316, n. 25 [in Hebrew]; N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, vol. 1, *Historical Texts* (Chicago, 1957), p. 28.

⁵⁰ Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 473, l. 4: kāna l-kitāb bi-l-^carabiyya fi l-Aws wa-l-Khazraj qalilan wa-kāna ba^cdu l-yahūd qad ^callama [sic; read: ^cullima] kitāba l-^carabiyya wa-kāna ta^callamahu [sic; read: yu^callimuhu] l-^cshibyān bi-l-Madīna fi l-zamāni l-awwal, fa-jā'a l-Islām wa-fi l-Aws wa-l-Khazraj ^cidda yaktubūna wa-hum Sa^cd b. ^cUbāda b. Dulaym . . . wa-Sa^cd b. al-Rabi^c . . . wa-^cAbdullāh b. Ubayy al-munāfiq.

⁵¹ Cf. H. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam: L'Arabie occidentale à la veille de l'hégire* (Rome, 1914), pp. 244–45; idem, *Etudes sur le règne du calife Omayyade Mo^cawia I^r* (Paris, London, Leipzig, 1908), p. 330. Note a father's obligation to teach his son literacy, swimming, and archery; for example, in al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Durr al-manthūr fi l-tafsīr bi-l-ma^cthūr* (Cairo, 1914/1896), vol. 3, p. 194, l. 15: ḥaqqu l-walad ^calā l-wālid an yu^callimahu l-kitāba wa-l-sibāha wa-l-ramy. See

Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr, ʿAbdallāh b. Ubayy, and Aws b. Khawli. Those among the people of Yathrib who combined these skills in the Jāhiliyya [i.e., unlike the others, they died before the Hijra] were Suwayd b. al-Šāmit and Ḥuḍayr al-Katāʾib (Ḥuḍayr-of-the-Battalions).

Only Zayd b. Thābit is credited with the knowledge of two languages (or rather two scripts), Arabic and Hebrew, which he acquired before Islam (*fa-jāʿa l-Islām wa-fī l-Aws wa-l-Khazraj ʿidda yakubūna*). Some, however, claimed that he only became literate after the Hijra. One account (slightly smacking of anti-Anṣārī polemics) links Zayd's literacy in Arabic to the aftermath of the Battle of Badr:

Some of the [Meccan] captives were literate, while among the Anṣār there was nobody who was proficient at writing. And there were among them [i.e., the captives] some who had no money, so the instruction of ten young men in the skill of writing was accepted from them as a precondition for setting them free. At that time Zayd b. Thābit, among other young Anṣār, learned how to write.⁵²

Also Zayd's study of "the Jewish script" was said to have taken place after the Hijra. The following report goes back to Zayd himself through his son, Khārīja:⁵³

also *Tarātib idāriyya*, vol. 2, p. 239 (quoting *Al-Durr al-manthūr*); Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Hikmat al-ishrāq ilā kuttāb al-āfāq*, in *Nawādir al-makḥfūtāt*, 2d ed., ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, vol. 2 (Cairo, 1393/1973), p. 66.

⁵² *Wa-kāna fi l-asrā man yaktubu wa-lam yakun fi l-anṣār aḥad yaḥsinu l-kitāba fa-kāna minhum man lā māla lahu fa-yuqbalu minhu an yuʿallima ʿashara mina l-ghilmāni l-kitāba wa-yukhallā sabīluhu. fa-yawmaʿidhin taʿallama l-kitāba Zayd b. Thābit fi jamāʿa min ghilmati l-anṣār*; quoted in Yaʿlā b. Muḥammad al-Khuzāʿī, *Takhrij al-dalālat al-samʿiyya*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1405/1985), pp. 84–85. See also *Tarātib idāriyya*, vol. 1, pp. 48–49. In Ibn Saʿd, vol. 2, p. 22 we find in the same context a report of ʿĀmir al-Shaʿbī containing the following explanation: *wa-kāna ahl Makka yakubūna wa-ahlu l-Madīna lā yakubūna*; another report in the same source, again from al-Shaʿbī, links Zayd's literacy to the same circumstances: *fa-kāna Zayd b. Thābit mimman ʿullīna*. A report in Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ*, p. 101 tells of an Anṣārī boy who, having been beaten by his Qurashi teacher, came crying to his father. The latter said, "that infidel, he seeks to avenge the blood of those killed at Badr" (*al-khabīth, yaḥlubu bi-dhaḥl Badr*) and released the boy from further study. Elsewhere the number of Muslims to be trained by each captive is said to have been two; *Masānid Abi Yahyā Firās b. Yahyā al-Mukhtib al-Kūfī, Jamʿ al-Ḥāfiẓ Abi Nuʿaym al-Isfahānī*, ed. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Miṣrī (Riyad, 1413/1993), p. 73: *man lam yakun lahu fidāʾ fa-l-yuʿallim rajulayni inina l-muslimīna l-kitābata. Qāla Zayd: fa-kuntu mimman ʿullīma l-kitāb*.

The following report possibly belongs here: the Prophet is said to have ordered ʿAbdallāh/al-Ḥakam b. Saʿīd/Abi Uḥayḥa b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams (said to have been killed at Badr, or at Muʿta, or at Yamāma; the last-mentioned version was the one held by most people) to teach literacy in Medina; *TMD*,

vol. 34 (ʿAbdallāh b. Sālim-ʿAbdallāh b. Abi ʿĀʾisha), ed. Muṭāʿ al-Ṭarābīshī (Damascus, 1406/1986), p. 50 (< al-Zubayr b. Bakkār: he was killed at Badr); Muṣʿab b. ʿAbdallāh al-Zubayrī, *Kitāb nasab Quraysh*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Cairo, 1953), p. 174 (he was killed at Muʿta); Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Taʾrikh*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Damascus, 1968), vol. 1, p. 91 (< Abū Maʿshar: he was killed at Yamāma); *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 3, p. 175 (who says about the Yamāma version: *wa-huwa akthar*). *TMD*, vol. 34, p. 52 contains this curious statement: *wa-kāna l-Ḥakam (= ʿAbdallāh) b. Saʿīd yuʿallimu l-ḥikma*; this is quoted from the *Musnad* of Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Thaqafī al-Sarrāj (d. 313/925); see *Iṣāba*, vol. 2, p. 103; F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1967), p. 173 (hereafter *GAS*). See also *TMD*, vol. 34, p. 53: *wa-kāna yuʿallimu l-ḥikma bi-l-Madīna*; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, ed. Nāji Ḥasan (Beirut, 1407/1986), p. 44: *wa-jaʿalahu* [i.e., the Prophet; the object is al-Ḥakam/ʿAbdallāh] *yuʿallimu l-ḥikma bi-l-Madīna*; al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-aṣhrāf*, vol. 4b, ed. M. Schloessinger (Jerusalem, 1938), p. 130 = vol. 4i, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1400/1979), p. 433. It seems that in this context *ḥikma* can only mean "literacy." For *ḥikma* in the sense of *khafī* or writing see *Tarātib idāriyya*, vol. 1, p. 49 (regarding Qurʾān 2:269).

⁵³ See p. 5, n. 36 above. It is of course no accident that Zayd's son was involved in transmitting reports about his father. Al-Zuhri received from an unspecified grandson of Zayd (< his father, Sulaymān < his grandfather, Zayd) a report on the Prophet's dictation of the Qurʾān to Zayd; see al-Šūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥasan Basaj (Beirut, 1415/1994), p. 171. The grandson in question was probably Saʿīd b. Sulaymān b. Zayd (d. 132/749), the onetime *qāḍī* of Medina, who was one of al-Zuhri's teachers; Mizzi, vol. 10, pp. 482–83. Zayd's grandson, Sulaymān b. Khārīja (Mizzi, vol. 11, pp. 398–99) reported (< his father,

The Messenger of God ordered me to study for him the script of the Jews, and he said to me: "I do not trust the Jews with regard to my correspondence" [i.e., correspondence with the Jews, written in their script].⁵⁴ Not even half a month passed until I learned it and I used to write for him to the Jews, and when they wrote to him, I read their letter.⁵⁵

A fuller version of this report provides an historical context: the Prophet's order that Zayd should learn *kitāb yahūd* was given shortly after the Hijra, following the Prophet's examination of the boy's command of Qur^ʿān.⁵⁶ A different motive is given in another report (again said to go back to Zayd himself):⁵⁷

The Messenger of God told me: "There are letters coming to me from certain people which I do not want anyone to read. Are you capable of studying the Hebrew script"—or perhaps he said: "the Aramaic/Syriac script?" I said: "Yes." And I learned it within seventeen days.⁵⁸

So according to one view, Zayd learned the Arabic script and the Aramaic/Syriac/Hebrew script before the Hijra in the Jewish *maktab/kuttāb/midrās*, while according to another view, he learned both after the Hijra. Presumably, the latter option is tendentious and apologetic: it substitutes for Zayd's pre-Hijra education in the Jewish institution a study of the Arabic script from a Qurashī Arab and a study of the Aramaic script (probably in the same institution) at the Prophet's behest.

IV. REFLECTIONS OF WĀQIDĪ'S LIST OF LITERATE ARABS IN IBN SA^cD'S ṬABAQĀT

Wāqidī was Ibn Sa^cd's main source, and hence most of the relevant entries in the latter's *Ṭabaqāt* reflect the evidence included in Wāqidī's list of literate Arabs:

1. Sa^cd b. ʿUbāda of the Sāʿida (Khazraj).⁵⁹
2. Al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr of the Sāʿida.⁶⁰

Khārijja) about Zayd's writing of the *wahy*; *Maṣāḥif*, p. 3. Khārijja b. Zayd was al-Zuhri's source for a report about Zayd's search for a missing verse: see *Maṣāḥif*, pp. 19, 29.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Muntaẓam*, vol. 5, p. 214: *inni lā āmanu-hum an yubaddilū kitābi*.

⁵⁵ Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, p. 474, l. 11: *amarani rasūlu llāhi (š) an ataʿallama lahu kitāba yahūd wa-qāla li: inni lā āmanu yahūdan ʿalā kitābi, fa-lam yamurra bi nišf shahr hattā taʿallamtuhu fa-kuntu aktubu lahu ilā yahūd, wa-idhā katabū ilayhi qaraʿtu kitābahum*.

⁵⁶ In this version, Zayd is said to have known seventeen *sūras* by heart; Mizzi, vol. 10, p. 28. See, similarly, in *Iṣṣāba*, vol. 2, pp. 593–94, the version quoted from the *Musnad* of ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd (on whom see GAS, vol. 1, p. 113 [where his name is vocalized: ʿAbd b. Hamid!]), with an *isnād* going back to Zayd himself via Thābit b. ʿUbayd (see the following footnote): *qāla li l-nabi (š): inni aktubu ilā qawm fa-akhāfu an yazidū ʿalayya aw yanqušū, fa-taʿallami l-siryāniyya. Fa-taʿallamtuhā fi sabʿata ʿashara yawman = al-Muntakhab min musnad ʿAbd b. Humayd*, ed. Šubḥi al-Badri al-Sāmarrāʿi and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Šaʿidī (Cairo, 1408/1988), p. 108.

⁵⁷ Through Thābit b. ʿUbaydallāh; read probably: Thābit b. ʿUbayd. He was Zayd's *mawlā* and pupil; Mizzi, vol. 4, pp. 362–63; *Tahdhīb*, vol. 2, p. 9.

⁵⁸ Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 2, p. 358: . . . *innahu yaʿtini kutub min unās lā uḥibbu an yaqraʿahā aḥad, fa-hal tastaṭīʿu an taʿallama kitāba l-ʿibrāniyya, aw qāla: l-siryāniyya? . . . Cf. Ṭabarānī, Kabir*, vol. 5, p. 155: *innahu yaʿtini kutub mina l-nās wa-lā uḥibbu an yaqraʿahā kull aḥad, fa-hal tastaṭīʿu an taʿallama kitāba l-siryāniyya?*

Muntaẓam, vol. 5, p. 214, adduces this legendary report: "Zayd b. Thābit was the interpreter (*turjumān*) of the Messenger of God and his scribe [who wrote his letters] to the kings. He learned Persian from Khuro's messenger within eighteen days and Greek (*al-rūmiyya*), Ethiopic, and Coptic from the slaves (*khadam*) of the Messenger of God."

Some dated the Prophet's order to A.H. 4: the Prophet explained that he feared "lest the Jews alter his letter" (*lā āmanu an yubaddilū kitābi*); Maqrizī, *Imtāʿ*, pp. 187, 194; Ṭabarī, vol. 2, p. 561.

⁵⁹ *Wa-kāna Sa^cd fi l-jāhiliyya yaktubu bi-l-ʿarabiyya, wa-kānati l-kitāba fi l-ʿarab qalilan [sic], wa-kāna yuhsinu l-ʿawm wa-l-ramy, wa-kāna man aḥsana dhālika summiya l-kāmila*; Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 3, p. 613, l. 12.

⁶⁰ *Wa-kāna l-Mundhir yaktubu bi-l-ʿarabiyya qabla l-Islām, wa-kānati l-kitāba fi l-ʿarab qalilan [sic]; ibid.*, p. 555, l. 3.

3. Ubayy b. Ka^cb of the Najjār (Khazraj).⁶¹ Later in his entry Ibn Sa^cd mentions Ubayy's role in writing down Qur^ʿānic verses at the time of the Prophet (which confirms his literacy) and the claim, doubtless coming from Ubayy's own family, that God Himself ordered the Prophet to dictate the Qur^ʿān to him.⁶²

4. Rāfi^c b. Mālik of the Zurayq (Khazraj).⁶³

5. Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr of the ^cAbd al-Ashhal (Aws). His entry also includes evidence about his father, Ḥuḍayr al-Katā^ʿib (see p. 8 above), who led the Aws in the Battle of Bu^cāth in which he was killed.⁶⁴

6. Ma^cn b. ^cAdī of the Balī, a client of the ^cAmr b. ^cAwf (Aws).⁶⁵

7. Abū ^cAbs b. Jabr of the Ḥāritha (Aws).⁶⁶ ^cUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ^cUthmān b. ^cAffān employed him as a tax collector (*yuṣaddiqu l-nās*).⁶⁷ Indeed, one expects to find literacy combined with arithmetic, both of which were necessary for the state administration.⁶⁸

8. Sa^cd b. al-Rabī^c of the Ḥārith (Khazraj).⁶⁹

9. Aws b. Khawli of the ^cAwf (Khazraj).⁷⁰ His literacy is supported by the report that the Prophet asked him to inscribe the Ḥudaybiyya treaty.⁷¹ Aws and ^cAbdallāh b. Ubayy (Ibn Ubayy) belonged to a subdivision of the ^cAwf known as the Banū l-Ḥublā;⁷² moreover, the former was the latter's nephew.⁷³

10. Bashīr b. Sa^cd of the Ḥārith (Khazraj).⁷⁴

⁶¹ *Wa-kāna Ubayy yaktubu fi l-jāhiliyya qabla l-Islām, wa-kānati l-kitāba fi l-^carab qalilatan.*

⁶² *Wa-kāna yaktubu fi l-Islāmi l-wahy li-rasūli llāhi (s), wa-amara llāhu tabāraka wa-ta-^cālā rasūluhu an yaqrā^ʿa ^calā Ubayy l-Qur^ʿāna, wa-qāla rasūlu llāh (s): aqrā^ʿu ummati Ubayy; ibid., p. 498.*

⁶³ *Wa-kāna Rāfi^c b. Mālik mina l-kamala, wa-kāna l-kāmil fi l-jāhiliyyati lladhi yaktubu wa-yuḥsinu l-^cawm wa-l-ramy, wa-kāna Rāfi^c ka-dhālika, wa-kānati l-kitāba fi l-qawm qalilan [sic]; ibid., p. 622, l. 1. Cf. Samhūdī, vol. 1, p. 206, l. 15: *wa-kāna yuqālu li-Rāfi^c b. Mālik: l-kāmil, li-anna ahla l-jāhiliyya kānu yaqūlāna li-man kāna kātiban shā^ciran[!]: l-kāmil.* Note that Rāfi^c was married to the sister of another literate Arab, namely, ^cAbdallāh b. Ubayy (Ibn Ubayy). The marriage took place many years before the Hijra: two of their sons are said to have participated in the Battle of Badr; Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 3, p. 621; vol. 8, p. 382.*

⁶⁴ . . . *Wa-kāna yaktubu bi-l-^carabiyya fi l-jāhiliyya, wa-kānati l-kitāba fi l-^carab qalilan [sic], wa-kāna yuḥsinu l-^cawm wa-l-ramy, wa-kāna yusammā man kānat hādhihi l-khiṣāl fihi: l-kāmil, wa-kānat qadi jtama^cat fi Usayd, wa-kāna abūhu Ḥuḍayru l-katā^ʿib yu^crafu bi-dhālika aydan wa-yusammā bihi.* Concerning the father, Ḥuḍayr, it is reported: *wa-kāna . . . sharifan fi l-jāhiliyya; while about the son it is said: wa-kāna . . . ba^cda abih sharifan fi qawmihi fi l-jāhiliyya wa-fi l-Islām, yu^caddu min ^cuqalā^ʿihim wa-dhawī ra^cyihim; ibid., vol. 3, p. 604.* For Ḥuḍayr's command in Bu^cāth, see Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 1, pp. 680–81.

⁶⁵ *Wa-kāna yaktubu bi-l-^carabiyya qabla l-Islām, wa-kānati l-kitāba fi l-^carab qalilatan; Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 3, p. 465, l. 4. On Ma^cn, see my Muslims, Jews and Pagans, pp. 136, 140.*

⁶⁶ *Wa-kāna Abū ^cAbs yaktubu bi-l-^carabiyya qabla*

l-Islām, wa-kānati l-kitāba fi l-^carab qalilan [sic]; Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 3, p. 450.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Cf. TMD, *Mukht.*, vol. 25, p. 7 (the Prophet prays to God to teach Mu^cāwiya *al-kitāb wa-l-ḥisāb*).

⁶⁹ *Wa-kāna Sa^cd yaktubu fi l-jāhiliyya, wa-kānati l-kitāba fi l-^carab qalilatan; Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 3, p. 522, l. -2. Sa^cd b. al-Rabī^c was killed in the Battle of Uḥud. In due course, Zayd b. Thābit married his daughter, Umm Sa^cd (Jamila), who was born several months after her father's death. It was a fruitful marriage: she bore Zayd twelve children, eight boys and four girls; Dhahabi, *Nubalā^ʿ*, vol. 2, p. 428; Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 3, p. 522, l. 14; vol. 5, pp. 262–64; vol. 8, p. 477.*

⁷⁰ *Wa-kāna Aws b. Khawli mina l-kamala, wa-kāna l-kāmil ^cindahum fi l-jāhiliyya wa-awwali l-Islāmi lladhi yaktubu bi-l-^carabiyya wa-yuḥsinu l-^cawm wa-l-ramy, wa-kāna qadi jtama^ca dhālika fi Aws b. Khawli; Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 3, p. 542, l. 10.*

⁷¹ Wāqidī, vol. 2, p. 610.

⁷² Ibid., vol. 1, p. 166 (both are listed as Badrīs).

⁷³ Being the son of Jamila bint Ubayy; Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 3, p. 542. After the Hijra, the two adopted different attitudes towards the Jews: while Ibn Ubayy remained loyal to his alliance with them (which earned him the title *munāfiq*), Aws supported the Prophet. According to some, he was among those sent to Khaybar to assassinate the Naḍir leader, Ibn Abi l-Ḥuqayq; *Iṣāba*, vol. 1, p. 153. Ibn Ubayy died after a short illness at the time of the Prophet (Wāqidī, vol. 3, pp. 1057–60), whereas Aws lived to the time of ^cUthmān; *Iṣāba*, vol. 1, p. 154.

⁷⁴ *Wa-kāna Bashīr yaktubu bi-l-^carabiyya fi l-jāhiliyya wa-kānati l-kitāba fi l-^carab qalilatan [sic]; Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 3, p. 531, l. 14.*

11. Sa^cid b. Zurāra. No such person could be traced in the sources. The name Sa^cid could have been a corruption of As^cad, but As^cad b. Zurāra's entry in Ibn Sa^cd⁷⁵ includes no mention of literacy. Perhaps the *yā*⁷ of Sa^cid is superfluous and As^cad's infamous brother, Sa^cd b. Zurāra, is meant here.⁷⁶

12. For obvious reasons, Ibn Sa^cd has no entry on the *munāfiq* ^cAbdallāh b. Ubayy.

13. Finally, Zayd b. Thābit's entry in Ibn Sa^cd⁷⁷ does not include the typical passage about literacy found in most of the relevant entries, but it does contain two reports on the Prophet's order that he should learn Hebrew/Syriac.

V. OTHER LITERATE ARABS IN PRE-ISLAMIC MEDINA

Wāqidi's list of literate Arabs, at least in the versions available to us now, is incomplete, as can be shown by reference to two further entries in Ibn Sa^cd:

14. In the entry on ^cAbdallāh b. Zayd of the Ḥārith (Khazraj) we find evidence of his pre-Islamic literacy.⁷⁸ Indeed, ^cAbdallāh wrote the Prophet's letter to the Ḥadas, a subdivision of the Lakhm.⁷⁹

15. Similar evidence appears in the entry on ^cAbdallāh b. Rawāḥa of the Ḥārith (Khazraj). Literacy is again combined here with an official position: the Prophet sent ^cAbdallāh to Khaybar as evaluator of its produce of dates.⁸⁰

More literate Arabs can be added from other sources. The first two are of course particularly interesting for our discussion:

16. Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, a former Jew,⁸¹ was literate: he "used to write down for the Prophet the quantity computed by conjecture of the fruit on the palm-trees of the Ḥijāz" (*yaktubu kharṣa l-Ḥijāz*).⁸²

17. Mu^cādh b. Jabal, probably a former Jew,⁸³ is listed as one of the Prophet's scribes.⁸⁴

⁷⁵ Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 3, pp. 608–12.

⁷⁶ Sa^cd was a *munāfiq*: al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, vol. 1, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamidullāh (Cairo, 1959), p. 274; Mizzi, vol. 5, p. 504; Ṭabarāni, *Kabir*, vol. 3, p. 167; *Iṣāba*, vol. 3, pp. 60–61; cf. Ibn Qudāma, *Istibṣār*, p. 59 (*fi islāmihī shakk wa-fi an-nahu akhū As^cad b. Zurāra nazar*).

⁷⁷ Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 2, pp. 358–62.

⁷⁸ *Wa-kāna . . . yaktubu bi-l-^carabiyya qabla l-Islām, wa-kānati l-kitāba fi l-^carab qalilan* [sic]; *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 536, l. -4. On ^cAbdallāh, see *Iṣāba*, vol. 4, pp. 97–98.

⁷⁹ Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 1, pp. 266–67; *Miṣbāh muḍī*², vol. 1, p. 157; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vol. 5, p. 350 (erroneously written Jurash; read Ḥadas); Ḥamidullāh, *Wathā'iq*, p. 128, no. 41.

⁸⁰ *Wa-kāna . . . yaktubu fi l-jāhiliyya, wa-kānati l-kitāba fi l-^carab qalilatan*: Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 3, p. 526, l. 3; *TMD* (^cAbdallāh b. Jābir—^cAbdallāh b. Zayd), ed. Sukayna al-Shihābi and Muṭā^c al-Ṭarābīshī (Damas-cus, 1402/1981), p. 306, l. 5, quoting Wāqidi (. . . *qalilan*); see my article "Idol Worship in Pre-Islamic Medina (Yathrib)," in *Le Muséon* 106 (1993): 331–46, at p. 339.

A. A. Ambros kindly drew my attention to several

errors which escaped me when I proofread the above-mentioned article. On p. 340, l. 3, a few words were left out. Read: "Ibn Rawāḥa entered and did what you see." And he became angry. Then he reflected and said: "Had there been. . . ." On p. 344, l. 13, read *fa-aṣḥaba*, instead of *fa-aṣḥa'a*. On p. 344, l. -5, the word *asmā* is missing. Read *atabarra²u min asma l-shayā'ini kullihā*. On p. 345, l. 4, the word *law* is missing. Read *ra²aytu annahu law kāna ^cindahu ṭayil. . . .*

Incidentally, Bashīr b. Sa^cd (no. 10, p. 10 above) was married to ^cAbdallāh b. Rawāḥa's sister, ^cAmra; Ibn Sa^cd, vol. 3, p. 531.

⁸¹ See my article "Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān."

⁸² Mas^cūdī, *Tanbih*, p. 282. Cf. Abū Maṣṣūr ^cAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Tha^cālibī, *Laṭā'if al-ma^cārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leiden, 1867), p. 40 (*kharṣ tamri l-Ḥijāz*); Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisi, *Bihār al-anwār* (Tehran, 1376/1957–), vol. 22, p. 248 (*ṣadaqāt al-tamr*).

⁸³ See again my article "Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān," p. 152.

⁸⁴ Al-Ya^cqūbī, *Ta²rikh* (Beirut, 1379/1960), vol. 2, p. 80.

18. Muḥammad b. Maslama of the Ḥāritha (Aws). His entry in Ibn Saʿd⁸⁵ contains no reference to literacy, but in his *Kitāb al-kuttāb* ʿUmar b. Shabba lists him among the Prophet's scribes.⁸⁶ Indeed, he wrote one of the Prophet's letters.⁸⁷ (Among the Prophet's scribes listed by Ibn Shabba we also find, among others, the above-mentioned Ubayy b. Kaʿb, ʿAbdallāh b. Rawāḥa, and, rather surprisingly, ʿAbdallāh b. Ubayy.)⁸⁸

19. and 20. Zayd b. Arqam of the Ḥārith (Khazraj) and Anas b. Mālik of the ʿAdī b. al-Najjār (Khazraj). Zayd was an orphan who grew up in the care of the above-mentioned ʿAbdallāh b. Rawāḥa.⁸⁹ His entry in Ibn Saʿd⁹⁰ contains no mention of literacy, but Anas transmitted *ḥadīth* from him using the *kitāba* or *mukātaba* technique;⁹¹ i.e., they were both literate. In addition, Anas is said to have been one of those who dictated or wrote down the Qurʾān at the time of ʿUthmān.⁹²

21. Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās of the Ḥārith (Khazraj) wrote the Prophet's letters to the delegation of the Thumāla and the Ḥuddān, to ʿUmayr(a) b. Afṣā of the Aslam, and to Qaṭan b. Ḥāritha of the Kalb.⁹³

22. Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī of the ʿAbd ʿAwf b. Ghanm,⁹⁴ the subgroup of the Mālik b. al-Najjār to which Zayd b. Thābit belonged, is listed among the Prophet's scribes.⁹⁵

23. ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit of the ʿAwf (Khazraj), according to his own testimony, taught literacy (*kitāb*) and Qurʾān to some of the *ahl al-ṣuffa*.⁹⁶ Although both entries about ʿUbāda in Ibn Saʿd⁹⁷ do not mention literacy, it is also suggested by the fact that at the

⁸⁵ Ibn Saʿd, vol. 3, pp. 443–45.

⁸⁶ Ibn Shabba is quoted in two books by Andalusian authors, the *Istifāb* by Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071), vol. 1, p. 69 (*wa-dhakara . . . dhālika ʿUmar b. Shabba wa-ghayruhu[?] fi kitāb al-kuttāb*); and al-Suhayli (d. 581/1185), *al-Rawḍ: al-unuf*, ed. Ṭāhā ʿAbd al-Rāʾūf Saʿd (Cairo, 1391/1971), vol. 4, p. 36 (*dhakarahu* [= Muḥammad b. Maslama and others] ʿUmar b. Shabba *fi kitābi l-kuttāb lahu*). Obviously, Ibn Shabba's book (*Yāqūt. Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās [Beirut, 1993], vol. 5, p. 2093, l. 13; it is not mentioned in GAS, vol. 1, pp. 345–46) was available in al-Andalus during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The same passage is also quoted in Ibn Qudāma Muwaffaq al-Dīn, *al-Tabayin fi ansāb al-Qurashīyyin*, ed. Muḥammad Nāyif al-Dulaymi (Beirut, 1408/1988), pp. 94–95; *Miṣbāḥ muḍīʿ*, vol. 1, p. 28.

⁸⁷ Ibn Saʿd, vol. 1, p. 286. In Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vol. 5, p. 354, read instead of Murra: Mahra; Ḥamīdul-lāh, *Wathāʾiq*, pp. 251–52, no. 137.

⁸⁸ Whose mention as the Prophet's scribe must have caused some unease. Indeed, whereas the passage in the *Istifāb* quoted from Ibn Shabba's *Kitāb al-kuttāb* has "ʿAbdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl," the quotation from the same source in Suhayli, vol. 4, p. 36 has Ibn Ubayy's son, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl. As we have seen, the father, not the son, appears in Wāqidī's list of literate Arabs. In addition, the son's entry in Ibn Saʿd, pp. 540–42, includes no mention of literacy.

⁸⁹ Later, Zayd settled in Kufa, became a close supporter of ʿAlī and fought on his side in Ṣiffīn; Ibn Qudāma, *Istibṣār*, pp. 120–21; *Tahdhib*, vol. 3, p. 395

(*wa-kāna min khawāṣṣihi*).

⁹⁰ Ibn Saʿd, vol. 6, p. 18.

⁹¹ *Tahdhib*, vol. 3, p. 394 (*kitābatan*); *Iṣāba*, vol. 2, p. 590. On Anas, see p. 4, n. 25 above. For the transmission technique called *kitāba/mukātaba*, see al-Ḥākim al-Naysabūri, *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. Muʿazzam Ḥusayn (Hyderabad, n.d.; reprint, Medina, 1397/1977), pp. 256, 259, 260–61; Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. Nūr al-Dīn ʿItr (Medina, 1972), pp. 153–55; al-Suyūṭī, *Tadrib al-rāwī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (Cairo, 1392/1972), vol. 2, pp. 55–58.

⁹² Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fath al-bārī sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Būlāq, 1301/1884; reprint, Beirut, n.d.), vol. 9, pp. 16–17. For further evidence that Anas was literate, see ʿAslam B. Sahl al-Wāsiṭī, *Taʾriḫ Wāsiṭ*, ed. Kurkī ʿAwwād (Beirut, 1406/1986), pp. 63–64.

⁹³ Ibn Saʿd, vol. 1, pp. 286, 353–54; *Miṣbāḥ muḍīʿ*, vol. 1, p. 80; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vol. 5, pp. 341–42 (Thumāla and al-Ḥuddān). On ʿUmayr(a), see *Iṣāba*, vol. 4, p. 711; *Usd al-ghāba*, vol. 4, pp. 139–40. See also Ibn al-Athīr Majd al-Dīn, *Manāḥ al-ṭālib fi sharḥ ṭiwāl al-gharāʾib*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī (Mecca, [1399/1979]), p. 44 (Qatan). Thābit is listed among the Prophet's scribes in Mizzi, vol. 1, p. 196.

⁹⁴ Ibn Qudāma, *Istibṣār*, p. 69.

⁹⁵ *Miṣbāḥ muḍīʿ*, vol. 1, p. 90. He was Zayd b. Thābit's son-in-law; Ibn Saʿd, vol. 3, p. 484.

⁹⁶ Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, ed. Ahmad Saʿd ʿAlī (Cairo, 1371/1952), vol. 2, p. 237 (*ʿallamtu nāsan min ahli l-ṣuffa l-kitāb wa-l-Qurʾān*). Cf. Mizzi, vol. 4, p. 134 (where there is no mention of *kitāb*).

⁹⁷ Ibn Saʿd, vol. 3, p. 546; vol. 7, p. 387.

time of the Prophet he officiated as a tax-collector.⁹⁸ It is perhaps relevant for us here that ʿUbāda, like his fellow literate tribesman from the ʿAwf, ʿAbdallāh b. Ubayy, was an ally of the Jewish Qaynuqāʿ.⁹⁹

Further research will probably guide us to more literate Arabs in pre-Islamic Medina. They studied at the *maktab/kuttāb* or *midrās* of Māsika, where literacy must have been taught through texts from the Old Testament in Arabic translation.¹⁰⁰ The Jews supposedly attempted to convert their young Arab students and in certain cases, probably including that of Zayd b. Thābit, they succeeded.¹⁰¹

VI. PRE-ISLAMIC LITERACY AND THE ʿAQABA MEETING

At the second, or great, ʿAqaba meeting, there were reportedly twelve *nuqabāʾ*² or tribal representatives, nine of the Khazraj and three of the Aws. A comparison between the list of *nuqabāʾ*² and that of literate Arabs produced significant results.

1. Asʿad b. Zurāra (Najjār, Khazraj)
2. Saʿd b. al-Rabiʿ (Hārith, Khazraj)—literate
3. ʿAbdallāh b. Rawāḥa (Hārith, Khazraj)—literate
4. Rāfiʿ b. Mālik (Zurayq, Khazraj)—literate
5. al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr (Salima, Khazraj)
6. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām (Salima, Khazraj)
7. ʿUbāda b. al-Šāmit (ʿAwf, Khazraj)—literate
8. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda (Sāʿida, Khazraj)—literate
9. al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr (Sāʿida, Khazraj)—literate
10. Usayd b. Ḥudayr (ʿAbd al-Ashhal, Aws)—literate
11. Saʿd b. Khaythama (Ghanm b. al-Salm, Aws)
12. Rifāʿa b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir (Umayya b. Zayd, Aws) or:
Abū l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān (a client of the ʿAbd al-Ashhal, Aws).¹⁰²

The twelve *nuqabāʾ*² included seven literate men, three of whom were of the so-called perfect ones. It can be argued that the literate Arabs who helped the Prophet Muḥammad obtain a foothold in Medina, where idol worship was still predominant, were members of a monotheistic élite educated by the Jews.

⁹⁸ *Mustadrak*, vol. 3, p. 354 (*baʿathahu ʿalā l-sadaqāt*).

⁹⁹ See, for example, al-Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿti Qalʿaji (Beirut, 1405/1985), vol. 3, p. 174. However, compare the report going back to ʿUbāda b. al-Šāmit in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ miṣr wa-akḥbārūhā*, ed. Torrey (New Haven, 1922), p. 272: *kunnā fi l-masjid nataqarraʿu . . . wa-nahnu ummiyyūna yaqraʿu baʿdunā ʿalā baʿd*.

¹⁰⁰ About the oral translation of the Torah at the time of Muḥammad (which continued a pre-Islamic practice), see Kister, "Haddithū ʿan banī isrāʾīla wa-lā ḥaraja," in *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 215–39 (reprinted, with additional notes, in idem, *Studies in Jāhiliyya and Early Islam* [London, 1980], no. 14) who at p. 238 quotes from Bukhārī ([Cairo, n.d.], vol. 6,

p. 25) that "the Jews [literally: the People of the Book] used to read the Torah in Hebrew and interpret it to the people of Islam in Arabic" (*kāna ahlu l-kitāb yaqraʿūna l-tarwāt bi-l-ʿibrāniyya wa-yufassirūnahā bi-l-ʿarabiyya li-ahli l-Islām*). See also Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, vol. 2, pp. 257–58; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* (Bonn, 1833), p. 21.

¹⁰¹ Al-Zirkli, *Al-Aʿlām*, 2d ed. (Cairo, 1373/1954–1378/1959), vol. 1, p. 82 may be pushing the evidence a bit too far when he says about Ubayy b. Kaʿb: *kāna qabla l-Islām ḥabran min aḥbāri l-yahūd*.

¹⁰² Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saqqā, al-Abyārī, and Shalabi (Beirut, 1391/1971), vol. 2, pp. 86–87.

ABBREVIATIONS OF ARABIC TEXTS

- Aḥmad. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. *Musnad*. Cairo, 1313/1895. Reprint, Beirut, n.d.
- Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*. al-Balādhuri, Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. Jābir. *Futūḥ al-buldān*. Ed. M. de Goeje. Leiden, 1863–66.
- Dhahabī, *Nubalāʿ*. al-Dhahabī, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān. *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʿ*. Ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāwūṭ et al. Beirut, 1401/1981–1409/1988.
- Ḥamidullāh, *Wathāʿiq*. Ḥamidullāh, Muḥammad. *Majmūʿat al-wathāʿiq al-siyāsiyya*. 5th ed. Beirut, 1405/1985.
- Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*. Ibn Athīr, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad ʿIzz al-Dīn. *Al-Kāmil fī l-taʿrīkh*. Beirut, 1385/1965–1386/1966.
- Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*. Ibn al-Kathīr, Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar. *Al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya fī l-taʿrīkh*. Reprint. Beirut, 1974.
- Ibn Qudāma, *Istibṣār*. Ibn Qudāma, ʿAbdallāh al-Maqdisī Muwaffaq al-Dīn. *Al-Istibṣār fī nasab al-ṣaḥāba min al-anṣār*. Ed. ʿAlī Nuwayhid. Beirut, 1392/1972.
- Ibn Saʿd. Ibn Saʿd, Muḥammad. *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*. Beirut, 1380/1960–1388/1968.
- Ibn Shabba. Ibn Shabba, ʿUmar. *Taʿrīkh al-Madīna al-munawwara*. Ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt. Mecca, 1399/1979.
- Iṣāba*. Ibn Ḥajar, Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAsqalānī. *Al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*. Ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī. Cairo, 1392/1972.
- Istīʿāb*. Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, Yūsuf b. ʿAbdallāh al-Namarī. *Al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb*. Ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī. Cairo, n.d.
- Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ*. al-Maqrīzī, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Taqī al-Dīn. *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ bi-mā li-l-rasūl mina l-anbāʿ wa-l-amwāl wa-l-ḥafada wa-l-matāʿ*, vol. 1. Ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir. Cairo, 1941.
- Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*. al-Iṣfahānī, Abū Nuʿaym. *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*. Ed. Muḥammad Rāḍī b. Ḥājj ʿUthmān. Medina, 1408/1988.
- Maṣāḥif*. Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī. *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*. Ed. A. Jeffery. In idem, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qurʾān*. Leiden, 1937.
- Masʿūdī, *Tanbih*. al-Masʿūdī, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn. *Al-Tanbih wa-l-ishrāf*. Ed. M. de Goeje. Leiden, 1894.
- Miṣbāḥ muḍīʿ*. al-Anṣārī, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥudayda. *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-muḍīʿ fī kuttāb al-nabī*. Ed. Muḥammad ʿAzīm al-Dīn. Beirut, 1405/1985.
- Mizzī. al-Mizzī, Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf. *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī asmāʿ al-rijāl*. Ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf. Beirut, 1405/1985–1413/1992.
- Muntazam*. Ibn al-Jawzī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī. *Al-Muntazam fī taʿrīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*. Ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā and Muṣṭafa ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā. Beirut, 1412/1992.
- Mustadrak*. al-Naysābūrī, Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥākim. *Al-Mustadrak ʿalā l-ṣaḥīḥayni fī l-ḥadīth*. Reprint. Riyad, 1968.
- Samhūdī. al-Samhūdī, ʿAlī b. Aḥmad. *Wafāʾ al-wafā bi-akḥbār dār al-muṣṭafā*. Ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamid. Cairo, 1374/1955. Reprint. Beirut, 1401/1981.
- Ṭabarānī, *Kabir*. al-Ṭabarānī, Abū l-Qāsim Sulaymān b. Aḥmad. *Al-Muʿjam al-Kabir*. 2d ed. Ed. Ḥamdī ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Salafī. Cairo 1400/1980–1405/1985.
- Ṭabarī. al-Ṭabarī. *Taʿrīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*. Ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm. Cairo, 1380/1960–1387/1967.

Tahdhib. al-ʿAsqalānī, Ibn Ḥajar. *Tahdhib al-tahdhib*. Hyderabad, 1325/1907.

Tarātib idāriyya. al-Kattānī, ʿAbd al-Ḥayy. *Nizām al-ḥukūma al-nabawiyya al-musammā al-tarātib al-idāriyya*. Rabat, 1346. Reprint. Beirut, n.d.

TMD. Ibn ʿAsākir. *Taʾriḫ Madīnat Dimashq*.

TMD (Dār al-Fikr). Ibn ʿAsākir. *Taʾriḫ madīnat Dimashq*. Ed. ʿUmar b. Gharāma al-ʿAmrawī. Beirut, 1415/1995.

TMD, Mukht. Ibn Manzūr, *Mukhtaṣar taʾriḫ Dimashq li-Ibn ʿAsākir*. Ed. Rūḥiyya al-Naḥḥās et al. Damascus, 1404/1984–1409/1989.

Two Muqaddimas. Jeffery, A. *Two Muqaddimas to the Qurʾanic Sciences*. 2d ed. Cairo, 1972.

Usd al-ghāba. Ibn al-Athīr, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, ʿIzz al-Dīn. *Usd al-ghāba fī maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*. Cairo, 1280/1863.

Wāqidi. al-Wāqidi, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar. *Kitāb al-maghāzī*. Ed. M. Jones. London, 1966.

IV

'AMR IBN ḤAZM AL-ANṢĀRĪ AND QUR'ĀN 2,256: "NO COMPULSION IS THERE IN RELIGION"*

1. 'Amr's grandson is reviled by an aristocratic lady

The story begins with a marital dispute looked into by the *qāḍī* of Medina sometime in the late eighties or early nineties of the first Islamic century. Both husband and wife belonged to aristocratic families of the Quraysh tribe: they were the grandson of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, Zayd b. 'Umar¹ b. 'Uthmān and the granddaughter of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Sukayna bint al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (d. 117/735).²

The details of the marital dispute, though not uninteresting, are irrelevant to us here because we are mainly concerned with the judge. The clue which must be followed in order to discover 'Amr b. Ḥazm's association with the Jews is a remark made by Sukayna during the court session. The session took place when 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was the governor of Medina, that is sometime between 86/705 (or 87/706) and 93/712.³ Asked by Sukayna to intervene in the dispute, the governor delegated the matter to the judge, Ibn Ḥazm. At a certain stage during the session (which is artfully and humorously described in the source quoted here), the temperamental Sukayna, following some invective between herself and the judge, said:

By God, had the people of the Ḥarra [=presumably the Umayyad troops who fought the Medinans at the Battle of the Harra, 63/683] been alive, they would have stopped this Jewish slave when he reviled me.⁴ You enemy of God! You revile me, while your

* I wish to thank Prof. Yohanan Friedmann for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper. He is now working on a study entitled *Religious Tolerance and Religious Coercion in the Islamic Tradition* (forthcoming).

¹ Not 'Amr, as correctly observed by J.C. Vadet, "Une personnalité féminine du Ḥiḡāz au I^{er}/VII^e siècle: Sukayna, petite-fille de 'Alī", *Arabica* 4 (1957), 261–87, at 271, n. 4 = Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallāh al-Zubayrī, *Kitāb nasab Quraysh*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1953, 120. See another dispute over this *wāw 'Amr* in *op. cit.*, 110:9.

² *EI¹*, s.v. Sukayna (H. Massé): Vadet, "Une personnalité féminine". See an entry on her in Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq (Tarājim al-nisā')*, ed. Sukayna al-Shihābī, Damascus n.d., 155–71.

³ Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāstī, *al-'Iqd al-thamīn fī ta'rikh al-balad al-amīn*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, Cairo 1378/1958–1388/1969, VI, 332.

⁴ It should be remarked that the judge's father was killed at the Battle of the Harra; see n. 12 below.

grandfather⁵ went into exile with the Jews [i.e., the Nadīr], keeping tenaciously to their religion, when the Messenger of God expelled them to Jericho! You son of Fortuna!⁶

Fartanā (=Fortuna) is “a slave-girl and a whore”.⁷ While the judge’s mother was definitely not a slave-girl,⁸ Sukayna may have been referring to another ancestress of his.⁹

It will be argued here that Sukayna’s remark about Ibn Ḥazm must have been based on some fact, or it would have been futile to make. The Jews in question are the Nadīr who were expelled by the Prophet in A.H. 4. It is true that other Jewish tribes were also expelled from Medina at the time of the Prophet, but only the Nadīr are said in Islamic tradition to have been joined by certain Arabs (on whom see below). The mention of Jericho also supports the assertion that the Nadīr are meant here since when they were expelled by the Prophet, part of the tribe went to Jericho.¹⁰

This evidence is important not only because it is historical, but also because it is rare. It is the only name known so far of an Arab who went into exile with the Jewish Nadīr. In other words, we knew that there were Arabs who chose to join them, but we did not have a specific name.

The following are some biographical details on the judge’s family which are

⁵ *Wa-abūka*, see below.

⁶ Abū l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Būlāq A.H. 1285, XIV, 171:19 [=Dār al-Kutub ed., XVI, ed., Mustafā al-Saqqā, Cairo 1381/1961, 156:13] (<Zuhr): *amā wa-llāhi law kāna aṣḥābī fī l-Ḥira* [read, as in the Dār al-Kutub edition: *aṣḥābu l-Ḥarra*] *ahyā’a, la-kaffū wa-llāhi l-’abda l-yahūdiyya* [Dār al-Kutub: *la-qatalū hādhā l-’abda l-yahūdiyya*] *’inda shatmihi iyyāha. ’Aduwwa llāhi, tashtumuni wa-abūka l-khārijū ma’a yahūda ḡanānatan* [Dār al-Kutub: *ṣabābatan*] *bi-dnihim lammā akhrajahum rasūlu llāhi (s) ūā Arthā’, yā bna Fartanā*. Cf. Vadet, “Une personnalité féminine”, 276; H. Lammens, *L’arabie occidentale. avant l’Hégire*, Beyrouth 1928, 66. *Ab* in this case means “grandfather”, not “father”; cf. E.W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London 1863–93, s.v., 11c (“A grandfather, or any ancestor”). See more on this below. Cf. al-Madā’inī, *Kitāb al-murdiḡāt min Quraysh*, in *Nawādir al-makhtūṡāt*², ed. ’Abd al-Salām Ḥārūn, Cairo 1392/1972, I, 66; Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut 1380/1960–1388/1968, VIII, 475; Muḡammad b. Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-muḡabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, 438; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma’ārif*, ed. Tharwat ’Ukāsha, Cairo 1969, 214. (Vadet, “Une personnalité féminine”, 264, and *passim*, wrongly vocalises *murdaḡāt*.)

⁷ Cf. Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-’arab*, s.v. *f.r.t.n.*: *al-ama wa-l-zāniya*. *Ibn al-fartanā* (*sic*, with an article) is *ibnu l-amati l-baḡhiyyi, wa-l-’arab tusammi l-ama Fartanā*. Cf. Muḡammad b. ’Umar al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maḡhāzi*, ed. Marsden Jones, London 1966, II, 860:1 (where two singing-girls are mentioned, one named Fartanā and the other Arnab); 825:11; Ibn Ḥajar al-’Asqalānī, *al-Isāba fī tamyiz al-ṣahāba*, ed. ’Alī Muḡammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1392/1972, VIII, 82.

⁸ Cf. Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, V, 69.

⁹ Cf. ’Alī b. Aḡmad al-Wāḡidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, Cairo 1387/1968, 223–24 (on Qur’ān 49,11): someone referred to the Companion Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās as *Thābit b. fulāna, fulāna* being a “mother” (i.e., an ancestress) with regard to whom he was reviled in the Jāhiliyya (*wa-dhakara umman kānat lahu yu’ayyaru bihā fī l-jāhiliyya*).

¹⁰ M.J. and Menahem Kister, “On the Jews of Arabia—some notes”, *Tarbiḡ* 48 (1979), 235, n. 19 (in Hebrew); al-Suyūṡī, *al-Durr al-manḡūr fī l-taḡsir bi-l-ma’ṡhūr*, Cairo A.H. 1314, VI, 191:24.

pertinent here. Judge Ibn Ḥazm was not the son, but the great-grandson, of a man called Ḥazm. His full lineage was: Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm (d. ca. 120/738).¹¹ Sukayna's words *wa-abūka l-khārijū ma'a yahūda*, etc. could not have been a reference to Ibn Ḥazm's father, Muḥammad, because he was born in A.H. 10, some six years after the expulsion of the Naḍir.¹² Sukayna must have been referring to the judge's grandfather, 'Amr b. Ḥazm.

In the entries on 'Amr we look in vain for the significant biographical detail mentioned by the angry Sukayna;¹³ sensitive details of this kind were often censored.

The data concerning 'Amr's age when the Naḍir were expelled from Medina (A.H. 4) are important for us here. It is reported that in A.H. 10, when 'Amr was only seventeen, the Prophet appointed him as the governor of Najrān.¹⁴ We can thus calculate that when the Prophet came to Medina, 'Amr was seven years old and when the Naḍir were expelled, he was eleven. This conforms with the report discussed below on Arab children who were raised as Jews by the Naḍir.

Closely related to 'Amr's age is the question of the first battle fought by him, about which only unreliable statements are to be found. Some sources reported that he fought at the Battle of the Ditch (A.H. 5).¹⁵ Both 'Amr b. Ḥazm (b. Zayd b. Lawdhān) and his close relation, Zayd b. Thābit (b. al-Dahhāk b. Zayd b. Lawdhān—'Amr and Zayd's father, Thābit, were first cousins¹⁶) are includ-

¹¹ See on him al-Mizzī, *Tahdhib al-kamāl fī asmā' al-rijāl*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, Beirut 1405/1985–1413/1992, XXXIII, 137–43.

¹² And died fighting the Umayyads at the Battle of the Harra; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*, V, 69–70. At that battle, he was reportedly in command of the Khazraj; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, Facsimile edition in 19 vols, 'Ammān n.d. (=TMD MS), XV, 811:4. On his fighting see also 813:2 from below – 814. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm was one of the five Muḥammads who participated in the murder of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān some three decades before the Battle of the Harra; see Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Māliqī, *al-Tamhīd wa-l-bayān fī maqālat al-shahīd 'Uthmān*, ed. Maḥmūd Yūsuf Zāyid, al-Dawḥa 1405/1985, 232–33. Cf. the complaint of the besieged 'Uthmān, directed at Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm: *innā nurmā min qibalika bi-l-layl*, "stones are being thrown at us during the night from your direction". Muḥammad's answer was that it was God who threw them, to which 'Uthmān later reacted: "He lied. Had God thrown [stones] at me, he would not have missed me"; TMD MS, XV, 813:15. We know from elsewhere that the courts of 'Amr b. Ḥazm and 'Uthmān were adjacent: 'Uthmān's murderers infiltrated his court by climbing the wall separating the two courts from each other; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh Madīnat Dimashq*: 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, ed. Sukayna al-Shihābī, Damascus 1404/1984, 413:22. On 'Uthmān's stoning see also *op. cit.*, 439:14, 370–71.

¹³ See, for example, TMD MS, XIII, 421–28; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhib al-kamāl*, XXI, 585–87.

¹⁴ Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī, *al-Istibṣār fī nasab al-ṣahāba min al-anṣār*, ed. 'Alī Nuwayhid, Beirut 1392/1972, 74 ('Amr died in the early fifties). For an assertion that he died at the time of 'Umar b. al-Khattāb, see Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣāba*, IV, 621. 'Amr's Shi'ite sympathies are alluded to in 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣan'ānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Rahmān al-A'zamī, Beirut 1390/1970–1392/1972, XI, 240.

¹⁵ See, for example, Ibn Qudāma, *Istibṣār*, 74.

¹⁶ See W. Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab: Das genealogische Werk des Hiṣām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, Leiden 1966, I, 186; II, 603 (Zayd), 176 ('Amr). In a forthcoming article I investigate 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd's claim that before his conversion to Islam, Zayd was Jewish.

ed in the list of boys aged fifteen who were sent back by the Prophet from the battlefield of Uḥud (A.H. 3). Later on at the Battle of the Ditch, their participation was reportedly confirmed.¹⁷ With regard to Zayd, there was a dispute as to whether his first battle was at Uḥud or the Ditch.¹⁸ Since Zayd was four years older than 'Amr, both claims are more or less plausible, because when the Prophet came to Medina, Zayd was eleven. At the time of the Battle of Uḥud he was fourteen, and of the Ditch, sixteen. 'Amr, on the other hand, was only seven when the Prophet came to Medina. During the former battle he was ten, and at the time of the latter, twelve, and probably far away from Medina with the expelled Naḍir. Precisely where he then was is not clear. Perhaps he went with the Naḍir only as far as Khaybar, where some of them settled. At the beginning of 7 A.H., Khaybar was conquered by the Muslims, and this could have been the time of 'Amr's return to Medina.¹⁹

In any case, after 'Amr had come back to Medina, the Prophet enlisted him in his new administration and sent him to Najrān. The letter with which the Prophet equipped him is often quoted in Islamic literature.²⁰ It is of interest to us here because its preservation probably links our judge, Ibn Ḥazm=Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm, with his grandfather, 'Amr b. Ḥazm. Some nine decades after the Prophet's era this letter was given new relevance in Islamic society in the context of the major Umayyad attempt to record the Prophet's *sunna*. After he ascended the throne, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz sent a messenger to Medina whose task it was to copy one of the Prophet's documents, and another belonging to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, both relating to [rates of] taxation (*ṣadaqāt*). The latter document was kept by the descendants of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and the former, by those of 'Amr b. Ḥazm,²¹ i.e., probably by our Ibn Ḥazm.

Ibn Ḥazm had long been associated with 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. As we have seen, when 'Umar was the governor of Medina, some ten years before he became

¹⁷ Ibn Hishām, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saaqā, al-Abyārt and Shalabi, Beirut 1391/1971, II, 70.

¹⁸ See, for example, Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣāba*, II, 593.

¹⁹ To be sure, in A.H. 9 he was already in Medina: he took part in the Tabūk expedition in that year; Wāqidi, III, 1010:15. At that time he was roughly sixteen.

²⁰ See e.g. Muḥammad Ḥamidullāh, *Majmū'at al-wathā'iq al-siyāsiyya li-l-'ahd al-nabawi wa-l-khilāfa al-rāshida*⁵, Beirut 1405/1985, 206–11.

²¹ Ibn Zanjawayh, *Kitāb al-amwāl*, ed. Shākīr Dhīb Fayyād, Riyād 1406/1986, II, 800 (*lammā stukhlifa 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz arsala ilā l-Madīna yaltamisu kitāba rasūli llāh [s] fī l-ṣadaqāt wa-kitāb 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Fa-wajada 'inda āl 'Amr b. Ḥazm kitāb rasūli llāh [s] ilā 'Amr b. Ḥazm fī l-ṣadaqāt wa-wajada 'inda āl 'Umar kitāb 'Umar fī l-ṣadaqāt mithla kitāb rasūli llāh [s], qāla: fa-nusikhā lahu*). This is an important testimony concerning the preservation of documents from the time of the Prophet, on which subject see my forthcoming article "On the preservation of the letters of the Prophet Muhammad", in L.I. Conrad (ed.), *History and Historiography in Early Islamic Times: Studies and Perspectives*, Princeton: Darwin Press.

caliph, Ibn Ḥazm was the judge there.²² After 'Umar ascended the throne, he appointed Ibn Ḥazm governor of Medina. It is not surprising that as governor Ibn Ḥazm played a role in the recording of the Prophet's *sunna*. We have Mālik b. Anas' testimony concerning 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's instructions to his governor in Medina to record "knowledge" for him from two prominent local informants (... *wa-kataba ilayhi 'Umar an yaktuba lahu l-'ilm min 'indi 'Amra bint 'Abdi l-Rahmān wa-l-Qāsim b. Muḥammad*). 'Abdallāh b. Wahb, who reports all this, asked Mālik whether *al-'ilm* refers to *al-sunan*. Mālik confirmed this to him, adding that he asked Ibn Ḥazm's son, 'Abdallāh, about "these books" (i.e., the collections of *hadiths* recorded by Ibn Ḥazm) and was told that they had been lost.²³ From another source we know of a specific question the caliph addressed to his governor, who in turn asked the same question the above-mentioned 'Amra bint 'Abd al-Rahmān. The query concerned the legal status of al-Katiba, which was one of the Khaybar fortresses.²⁴

It may perhaps be added here that the legal status of al-Katiba was not merely an academic question for the pious caliph: he actually appointed an official to be in charge of al-Katiba whose role it was to distribute agricultural produce to the inheritors of those who had received such allocations from the Prophet, according to a list where their names were recorded.²⁵

2. Qur'an exegesis on Arab boys who went into exile with the Naḍir

'Amr's connection to the Jews belongs of course to the wider issue of Arabs in pre-Islamic Medina who were Jewish converts. Much of the evidence on this matter is found in Qur'an exegesis. A commentary on Qur'an 3,272, "Thou are not responsible for guiding them; but God guides whomsoever He will ...",²⁶

²² See also Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā, al-qism al-mutammim li-tābi'i ahl al-Madīna wa-man ba'dahum*, ed. Ziyād Muḥammad Maṣṣūr, Medina 1408/1987, 125.

²³ Al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, XXXIII, 140. Cf. M. Lecker, "Biographical notes on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī", in *JSS* 41 (1996), 21–63, at 39, n. 73.

²⁴ Wāqidi, II, 692: *wa-haddathani ... 'an Abi Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm* (printed wrongly: Hizām), *qāla: kataba ilayya 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz fī khilāfatihī ani fhaṣ li 'ani l-Katiba ... fa-sa'altu 'Amra bint 'Abd al-Rahmān fa-qālat ... fa-katabtu ilā 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz bi-dhālika*, etc.

²⁵ Al-Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. 'Abdallāh Anīs al-Ṭabbā' and 'Umar Anīs al-Ṭabbā', Beirut, 1407/1987, 40: ... *wallāni 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz l-Katiba* (printed wrongly: al-Latiba, but the de Goeje edition, Leiden 1866, 28:10, has correctly, al-Katiba) *fa-kunnā nu'ti warathata l-mu'amlina, wa-kānū muḥṣayna* (sic) *'indanā*. Ph. Kh. Hitti, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, I, New York 1916, 49 (where al-Karībah is printed wrongly instead of al-Katiba) renders: "... and we used to give the heirs of the recipients of the Prophet's bestowals their due, those heirs being numbered and recorded by us". See also O. Rescher, *El-Belāḡori's "kitāb futūḥ el-buldān"*, Leipzig 1917, 25: "... wir gaben den Erben der Leute, denen (ehedem) der Prophet Zuweisung an Naturalien gemacht hatte, ihre bestimmten Rationen; ihre Namen waren aber alle bei uns in eine Liste eingetragen".

²⁶ The translation of this passage and of the other passages from the Qur'an quoted below is from A. J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, London 1964.

mentions “people of the Anṣār who had family relations with the Qurayza and the Nadīr. They strongly guarded themselves from giving them alms, wishing them to embrace Islam”.²⁷ A commentary on Qur’ān 4,144, “O believers, take not the unbelievers as friends instead of the believers ...”, says:

The reason for this prohibition is that the Anṣār in Medina were linked to the Nadīr and the Qurayza by alliance, friendship and foster-brotherhood. And [when these relations were severed, following the revelation of this Qur’ānic verse] they said: “Messenger of God, whom shall we take as friends?” He said: “The Muhājirūn”.²⁸

There is a reference to marriage links and foster-brotherhood between Jews and Muslims (i.e., Muslims who were former Jews) in a commentary on Qur’ān 2,44: “Will you bid others to piety, and forget yourselves while you recite the Book? Do you not understand?”²⁹ The asserted association between a Qur’ānic verse and its commentary is clearly far from being certain, but the state of affairs reflected in the commentary, namely, one of marriage and fosterage links between Jews and Arabs (i.e., Arabs who converted to Judaism) is, I submit, historical.

The commentaries on Qur’ān 2,256, “No compulsion is there in religion ...”,³⁰ are far more informative than those mentioned above and include the most important evidence known to me on Arabs who went with the Jews into exile. I would argue that these commentaries provide the context of Sukayna’s remark on the judge’s grandfather.

The following is a typical interpretation of the verse which, significantly, speaks about “sons of the Anṣār”. It will be remembered that when the Nadīr were expelled, ‘Amr b. Hazm was eleven years old:

A woman [i.e., of the Anṣār] whose offspring did not survive, would vow that if a son of hers remained alive, she would have him converted to Judaism. And when the Banū l-Nadīr were expelled, there were among them sons of the Anṣār. And they [the

²⁷ Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 357:24 (*kāna unās mina l-Anṣār lahum ansāb wa-qarāba min Qurayza wa-l-Nadīr, wa-kānū yattaqūna an yataṣaddaqū ‘alayhim wa-yurtdūnahum an yuslimū*).

²⁸ ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Khāzin, *Lubāb al-ta’wīl fī ma’ānt al-tanzīl*, Cairo A.H. 1381, I, 511:4 (*wa-l-sabab fī hādihā l-nahy anna l-Anṣār bi-l-Madīna kāna lahum min yahūd Bant l-Nadīr wa-Qurayza ḥilf wa-mawadda wa-riḍā’, fa-qālū: yā rasūla llāhi, man natawallā? Fa-qāla: l-muhājirīna*).

²⁹ Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 64:25 (*nazalat hādhihi l-āya fī yahūd ahli l-Madīna. Kāna l-rajul minhum yaqūlu li-ṣihrihi wa-li-dhawī qarābatihī wa-li-man baynahu wa-baynahum riḍā’ mina l-muslimīna: ihbut ‘alā l-dīni lladhi anta ‘alayhi wa-mā ya’muruka bihi hādihā l-rajul, ya’nūna Muḥammadan [s], fa-inna amrahu ḥaqq. Wa-kānū ya’murūna l-nāsa bi-dhālika wa-lā yaf’alūnahū*). At the interim stage reflected in this commentary the Jews were still in Medina, while the Arabs who had with them marriage and fosterage links were gradually embracing Islam.

³⁰ Cf. on this verse R. Paret, “Sure 2, 256: lā ikrāha fī d-dīni. Toleranz oder Resignation?”, *Der Islam* 45 (1969), 299–300. (The Qur’ān verse, he argued, is not a sign of tolerance but of resignation. Since the pagan Arabs were forced to embrace Islam, the verse is not a prohibition, but a statement that it is impossible to force one to come to the true belief.) See also *idem*, “Toleranz und Intoleranz im Islam”, in *Saeculum* 21 (1970), 344–65, at 346–47.

Anṣār] said: "We shall not leave our sons" [i.e., we shall not let them go into exile] (*kānati l-mar'a takūnu miqlātan fa-taj'alu 'alā nafsihā in 'āsha lahā walad an tuhaw-widahu. Fa-lammā ujlīyat Banū l-Naḍīr kāna fihim min abnā'i l-anṣār. Fa-qālū: lā nada'u abnā'anā. Fa-anzala llāhu ...*).³¹

A *miqlāt* is either "a woman of whom no child lives" or "a woman who brings forth one child, and does not bring forth any after that".³² In the commentary just quoted, the former, "a woman of whom no child lives", seems preferable.

As if he were addressing himself to the case of 'Amr b. Ḥazm, one commentator remarks:

The separation (*faṣl*) between them [i.e., between those who chose to remain Jewish and those who decided to embrace Islam] was the expulsion of the Banū l-Naḍīr by the Messenger of God. Those of them who were Jewish and did not convert to Islam went along with them, and those who became Muslim remained.³³

In one version of this commentary it is specified that the Naḍīr were expelled to Khaybar; those (of the Arabs) who chose Islam stayed, and those who refused went on to Khaybar. Other commentaries speak of foster-brotherhoods; fosterage was probably the social institute that facilitated the absorption of Arab children by Jewish clans.

One commentator, Mujāhid, mentions at this point the Aws instead of the Anṣār in general.³⁴ Now the phenomenon may well have been more widespread

³¹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān fi tafṣīr al-qur'ān*, Būlāq A.H. 1321-1330, III, 10:7 (... < Ibn 'Abbās). Cf. on this practice H.Z. Hirschberg, *Yisra'el be-'arav*, Tel-Aviv 1946, 168 (Hebrew).

³² See Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v.

³³ Quoted in Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, III, 10:18.

³⁴ Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, III, 11. Also Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 329:23 (Mujāhid): *kānati l-Naḍīr arḍa'at rijālan mina l-Aws. Fa-lammā amara l-nabī (s) bi-ijlā'ihim qāla abnā'uhum mina l-Aws: la-nadhhabanna ma'ahum wa-la-nadhnanna dīnahim. Fa-mana'ahum ahlūhum wa-akrahūhum 'alā l-islām. Fa-fihim nazalat hādhihi l-āya. A commentary of the above-mentioned verse, by Muslim b. Khālid al-Zanjī (d. 179/795; F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden 1967f, I, 38), does not seem to take into consideration the possibility of the foster-children following their foster-parents: *kāna nās min Qurayza wa-l-Naḍīr qad arḍa'ū, qāla, li-unās mina l-muslimīna, qāla, fa-lammā umira bi-ijlā'ihim [=the Naḍīr; the Qurayza were not expelled] bakā ulā'ika l-ṣibyān mina l-muslimīna 'alā ābā'ihim wa-ummahātihimi lladhnā arḍa'uhum, fa-ja'ala ābā'uhum mina l-muslimīna yadribūnahum, qāla, fa-nazala "lā ikrāha fi l-dīn"; see al-Juz' fihī tafṣīr al-qur'ān li-Yahyā b. Yamān (etc.), ed. Hikmat Bashīr Yāsīn, Medina 1408/1988, 71.**

Al-Sha'bi speaks in the same context of *groups* of the Anṣār who were living among the Jews when Islam came (*fa-adraka ṭawā'ifa mina l-anṣāri l-islāmu wa-hum fi l-yahūd*); Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Kitāb al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh fi l-qur'ān al-'azīz*, ed. Muḥammad b. Šāliḥ al-Mudayfir, Riyāḍ 1411/1990, 281. Elsewhere al-Sha'bi (as quoted, for example, in Suyūṭī, *Durr*, I, 329:17), does not refer specifically to their living among the Jews: ... *fa-jā'a l-islām wa-ṭawā'if min abnā'i l-anṣār 'alā dīnihim* Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Sunan*, ed. Aḥmad Sa'd 'Alī, Cairo 1371/1952, II, 53-54 (... < Sa'id b. Jubayr < Ibn 'Abbās) has: ... *fa-lammā ujlīyat Banū l-Naḍīr kāna fihim min abnā'i l-Anṣār. fa-qālū: lā nada'u abnā'anā, fa-anzala llāhu ...*; also Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *Aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*, ed. Subḥī al-Šāliḥ, Beirut 1401/1981, I, 70, quoting Abū Dāwūd. But one word added in another source, again quoting Abū Dāwūd, appears to render the text slightly smoother: *fa-lammā ... kāna fihim kathīr min abnā'i l-Anṣār*; Muḥammad Šiddīq Ḥasan

among the Aws than it was among the Khazraj, because the former were both geographically and politically closer to the main Jewish tribes than the latter.³⁵ But there were certainly also Arab foster-children who belonged to the Khazraj. Apart from 'Amr b. Ḥazm himself, mention should also be made of 'Abdallāh b. 'Atik of the Salima, a subdivision of the Khazraj.³⁶ We find a reference to his Jewish background in the chapter of the *stra* dedicated to the assassination of the Naḍīr leader Abū Rāfi' Sallām b. Abī l-Ḥuqayq, who was among those of his tribe who went to Khaybar. 'Abdallāh b. 'Atik was a member of the expedition force sent by the Prophet to Abū Rāfi', and it is reported in this context that his foster-mother was a Jewish woman living in Khaybar (*wa-qad kānat umm 'Abdillāh b. 'Atik yahūdiyyatan bi-Khaybar arḍa'athu*).³⁷

Abstract

'Amr ibn Ḥazm of the Najjār was a young boy when the Prophet Muḥammad came to Medina. From a remark made several decades later by an angry aristocratic woman it may be concluded that 'Amr was raised as a Jew by the Jewish Banū l-Naḍīr. When they were expelled from Medina, 'Amr, then a boy of eleven, went with them. He later returned to Medina and at seventeen became the Prophet's governor in Najrān.

Khān, *Husn al-uswa bi-mā thabata min allāh wa-rasūlihi fī al-niswa*, ed. Hudā Maḥmūd Qarā'a, Cairo 1401/1981, II, 414–15.

³⁵ See M. Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and Pagans: Studies on Early Islamic Medina*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995, *passim*. The story of the assassination of the Naḍīr leader Ka'b b. al-Ashraf includes further evidence of foster-brotherhood among the Aws. Two members of the expedition force sent to Ka'b were his foster-brothers; Wāqidi, I, 188:21: *fa-kāna Abū Nā'ila wa-Muḥammad b. Maslama akhawayhi mina l-riḍā'a*. Abū Nā'ila Silkān b. Salāma was of the Jewish clan Za'ūrā', which at some stage became part of the 'Abd al-Ashhal (a subdivision of the Nabit); see Lecker, "Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān and 'Ammār b. Yāsir, Jewish converts to Islam", in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 11 (1993), 149–62, at 158. Cf. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'ul al-nubuwwa*, ed. 'Abd al-Mu'tī Qal'aji, Beirut 1405/1985, III, 192 (Silkān is Abū Laylā, Ka'b is Abū Nā'ila). Muḥammad b. Maslama was of the Ḥāritha (another subdivision of the Nabit); Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Ḥārūn, Cairo 1382/1962, 341:15. According to others, Muḥammad was the son of Ka'b's sister; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Būlāq A.H. 1301, VII, 260:23. He might have been both Ka'b's foster-brother and his nephew, or there might have been some confusion concerning the precise nature of their relationship. The same source tells us that Abū Nā'ila was Ka'b's boon companion; *op. cit.*, VII, 261:2.

³⁶ Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 361:2.

³⁷ Wāqidi, I, 391:9. She was not his biological mother; cf. G.D. Newby, "The *strah* as a source for Arabian Jewish history: problems and metaphors", in *JSAI* 7 (1986), 121–38, at 132–35. The relevant passage is correctly translated by J.N. Mattock, "History and fiction", in *Occasional Papers of the School of Abbasid Studies*, 1 (1986), 80–97, at 90: "'Abd Allāh b. 'Atik's [foster-]mother, a Jewess, was at Khaybar". (Whether 'Abdallāh actually lived in Khaybar for some time, as Mattock [pp. 92, 93, 96] assumes, or his mother belonged to the expelled Naḍīr, or to their clients, is not clear.)

HUDHAYFA B. AL-YAMĀN AND 'AMMĀR B. YĀSIR,
JEWISH CONVERTS TO ISLAM*

1 Hudhayfa and 'Ammār are asked to return to Judaism

Qur'ān 2,109 says:

"Many of the People of the Book wish they might restore you as unbelievers, after you have believed, in the jealousy of their souls, after the truth has become clear to them; yet do you pardon and be forgiving, till God brings His command; truly God is powerful over everything" (trans. Arberry).

One commentary on this verse is both our starting point and the centrepiece of the present study. The commentary, which exists in more than one version, purports to describe the precise circumstances in which the verse was revealed. We begin with the version of this commentary adduced by al-Fakhr al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209).¹ This version is indeed rare: it is the only version of the commentary known to me which specifically mentions a *return* to Judaism:

Finhās b. 'Āzūrā', Zayd b. Qays and a group of Jews said to Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān² and 'Ammār b. Yāsir after the Battle of Uḥud: "Have you not seen what befell you? Had you had a true religion, you would not have been defeated. So *return to our religion* because it is better for you and more advantageous, since our divine guidance is superior to yours".

'Ammār said: "What is your opinion about the breaking of one's pledge"? They said: "[It is] a grave matter". He said: "I swore to God that I would not repudiate Muḥammad as long as I live". The Jews said: "As to this one, he departed [from one religion to another — i.e. from Judaism to Islam — M.L.]".

Hudhayfa said: "As to me, I am content with Allāh as god, with Islam as religion, with the Qur'ān as guide, with the Ka'ba as *qibla* and with the believers as brothers". Then

* I am indebted to Professor M.J. Kister for his comments on a draft of this study.

¹ On whom see *EI*², s.v. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (G.C. Anawati).

² "Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān" al-Azdī, said to have been the Prophet's governor in Dabā (Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, VII, p. 220, quoting al-Wāqidi's *Kitāb al-riḍḍa*; Ibn Sa'd, V, p. 527), is a corruption of Hudhayfa b. Miḥṣan; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Dabā, p. 435b (quoting Wāqidi).

they came to the Messenger of God and informed him [of what had happened]. He said: "You have achieved blessing and prosperity". Then this verse was revealed.³

There is no question of accepting this commentary (a typical *sabab nuzūl*) as straightforward historical evidence. It is doubtful that such proposal to return to Judaism took place and that these are the circumstances in which the verse was revealed. Yet the one detail which concerns us here is, I submit, historical, namely, the implied former faith of Ḥudhayfa and 'Ammār. The casual manner in which this detail appears in the commentary paradoxically enhances its reliability. One could of course argue that it was invented by people hostile to these two prominent Companions of the Prophet, Ḥudhayfa and 'Ammār. But this was probably not the case, because the report is not hostile to the two. To the contrary, its main aim is to praise their steadfastness in their newly adopted faith, particularly at the hard times of insecurity and danger which followed the Muslim defeat at the battlefield of Uḥud. In this typical *faḍā'il* report, which tells of a frustrated attempt to tempt them away from the Prophet, their former Jewish faith is at the background of the Jews' proposal. Considering their special circumstances, the option of returning to their former religion, thereby achieving the support and sympathy of the Jews of Medina, was appealing indeed. Yet they resisted the temptation.⁴

³ Rāzi, *Tafsir*, III, p. 236; Khāzin, *Tafsir*, I, p. 82: 8 (the text quoted below is from al-Rāzi; variants from al-Khāzin are adduced between square brackets): . . . *ruwiya anna Fihhāṣ b. 'Āzūrā wa-Zayd b. Qays wa-naḡaran mina l-yahūd qālū li-Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān wa-'Ammār b. Yāsir ba'da waq'ati Uḥud: a-lam taraw mā aṣābakum? wa-law kuntum 'alā l-ḡaqq mā huzimtum [harabtum], fa-'rji'ū [fa-'rji'ā] ilā dīninā fa-huwa khayr lakum wa-aḡḡalu wa-naḡnu ahdā minkum sabīlan. Fa-qāla 'Ammār: kayfa naqḡu l-'ahd fikum? Qālū: shadīd. Qāla: fa-inni qad 'āhadtu [add. llāha] anni lā akfuru bi-Muḡammad mā 'ishtu. Fa-qālati l-Yahūd: ammā hādhā fa-qad ṣaba'a. Wa-qāla Ḥudhayfa: wa-ammā anā fa-qad raḡitu bi-'llāhi rabban wa-bi-l-islām dīnan wa-bi-l-qur'ān imāman wa-bi-l-Ka'ba qiblatan wa-bi-l-mu'mīnīna ikhwānan. Thumma atayā rasūla llāhi (ṣ) wa-akhbarāhu. Fa-qāla: aṣabtumā khayran wa-aḡḡlumā. Fa-nazalat hādhīhi l-āya.*

⁴ Note that Ḥudhayfa and 'Ammār are linked with each other in other contexts as well: according to both Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidī, the Prophet formed a "brothering" (*mu'ākhāt*) between them; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar al'ām al-nubalā'*, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arnāwūṭ *et al.*, Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risala, 1981, II, p. 362. This took place in the framework of the *mu'ākhāt* between the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, p. 152. In the *mu'ākhāt*, concluded during the first year of the Islamic era, Ḥudhayfa figures as an Anṣārī. This is important in the context of the claim (see below) that he and his father emigrated from Mecca shortly before the Battle of Badr (2 A.H.). It can also be mentioned that the merits of both Ḥudhayfa and 'Ammār are listed in the same chapter of Bukhārī, *Ṣaḡīḡ*,

* * *

The early Qur'ān exegete Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767) has a very similar commentary. The degree of similarity is such, that both commentaries can be considered versions of one and the same report. Muqātil died four and half centuries before al-Rāzī, yet in relative terms his version is later: the crucial point of the *return* to Judaism is replaced by a lifeless (and hence presumably redacted) "call to convert to Judaism".⁵

Comparing what the two versions of the commentary say about the Jews' reaction to 'Ammār's strong declaration of loyalty to the Prophet, we find two passages, one short and another long. In al-Rāzī the Jews say: *ammā hādihā fa-qad ṣaba'a*. In Muqātil we find: *ammā 'Ammār fa-qad ḡalla wa-ṣaba'a 'ani l-hudā ba'da idh baṣṣarahu llāhu*, "As to 'Ammār, he strayed from the right way and departed [from one religion to another, i.e. from Judaism to Islam] after God had made him see [i.e. enlightened him concerning the true religion]". The "right way" to which the Jews refer in Muqātil's longer version is, of course, Judaism. In other words, while Muqātil's version has, instead of the *return*

Cairo 1378/1958, V, pp. 31-32: *Bāb manāqib 'Ammār wa-Ḥudhayfa raḡiya llāhu 'anhumā*.

⁵ Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, MS Saray, Ahmet III 74, fol. 19b: *wa-dhālika anna nafaran mina l-yahūd minhum Finḡaṣ wa-Zayd b. Qays, ba'da qitāl Uḡud, da'aw Ḥudhayfata wa-'Ammāran ilā dīnihim wa-qālū lahumā: innakumā lan tuṣībā khayran li-'lladhī aṣābakum yawma Uḡud mina l-balā. [Wa-]qālū lahum: dīnunā aḡḡalu min dīnikum wa-naḡnu aḡḡā minkum sabīlan. Qāla lahum 'Ammār: kayfa naḡḡu l-'aḡḡ ḡikum? Qālū: shadīd. Qāla 'Ammār: fa-innī 'āḡadtu rabbī an lā aḡḡura bi-Muḡammad abadan wa-lā atḡabi'a dīnan ḡhayra dīnihi. Fa-qālati l-Yahūd: ammā 'Ammār fa-qad ḡalla wa-ṣaba'a 'ani l-hudā ba'da idh [cf. Theodor Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik des classischen Arabisch*, ed. Anton Spitaler, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963, p. 165; the reference was given to me by Professor Simon Hopkins] *baṣṣarahu llāhu, fa-kayfa anta yā Ḥudhayfa, a-lā tubāyi'unā? Qāla Ḥudhayfa: allāḡ rabbī wa-Muḡammad nabīyyī wa-l-qur'ān imāmī, uḡī'u rabbī wa-aḡḡḡadī bi-rasūlī wa-a'malu bi-kitābi llāḡ rabbī ḡastā ya'tiyānī l-yaḡīn 'alā l-islām, wa-'llāhu l-salām wa-minḡu l-salām. Fa-qālū: wa-ilāḡhi Mūsā, la-qad ushribat qulūbukum ḡubba Muḡammad. Fa-qāla 'Ammār: rabbī aḡmaduhu wa-rabbī akrama Muḡammadan wa-minḡu sḡḡaḡḡa l-jalālata an yuḡmada Aḡmad ḡuwa Muḡammad [cf. Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, ed. Walid 'Arafat, London: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, 1971, I, p. 306, no. 1: *shaḡḡa laḡu min ismiḡi kay yuḡjillāḡu fa-dḡū l-'arḡhi Maḡmūdun wa-hādihā Muḡammadu*; the reference was given to me by Professor Uri Rubin]. *Thumma atayā l-nabī (ṣ) fa-akhbarāḡu. Fa-qāla: mā radadtumā 'alayḡimā[!]? Fa-qāla: qulnā llāḡu rabbunā wa-Muḡammad rasūlunā wa-l-qur'ān imāmunā, llāḡa nuḡī'u wa-bi-Muḡammad naḡḡḡadī wa-bi-kitābi llāḡhi na'malu. Fa-qāla l-nabī (ṣ): aṣabtumā akḡā l-khayr wa-aḡḡḡatumā.***

to Judaism, "a call to convert to Judaism", it contains a clearer statement concerning 'Ammār's former faith.

Finally, a similiar report, which is yet another version of the commentary discussed here, is found in the Qur'ān commentary of al-Qurṭubī where it is attached to Qur'ān 3,69: "There is a party of the People of the Book yearn to make you go astray; yet none they make to stray, except themselves, but they are not aware" (trans. Arberry). Unfortunately, only a fragment of this version survived. It is valuable nonetheless, because we find in it, in addition to Ḥudhayfa and 'Ammār, a third person: Mu'ādh b. Jabal. The Jews in question are identified as men of the Naḍīr, Qurayza and Qaynuqā'. This report does not speak of a *return* to Judaism, and in this sense it is closer to Muqātil's version than it is to al-Rāzī's.⁶ The juxtaposition of the above versions suggests that Mu'ādh, like the other two, had been Jewish before his conversion to Islam.⁷

These three prominent members of the nascent Islamic community, who were of humble origin, later held important positions in the administration of the early Islamic state.⁸

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It could be argued that, rather than being a piece of reliable historical evidence, the above-mentioned *return* to Judaism is merely a reflection of Qur'ān 2,109: "Many of the People of the Book wish they might *restore* you as unbelievers, after you have believed". But concerning Ḥudhayfa we have totally independent evidence showing that he was indeed Jewish (see below), while concerning 'Ammār we have the Jews' remark about his departure from one religion to another. Corroborative evidence relating to Mu'ādh is still missing.

6 Abū 'Abdallāh al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi' li-ahkām al-qur'ān*³, Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, 1387/1967 (reprint), IV, p. 110: *nazalat fi Mu'ādh b. Jabal wa-Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān wa-'Ammār b. Yāsir hīna da'āhumu l-yahūd min banī l-Naḍīr wa-Qurayza wa-banī Qaynuqā' ilā dīnihim*.

7 For Mu'ādh's governorship in the Yemen cf. M. Lecker, "Judaism among Kinda and the *ridda* of Kinda", in *JAOS* (forthcoming).

8 Ḥudhayfa and 'Ammār became important supporters of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; cf. Etan Kohlberg, "Some Imāmi Shī'i views on the *ṣahāba*", in *JSAI* 5 (1984), pp. 153-55 (reprinted in *idem*, *Belief and Law in Imāmi Shī'ism*, Aldershot: Variorum, 1991, no. IX); Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, trans. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, ed. S.M. Stern, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1966, II, p. 123. Ḥudhayfa's two sons Ṣafwān and Sa'id pledged 'Alī their allegiance, following the last will of their late father, and were killed at Ṣiffīn fighting on 'Alī's side; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, I, p. 335; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. Ch. Pellat, Beirut: al-Jāmi'a al-Lubnāniyya, 1966-74, III, p. 131 (the latter source was referred to by Goldziher).

The independent evidence concerning Ḥudhayfa is closely linked with his tribal affiliation and a fortress in Medina called 'Āṣim which was located in the territory of the 'Abd al-Ashhal (a subdivision of the Nabī, which was a sub-group of the Aws). The reports on the fortress, which at first sight seem to be conflicting, are from an important book on Medina most of which is still unavailable in a printed edition: Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415), *al-Maghānim al-muṭāba fī ma'ālim Ṭāba*.⁹ There are three different statements concerning the 'Āṣim fortress:

1. It was built by the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal and was situated on the hillock (*'alā l-faqāra*) near the houses of the Banū al-Najjār.
2. It belonged to a Jewish group (*ḥayy*) whose members were the clients of the 'Abd al-Ashhal (literally: "they were in the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal").
3. It belonged to the family (*raḥṭ*) of Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, the client of the 'Abd al-Ashhal.¹⁰

The first statement is the only one mentioning the location of the fortress: it was on the "vertebra", presumably a hillock,¹¹ near the territory of the Banū al-Najjār (in other words, it was at the edge of the 'Abd al-Ashhal territory). But we are more concerned here with the owners of the fortress. I submit that there is no conflict between the three statements. It may have been built by the 'Abd al-Ashhal, as we are told in the first statement, however, as the second and third statements indicate, its owners on the eve of Islam were not the 'Abd al-Ashhal themselves but their clients. The second statement uses the preposition *fī* to indicate their relationship with the 'Abd al-Ashhal: the Jewish *ḥayy*¹² was

⁹ Ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir, Riyāḍ: Dār al-Yamāma, 1389/1969.

¹⁰ *Maghānim*, s.v. 'Āṣim, p. 242: *uṣum bi-l-Madīna btanāhu Banū 'Abdi l-Ashhal, wa-kāna 'alā l-faqāra fī adnā buyūt Banī l-Najjār, wa-yuqālu: kāna li-ḥayy mina l-yahūd, wa-kānū fī Banī 'Abdi l-Ashhal, wa-yuqālu: bal kāna li-rahṭ Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān ḥalī fī Banī 'Abdi l-Ashhal*. Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, s.v. 'Āṣim, p. 1260 has the first statement only: *uṣum li-Banī 'Abdi l-Ashhal kāna 'alā l-faqāra fī adnā buyūt Banī l-Najjār*. Another fortress of the same name was located in Qubā'; see Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, I, p. 163; M. Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and Pagans: Studies on Early Islamic Medina* (forthcoming), Index, s.v. On the fortresses of the 'Abd al-Ashhal see also Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, I, pp. 190-91.

¹¹ Cf. a mountain called al-Faqār; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v.; for another called Dhū l-Faqāra or al-Faqāra see Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā sta'jama*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, Cairo, 1364/1945-1371/1951, I, p. 156: 5; III, p. 1026.

¹² For another Median Jewish group designated *ḥayy* see e.g. Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, I, p. 165: 4.

“in” the Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal. In other words, the members of the *ḥayy* were the clients of the ‘Abd al-Ashhal. Finally, according to the third statement, the owners of the fortress were the *raḥṭ* of Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, who was the client (*ḥalīf*) of the ‘Abd al-Ashhal.¹³ Obviously, all the members of the *raḥṭ*, not only Ḥudhayfa, were the clients of the ‘Abd al-Ashhal.

In sum, the ‘Āṣim fortress at the edge of the ‘Abd al-Ashhal territory did not belong to the ‘Abd al-Ashhal themselves, but to the members of a small Jewish clan who were the clients of the ‘Abd al-Ashhal; Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān was one of these clients. It follows that he was himself Jewish. This interpretation of the passage from *al-Maghānim al-mu‘āba fī ma‘ālim Ṭāba* conforms with the commentary quoted by al-Rāzī about the Jews’ call to Ḥudhayfa (and to ‘Ammār), after the Battle of Uḥud, to *return* to Judaism.¹⁴

The propitious meeting of evidence from Qur’ān exegesis on the one hand and a history of Medina on the other clearly demonstrates the advantage of combining evidence from different sources in the study of early Islam.

* * *

It is interesting that after the Conquests, Ḥudhayfa married a Jewish woman: in a discussion of the legitimacy of marriages with women of the People of the Book it is reported that Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān married a Jewish woman when he was already married to two Arab women (*tazawwaja yahūdiyya wa-‘indahū ‘arabiyyatāni*). Another, independent, report says that Ḥudhayfa’s marriage to the Jewish woman took place in Madā’in (*tazawwaja Ḥudhayfa yahūdiyyatan bi-l-Madā’in*).¹⁵

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While no detailed biography of Ḥudhayfa is intended in the present

- ¹³ In connection with Ḥudhayfa’s sister Fāṭima bint al-Yamān it is similarly reported that “they (i.e. her clan) were the clients (*ḥulafā*) of the Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal”; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, p. 325; Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, II, p. 328, s.v. Ḥudayfa b. Ḥusail.
- ¹⁴ At that battle a Muslim killed Ḥudhayfa’s father by mistake; see e.g. Wāqidī, I, p. 233; Mizzi, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, V, 500 (Zuhri, from ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr). Perhaps the Jews expected Ḥudhayfa to bear the Muslims grudges.
- ¹⁵ Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Kitāb al-nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh fī l-qur’ān al-‘aziz*, ed. Muḥammad b. Šāliḥ al-Mudayfir, Riyāḍ: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1411/1990, pp. 88, 90-91; cf. p. 100 (where there is a report, rejected by Abū ‘Ubayd, that Ḥudhayfa married a Zoroastrian woman). One of Ḥudhayfa’s Arab wives was of the Fazāra; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, p. 482. Ḥudhayfa’s knowledge of *Isrā’īliyyāt* should perhaps be linked with his former faith and with the above-mentioned marriage; see a question referred to him concerning the Banū Isrā’īl, in Abū Nu’aym, *Ḥilya*, I, pp. 278-79. Ḥudhayfa’s offspring lived in Madā’in, where Ḥudhayfa died in 36/656; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VI, p. 15.

study, two points are of interest for us, namely the settlement of an ancestor of his in Medina and the claim that Ḥudhayfa, together with his father, emigrated from Mecca to Medina.

The link between Ḥudhayfa's family and Medina was established five generations before his own time. It was an ancestor of his called Jirwa who first came there. We find him mentioned in the pedigree of Ḥudhayfa's father: Ḥusayl¹⁶ b. Jābir b. 'Amr b. Rab'ā b. Jirwa¹⁷ b. al-Ḥārith b. Quṭay'a¹⁸ b. 'Abs b. Baghīd b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān. Al-Yamān, "the Yemenite", was not Ḥudhayfa's father but his ancestor Jirwa: it is reported that he shed the blood of a fellow tribesman, fled to Medina and became a client of the 'Abd al-Ashhal. His fellow tribesmen called him "the Yemenite" because of his link with the Yemenites, i.e. the Aws who were of the Yemenite tribe Azd.¹⁹

Having stated that Ḥudhayfa's ancestor Jirwa/al-Yamān settled in Medina five generations before Ḥudhayfa's own time, we may conclude that

1. Ḥudhayfa's clan (referred to as *ḥayy mina l-yahūd* and *rahṭ*, respectively)

- 16 Or Ḥisī; see, for example, Mizzi, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, V, p. 499 (where 'Alī b. al-Madīnī's claim is quoted that Ḥudhayfa's father Ḥisī was nicknamed al-Yamān).
- 17 Thus vocalised in Mizzi, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, V, pp. 496, 497. Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, p. 440 (Jurwa, Jarwa); Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, I, p. 132 (Jurwa). In *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. *jr.w.*, p. 140b a clan (*baṭn mina l-'arab*) called Banū Jirwa is mentioned. The vocalisation Jarwa is also attested; see, for example, Dāraquṭnī, *Mu'talif*, I, p. 351. In Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, II, p. 74, where we find a different version concerning the above pedigree, "Farwa" is erroneously printed instead of Jirwa.
- 18 Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Ḥārūn, Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1382/1962, p. 250; Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, I, p. 132. Ḥudhayfa's father Ḥusayl was al-'Absī al-Quṭay'i; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, I, p. 351.
- 19 Ibn Qudāma, *Istibṣār*, p. 233: *Ḥusayl . . . wālid Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, wa-l-Yamān jadduhu Jirwa, summiya bi-dhālika li-annahū aṣāba daman fī qawmihi Banī 'Abs fa-haraba ilā l-Madīna* [it was still called Yathrib at that time] *fa-ḥālafā Banī 'Abdi l-Ashhal fa-sammāhu qawmuhu l-Yamān li-muḥālafatihi l-yamāniyya*. See also Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, 440. An alternative, and probably imaginary, interpretation of the nickname al-Yamān was proposed by al-Wāqidi: Ḥusayl was called al-Yamān because he used to go to the Yemen on trade journeys, and when he came (i.e. returned) to Medina, they would say: "the Yemenite arrived" (*qad jā'a l-Yamāni*); al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. 'Abdallāh Anīs al-Ṭabbā' and 'Umar Anīs al-Ṭabbā', Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Ma'ārif, 1407/1987, p. 430. Cf. similarly al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, ed. Ṭāhā 'Abd al-Rā'ūf Sa'd, Cairo: Maktabat al-Kulliyāt al-Azhariyya, 1391/1971, III, p. 176: *5* from below: *wa-kāna Jirwa qad ba'uda 'an ahlihi fī l-Yaman zamanan ṭawilan thumma raja'a ilayhim fa-sammawhu l-Yamāniyya*. Ḥudhayfa never ceased to be a member of the 'Abs: when he was on his deathbed in Madā'in, some of the 'Abs came to

may well have grown to a considerable size.

2. When Jirwa settled in Medina, the Jews were at the peak of their power.²⁰ Perhaps they made him convert to Judaism upon his arrival.

Considering the old link between this family and the 'Abd al-Ashhal, one is surprised to find a report implying that shortly before the Battle of Badr, Ḥudhayfa and his father lived in Mecca. It is an apologetic report going back to Ḥudhayfa himself, which accounts for the fact that he and his father did not participate in the Battle of Badr:

The only thing which prevented me from participating in the Battle of Badr was [this:] I set out [i.e. from Mecca] with my father Ḥusayl, and the unbelievers of Quraysh captured us and said: "You want [to join] Muḥammad". We said: "We do not want [to join] him, we only want [to go to] Medina". And they made us pledge by God that we would go [directly] to Medina and not fight with him [i.e. with the Prophet, against Quraysh]. And we came to the Messenger of God and reported the matter to him. He said: "Go [to Medina], we shall fulfill their pledge and seek help from God against them".²¹

We are further told that Ḥudhayfa emigrated to the Prophet (i.e. from Mecca to Medina) and that the Prophet gave him the choice between the status of a Muhājir and that of an Anṣārī. He chose the latter (*wa-hājara ilā l-nabī [ṣ] fa-khayyarahu bayna l-hijra wa-l-nuṣra fa-khtāra l-nuṣra*).²² In the source just quoted the report on the choice given to Ḥudhayfa is in the third person, while elsewhere we find it in the first person (*wa-kāna Ḥudhayfa yaqūlu: khayyanī rasūlu llāhi [ṣ] bayna l-hijra wa-l-nuṣra fa-khtartu l-nuṣra*).²³ This indicates that the statement originated with Ḥudhayfa himself. In actual fact, the statement about the choice given to him is but one element of a report making Ḥudhayfa and his father complete strangers in Medina:

Ḥudhayfa mingled for a while with the *ahl al-ṣuffa*, and hence he and his father, [who were both] of the Muhājirūn, were thought to have been of them [i.e. of the *ahl al-* visit him; Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya*, I, p. 282: 12.

²⁰ Cf. M.J. Kister, "Al-Ḥīra: some notes on its relations with Arabia", in *Arabica* 15 (1968), pp. 143-49.

²¹ Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī, Cairo 1374/1955. Cf. al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*², ed. Ḥamdī 'Abd al-Majīd al-Salafī, Cairo 1400/1980f, III, pp. 162, 164, 165.

²² Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba fī ma'rifat al-ṣaḥāba*, Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Wahbiyya, 1280 A.H., I, pp. 390-91.

²³ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, I, p. 335.

ṣuffa — M.L.] The Prophet gave him the choice between the status of a Muhājir and that of an Anṣārī. He chose the latter, became a client of the Anṣār and turned one of them [or rather one of their clients — M.L.]²⁴

Clearly, we have here a conflict concerning the history of this family. Either it lived in Medina for several generations, as Ibn al-Kalbī tells us, or Ḥudhayfa was, as he himself reports, a Muhājir. The choice is between an “external” claim and an “internal” one, or between a statement made by a genealogist and another, made by the interested party itself. Obviously, one is inclined to prefer the former claim; the family had a long history in Medina before the advent of Islam.

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The identity of the sub-group of the ‘Abd al-Ashhal with which this clan of the Banū ‘Abs was associated is of some interest. The identity of Ḥudhayfa’s mother gives us a clue: his mother, who was also the mother of his brothers Sa’d, Ṣafwān and Mudlij and of his sister Laylā, was al-Rabāb bint Ka’b b. ‘Adī b. Ka’b b. ‘Abd al-Ashhal.²⁵ Al-Rabāb’s pedigree shows that she belonged to a sub-group of the ‘Abd al-Ashhal called Banū Ka’b b. ‘Abd al-Ashhal.²⁶ Her closest relative known to us from the genealogical literature was al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Khalīfa b. Tha’laba b. ‘Adī b. Ka’b.²⁷ A comparison between the pedigrees of al-Rabāb and al-Ḍaḥḥāk shows that al-Ḍaḥḥāk’s father, Khalīfa, was al-Rabāb’s paternal cousin. Al-Rabāb, who was married to a Jew, must have been Jewish herself; it is not surprising that her relative al-Ḍaḥḥāk was accused of *nifāq* and love of the Jews.²⁸ He must have been a former Jew himself.

24 Abū Nu’aym, *Hilya*, I, p. 354: *khālaṭa ahla l-ṣuffa muddatan fa-nusiba ilayhim huwa wa-abūhu mina l-muhājirina. Fa-khayyarahu l-nabī (ṣ) bayna l-hijra wa-l-nuṣra fa-khtāra l-nuṣra wa-ḥālafa l-Anṣār fa-’udda fī jumlatihim*. Cf. the term ‘*adīd*’ in the sense of client: in the list of the Anṣār killed at the Battle of the Ḥarra we find a certain Ḥakīm who was ‘*adīd lahum min ahli l-Yaman*’; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Damascus: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa wa-l-Siyāḥa wa-l-Irshād al-Qawmī, 1968, I, 310.

25 Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VIII, p. 320 (where the latter Ka’b is missing; cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, VII, p. 639); Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII, p. 317 (where the pedigree is correct); Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, p. 417: 6. For an entry on Ṣafwān see, for example, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Istī’āb*, II, p. 726. I could not find an entry on Mudlij. There are entries on Ḥudhayfa’s sisters Khawla, Fāṭima and Laylā in, e.g. Ibn Qudāma, *Istibṣār*, pp. 235-36. (Khawla and Fāṭima may have been born by a woman other than al-Rabāb).

26 Ibn Qudāma, *Istibṣār*, pp. 225-27.

27 On whom see Ibn Qudāma, *Istibṣār*, p. 225.

28 Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, II, p. 172: *wa-lam yakun fī Banī ‘Abdi l-Ashhal munāfiq wa-lā*

There is yet another marriage link which is relevant for our discussion. Ḥudhayfa's sister Laylā was married to a man called Thābit b. Waqsh, whom she bore a son, 'Amr.²⁹ Now before his conversion to Islam, Thābit had been Jewish. This is shown by his tribal affiliation: he was of the Banū Za'ūrā',³⁰ a Jewish clan which at some stage was incorporated into the 'Abd al-Ashhal.³¹ It stands to reason that Laylā, who was married to a Jew, was herself Jewish.

The link between these two families is also reflected in the curious story about the death of Ḥudhayfa's father Ḥusayl in the Battle of Uḥud: before the battle, Ḥusayl and the above-mentioned Thābit b. Waqsh, who were both old men (*wa-humā shaykhāni kabīrāni*) were put in a fortress together with the women and children. They decided to join the warriors in the battlefield and were both killed: Ḥusayl, by the Muslims who mistook him for an enemy, and Thābit, by the pagans.³² The old Thābit was not only Ḥusayl's companion, but also his son-in-law. Another version mentions as Ḥusayl's partner Thābit's brother Rifā'a b. Waqsh.³³ In any case, both versions reflect the link between the two families.

2 Finḥāṣ b. 'Āzūrā' and the Jewish Banū Marthad

It remains to discuss in some detail the identity of one of the two Jews who reportedly suggested to Ḥudhayfa and 'Ammār that they return to Judaism. While Zayd b. Qays could not be identified, some evidence about Finḥāṣ b. 'Āzūrā' could be found. According to 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr (presumably the famous *qāṣṣ*³⁴), the one Jew who said that 'Uzayr was the son of God (cf. Qur'ān 9,30) was Finḥāṣ b. 'Āzūrā' (*innamā qāla hādhā l-qawla rajul wāḥid mina l-yahūd smuhu. .*).³⁵

munāfiqa yu'lamu, illā anna l-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Thābit [=b. Khali'fa] . . . qad kāna yuttahamu bi-l-nifāq wa-ḥubb yahūd.

29 Ibn Qudāma, *Istibṣār*, p. 236.

30 Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 608 ('Amr b. Thābit b. Wuqaysh/Uqaysh b. Zughba b. Za'ūrā' b. 'Abd al-Ashhal). Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 609 (. . . *kāna lahu riban fī l-jāhiliyya fa-kariha an yuslima ḥattā ya'khudhahu*).

31 Samhūdī, *Wafā'*, I, p. 164: 10 (Banū Za'ūrā appear in the list of the Jewish clans); Lecker, "Muḥammad at Medina", pp. 44-46.

32 Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, III, pp. 92-93.

33 Wāqidī, I, 233: 11.

34 On whom see Mizzi, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, XIX, pp. 223-25. Also Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ al-Qurṭubī, *Kitāb al-bida'*, ed. M. I. Fierro, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988, pp. 175-76 ('Ubayd and Ibn 'Abbās).

35 See Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XVI, p. 33: 14. Other commentaries mention a group of Jews who held

Elsewhere we find a commentary going back to 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr's son 'Abdallāh, in which Finḥāṣ (without "b. 'Āzūrā") is associated with the cynical utterance, "Surely God is poor, and we are rich" (Qur'ān 3,181)³⁶. Further identification of Finḥāṣ is made possible if we follow the clue of this commentary. Al-Balādhurī, in his *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, includes the following passage in the section dealing with the Jewish leaders ('uzamā' yahūd) who were of the Banū Naḍīr:

... Finḥāṣ, who heard the word of God "... and lend to God a good loan" (Qur'ān 73,20), and said: "I think we are richer than Muḥammad's god because³⁷ he asks us for a loan". And the following verse was revealed concerning him: "God has heard the saying of those who said, 'Surely God is poor, and we are rich'. We shall write down what they have said"...³⁸

The context in which this passage appears in al-Balādhurī's book suggests that Finḥāṣ was one of the Naḍīr. But this conflicts with the more trustworthy evidence which points to the Qaynuqā'.

We arrive at the association between Finḥāṣ b. 'Āzūrā' and the Qaynuqā' through al-Khāzin's commentary on Qur'ān 3,181. It tells of an encounter between Abū Bakr and two Jews, the learned Finḥāṣ b. 'Āzūrā' (*wa-kāna min 'ulamā'ihim*), and a *ḥabr* called Ashya³⁹, which took place when the Prophet sent Abū Bakr to *Yahūd Banī Qaynuqā'* ("the Jewish Banū Qaynuqā'") in order to deliver a letter demanding that they embrace Islam. This happened in *bayt madārisihim* (read: *bayt midrāsihim*). Following a sharp exchange between Abū Bakr and Finḥāṣ (who said, among other things, that "God is poor and we are rich"), the former slapped the latter, saying: "Had it not been for the treaty (*ahd*) between us and you, I would have cut off your head". Finḥāṣ complained

this view; cf. Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, "Ezra—'Uzayr: metamorphosis of a polemical motif", in *Tarbiz* 55 (1986), pp. 362, n. 9; 368 (in Hebrew); *idem*, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992, pp. 52, n. 7; 61, n. 33.

³⁶ Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, X, p. 78: 11 (*wa-qālati l-yahūdu 'Uzayru bnu llāhi, qāla: qālahā rajul wāhid qālū inna smahu Finḥāṣ wa-qālū: huwa lladhī qāla: inna llāha faqīr wa-naḥnu aghniyā*).

³⁷ *Ḥīna*, literally: "at the time of".

³⁸ *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, I, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamidullāh, Cairo 1959, p. 284: 4 from below (written: *la-qad kafara lladhīna qālū*, instead of: *la-qad sami'a llāhu qawla lladhīna qālū*).

³⁹ Printed erroneously: 's.b.y.'.

to the Prophet about this⁴⁰, denying that he had said what had been ascribed to him, but the above-mentioned Qur'ān verse was revealed, confirming Abū Bakr's testimony.⁴¹

Ibn Ishāq lists Finḥāṣ (=Finḥāṣ b. 'Āzūrā') and Ashya' among the adversaries of the Prophet who belonged to the Banū Qaynuqā'.⁴² Elsewhere Finḥāṣ al-Yahūdī is said to have been the *sayyid* of the Banū Qaynuqā'.⁴³ To all this evidence concerning the tribal affiliation of Finḥāṣ we should add the location of the *Bayt al-Midrās*; it was in al-Quff, the village of the Qaynuqā'.⁴⁴ In sum, the evidence accumulated above shows that Finḥāṣ b. 'Āzūrā' was of the Qaynuqā'.

* * *

It seems that we can go one step further and identify the sub-group within the Qaynuqā' to which Finḥāṣ belonged. In his exegesis of Qur'ān 3,181, Ṭabarī quotes a commentary of al-Suddī (d. 128/745⁴⁵) which is in fact an abridged version of the report concerning the encounter between Abū Bakr and Finḥāṣ. Yet on two points al-Suddī's report is different. He mentions as Finḥāṣ's clan the Banū Marthad, and calls the treaty between the Prophet and this Jewish clan a *hudna*, or truce: *la-qad sami'a llāhu . . . qālahā Finḥāṣ al-Yahūdī min Banī Marthad, laqiyahu Abū Bakr . . . fa-qāla Abū Bakr* [i.e. not when the

⁴⁰ Abraham Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, Bonn, 1833, pp. 15-16; 2nd revised edition, Leipzig 1902, pp. 15-16, who quotes this report, has *fa-shakalahu* instead of *fa-shakāhu*, and his translation is consequently wrong. The error was transferred to the English translation, entitled *Judaism and Islam*, trans. by F. M. Young, Madras, 1898, pp. 11-21.

⁴¹ Khāzin, *Tafsīr*, I, p. 384: 14 (quoting 'Ikrima, al-Suddī, Muqātil and Ibn Ishāq); see a fragment of this report in Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, MS Saray, Ahmet III 74, I, fol. 66b. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, IV, p. 129: 10 (from . . . Ibn Ishāq . . . 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās); Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, pp. 207-208 (in both there is a partial version of the report, omitting any mention of the Prophet's letter to the Jews).

⁴² Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, p. 161: 7. The two are also mentioned in the commentary on Qur'ān 3,187 and 3,188; Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, IV, pp. 135: 5, 137: 15 (in both: . . . Ibn Ishāq . . . 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās); cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, II, p. 208.

⁴³ Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, IV, p. 133: 7 from below (quoting 'Ikrima). See also al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī l-tafsīr bi-l-māthūr*, Cairo 1314 A.H., II, p. 296: 23: *Finḥāṣ, ra's yahūd Qaynuqā'* (Ibn 'Abbās, commentary on Qur'ān 5,64).

⁴⁴ Lecker, "Muḥammad at Medina", pp. 37-38; Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and Pagans: Studies on Early Islamic Medina* (forthcoming), Index. Cf. on the Jewish *midrash* in Medina: Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, II, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967, p. 8.

⁴⁵ Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden: Brill, 1967f, I, pp. 32-33.

event was taking place, but later — M.L.]: *fa-lawlā hudna kānat bayna l-nabī (š) wa-bayna Banī Marthad la-qataltuhu*.⁴⁶

The double affiliation of Finḥāṣ, to the Qaynuqā' on the one hand and to the Marthad on the other, is of course problematic.⁴⁷ There are three possibilities:

1. Qaynuqā' and Marthad were identical, the former being a nickname, and the latter, a proper name.
2. Qaynuqā' were the dominant group in al-Quff, the village of the Qaynuqā', hence members of smaller clans such as the Marthad were wrongly thought to have been of the Qaynuqā'.⁴⁸
3. The Marthad were a sub-group of the Qaynuqā'.

Because of the strong evidence associating Finḥāṣ with the Qaynuqā', I find the last mentioned possibility the most appealing one.

Abbreviated References

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Caskel, Werner. *Ġamharat an-Nasab: Das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, Leiden: Brill, 1966.

al-Dāraquṭnī, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Umar. *al-Mu'taliḥ wa-l-mukhtaliḥ*, ed. Muwaffaq b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Qādir, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1406/1986.

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Yūsuf b. 'Abdallāh al-Namarī. *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rifaṭ al-aṣḥāb*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo: Maktabat Nahḍat Miṣr, n.d.

⁴⁶ Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, IV, p. 129: 30. The truce between the Prophet and the Marthad is of course relevant to the question, which cannot be discussed here, of the treaties which the Prophet concluded after the Hijra with the Jewish clans in Medina.

⁴⁷ For the name Marthad cf. Dāraquṭnī, *Mu'taliḥ*, IV, pp. 2030-34; Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl*, VII, ed. Nāyif al-'Abbās, Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, n.d., pp. 229-32.

⁴⁸ This possibility is rather appealing. Al-Quff, like other settlements in the Yathrib/Medina area, was presumably inhabited by a mixture of small tribal groups, the dominant among them being the Qaynuqā'. Similarly Zuhra, which was called "the village of the Banū l-Naḍīr", was inhabited by groups of various tribes (*jummā'*), among them the Banū Tha'laba b. al-Fiṭyawn; Lecker, "Muḥammad at Medina", pp. 33, 41-43.

- Ibn Ḥajar, Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-'Asqalānī. *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 1392/1972.
- Ibn Hishām, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Malik. *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saqqā, al-Abyārī and Shalabī, Beirut: lḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1391/1971.
- Ibn al-Kalbī, Hishām b. Muḥammad. *Jamharat al-nasab*, ed. Nājī Ḥasan, Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub – Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-'Arabiyya, 1407/1986.
- Ibn Qudāma, Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abdallāh al-Maqdisī. *al-Istibṣār fī nasab al-ṣaḥāba min al-anṣār*, ed. 'Alī Nuwayhid, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1392/1972.
- Ibn Sa'd, Muḥammad. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir – Dār Bayrūt, 1380/1960-1388/1968.
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- al-Rāzī, Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar, al-Fakhr al-Rāzī. *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, Cairo n.d. (reprint Tehran).
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- Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī. *Mu'jam al-buldān*, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir – Dār Bayrūt, 1957.

VI

YAHŪD / 'UHŪD: A VARIANT READING IN THE STORY OF THE 'AQABA MEETING*

As is well known, the 'Aqaba meeting between the Prophet Muḥammad and the Anṣār¹ took place shortly before the Prophet's Hijra. The story of the meeting in the biography of the Prophet by Ibn Hishām includes a gloss which suggests that the Anṣār and the Prophet already envisaged at that stage, even before the Hijra, a break between the Anṣār and the Jews of Medina. In this article it will be argued that the original version did not in fact contain any reference to a break with the Jews. While both parties may well have considered such a break to be an inevitable outcome of their alliance, one would not have expected to find this mentioned, or even alluded to, in the story of the 'Aqaba meeting.

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The 'Aqaba ("mountain road"), or 'Aqabat Minā² is some two miles east of Mecca in the direction of Minā³. In the report of the 'Aqaba meeting we are told that at a certain stage one of the participants, Abū

* This study benefitted immensely from the advice and criticism of Patricia Crone, Uri Rubin, and especially Simon Hopkins, who contributed the Appendix (see below).

¹ On which see G. MÉLAMÈDE, "The meetings at al-'Aqaba", in *Le Monde Oriental* 28 (1934), 17-58; M.J. KISTER, "Notes on the papyrus account of the 'Aqaba meeting", in *Le Muséon* 76 (1963), 403-17; N. ABBOTT, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, I, Historical Texts, Chicago, 1957, 61-64. Cf. *EP*, s.v. *bay'a* (E. TYAN).

² Taqī al-Dīn AL-FĀSI, *Shifā' al-gharām bi-akhbār al-halad al-ḥarām*, ed. 'U. 'Abd al-Salām TADMURI, Beirut, 1405/1985, I, 13.

³ YAQŪT al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, Beirut, 1957, s.v. 'Aqaba, 134b. The location of *masjid al-bay'a* is marked (as no.10) in Appendix 3, map no. 7, in AL-FĀKIHI, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. 'ABD AL-MALIK B. 'ABDALLĀH B. DUHAYSH, Mecca, 1407/1987, vol. V. Appendix 2 of the same volume includes, under no. 15, a photo of *shi'b al-bay'a* or *shi'b al-Anṣār*, and under no. 16, a photo of the above-mentioned mosque. *Shi'b* (see E.W. LANE, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1863-93, s.v.) is "a road in a mountain" or "a ravine, or gap, or pass, between two mountains". The meeting place was described as follows: *fi aṣli l-'aqaba fi l-shi'bi l-ayman idhā ḥadarū min Minan asfala l-'aqaba ḥaythu l-masjidu l-yawm*; IBN FAHD, *Ithāf al-warā bi-akhbār Umm al-Qurā*, ed. F.M. SHALTŪT, Mecca, 1404/1983-84, I, 339; IBN SA'D, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut, 1380/1960-1388/1968, I, 221 (where the words *fi aṣli l-'aqaba* are missing). Elsewhere we find: *'inda masjid shi'bi l-'aqaba, 'an yasārika wa-anta dhāhib ilā Minan*; AL-SAMHŪDĪ, *Wafā' al-wafā bi-akhbār dār al-muṣṭafā*, ed. M. MUḤYĪ AL-DĪN 'ABD AL-ḤAMĪD, Cairo, 1374/1955 (reprint Beirut), I, 232.

l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān⁴, interrupted an exchange between another participant, al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr, and the Prophet, which concerned the commitments of the Anṣār, in order to raise the following matter:

“There are treaties (*hibāl*) between us and the people and we are going to break them, i.e., the Jews. If we do so, and if God gives you victory, perhaps you will return to your people and leave us?”

The Prophet smiled and said: “On the contrary, our alliance is real” [literally: the exaction of your blood-revenge is like the exaction of mine, and if your blood is shed without retaliation, it is as if my blood is shed so]. I am of you and you are of me, I shall war whomever you war and appease those whom you appease”⁵.

⁴ Of the Balī, a client of the Za'ūrā' or the 'Abd al-Ashhal. See on him M. LECKER “Muḥammad at Medina: a geographical approach”, in *JSAI* 6 (1985), 29-62, at 52, n. 152; AL-FĀKHI, *Akhbār Makka*, IV, 237 (*ḥalīf banī 'Abdi l-Ashhal*). But cf. AL-ṬABRISĪ, *l'lām al-warā bi-a'lām al-hudā*, Beirut, 1985, 90: *wa-kāna rajulan mina l-yaman ḥalīfan fi banī 'Amr b. 'Awf*. According to some, he was a *naqib* but there was no unanimity about this; IBN HISHĀM, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. AL-SAQQA, AL-ABYĀRI and SHALABI, Beirut, 1391/1971, II, 87, l.12, 88, l.6; other variants of his father's name are: al-Tayhān and al-Tayyahān, AL-DĀRAQUTNĪ, *al-Mu'talif wa-l-mukhtalif*, ed. M. B. 'A. B. 'ABD AL-QĀDIR, Beirut, 1406/1986, I, 299 n.

⁵ See also A. GUILLAUME, *The Life of Muhammad*, Oxford, 1955, 203-204; *The history of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. VI, translated by W.M. WATT and M.V. McDONALD, Albany, 1988, 133. AL-ZAMAKHSHARĪ, *al-Fā'iqa fi gharīb al-ḥadīth*, ed. AL-BUĀWI and M. ABŪ L-FADL IBRĀHĪM, Cairo, 1971, I, 252, who interprets *hibāl* as *'uhūd*, says: *yuridu in ṭuliba damukum fa-qad ṭuliba damī wa-in uhdira fa-qad uhdira damī li-stihkāmī l-ulfa*. Each party undertook to cooperate in exacting blood revenge, except in cases where the wronged party gave up the retaliation; AL-ĀBĪ, *Nathr al-durr*, ed. M. 'ALĪ QARNA, Cairo, 1980-81, I, 213: *yurīdūna: taṭlubu bi-damī wa-aṭlubu bi-damika wa-mā hadamta mina l-dimā' hadamtu, ay mā 'afawta 'anhu wa-ahdartahu 'afawtu 'anhu wa-ahdartuhu*. Usually, the meaning of *dam* is not disputed (although there is a variant, *ladam*, see below); it was *had(a)m* which caused more difficulty. Other interpretations suggested were: *hadam* is a grave, or a house (*manzil*), or a wrecked house (*al-binā'u l-mahdūm*); *hadm* with *sukūn* means *ihdār damī l-qatīl*, “letting the blood of the murdered man go unavenged”; IBN AL-ATHĪR, *al-Nihāya fi gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-l-athar*, ed. Ṭ.A. AL-ZĀWĪ and M.M. AL-ṬANĀHĪ, Cairo, 1385/1965, s.v. *h.d.m.*

AL-AZHARĪ (quoted in IBN MANZŪR, *Lisān al-'arab*, Beirut, 1968, s.v. *h.d.m.*, 604) presented the two variants of the root *h.d.m.* in the relevant passage, *hadam* and *hadm*. The former means the destruction of strength and honour, while the latter means the giving up of blood revenge: *damī damuka, in qatalanī insān ṭalabta bi-damī kamā taṭlubu bi-damī waliyyika ayi bni 'ammika wa-akhīka, wa-hadamī hadamuka, ay man hadama lī 'izzan wa-sharafan fa-qad hadamahu minka, wa-kullu man qatala waliyyī fa-qad qatala waliyyaka, wa-man arāda hadamaka* [erroneously printed *hadmaka*] *fa-qad qaṣadani bi-dhālika. Qāla l-Azhārī: wa-man rawāhu: al-damu l-damu wa-l-hadmu l-hadmu, fa-huwa 'alā qawli l-ḥalīf: taṭlubu bi-damī wa-anā aṭlubu bi-damika, wa-mā hadamta mina l-dimā' hadamtu, ay mā 'afawta 'anhu wa-ahdartahu fa-qad 'afawtu 'anhu wa-tarakuhu*. A further report which immediately follows, perhaps going back to Azhārī as well, relates to the inheritance which was an integral part of such agreements: *wa-yuqālu: innahum idhā ḥtalafū qālū: hadamī hadamuka wa-damī damuka wa-tarithunī wa-arithuka, thumma nasakha llāhu bi-āyātī l-mawārith mā kānū yashtarīūnahu mina l-mirāth fi l-ḥilf*.

Abū 'Ubayda (quoted in AL-ĀBĪ, *Nathr al-durr*, loc. cit.) says that the formula was *al-hadamu l-hadamu wa-l-ladamu l-ladamu*, adding *ay ḥurmatī mu'a ḥurmatikum wa-baytī*

Text: (*amr al-'aqaba al-thāniya*):... *inna baynanā wa-bayna l-rijāl ḥibālan wa-innā qāṭi'ūhā — ya'nī l-yahūd — fa-hal 'asayta, in naḥnu fa'alnā dhālika, thumma aḥharaka llāhu, an tarji'a ilā qawmika wata-da'anā? Qāla: fa-tabassama rasūlu llāhi (ṣ) thumma qāla: bali l-damu l-damu wa-l-had(a)mu l-had(a)mu, anā minkum wa-antum minnī, uḥāribu man ḥārabtum wa-usālimu man sālamtum*⁶.

We may expect to find some variation in the location of the gloss *ya'nī l-yahūd*. One source has:

*inna baynanā wa-bayna aqwām — ya'nī l-yahūd — ḥibālan wa-innā qāṭi'ūhā*⁷.

Another has:

*inna baynanā wa-bayna l-rijāl — ya'nī l-yahūd — ḥibālan wa-naḥnu qāṭi'ūhā*⁸.

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* *

ma'a haytikum. AL-ZAMAKHSHARĪ, *al-Fā'iq*, I, 252 has it in reversed order: *al-ladamu l-ladamu wa-l-hadamu l-hadamu*. He interprets *ladam* as the plural of *ladim*, "a woman beating her face in grief when her husband dies", hence "women" in general, and interprets *hadam* as "house". He concludes: *ay ḥuramī ḥuramukum wa-manzilī manzilukum*. M. ULLMANN, in *Wörterbuch der Klassischen Arabischen Sprache*, II, s.v., states correctly that (the version of the Prophet's answer) *bali l-ladamu l-ladamu wa-l-hadamu l-hadamu* is "alter Fehler für *bali l-damu d-damu*".

IBN HISHĀM (*Sīra*, II, 85) has a variant reading for *al-damu l-damu wa-l-had(a)mu l-had(a)mu*: *wa-yuqālu: l-hadamu l-hadamu ya'nī l-ḥurma, ay dhimmatī dhimmatukum wa-ḥurmatī ḥurmatukum*. But *dhimma* is no doubt a corruption of *dam* and the old edition of Ibn Hishām, by F. WÜSTENFELD (Göttingen, 1858-60, I, i, 297) is superior at this point: *wa-yuqālu l-hadamu l-hadamu, ya'nī l-ḥurma, yaqūlu: ḥurmatī ḥurmatukum wa-damī damukum* (in this order).

⁶ IBN HISHĀM, *Sīra*, II, 85; M. ḤAMĪDULLĀH, *Majmū'at al-wathā'iq al-siyāsiyya li-l-'ahd al-nabawī wa-l-khilāfa al-rāshida*³, Beirut, 1405/1985, 49-50, no. */d. AL-FĀKIHĪ, *Akhbār Makka*, IV, 237 has a slightly different version of the Prophet's words: *bali l-damu bi-l-dami, wa-l-hadmu bi-l-hadmi, anā minkum wa-antum minnī, damī ma'a dimā'ikum wa-hadmi ma'a hadmikum, uḥāribu man ḥārabtum wa-usālimu man sālamtum*. See the version in AL-SAMHŪDĪ, *Wafā' al-wafā*, I, 233, 1.9 (where the *rijāl* mentioned by Abū l-Haytham are not glossed): *bali l-damu l-damu wa-l-hadmu l-hadmu l-mahyā mahyākum wa-l-mamāt mamātukum wa-uḥāribu man ḥārabtum wa-usālimu man sālamtum*.

⁷ IBN FAHD, *Ithāf al-warā*, I, 342. Cf. A. b. al-Ḥusayn AL-BAYHAQĪ, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, ed. 'Abd al-Mu'īṭ QAL'AJĪ, Beirut, 1405/1985, II, 447: *inna baynanā wa-bayna aqwāmin ḥibālan wa-innā qāṭi'ūhā* (without a gloss). Note also that there must have been some uneasiness about *wa-innā qāṭi'ūhā* or it would not have been replaced by another, more benign, formulation; *wa-innā in qaṭa'nāhā aw qaṭa'ūhā*; AL-MAJLISĪ, *Biḥār al-anwār*, new ed., Tehran, 1362-66, XIX, 26.

⁸ AL-SAMHŪDĪ, *Wafā' al-wafā*, I, 229, 1.3 from below. See also AL-DIYĀRBAKRĪ, *Ta'riḥ al-khamīs*, Cairo, 1283 A.H., I, 318, 1.24: *inna baynanā wa-bayna l-nās — ya'nī l-yahūd — ḥibālan* etc.

The solemn declaration formula was used by the Prophet in order to calm the fears of the Anṣār that he would finally abandon them and return to his hometown Mecca. The formula was widely used in Mecca and elsewhere in Arabia in connection with the creation of alliances. Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. after 400-1010)⁹ describes different types of “fires” common before Islam, among them “the fire of alliance” (*nār al-taḥāluf/al-ḥilf*). He records the following *ḥilf*-formula: *wa-kānū yaqū-lūna ʿinda ʿaqdi l-ḥilf: al-damu l-damu al-hadamu l-hadamu mā balla baḥrun šūfatan wa-mā rasā Thabīrun aw ghayruhu mina l-jibāl, kullu qabīla kānū yadhkurūna l-jibāla llatī yaʿrifūnahā*, “... as long as a sea wets a portion of *šūf* (i.e., sea-weed resembling wool)¹⁰ and as long as Mt. Thabīr or another mountain — every tribe used to mention the mountains it knew — remains firm in its place¹¹. It was also used by a client attaching himself to a master¹².

⁹ *EP*, s.v. AL-ʿASKARĪ (J.W. FÜCK).

¹⁰ LANE, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1748b.

¹¹ AL-ʿASKARĪ, *al-Awāʿil*, ed. M. al-Sayyid AL-WAKĪL, Ṭanta 1408/1987, 36-37 = ed. M. AL-MIṢRĪ and W. QAṢṢĀB, Damascus, 1975, I, 36-37. Both *mā balla* and Mt. Thabīr in Mecca are attested to in a verse by a Meccan poet adduced by KISTER, *Studies in Jāhiliyya and Early Islam*, London, 1980, no. I (Additional Notes to KISTER, “Mecca and Tamīn [aspects of their tribal relations]”, in *JESHO* 8 [1965], 113-63, at 2, 1.8 from below). Cf. AL-BAKRĪ, *Muʿjam mā staʿjama*, ed. M. AL-SAQQA, Cairo, 1364/1945-1371/1951, s.v. al-Ṣalīf, III, 824; AL-JĀHLĪZ, *al-Ḥayawān*², ed. ʿAbd al-Salām HĀRŪN, Cairo, 1385/1965, IV, 470-71. The 4th/10th century Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh AL-NAJĪRAMĪ, in his *Aymān al-ʿArab fi l-jāhiliyya*², ed. M. al-Dīn AL-KHAṬĪB, Cairo, 1382 A.H., 34-35, has this quotation from Abū ʿUbayda: *kānū fi l-jāhiliyyati l-ūlā idhā taḥālafū wa-taʿāhadū awqadū nāran wa-danaw minhā ḥattā takāda taḥriqihum wa-ʿaddadū manāfiʿa l-nār wa-daʿaw ʿalā nāqiḍ tilka l-yamīn wa-l-nākith li-dhālika l-ʿahd bi-ḥirmān tilka l-manāfiʿi, wa-yataṣāfahūna ʿindahā wa-yaqūlūna: al-damu l-damu wa-l-hadamu (sic.voc.) l-hadamu, wa-l-maʿnā dimāʿūnā dimāʿukum wa-hadamunā hadamukum, wa-l-hadamu smu l-bināʿi l-mahdūm ay fa-mā hudima lakum min bināʿi aw shaʿn fa-qad hudima lanā wa-mā urīqa lakum min dam fa-qad urīqa lanā, yalzmunā min nuṣratikum mā yalzmunā min nuṣrati anfusinā, wa-ʿabarū (read: wa-ghabarū) ʿala stiʿmāl dhālika yatawārathūnahū ilā an atā llāh taʿālā bi-l-islām wa-kāna l-ḥilf bayna rasūli llāh (ṣ) wa-bayna l-anṣār, fa-qāla ṣalawātu llāh wa-salāmuhu ʿalayhi lahum: al-damu l-damu wa-l-hadamu l-hadamu. See the text also in Ch.D. MATTHEWS, “The Kitāb Aimān al-ʿArab wa-Ṭalāqihā fi l-Jāhiliyya of an-Najīramī”, in *JAOS* 58 (1938), 615-37, at 630, where we find “Abū ʿUbayd” instead of “Abū ʿUbayda”. This is probably a misprint because elsewhere in this small treatise Abū ʿUbayda is quoted twice, whereas Abū ʿUbayd is not mentioned. In any case, the latter, who was a student of the former, quoted him on many occasions and was even the compiler of a book entitled *K. al-Aymān wa-l-nudhūr*; I. GOLDZIEHER, “Notice sur la littérature des *Ajmān al-ʿArab* (serments des anciens Arabes)”, in *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg*, Paris, 1909, 221-30, at 222; YAQŪT, *Muʿjam al-udabāʿ*, ed. I. ʿABBĀS, Beirut, 1993, V, 2201. On al-Najīramī see F. SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden, 1967f, VIII, 243-44; YAQŪT, *Muʿjam al-udabāʿ*, I, 87-89.*

¹² See Qatāda’s commentary to Qurʾān 4, 33, quoted in AL-ṬABARĪ, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān fi tafsīr al-qurʾān*, Būlāq, 1321-1330 A.H., V, 34, 1.8: *kāna l-rajulu yuʿaqidu l-rajula fi l-*

The gloss found in Ibn Hishām, *ya'ni l-yahūd*, was generally adopted by scholars who utilized this text. A.J. Wensinck said that according to “tradition... the Medinans already had made their decisive choice between Muhammad and the Jews at the so-called second 'Aqabah”.

Wensinck translates Abū l-Haytham's words as follows:

“O Messenger of God, there are ties between us and other men (i.e., the Jews of Medina) and look, we break them”....

Wensinck must have sensed that something was not in order, because he commented:

“Certainly Islam had severed the ties of the Jāhiliyah, but this presentation of the affair is inaccurate. The Prophet himself still did not know how his relationship with the Medinans was to develop. He had expected approaches from the Jews, but when these did not materialize his policy became anti-Jewish. It was only then that Banū Qaylah (i.e., the Aws and the Khazraj — M.L.) had to choose between the new prophet and their old allies”¹³.

M. Gil assumed that the Prophet adopted an anti-Jewish policy already at the 'Aqaba:

“Through his alliance with the Arab tribes of Medina the Prophet gained enough strength to achieve a gradual anti-Jewish policy, despite the reluctance of his Medinese allies, who had formerly been those of the Jews. This point was already very well grasped by the participants in the second 'Aqaba meeting. It was Abū l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān who expressed it in his question to the Prophet about what would happen after the ties with the Jews had been severed. He speaks there about *hibāl* which are “between us and some people”, referring to the ties between them and the Jews. What will happen if we sever them? The Prophet smiles and gives an appeasing answer; he will respect and follow their alliances”¹⁴.

jāhiliyya fa-yaqūlu: damī damuka wa-hadmī hadmuka wa-tarithunī wa-arithuka wa-taṭlubu bi wa-atlubu bika. (P. CRONE, *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law: The Origins of the Islamic Patronate*, Cambridge, 1987, 53 calls this “a *ḥilf* formula which sounds extremely convincing”.)

¹³ A.J. WENSINCK, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden, 1908, translated and edited by W. BEHN, *Muhammad and the Jews of Medina*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1975, 32-33. See also F. BUHL, *Das Leben Muhammeds*², trans. H. SCHAEDEER, Leipzig, 1930 (reprint Heidelberg, 1955), 213, n. 29: “O Gesandter Gottes, es gibt Bande, die uns an die Männer (nämlich die Juden) binden und die wir jetzt brechen [...]”.

¹⁴ M. GIL, “The constitution of Medina: a reconsideration”, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, 4 (1974), 44-66, at 64; cf. M. GIL, *A History of Palestine, 634-1099*, translated by E. BROIDO, Cambridge, 1992, 11 (where he says about the 'Aqaba meeting that “Muḥammad... concluded an agreement with them [= the Anṣār] to terminate their endless violent feuding and abolish their bond with the Jews of that city”). And see on Abū l-Haytham's question also J. LASSNER, *Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory: An Inquiry into the Art of 'Abbasid Apologetics*, New Haven, 1986, 78-79; Lassner wonders whether the “others” with whom ties will have to be severed are an analogue to the 'Alids.

Finally, N.A. Stillman wrote:

“The Jews had no part in inviting Muḥammad to Medina, and no Jews were present at the ‘Aqaba negotiations. Yet the potential awkwardness of their presence in Medina under the new order was obvious to all. Fealty to the Prophet and his cause meant the dissolution of other bonds and alliances, those not protected by alliances have no rights. Thus, it was clear to all concerned that eventually the Jews would have to go.”¹⁵

The identification, submitted in this article, of *‘uhūd* as the original reading (as we shall see, it is supported by some variant readings of the crucial passage) means that Abū l-Haytham did not refer to the Jews at all¹⁶.

A text containing what I consider the original, correct, version, is to be found, for example, in the 7th/13th century commentary of al-Khāzin, who quotes Ibn Ishāq “and other historians” (*wa-ghayruhu min ahli l-akhbār*):

*inna baynanā wa-bayna l-nās ḥibālan — ya’nī ‘uhūdan — wa-innā qāṭi’uhā*¹⁷.

¹⁵ N.A. STILLMAN, *The Jews of Arab Lands*, Philadelphia, 1979, 10.

¹⁶ Admittedly, the papyrus account of Wahb b. Munabbih includes a mention of the Jews by the Prophet’s uncle al-‘Abbās who reportedly accompanied his nephew at the ‘Aqaba meeting; MÉLAMEDE, “The meetings at al-‘Aqaba”, 50-51: *fa-inna jirānakum fī baladikum yahūd wa-hum lahu a’dā*, rendered: “... for your neighbours in your country are the Jews, and they are most hostile to him”. But “*dy* is a plural form, “enemies” (cf. S. HOPKINS, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic*, Oxford, 1984, 23, &21b); see *a’dā=a’dā* already in KISTER, “Notes on the papyrus account of the ‘Aqaba meeting”, 405; Kister deciphers further in the text of the papyrus: *wa-lam yazal yatakhawwafuhum ‘alayhi*, “And he [=al-‘Abbās] did not cease to rouse their fears about him (i.e., about the messenger of Allah)”. Cf. R.G. KHOURY, *Wahb ibn Munabbih: der Heidelberger Papyrus PSR Heid Arab 23*, Wiesbaden, 1972, I, 124 (...*wa-lam na[z]al natakhawwafuhum ‘alayhi*, “... und ihretwegen [viz., the Jews] fürchten wir im[mer] für ihn”). Khoury was unaware of Kister’s corrections, published nine years before his book. See also KISTER, “On the papyrus of Wahb b. Munabbih”, in *BSOAS* 37 (1974), 545-71, especially 556. KISTER, “On the papyrus of Wahb b. Munabbih: an addendum”, in *BSOAS* 40 (1977), 125-27.

¹⁷ ‘Alī b. M. al-Baghdādī AL-KHAZĪN, *Lubāb al-ta’wīl fī ma’ānī al-tanzīl*, Cairo, 1381 A.H., I, 333, 1.21. See similiary ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr AL-HAYTHAMĪ, *Majma’ al-zawā’id wa-manba’ al-fawā’id*, Beirut, 1967, VI, 44, 1.15: *inna baynanā wa-bayna l-rijāl ḥibālan wa-innā qāṭi’uhā, wa-hiya l-‘uhūdu*; Aḥmad b. M. AL-THA’LABĪ, *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān fī tafsīr āyi l-qurān*, MS Tel Aviv University, 508750, 138 has: *inna baynanā wa-bayna l-nās ḥibālan ya’nī ‘uhūdan*; IBN AL-JAWZĪ, *al-Wafā bi-aḥwāl al-muṣṭafā*, ed. MUṢṬAFĀ ‘ABD AL-WĀHĪD, Cairo, 1386/1966, I, 226: *inna baynanā wa-bayna l-nās ḥibālan wa-innā qāṭi’uhā — ya’nī l-‘uhūd*. Cf. AL-BALĀDHURĪ, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, I, ed. M. ḤAMĪDULLĀH, Cairo, 1959, 143, where a Qurashī who embraced Islam says to another Qurashī who did not: *inna l-islāma qad qāṭa’ l-‘uhūda baynanā wa-baynakum*.

Most unusual is the version found in the 11th/17th century *Sīra Ḥalabiyya* which contains two glosses, obviously taken from two different sources:

*inna baynanā wa-bayna l-rijāl — ya'nī l-yahūd — ḥibālan — ay 'uhūdan*¹⁸.

*
* *

If they were not the Jews of Medina, who were then the people mentioned by Abū l-Haytham? I propose that he simply referred to Quraysh and the links between them and the Anṣār (or rather the inhabitants of Medina before Islam, the would-be Anṣār). Three versions of his words which have *al-qawm* instead of *al-rijāl*, and to a somewhat lesser extent the version quoted above with *aqwām*, lend this assumption some support, because *al-qawm* is again mentioned later in the same passage, where it clearly means Quraysh:

*inna baynanā wa-bayna l-qawm ḥibālan wa-naḥnu qāṭi'ūhā, fa-nakhshā [read: fa-'asā?] ini llāhu a'azzaka wa-naṣaraka an tarji'a ilā qawmika*¹⁹.

In this passage, the slightly vague *qawm* is explicated by *qawmika*, showing that Abū l-Haytham speaks of Quraysh.

Qawm and *ilā qawmika* are also attested in another version:

*inna baynanā wa-bayna l-qawm ḥibālan wa-innā qāṭi'ūhā, fa-hal 'asayta, in naḥnu ḥāya'nāka wa-kharajnā ma'aka, thumma naṣaraka llāhu wa-aḥharaka, an tarji'a ilā qawmika wa-tada'anā*²⁰?

Finally, the following is a most valuable, though slightly garbled, formulation:

*inna baynanā wa-bayna qawmihi [!] raḥīman wa-innā qāṭi'ūhā fika, fa-hal 'asayta, in naḥnu ḥāya'nāka wa-aḥharaka llāhu, an tarji'a ilā qawmika wa-tada'anā*²¹?

Obviously, *qawmihi* is corrupt. I suggest it be replaced by *qawmika*. One assumes that originally the passage had *qawmika* twice²². In this inter-

¹⁸ 'Ali b. Burhān al-Dīn AL-ḤALABĪ, *Insān al-'uyūn fī sirat al-amīn al-ma'mūn*, Cairo, 1320 A.H., II, 16, 1.3 from below.

¹⁹ AL-ĀBĪ, *Nathr al-durr*, I, 213.

²⁰ Muwaffaq al-Dīn IBN QUDĀMA, *al-Istihṣār fī nasab al-ṣaḥāba min al-anṣār*, ed. 'ALĪ NUWAYHĪD, Beirut, 1392/1972, 228.

²¹ IBN ḤIBBĀN al-Bustī, *al-Sīra l-nabawīyya wa-akḥbār al-khulafā'*, ed. 'AZĪZ BAKK *et al.*, Beirut, 1407/1987, 122.

²² However, even if we assume that the former was *qawm*, the purport of the passage will not change.

esting version Abū l-Haytham speaks of the severance of family relationships (*rahim*) between the Anṣār and Muḥammad's *qawm*, Quraysh, i.e., links created by intermarriage. But this severance, a sure outcome of the 'Aqaba agreement, was not the main object of Abū l-Haytham's concern. Rather, he was worried that, at a later stage, the Prophet would return to his *qawm*, to Quraysh. The Jews are not mentioned at all. At stake was the prospect of an imminent war with Quraysh, not with the Jews²³.

*
* *

The term *ḥabl*, pl. *ḥibāl*²⁴ can designate "treaty, alliance" in general. For example, an Anṣārī from among the Khazraj told the Prophet that between the Khazraj and their brothers of the Aws there were *ḥibāl maqtū'a*²⁵. *Qaṭ' al-ḥibāl* denotes the severance of a treaty (e.g. in order to form an alliance with another party)²⁶. So, the *ḥibāl* referred to by Abū l-Haytham might have been alliances in general.

But it should be observed that in some contexts *ḥabl* meant safe conduct. While between Mecca and Medina there existed before Islam connections of various kinds, the safe conduct must have been of major significance in their relationship.

In an alleged *khuṭba* of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in which there is reference to the role of the Anṣār at the time of the Prophet, the *ḥabā'il* (which are synonymous with *ḥibāl*) are their treaties (i.e., safe conducts) with the

²³ We have an alternative version of Abū l-Haytham's words in ABŪ NU'AYM AL-ISFAHĀNĪ, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*², ed. M.R. QAL'AJI and 'ABD AL-BARR 'ABBĀS, Beirut, 1406/1986, I, 304-305; the importance of this text was pointed out thirty years ago by KISTER, "Notes on the papyrus account of the 'Aqaba meeting", 411; the relevant passage is on p. 416: *yā rasūla llāhi, la'allaka idhā ḥārahnā l-nāsa fika wa-qaṭa'nā mā baynanā wa-baynahum mina l-jiwār wa-l-ḥilf wa-l-arḥām, wa-ḥamalatnā l-ḥarb 'alā sīsā'ihā* [IBN AL-ATHĪR, *Nihāya*, s.v.: *ḥamalatnā l-'arab (!) 'alā sīsā'ihā — sīsā'u l-ḥabri mina l-dawābb, mujtama' wasaṭihi, wa-huwa mawḍi'u l-rukūb*] *fa-kashafat lanā 'an qinā'ihā, laḥiqta bi-haladika wa-taraktānā, wa-qad ḥārahnā l-nāsa fika? Fa-tabassama rasūlu llāhi (ṣ) thumma qāla: al-damu l-damu wa-l-hadamu l-hadamu*. There is no specific mention of the Jews in this alternative version of Abū l-Haytham's words.

²⁴ The variants, as we have seen, are *rahim*, and *al-jiwār wa-l-ḥilf wa-l-arḥām*.

²⁵ AL-ṬABRISĪ, *l'lām al-warā*, 87.

²⁶ Cf. the verse of 'Amr b. Darrāk al-'Abdī in *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. *s.d.m.*, 285b; cf. AL-MAS'ŪDĪ, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. Ch. PELLAT, Beirut, 1966-74, II, 201; M. b. 'Abd al-Mun'im AL-ḤIMYARĪ, *al-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fi khabar al-aqtar*, ed. I. 'ABBĀS, Beirut, 1975, 308b, 1.15; AL-JĀHIZ, *al-Ḥayawān*², VI, 157: *wa-innī in qaṭa'tu ḥibāla Qaysin wa-hālaftu l-Mazūna 'alā Tamīmi* etc.

Bedouin (*al-'arab*), while *ḥilf* is their alliance with the Jews²⁷. A safe conduct with a Bedouin tribe, *amān/ḥabl*, sometimes *'ahd*²⁸, was naturally limited in scope and did not amount to a full-fledged alliance or *ḥilf*²⁹. There is a reference to *ḥibāl* in the sense of safe conducts between the Prophet and some unspecified foreign group: on his way back from the Battle of Uḥud, when he was at Ḥamrā' al-Asad, Abū Sufyān met a caravan carrying goods to Medina, *wa-baynahum wa-bayna l-nabiyyi (ṣ) ḥibāl*³⁰. Clearly, these *ḥibāl* were reciprocal safe conducts guaranteeing the safety of the caravan at Medina and guaranteeing the safety of the Prophet's Companions in the territory of the people of the caravan. Similarly, *ḥabl* is used in the sense of a foreign ruler's charter obtained for Quraysh by one of the children of 'Abd Manāf. For example, "Naufal [b. 'Abd Manāf] obtained the *ḥabl* from the Chosroes (al-Akāsira) and they (i.e., the merchants of Quraysh) frequented al-'Irāq and Persia"³¹.

²⁷ *Fa-lammā āwawu l-nabiyya (ṣ wa-ālihi wa-aṣḥābihi)... ramathumu l-'arab 'an qaws wāhida fa-tahālafat 'alayhimi l-yahūd wa-ghazathumu l-qabā'il qabila ba'da qabila. Fa-tajrādū li-nuṣrati dīni llāhi wa-qaṭa'ū mā baynahum wa-bayna l-'arab mina l-ḥabā'il wa-mā baynahum wa-bayna l-yahūd min l-ḥilf*; IBN ABI L-ḤADĪD, *Sharḥ nahj al-bal-āgha*, Cairo, 1329 A.H., I, 145, 1.4 from below. Cf. Sa'd b. Mu'adh's advice to the Prophet before the Battle of Badr: ... *fa-ḥulla* [read probably: *fa-ṣil*, see below] *ḥibāla man shi'ta wa-'qā' ḥibāla man shi'ta wa-sālim man shi'ta wa-'ādi man shi'ta wa-khudh min amwālina mā shi'ta*; IBN ABI SHAYBA, *Ta'rikh*, MS Berlin 9409, fol. 30b-31a. Cf. AL-WĀQIDI, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. M. JONES, London, 1966, I, 48-49 (... *wa-ṣil man shi'ta wa-'qā' man shi'ta*). Cf. IBN HISHĀM, *Sīra*, II, 267; AL-ṬABARĪ, *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. M. ABŪ L-FADL IBRĀHĪM, Cairo, 1380/1960-1387/1967, II, 435.

²⁸ *'Ahd* replaces *ḥabl* e.g. in AL-YA'QŪBĪ, *Ta'rikh*, Beirut, 1379/1960, I, 244 (after the death of Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf, 'Abd Shams travelled to the Negus, *fa-jaddada baynahu wa-baynahu l-'ahda*). Cf. KISTER, "Mecca and Tamīm", 117-18 (the terms *'ahd*, *amān*, *ḥilf*, *iṣām*, *iṣām* and *ḥabl* designate the charters of the rulers).

²⁹ Cf. e.g. AL-'ASKARĪ, *Awa'il*, ed. AL-WAKĪL, 26=ed. AL-MIṢRĪ and QAṢṢĀB, 18: *wa-l-ilāf kitāb amān yu'ammīnukum bi-ghayr ḥilf*. Trade at 'Ukāz could be carried out without safe conducts because it took place in a sacred month. 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn says of 'Ukāz (the context is the second Fijār war; cf. E. LANDAU-TASSERON, "The Sinful Wars: religious, social and historical aspects of *ḥurūb al-fijār*", in *JSAI* 8 [1986], 37-59, at 39-41): "I see the people gathering without a safe conduct or pact" (*bi-lā 'ahd wa-lā 'aqd*); IBN QUTAYBA, *al-Ma'ārif*, ed. Th. 'UKĀSHA, Cairo, 1969, 603-604.

³⁰ AL-ṬABARĪ, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, IV, 120, 1.10 (commentary to Qur'ān 3, 173)

³¹ KISTER, "Mecca and Tamīm", 118 = AL-ṬABARĪ, *Ta'rikh*, II, 252; above, n. 28. Further on the use of *ḥabl* see AL-AZHARĪ, *Tahdhīb al-lughā*, ed. 'A. DARWISH, Cairo, 1384/1964-1387/1967, XV, 379a (from Ibn al-A'rābi): *aṣḥābu l-ilāf arba'atu ikhwa... fa-kānū yu'allifūna l-jiwāra yutbi'ūna ba'dahu ba'dan yujrūna Qurayshan bi-miyarihīm, wa-kānū yusammawna l-mujīrīna, fa-ammā Hāshim fa-innahu akhadha ḥablan min maliki l-Rūm... fa-kāna tujjār Quraysh yakhtalifūna ilā hādhihi l-amṣār bi-ḥibāl ḥā'ulā'i l-ikhwa fa-lā yuta'arraḍu lahum*. Cf. CRONE, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam*, Princeton, 1987, 130 (Nawfal), 204-14 (*ilāf*).

Instead of *l-mujīrīna*, read perhaps: *l-mujīzīna*. It is often difficult to choose between *j.w.r.* and *j.w.z.*: in this context; cf. *tujawwizuhā* in the verse of al-A'shā below, n. 33. Cf. also the following passage, where one must read the verb as the second form of *j.w.z.*: *fa-*

According to Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām's interpretation of *ḥabl*, one of its meanings is 'ahd, i.e., guarantee of security (*amān*)³². The Arabs, he says, used to frighten (*yukhifu*) each other in the Jāhiliyya. When someone wanted to travel, he took an 'ahd from the chief (*sayyid*) of a certain tribe which secured him as long as he was in the territory of that tribe, until he reached the tribe beyond and repeated the same procedure. Abū 'Ubayd quotes a verse from a panegyric by al-A'shā mentioning a journey during which the poet obtained (literally: "took") an *amān* when travelling from one tribe to the other³³.

The evidence showing that *ḥabl* often meant safe conduct is important for this discussion; it seems that the *hibāl* mentioned by Abū l-Haytham were above all reciprocal arrangements of safe conduct agreed upon between the Anṣār and Quraysh. They secured the free access of the Anṣār to Mecca and beyond to the Yemen. (It should be born in mind that the Anṣār were "Southern" while Quraysh were "Northern"³⁴.) Needless to say, the relationship between Mecca and Medina before Islam (this Arabian "Tale of Two Cities") is still awaiting a thorough investigation.

Fortunately, some evidence relevant for our discussion of the nature of the *hibāl* in question is found in the story of the 'Aqaba meeting itself, as told in Ibn Hishām's biography of the Prophet. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda of the Anṣār used to guarantee the security of merchants working for two prominent Qurashīs while they traded in Medina. When, after the 'Aqaba meeting, Sa'd was captured by the Qurashīs, his two trade associates came to his rescue. It is reported that, having been captured, Sa'd was advised to mention any connections he had in Mecca: *a-mā bay-*

kharajū bi-tijāra 'azīma wa-kharaja Hāshim yujawwizuhum wa-yūfihim ilāfahumu lladhī akhadha lahum mina l-'arab, fa-lam yabraḥ yūfihim dhālika wa-yajma'u baynahum wa-bayna ashrafī l-'arab ḥattā warada bihimi l-Shāma wa-aḥallahum qurāhā; IBN ḤABIB, *al-Munammaq fī akhbār Quraysh*, ed. Kh.A. FĀRIQ, Beirut, 1405/1985, 43.

³² Abū 'Ubayd implies that the guarantee of security was in the form of a written document.

³³ ABŪ 'UBAYD al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, Hyderabad, 1384/1964-1387/1967, IV, 102: *wa-qāla l-A'shā yadhkuru masīran lahu wa-annahu kāna ya'khudhu l-amāna min qabila ilā qabila ...* [the poet refers to his she-camel]: *wa-idhā tujawwizuhā ḥibālu qabīlatin akhadhat mina l-ukhrā ilayka ḥibālahā*. See also *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. *h.b.l.*, 135a-b; AL-A'SHĀ Maymūn b. Qays, *Dīwān al-A'shā al-kabīr*, ed. M.M. ḤUSAYN, Cairo, 1950, 29, no. 18. On *ḥabl* in ancient South Arabian see R.B. SERJEANT, "The *sun-nah jāmi'a* ...", in *BSOAS* 41 (1978), 1-42, 7, n. 26; also A.F.L. BEESTON *et al.*, *Sabaic Dictionary*, Louvain-la-Neuve and Beirut, 1982, s.v. "Alliance, Pact, Contract of Sale"; J.C. BIELLA, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic: Sabaean Dialect*, Chico, 1982, s.v. "Bond, Alliance, Sale Contract".

³⁴ For the role of genealogy in the pre-Islamic security arrangements see KISTER, "Mecca and Tamīm", 128f (the Muḍar did not harass Muḍarī merchants etc.).

naka wa-bayna aḥad min Quraysh jiwār wa-lā 'ahd? Sa'd did have such connections: *la-qad kuntu ujīru li-Jubayr b. Muṭ'im b. 'Adī ... tijārahu wa-amna'uhum mimman arāda zulmahum bi-bilādī*; Sa'd used to provide the same services also to the merchants of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥarb b. Umayya. The two Qurashīs confirmed the existence of a *jiwār* (agreement) with Sa'd, and that he used to secure their merchants and protect them from injustice in his land³⁵. A comparison between the above text from Ibn Hishām and a text from Ibn Ishāq as quoted by Ibn 'Asākir in his *History of Damascus*³⁶ produces two important variants. Instead of Jubayr b. Muṭ'im, Ibn 'Asākir has: Muṭ'im, and instead of *tijār* ("tradesmen"), he has *rakā'ib*, pl. of *rikāb*, "travelling-camels, used for riding", or "camels that go forth for corn (*ta'ām*) to be brought back upon them"³⁷.

Muṭ'im, not Jubayr b. Muṭ'im, is the correct reading: elsewhere we are told that Sa'd was rescued by Muṭ'im b. 'Adī who was his *ṣadiq* or friend³⁸. Further evidence on the identity of the rescuer is derived from a problematic verse by Ḥassān b. Thābit, included in a group of verses in Ibn Hishām accompanying the story of Sa'd's capture after the 'Aqaba meeting. The verse mentions one Abū Wahb whose identity caused the editor of Ḥassān's *Dīwān*³⁹ some difficulty. There were several claimants to the title of "Sa'd's rescuer". In addition to the above-mentioned Muṭ'im b. 'Adī and al-Ḥārith b. Ḥarb b. Umayya, we also find, in the introduction to Ḥassān's poem, Umayya b. Khalaf and al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, and in the margin of one of the MSS of the *Dīwān*, Umayya b. Khalaf's son, Ṣafwān, is mentioned⁴⁰.

The key to the identity of Sa'd's rescuer, or one of his rescuers, is of course the identity of the Abū Wahb mentioned in Ḥassān's verse⁴¹. The editor of the *Dīwān*, Walid 'Arafat, comments (II, 169-70n) that he did not find in the *nasab* books evidence that any of those mentioned as Sa'd's rescuers had a son called Wahb. Yet Ṣafwān b. Umayya b. Khalaf is a serious candidate and the evidence is curiously from one of the sources utilized by 'Arafat, namely *Nasab Quraysh* by Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdallāh al-Zubayrī. This source does tell us that Ṣafwān b. Umayya's

³⁵ IBN HISHĀM, *Sira*, II, 92-93.

³⁶ *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, Facsimile edition, 'Amman, n.d., VII, 115-16 (...Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Ishāq); cf. *Tahdhīb ta'rikh Ibn 'Asākir*, ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Efendi BADRĀN, Damascus, 1399/1979, VI, 88, 1.6.

³⁷ See LANE, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. *rikāb*.

³⁸ AL-BALĀDHURI, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, I, 254, 1.3 from below. See also IBN SA'D, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, I, 223, 1.4 from below (Muṭ'im and al-Ḥārith b. [Ḥarb b.] Umayya).

³⁹ ḤASSĀN B. THĀBIT, *Dīwān*, ed. W. 'ARAFAT, London, 1971.

⁴⁰ *Dīwān*, I, 224; II, 169.

⁴¹ IBN HISHĀM, *Sira*, II, 94, 1.4; *Dīwān*, I, 224, no. 5.

kunya was Abū Wahb⁴². So Ṣafwān could have been identical with the Abū Wahb mentioned by Ḥassān. As if to complicate things further, Muṭ'im's *kunya* was also Abū Wahb⁴³. Confronted by these two Abū Wahbs, Ṣafwān and Muṭ'im, the latter would be a better choice because of the *sīra* report, attached to Ḥassān's verses, about Muṭ'im's trade links with Sa'd and because of the remark quoted above that Muṭ'im was Sa'd's *ṣadīq*.⁴⁴

The evidence for the business links between Sa'd b. 'Ubāda and Muṭ'im b. 'Adī, associated above all with the story of the 'Aqaba meeting, demonstrates the *hibāl* mentioned by Abū l-Haytham, which were presumably reciprocal arrangements of safe conduct. In other words, the very story of the 'Aqaba meeting shows how such arrangements worked, or were supposed to have worked: protection in Medina in return for protection in Mecca.

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The biography of the Prophet Muḥammad should be studied in the context of Islamic society of the first Islamic century. In most cases one should not expect to find in it straightforward historical evidence but

⁴² Ed. E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, Cairo, 1953, 388. See also IBN ḤAJAR AL-'ASQALĀNĪ, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣahāba*, ed. AL-BUĀWĪ, Cairo, 1392/1972, III, 432. Cf. IBN QUDĀMA, *al-Tabyīn fī ansāb al-Qurashīyyīn*, ed. M. Nāyif AL-DULAYMĪ, Beirut, 1408/1988, 452, I.1 from below (Ṣafwān's *kunya* was Abū Umayya); and especially IBN 'ABD AL-BARR, *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rīfat al-aṣḥāb*, ed. AL-BUĀWĪ, Cairo, n.d., II, 718 (who mentions both *kunyas*, Abū Wahb and Abū Umayya, adding: *wa-humā kunyatāni lahu mashhūrātāni*).

⁴³ AL-BALĀDHURĪ, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, MS Süleymanīe Kütüphanesi (Reisülküttap Mustafa Efendi, 597/598), 808; AL-TABRISĪ, *l'ilm l-warā*, 85.

⁴⁴ For a variant version of Ḥassān's verse, mentioning Abū Ḥassān instead of Abū Wahb, with reference to a member of the Sahr, see IBN 'ASĀKĪR, *Ta'rikh madīnat Dimashq*, Facsimile edition, VII, 116, 1.8 from below.

Muṭ'im is said, in the margin of one of the *Dīwān*'s MSS, to have sheltered Sa'd b. 'Ubāda on another occasion: "Sa'd entered Mecca performing an *'umra* after the Battle of Badr". 'Arafat remarks that the sources available to him do not mention Sa'd's entrance to Mecca after the battle of Badr; ḤASSĀN, *Dīwān*, II, 169, n. 1. However, one of them does mention Sa'd's arrival (while dating it before, not after, Badr). It is again Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, who says about Muṭ'im: *wa-huwa lladhī aṭlaqa Sa'd b. 'Ubāda min aydi Quraysh ba'da mā ta'allaqū bihi, wa-kāna Sa'd qadima mu'tumiran*. Muṣ'ab even preserves a verse of Ḥassān composed in gratitude for this event, which praises Muṭ'im's father, 'Adī; *Nasab Quraysh*, 200. The verse is quoted (without the story accompanying it) in the *Dīwān*, I, 522. The manuscript report about Muṭ'im sheltering Sa'd after Badr is problematic though: according to MUṢ'AB (*loc.cit*), Muṭ'im died before Badr. 'Arafat suggests that a contamination occurred between the stories of Sa'd b. 'Ubāda and another Sa'd of the Anṣār, Sa'd [b. al-Nu'mān] b. Akkāl, who was captured in Mecca after Badr upon performing the *'umra*, see e.g. IBN HISHĀM, *Sīra*, II, 305-306.

study the *sīra* from some distance in order to see it in proper perspective.

The conflict between the Anṣār and Quraysh shaped many a chapter in the *sīra*, and the story of the 'Aqaba meeting is but one of them. The Anṣārī informants responsible for the story convey a clear picture of a clash between the Anṣār and Quraysh. Whether this picture is historical or not is another matter altogether.

Abū l-Haytham's alleged utterance discussed here implies that the Anṣār took into consideration a possible break (or severance of *hibāl*) with the Prophet's tribe Quraysh, but decided to take the risk. However, they were concerned about the possibility that, once victorious, the Prophet would abandon them and return to his tribe in Mecca. The Prophet assured them, using a common formula of solemn declaration, of his commitment to the alliance with them, totally repudiating his attachment to his own tribe. For some later historians or scribes this formulation was too blunt, and they replaced the allusion to Quraysh (*qawmika*) with a more obscure, hence a more benign, reference to "people" in general (*al-qawm* etc.).

The assumption that the alliance between the Anṣār and the Jews of Medina was mentioned by Abū l-Haytham at the 'Aqaba meeting is based on a faulty reading: the gloss *ya'nī l-yahūd*, as has been argued above, is a corruption of *ya'nī l-'uhūd*, preserved in transmissions of Abū l-Haytham's words outside Ibn Hishām's recension. This gloss relates to *hibāl*, not to *qawm/aqwām/rijāl/nās*.

One could argue that even if we adopt the reading *'uhūd* as the original one, the text could still refer to the severance of the alliances with the Jews. But, again, one should distance oneself from the text: the question is not what was said at the 'Aqaba meeting about the alliances with the Jews, which were about to be severed by the Anṣār, but what is the *sīra* likely to tell us about such a matter. The traditional story (which, I believe, reflects historical fact) suggests that when the Prophet arrived at Medina, he sincerely hoped to convert its Jews to Islam.

APPENDIX

I.a. It is not at all impossible that the transition in written sources from *'uhūd* "pacts" to *yahūd* "Jews" argued in this paper was facilitated by a greater acoustic similarity between the two words than the classical Arabic orthography reveals. The occurrence together of the two gutturals, pharyngal *'ayn* and laryngal *hā'*, in the root *'hd* led in some old Arabic dialects to various shifts in the articulation of the first two radicals. Among these one could mention the reading of Quran 36,60 attributed to Tamīm *'a-lam 'aḥḥud 'ilaykum* "Did I not enjoin you?" = textus receptus *'a-lam 'a'had*, quoted from *Ibn Ḥālawaih's Sammlung nichtkanonischer Koranlesarten*, ed. G. BERGSTRÄSSER (Cairo, 1934) 125 by C. RABIN, *Ancient West Arabian* (London, 1951) 85, 92 n. 10 (where read *'aḥḥud* etc.) or *lā wa-ḥahdi llāhi* "no, by the covenant of God" quoted by H. KOFLER, *WZKM* 47 (1940) 110 from A. HAFFNER, *Texte zur arabischen Lexikographie* (Leipzig, 1905) 24. In certain Aramaic dialects the corresponding root belongs to the *verba mediae infirmae* and appears as *'wd*, for which see R. DUVAL, *Traité de grammaire syriaque* (Paris, 1881) 37 n. 1; K. VOLLERS, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* (Strassburg, 1906) 97; the literature adduced by F. BUHL, *Wilhelm Gesenius' hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch* (¹⁷ Leipzig, 1915) 568b; F. SCHULTHESS, *Grammatik des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch* (Tübingen, 1924) §20.2; C. BROCKELMANN, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Halle, 1928) 513b. Note also the Negev Bedouin idiom *a'ād* + pronominal suffix = classical *'ahdī bihī* etc. discussed by F. STEWART, *Studia Linguistica et Orientalia Memoriae Haim Blanc Dedicata*, ed. P. WEXLER, A. BORG, S. SOMEKH (Wiesbaden, 1989) 277-8, in which likewise *'wd* seems to correspond to *'hd*; see H. BLANC, *The Arabic Dialect of the Negev Bedouins* (Jerusalem, 1970 = *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* IV/7) 37 (148). The root *'hd* was regarded as a "Nebenform" of *'wd* by H.L. FLEISCHER, *Kleinere Schriften*, II (Leipzig, 1888) 649, for which see also J.A. THOMPSON, *JSS* 10 (1965) 234/5.

b. Closer to the question of *'uhūd-yahūd* is the pronunciation of *'hd* with *'alif* instead of *'ayn* as attested in various layers of Arabic. A fairly old example *اهودا* "pacts" is recorded in S. HOPKINS, *Studies in the Grammar of early Arabic* (Oxford, 1984) §28 and such forms are well attested in modern dialects, e.g. Baghdad and Aleppo as noted by H. BLANC, *Communal Dialects in Baghdad* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964) 147. It may be taken as certain that this pronunciation of *'hd* as *'hd* was much more widespread than the conservative orthography of classical Arabic discloses. Such is the situation with regard to this very root in western Syriac, for whereas the orthography usually retains the *'ē*, Barhebraeus tells us that the pronunciation is in fact with *āalph*, see Th. NÖLDEKE, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik* (² Leipzig, 1898) §37; A. MOBERG, *Buch der Strahlen. Die grössere Grammatik des Barhebraeus*, Einleitung und zweiter Teil (Leipzig, 1907) 29, 96. A pronunciation *'uhūd* < *'uhūd* on a rather wide scale may hence be considered not at all unlikely.

II.a. The background of the Arabic terms for “Jew(s)”, viz., *yahūdiyy* “Jew(ish)”, *yahūd* (with initial *ya-*) and *hūd* (pl. tantum from a root *hwd*) “Jews” is not fully clear. For general information see A. JEFFERY, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an* (Baroda, 1938) 293/4. J. HOROVITZ, *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1926) 154 well recognized that there is no direct route connecting the Arabic forms with their presumed Hebrew and Aramaic etymons, Hebrew *yəhudi*, Jewish Aramaic *yəhudāyā* etc. Horovitz regarded Arabic *yahūd* as a backformation from the loaned nisba *y(a)hūdiyy* remodelled after *yaf'ul*, a nominal pattern often used for proper names, for which examples may be found in J. BARTH, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (² Leipzig, 1894) 227; concerning *hūd* he noted that this plural presupposes an unused singular **ahwad*. Whatever the precise history of Arabic *yahūd*, it seems fairly clear that the word contains a non-original, probably restituted *a*-vowel which arose within Arabic itself. It is very unlikely that this *a*-vowel was present in the Hebrew/Aramaic etymon. In Syriac the normal form (beside *yudāyā* without *h*, for which see NÖLDEKE, *Syr. Gr.* §38 end) is (')*ihudāyā* according to the shift in that language (and in Mandaic, see below) of initial **yə>*, often written with *ā*laph as 'i (NÖLDEKE §40C; DUVAL, *Traité* §106.1a). As for other Aramaic dialects, the same phonological feature is known, but is there sporadic rather than regular as in Syriac and Mandaic; see the examples and literature in S.E. FASSBERG, *A Grammar of the Palestinian Targum Fragments from the Cairo Genizah* (Atlanta, 1991) 69 §19f, 98/9.

b. This shift **yə>* (')*i* is also regular in Mandaic, Th. NÖLDEKE, *Mandäische Grammatik* (Halle, 1875) §55, but it so happens that the word for “Jews” in Mandaic is *y'hwt'yy* = *iahuṭaiia* with an *a*-vowel in the first syllable. However, one will not be tempted to find here the source of the same vowel in the Arabic *yahūd*. *iahuṭaiia* is not an inherited Aramaic form but a malicious polemical modification playing on associations with *y'hṭ'* “abortion, miscarriage” and *ṿhṭ'* “sin”, as noted by NÖLDEKE, *Mand. Gr.* 43 n. 2 and R. MACUCH, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic* (Berlin, 1965) 429 n. 71, e.g. *iahuṭaiia iaḥṭia unipṣia* “Iudaei, abortus et excrementa” NÖLDEKE, 320 = M. LIDZBARSKI, *Ginzā. Der Schatz, oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer* (Göttingen-Leipzig, 1925) 232 “die Juden, die Abortūs und Abgänge”; *mitiqrin iahuṭaiia d-hṭun* MACUCH, *ibid.* = LIDZBARSKI, *Ginzā* 43 “Sie werden Juden genannt, weil sie gesündigt haben” with n. 2 and a similar passage 225, 20.

c. It seems that beside the classical Arabic *yahūd* with initial *ya-* there were current in Arabia and the southern Semitic world Aramaic-like forms of the type **ihūd* “Jews” opening with *alif* + *i* as in Syriac *'ihudāyā*: *'yhd* “Jews” apparently appears in ESA and *'ayhud* (pl. tantum remodelled on the pattern *'af'ul*) is frequent in Ge'ez. This situation is reflected in modern dialects. For example, in the Syrian dialect area reflexes of classical Arabic *yahūd* are ubiquitous, occasionally even occurring with a lengthened first syllable: *yāhūd*, H. GROTZFELD, *Laut-*

und Formenlehre des Damaszenisch-Arabischen (Wiesbaden, 1964) §107c; A. BLOCH & H. GROTZFELD, *Damaszenisch-arabische Texte* (Wiesbaden, 1964) 78,9. Beside these *ya-* forms we also find continuations of **'ihūd* with initial *'i-*: Aleppo *ihūd* "Juifs", *lihūd* "les Juifs" in A. BARTHÉLEMY, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français. Dialectes de Syrie: Alep, Damas, Liban, Jérusalem* (Paris, 1935-1969) 918 [but *yāhūdi* "Geizkragen", O. JASTROW & S. KAZZARAH, *ZAL* 5 (1980) 98 n. 10]; Damascus *ihūdi msāfer*, the name of a certain dish, J. MALINJOUD, *JA* 204 (1924) 287 ult. [but *yāhūd* 285, 6].

Within Arabic, then, the word for "Jews" has from early times existed as a doublet: some forms, historically the earlier ones, reflect quite closely their Hebrew/Aramaic origin and begin with *'i-*, while others have been repatterned within Arabic and open with *ya-*. This is a relationship similar to that which obtains between literary *yad* "hand" and vernacular *īd*, for which, in order to account for the attested forms, a Proto-Semitic doublet was posited by BARTHÉLEMY, *Dictionnaire* 21; cf. on this subject Th. NÖLDEKE, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strasburg, 1910) 116.

III. If we suppose a pronunciation *'uhūd* (for *'uhūd*) "pacts" on the one hand, and a pronunciation *'ihūd* (for *yahūd*) "Jews" on the other, then it becomes plausible to imagine, especially in the light of the notorious instability of *u* and *i* and the possible alternation *'uhūd*-*'ihūd*, that the textual change of *'uhūd* to *yahūd* might have been helped by the phonetic circumstances, viz. a similarity (or even identity) in the pronunciation of the two words which remains hidden behind the standard orthography. If so, the case of *'uhūd* > *yahūd* discussed in this paper may have further implications regarding the manner of transmission of early Arabic texts.

VII

WĀQIDĪ'S ACCOUNT ON THE STATUS OF THE JEWS OF MEDINA: A STUDY OF A COMBINED REPORT*

I. WĀQIDĪ'S GARBLED TEXT

IN studying the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, the *sira*, we sometimes come across evidence of outstanding importance. One such piece of evidence is a passage from Wāqidi's introduction to the story of the assassination of the Jewish leader Ka'b b. al-Ashraf.¹ The passage deals with the divisions in the population of Medina at the time of the Hijra. I submit that the passage, in its present form in Wāqidi's book, is corrupt: in fact, rather than stating that the Jewish clans of Medina were the clients of the Arab clans, as has hitherto been supposed, this passage states that they were the strongest element in the population of Medina.

J. Wellhausen considered the passage a reflection of the political situation in pre-Islamic Medina: Wāqidi rightly describes, he says, the population of pre-Islamic Medina as comprising two groups: the ruling group, i.e., the Anṣār, and the clients, i.e., the Jews and the Jewish proselytes.²

The passage in question follows here:

Translation

Ibn al-Ashraf was a poet. He would satirize the Prophet and his Companions, and in his poetry instigate against them the infidels of Quraysh. When the Messenger of God came to Medina, its population was a mixture (*akhlāf*); among them there were Muslims who were united by the call (*da'wa*) of Islam, including the people (viz., the owners) of weapons (*ḥalqa*)³ and fortresses (*ḥuṣūn*). And among them there were allies of the two clans (*ḥulafā' li-l-ḥayyayni jami'an*), the Aws and the

* The first section of the present study is based on my doctoral thesis entitled "On the Prophet Muḥammad's Activity in Medina" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1982) (in Hebrew). Cf. M. Sharon, *Revolt: The Social and Military Aspects of the 'Abbasid Revolution* (Jerusalem, 1990), p. 164, n. 53. I wish to thank Michael Cook for his comments on this section when it was still part of my monograph on the 'Āliya of Medina (*Muslims, Jews and Pagans: Studies on Early Islamic Medina* [Leiden, 1995]). I also wish to express my gratitude to Simon Hopkins for a thor-

ough critique of the entire study. I am also indebted to L. Paula Woods for her fine editorial work. Abbreviations for Arabic texts cited throughout appear on p. 32 at the end of the study.

¹ The *sayyid* of the Banū al-Naḍīr: 'All b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-'uyūn fi strat al-amn al-ma'mūn (al-Sira al-Ḥalabiyya)* (Cairo, A.H. 1320), vol. 2, p. 108, l. 25; M. J. Kister, "The Market of the Prophet," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 8 (1965): 276, n. 4.

² J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1889), pp. 73–74, 75: "Richtig unterscheidet Vaqidi in dem vorislamischen Medina eine herrschende Bevölkerung, die Anṣār, und Beisassen, die aus jüdischen und judaisirten Sippen bestehen."

³ *Ḥalqa* means coats of mail or weapons in general; E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v.

Khazraj. The Messenger of God wanted, when he came to Medina, to conclude a treaty with all of them and to make a truce with them. And it would happen that a man was a Muslim and his father an idol worshiper. The idol worshipers and the Jews among the people of Medina would harass the Messenger of God and his Companions a great deal, but God enjoined his Prophet and the Muslims to bear this patiently and to forgive them.⁴

The text is somewhat vague concerning the identity of the groups who made up the population of Medina which it describes as "a mixture" (*akhlāf*). It is clear that something is missing from what follows later on: the Jews and the idol worshipers, who are not mentioned earlier, appear toward the end of the passage (*fa-kāna l-mushrikūna wa-l-yahūd*, etc.).⁵

Wāqidi created the account of the assassination of Ka' b b. al-Ashraf by combining reports from three earlier sources. He does not conceal the technique by which this combined report was created (see more below) but provides the names of his informants and their sources at the beginning of the story (Text I, l. 2).⁶ He then says: *fa-kullun qad ḥad-dathani bi-ṭā'ifa, fa-kāna lladhi jtama'ū lanā 'alayhi, qālū*, "each of them transmitted to me part (of the story), and this is what they agreed upon (in what they transmitted) to us."⁷

The sources Wāqidi used are:

1. 'Abd al-Ḥamid b. Ja'far al-Awsī (d. 153/770) < Yazīd b. Rūmān (d. 130/747).⁸
2. Ma' mar (b. Rāshid, d. 154/770) < Zuhri (d. 124/742) < Ibn Ka' b b. Mālik, viz., 'Abdallāh b. Ka' b b. Mālik (d. 97/716 or 98/717);⁹ and

⁴ Wāqidi, vol. 1, p. 184 (see Text I, pp. 29–30 below):

Inna bna l-Ashraf kāna shā'iran wa-kāna yahjū l-nabiyya ṣ wa-aṣḥābahu wa-yuḥarriḍu 'alayhim kuffāra Quraysh fī shi'rihi. Wa-kāna rasūla llāhi ṣ qadima l-Madīna wa-ahluhā akhlāf,

minhumu l-muslimūna lladhīna tajma'uhum da'watu l-islām fīhim ahlu l-ḥalqa wa-l-ḥuṣūn, wa-minhum ḥulafā' l-l-ḥayyayni jami'an al-Aws wa-l-Khazraj.

Fa-arāda rasūlu llāhi ṣ ḥīna qadima l-Madīna stiḥlāḥahum kullihim wa-muwāda'atahum. Wa-kāna l-rajulu yakūnu musliman wa-abūhu mushrik. Fa-kāna l-mushrikūna wa-l-yahūd min ahli l-Madīna yu'dhūna rasūla llāhi ṣ wa-aṣḥābahu adhan shadīdan, fa-amara llāhu 'azza wa-jalla nabīyyahu wa-l-muslimīna bi-l-ṣabri 'alā dhālika wa-l-'afwi 'anhum . . . Falammā abū bnu l-Ashraf an yanzi'a 'an adhā l-nabiyyi ṣ wa-adhā l-muslimīna wa-qad balagha minhum [at this point, Wāqidi switches from one source to another; see p. 25].

Fa-lammā qadima Zayd b. Ḥāritha bi-l-bishāra min Badr bi-qatli l-mushrikīna wa-asri man usira minhum fa-ra'ā l-aarā muqarranīna kubita wa-dhalla etc.

⁵ Cf. the use of *akhlāf* in Aḥmad Zaynī Dahlān, *al-Sira l-nabawiyya wa-l-āthār al-muḥammadiyya* (Cairo, A.H. 1310), vol. 1, p. 184, l. 23: they include Muslims, idol worshipers, and Jews (*fa-idhā fī l-majlis akhlāf minna l-muslimīna wa-l-mushrikīna 'abadati l-awthān wa-l-yahūd*).

⁶ Wāqidi, vol. 1, p. 184.

⁷ For *qālū*, which refers to the original collective *isnād*, see J. M. B. Jones, "The *Maghāzi* Literature," in A. F. L. Beeston et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 348 (here-

after *CHALUP*). For a less felicitous interpretation of Wāqidi's *qālū*, see Jones, "Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidi: The Dream of 'Ātika and the Raid to Nakhla in Relation to the Charge of Plagiarism," *BSOAS* 22 (1959): 50 (by it Wāqidi "is referring to the majority opinion amongst his original sources").

⁸ 'Abd al-Ḥamid: *Tahdhib*, vol. 6, pp. 111–12; Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-Dhahabi, *al-Kāshif fī ma'rifat man lahu riwāya fī l-kutub al-sitta* (Cairo, 1392/1972), vol. 2, p. 149. Yazīd: F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1967), p. 284 (hereafter *GAS*).

⁹ Ma' mar: *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 290 f. Zuhri: *GAS*, vol. 1, pp. 280 f. 'Abdallāh: Mizzi, vol. 15, pp. 473 f.; *Tahdhib*, vol. 6, p. 369 (it is explicitly mentioned that he was a teacher of Zuhri; the same is said about his son 'Abd al-Rahmān; see n. 18 below). According to another version of Zuhri's report, however, quoted from Zuhri on the authority of Shu'ayb b. Abi Ḥamza, Zuhri transmitted this report from 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Ka' b b. Mālik < his father 'Abdallāh; see pp. 17–18 below. The nearer Zuhri draws to the generation of the Prophet's Companions, the more prestigious and respectable his *isnād*, which is a good reason to prefer the "less prestigious" 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh version, in which two transmitters, not just one, separate Zuhri from the Companion Ka' b b. Mālik. All this brings to mind the accusation of *tadlis*, "the concealment (of a fault)," leveled at Zuhri, which, in this case, means the false ascription of a ḥadīth to an earlier authority while concealing the intermediary.

3. Ibrāhīm b. Ja^cfar (b. Maḥmūd b. ^cAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Ḥārithī) < his father (Ja^cfar b. Maḥmūd) < Jābir b. ^cAbdallāh (d. 78/697).¹⁰

As is always the case in combined reports, Wāqidī does not provide us with the source for each individual part of the story. Fortunately, the text of the specific passage quoted above, which is crucial in connection with the status of the Jews, is preserved elsewhere in a different form.

The *Kitāb al-aghānī* by Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī may not be where one would normally expect to find parallels for Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-maghāzī*. Yet Abū l-Faraj adduces many extracts from earlier sources,¹¹ and we find in his book a passage which is almost identical to the one quoted above.¹²

Although there are a few differences, this is clearly the same report. But the *Aghānī* report is more complete concerning the components of the "mixture" of which the population of Medina was made. There were not only two categories of inhabitants, as Wellhausen assumed, following Wāqidī's text; rather, there were three: Muslims, Jews, and idol worshipers. Furthermore, at that time, the Jews were *the* owners of weapons and fortresses in Medina. In other words, rather than reporting that the Jews were subordinated by the Arab population of Medina, this passage, in fact, says that the Jews were the strongest element in the population of Medina. Hence *ḥulafā'*, in this context, are not "clients" but "allies."

The source of the *Aghānī* report is unknown. Although al-Iṣfahānī died in 356/967, a century and a half after Wāqidī, who died in 207/823, the latter's *Kitāb al-maghāzī* could not have been the source of the more complete text found in the *Aghānī*. Both texts are based on a report going back to one of the three sources listed by Wāqidī. The identity of this source can be established with the help of a third source, the *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa* of Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066), who records one of the reports which Wāqidī used for his combined report about the assassination of Ka^cb b. al-Ashraf (see Text II, pp. 30–32 below).

We should be grateful to Bayhaqī for two things. Firstly, unlike Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, Bayhaqī provides a chain of transmitters, so we know exactly where his report comes from. Secondly, unlike Wāqidī, Bayhaqī does not create a combined report but provides an atomistic report. Bayhaqī's chain of transmitters goes back to [. . .] Shu^cayb [b. Abī Ḥamza] < Zuhri < ^cAbd al-Raḥmān b. ^cAbdallāh b. Ka^cb b. Mālik; another chain attached to the same report goes back to the father of ^cAbd al-Raḥmān b. ^cAbdallāh b. Ka^cb b. Mālik

¹⁰ Ibrāhīm: Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl* (Hyderabad, 1371/1952–1373/1953), vol. 2, p. 91. Ja^cfar: see Mizzi, vol. 5, pp. 107 f. (a variant genealogy omits ^cAbdallāh; it is noteworthy that he lived in Khaybar and used to transmit the reports on the expedition of Khaybar, *kāna yaskunu Khaybar, kāna yarwi ghazwata Khaybar*). Jābir: Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, vol. 1, pp. 43–44; Mizzi, vol. 4, pp. 443 f.

¹¹ Cf. GAS, vol. 1, pp. 378 f.

¹² *Aghānī*, vol. 19, p. 106:

Kāna Ka^cb b. al-Ashraf yahjū l-nabiyya ṣ wa-yuḥarriqu ^calayhi kuffāra Quraysh fi shi^crihi. Wa-kāna l-nabiyyu ṣ qadima l-Madīna wa-biya akhlāt,

minhumu l-muslimūna lladhīna tajma^cuhum da^cwatu l-nabiyyi ṣ, wa-minhumu l-mushrikūna lladhīna ya^cbudūna l-awthān,

wa-minhumu l-yahūd, wa-hum ahlu l-ḥalqa wa-l-ḥuṣūn wa-hum ḥulafā' u l-ḥayyayni l-Aws wa-l-Khazraj.

Fa-arāda l-nabiyyu ^calayhi l-ṣalātu wa-l-salām idh qadima stiṣlāḥahum kullihim, wa-kāna l-rajulu yakūnu musliman wa-abūhu mushrik wa-yakūnu musliman wa-akhūhu mushrik. Wa-kāna l-mushrikūna wa-l-yahūd hīna qadima l-nabiyyu ṣ yu'dhūnahu wa-aṣḥābahu l-adhā. Fa-amara llāhu nabīyahu wa-l-muslimīna bi-l-ṣabri ^calā dhālika wa-l-^cafwi ^canhum. Wa-anzala fi sha^cnihim: "la-tasma^cunna mina lladhīna ūtū l-kitāba min qablikum." al-āya. Wa-anzala fihim: "wadda kathīrun min ahli l-kitāb law yaruddnakum ba^cda imānikum," ilā qawlihi: "wa-^ṣfaḥū," fa-lammā abū Ka^cb b. al-Ashraf an yanzi^ca ^can adhā l-nabiyyi ṣ wa-aṣḥābihi, amara l-nabiyyu ṣ Sa^cd b. Mu^cadh, etc.

(viz., ʿAbdallāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik).¹³ Bayhaqī's *isnād* makes us realize that the opening section of Wāqidi's combined report comes from the second chain of transmitters (see above), namely, Maʿmar < Zuhri < Ibn Kaʿb b. Mālik (viz., ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik).¹⁴ Whereas Wāqidi received this report from Zuhri through Maʿmar b. Rāshid, Bayhaqī, as we learn from this *isnād*, received it from Zuhri through Shuʿayb (viz., Shuʿayb b. Abī Ḥamza).¹⁵

Significantly, with regard to the Jews of Medina, the expression *ahl al-ḥalqa wa-l-ḥuṣūn* is repeated in another report which ʿAbd al-Razzāq cites from Maʿmar b. Rāshid < Zuhri < ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaʿb b. Mālik [*sic*].¹⁶ According to this report, after the Battle of Badr the Meccan infidels demanded that the Jews of Medina fight the Prophet. They addressed them as *ahl al-ḥalqa wa-l-ḥuṣūn*. The name of Zuhri's informant in this report, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (and not the reverse, as in our report, i.e., ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik) is attested in other sources which cite it.¹⁷ The correct name, however, was probably ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh (in this order). We infer this from what we know about this family: Kaʿb b. Mālik had a son called ʿAbdallāh who had a son called ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Kaʿb b. Mālik had also a son called ʿAbd al-Raḥmān who had two sons, but neither of these sons was called ʿAbdallāh.¹⁸ Thus the occurrence of the expression *ahl al-ḥalqa wa-l-ḥuṣūn* in two separate reports (though probably coming ultimately from the same source) is indeed remarkable.

We may conclude that Wāqidi's combined report, which misled Wellhausen (and many later scholars), includes a corrupt version of the original report. It appears that Wāqidi is to blame (although the possibility of a scribal error cannot be ruled out). While he was combining the reports which he had received from his three informants about the assassination of Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf into one coherent story, Wāqidi probably unintentionally changed the statement concerning the status of the Jews.

We may thus conclude that it was mainly the Jews who were the principal owners of fortresses and weapons in Medina; they were the allies (not the clients) of the Aws and the Khazraj.¹⁹ "The Jews" in our text refer mainly to the two tribes Naḍir and Qurayza.

II. COMBINED REPORTS IN ORIENTALIST RESEARCH

The combined report (hereafter called CR) is the result of a very early and widespread technique, and an understanding of its workings is of paramount importance in the study

¹³ Bayhaqī, vol. 3, pp. 196 f. (see Text II, pp. 30–31 below):

Akhbarani . . . anna Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf al-yahūdī kāna shāʿiran wa-kāna yahjū rasūla llāhi š wa-yuharrīdu ʿalayhi kufūra Quraysh fi shiʿrihi. Wa-kāna rasūlu llāhi š. qadima l-Madina wa-ahluhā akhlātān(!),

minhumu l-muslimūna lladhina tajmaʿuhum daʿwatu rasūli llāhi š, wa-minhumu l-mushrikūna lladhina yaʿbudūna l-awthān, wa-minhumu l-yahūd, wa-hum ahlu l-ḥalqa wa-l-ḥuṣūn, wa-hum ḥulafāʾ li-l-ḥayyayni l-Aws wa-l-Khazraj.

Fa-arāda rasūlu llāhi š ḥina qadima l-Madina stiṣlāḥahum kullihim. Wa-kāna l-rajul yakūnu musliman wa-abūhu mushrik wa-l-rajul yakūnu musliman wa-akhūhu mushrik, etc.

¹⁴ The words *ʿan abihī* should be added; see Abū Dāwūd, vol. 2, p. 138. In other words, the story reportedly originated with ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's father ʿAbdallāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik. See n. 9 above.

¹⁵ On his transmission from Zuhri, see my forthcoming article "Biographical Notes on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri," in *Journal of Semitic Studies*.

¹⁶ See ʿAbd al-Razzāq, vol. 5, pp. 358 f.

¹⁷ See, for example, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalāni, *Fath al-bāri sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Būlāq, A.H. 1301), vol. 7, p. 255, l. 4.

¹⁸ Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusi, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Ḥārūn (Cairo, 1382/1962), p. 360. See an entry on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik in *Tahdhīb*, vol. 6, pp. 214 f. (it is explicitly mentioned here that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh, who died during the caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, was one of Zuhri's teachers; cf. n. 9 above).

¹⁹ Cf. the contempt for the Jews' military prowess shown by a warrior of Ḥanifa, who said to an Anṣārī: "Do you consider us similar to the Hijāz Jews whom

of early Islamic historiography. It was I. Goldziher who first noticed Zuhri's method of combining many reports into one account molded according to his personal taste ("nach seinem persönlichen Geschmack"). As an example, he cited the *ḥadīth al-īfk*, which Zuhri created from the reports of four earlier authorities.²⁰

Plausibly and, as we shall see, correctly, Goldziher assumed that in the process of combining disparate reports into one narrative, the composer of the CR takes into consideration his own inclinations. Significantly, Goldziher did not use the term "Sammelisnād," "collective *isnād*," an expression later used by other scholars implying that the original reports were more or less in agreement.²¹ In fact, in the secondary literature we find two different conceptions of the nature of the CR and, in particular, of the role played by its composer.

H. A. R. Gibb observed that Zuhri "is credited with having been the first to combine traditions from several sources into a single narrative (e.g., the *ḥadīth al-īfk*), which marks an advance in historical presentation, though one open to abuse by less scrupulous

you met (in the battlefield)?" (a-tahsibu annā ka-man lāqaytum min yuhdāni l-Hijāz); Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisi, *al-Istibṣār fī nasab al-ṣaḥāba min al-anṣār*, ed. ʿAlī Nuwayhid (Beirut, 1392/1972), p. 221 (printed erroneously *buhdān*). For the plural *yuhdān*, which is pejorative, see Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Diwān*, ed. W. ʿArāfat (London, 1971), vol. 1, p. 192.

²⁰ Goldziher ("Neue Materialien zur Literatur des Überlieferungswesens bei den Muhammedanern," *ZDMG* 50 [1896]: 474; reprinted in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. J. Desomogyi [Hildesheim, 1967–73], vol. 4, p. 78) quotes from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (vol. 6, p. 194) Zuhri's own description of his method:

Wa-kulluhum ḥaddathani bi-ḥāʾifa min ḥadīthihā wa-baʿḍuhum kāna awʿā li-ḥadīthihā min baʿḍ wa-athbata qtiṣṣan wa-qad waʿaytu ʿan kulli wāḥid minhum l-ḥadīth al-ladhi ḥaddathani, wa-baʿḍu ḥadīthihim yuṣaddiqu baʿḍan.

See also F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammads*, 2d ed., trans. H. Schaeder (Heidelberg, 1955), pp. 372–73 (quoting Goldziher); J. Horowitz, "Alter and Ursprung des *Isnād*," *Der Islam* 8 (1918): 43. Cf. on *ḥadīth al-īfk*, G. Widengren, "Oral Tradition and Written Literature among the Hebrews in the Light of Arabic Evidence with Special Regard to Prose Narratives," *Acta Orientalia* 23 (1954): 256 f. Note that "combined story" in E. Landau-Tasseron, "Process of Redaction: The Case of the Tamimite Delegation to the Prophet Muḥammad," *BSOAS* 49 (1986): 256, 261, 262 (where she speaks of "the fusion of the various accounts into one, resulting in combined stories"), is not the same as "combined report" in the strict technical sense in which it is used in the present study.

²¹ Horowitz, for example, speaks of "Sammelisnāde, in welchen die Namen all der verschiedenen Gewährsmänner, die einen Bericht im wesentlichen übereinstimmend überliefern, zusammengestellt werden, und denen dann der vereinheitlichte Bericht folgt." He mentions that they are not a peculiarity of Ibn Isḥāq, as Caetani believed, and can be found in Bukhāri and Aḥmad as well (idem, "Alter und Ursprung des *Isnād*," pp. 41 f.). All but two of the cases of combined

isnād in Bukhāri are fragments of the *ḥadīth al-īfk* and the same is true for Aḥmad; Goldziher, "Neue Materialien," p. 474. See also J. Horowitz, "Zur Muḥammad-legende," *Der Islam* 5 (1914): 43–44: "Berichte, die im wesentlichen übereinstimmen, aber auf verschiedene Gewährsmänner zurückgingen, wurden von ihm unter Voranstellung eines *Isnāds*, in dem sämtliche Gewährsmänner genannt wurden, zu einem Bericht vereinigt und dann Abweichungen der einzelnen Gewährsmänner in deren Namen jedesmal besonders nachgetragen." Most recently, see also S. Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*, 2d ed. (Princeton, 1991), p. 73: "In principle, it was thought proper for a compiler to abridge or paraphrase the *akhbār* found in his sources, and he might even blend a number of them together into a single account *so long as he did no violence to their substance* (italics mine). (In the scholarly literature, this latter procedure is often called a 'collective tradition')." G. Widengren defines the CR accurately ("Oral Tradition," p. 241), observing that "traditions from the outset entirely independent of each other, nay even in apparent contradiction, and thus to be classified as parallel versions of one episode, are combined into one narrative by being arranged in a chronological order." See also pp. 259 f.: "there existed different traditions about the call of Muḥammad and . . . ultimately there was created by the authors of the *sirah* a harmonized version by means of an altogether artificial chronological arrangement. We should like to emphasize that principle of composition: the artificial chronological arrangement." J. M. B. Jones mentions Mūsā b. ʿUqba's use of "collective *isnād*," for which the following example is given: "Ibn Shihāb < ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaʿb b. Mālik of [!] al-Sulamī and other traditionists"; "The *Maghāzi* Literature," *CHALUP*, p. 347 = A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muḥammad* (Oxford, 1955), p. xlv. Instead of al-Sulamī, read al-Salamī (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaʿb b. Mālik was of the Banū Salima, a subdivision of the Khazraj; Samʿāni, s.v. al-Salamī). In addition, Mūsā b. ʿUqba was merely quoting a collective *isnād* of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri.

traditionists."²² The introduction of "collective *isnād*" by Zuhri is also mentioned by A. A. Duri, who considers this "an important step towards continuous historical writing."²³ According to Duri, Zuhri "did make an important contribution when he adopted the collective *isnād*, collecting numerous accounts into a smooth, uninterrupted story preceded by a list of the authorities from whom the original accounts were taken. In this way, he took an important step towards continuous historical narrative."²⁴

As we shall see (section V below), the term CR is more accurate than combined/collective *isnād* (or "Sammelisnād") because it suggests manipulation through redaction. The latter term may apply where the compiler found two (or more) earlier sources providing the same report or slightly different variations of the same report. Obviously, the question of how a CR is composed is not merely a textual or philological one; to the extent that research in the history of Islam is based on CRs, it also belongs in the sphere of historical inquiry.

III. AḤMAD B. ḤANBAL AND WĀQIDĪ

Wāqidī was born in A.H. 129 or 130,²⁵ i.e., five or six years after the death of Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri. He did not invent the technique of CR which, as just mentioned, was introduced by Zuhri. Wāqidī was severely criticized for using this technique, which was considered an unsatisfactory method of *ḥadīth* transmission by other *muḥaddithūn*, among them Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855). According to them, the ideal transmission was the word-for-word repetition of received knowledge. The clash between these two schools of thought can best be seen in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's critical statements on Wāqidī's reliability as a *ḥadīth* transmitter.

Ibn Ḥanbal opposed the practice of CR and expressed his objection in connection with Wāqidī. We learn about this in the context of the defense of Wāqidī's practices by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Ḥarbī (d. 285/898).²⁶ Al-Ḥarbī claimed that the only thing in connection with Wāqidī to which Ibn Ḥanbal had objected was his lumping together of *isnād* and the creation of one harmonized text, which *suppressed the differences among his informants*. One variant of Ibn Ḥanbal's words, as cited by al-Ḥarbī, suggests that Ibn Ḥanbal objected to other things as well (*mimmā ankarahu ʿalayhi jamʿuhu l-asānida wa-majīʿuhu bi-l-matni wāḥidan*), but another variant (as cited by al-Ḥarbī) suggests that the use of CR by Wāqidī was Ibn Ḥanbal's only criticism. In the latter variant, Ibn Ḥanbal

²² "Tarikh," in S. J. Shaw and W. R. Polk, eds., *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (Boston, 1962), pp. 111 f. (originally published in *EI*, 1st ed., Supplement [Leiden, 1938], p. 235).

²³ A. A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing among the Arabs*, ed. and trans. by L. I. Conrad (Princeton, 1983), p. 29. See also Duri, "Al-Zuhri," *BSOAS* 19 (1957): 8.

²⁴ *Idem*, *Rise*, p. 111. Duri has the same praise for Ibn Ishāq: "In using the *isnād*, he was not as rigorous as the scholars of *ḥadīth* would have demanded, but he sufficiently advanced the method of using the collective *isnād* so that he was able to offer an engaging story from his accounts"; *ibid.*, pp. 35 f. The same method is found in Wāqidī, who uses it "to present the

essential information for each expedition, and then cites individual accounts to present further details or divergent reports"; *ibid.*, p. 38.

²⁵ Dhahabi, *Taʾrikh*, pp. 362–63 (the latter date was given by Wāqidī himself).

²⁶ See his biography in al-Ḥarbī, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, ed. Sulaymān b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿĀyid (Mecca, 1405/1985), vol. 1, pp. 17–51. Note that on p. 22, the editor al-ʿĀyid is misled by the fact that the entries in Yāqūt's geographical dictionary (s.v. al-Ḥarbiyya) are not divided into paragraphs; he also "corrects" the verb *khariba* to *wa-kharrabū*, the result being that according to the above-mentioned editor, in 147/764 the Khazars attacked the suburbs of Baghdad. See also n. 29 below.

explicitly refers to the suppression of divergent reports through the CR technique and says: "The only thing that I disapprove of concerning him is his collecting of *isnāds* and producing one text with an orderly narrative transmitted from a group of people who are often in disagreement" (*laysa unkiru ʿalayhi shayʿan illā jamʿahu l-asānida wa-majīʿahu bi-matn wāḥid ʿalā siyāqa wāḥida ʿan jamāʿa wa-rubbamā khtalafū*).²⁷

Al-Ḥarbī's answer to Ibn Ḥanbal's criticism is a restatement of what we already know: "This is not a fault (*ʿayb*)," he says, "Zuhri and Ibn Ishāq did the same." According to another version, al-Ḥarbī was more specific, saying: "Ibn Ishāq used to do this. He would say: 'Āṣim b. ʿUmar, ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Bakr and so-and-so transmitted to me', and Zuhri too used to do this."²⁸ Like Wāqidī, Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Ḥarbī lived in Baghdad. For many years al-Ḥarbī was Ibn Ḥanbal's student, but his opinion of Wāqidī differed from his teacher's. The reason for this difference in outlook is obvious: Ibn Ḥanbal had little respect for history (see below). Al-Ḥarbī, probably following in the footsteps of Wāqidī and using his materials, was the compiler of a book entitled *Kitāb al-maghāzī*.²⁹

Al-Ḥarbī often spoke favorably of Wāqidī. Of special interest for our discussion is an anecdote told by al-Ḥarbī in which Wāqidī's CR technique is compared with the methods of other *muḥaddithūn*. Al-Ḥarbī cites it from a traditionist called al-Musayyabī:³⁰

We saw Wāqidī once sitting at a column in the mosque of Medina reading (or reading repeatedly, or studying, *yadrusu*).³¹

We asked: "What are you reading?"

He said: "My set portion of the *maghāzī*" (presumably, of his *Kitāb al-maghāzī*).³²

We said to him once: "Concerning reports in which you lump together the sources, saying: 'So-and-so and so-and-so transmitted to us', which you then follow by adducing one text. If only you

²⁷ *Taʿrīkh Baghdād*, vol. 3, pp. 15–16. In Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ ʿalā l-mawāhib al-laduniyya* (Cairo, A.H. 1329), vol. 1, p. 163, l. 17, the phrase *dakhala ḥadīth baʿḍihim fi baʿḍ*, which is common in the introduction of CRs, is interpreted as follows: maʿnāhu anna l-lafza li-majmūʿihim fa-ʿinda kullin minhum mā nfarada bihi ʿani l-ākhar, "the wording belongs to all of them (i.e., all of them contributed to the wording; the wording does not contradict what each of them says), and each one of them has details which the others do not have" (i.e., such details which are not included in the CR). In other words, the CR represents the common denominator. It can also be said that its composer circumvents all controversial matter. Ibn Ḥanbal's accusation (*Taʿrīkh Baghdād*, p. 13) that Wāqidī *yurakkibu l-asānida* possibly relates to the same practice.

²⁸ Al-Ḥarbī is also quoted in Wāqidī, introduction, p. 29; see also Jones, "Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī." In yet another version, al-Ḥarbī also mentions Ḥammād b. Saḫāna as one who practiced this technique; *Taʿrīkh Baghdād*, vol. 3, p. 16.

²⁹ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Cairo, A.H. 1347; repr. Beirut, 1398/1978), p. 323. Ḥamad al-Jāsir praised Wāqidī's technique and supported al-Ḥarbī's attitude; see *Kirāb al-manāsik wa-amākin juruq al-hajj wa-maʿālim al-jazira*, ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir (Riyāḍ, 1401/1981), p. 100. Jāsir (who assumed that the *Manāsik*

had been compiled by al-Ḥarbī) wrote an extensive biography of al-Ḥarbī, pp. 9–256.

³⁰ Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Medina, who later lived in Baghdad, d. 236/850; Samʿānī, s.v. al-Musayyabī.

³¹ Vocalized in the source quoted here (Dhahabī, *Nubalāʿ*?; see below): *yudarrisu*.

³² The source quoted here has: *juzʿi*, "my *juz*" or "part/division." See the same also in Wāqidī, introduction, p. 5. But the correct reading appears to be *ḥizbi mina l-maghāzī*, "my set portion of the *maghāzī*," as in Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, vol. 1, p. 18. *Ḥizb* is usually associated with the Qurʾān or with prayer: it is a set portion which one imposes upon himself to recite on a particular occasion or is accustomed to perform (see E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v.). The Companions of the Prophet used to read the Qurʾān in seven *ahzāb*, the last of which was the *Mufaṣṣal*; U. Rubin, "Exegesis and *Ḥadīth*: The Case of the Seven *Mathānī*," in G. R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader Shereef, eds., *Approaches to the Qurʾān* (London, 1993), p. 155, n. 58.

Wāqidī seems to be ridiculed: he learns the *maghāzī* as if they were on a par with the Qurʾān or with prayer. Cf. *Sira Shāmiyya*, vol. 4, p. 20 (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī said: *kunnā nuʿallamu maghāziya rasāli llāhi š kamā nuʿallamu l-sūrata mina l-qurʾān*).

transmitted to us the *ḥadīth* of each of them separately” (*hādhā lladhī tajmaʿu l-rijāl, taqūlu: ḥad-dathanā fulān wa-fulān, wa-jiʿta bi-matn wāhid, law ḥaddathnā bi-ḥadīth kulli wāhid ʿalā ḥida*). He said: “It will be lengthy.”

We said: “We accept this.”

He disappeared for one week and then brought us the (story of the) Uḥud expedition in twenty volumes. We said: “Return us to the former mode (*al-amr al-awwal*).”³³

This humorous story is, in fact, an eloquent defense of the CR technique. Wāqidī is encountered here by the much younger al-Musayyabī and others, who initially considered his technique unsatisfactory. Wāqidī accepts the challenge and within a week produces, from his “fieldwork” records, which he keeps at home, a collection of *ḥadīth* to meet their stringent standards. He proves himself capable of accomplishing the task according to their demands, but those who challenged him regret their request and openly admit that, for purely practical reasons, his harmonizing method is superior.

Ibn Ḥanbal, however, was steadfast in his attitude to the CR, and he also criticized Ibn Ishāq for using this technique. Asked whether he would accept as authentic (i.e., for legal purposes) a *ḥadīth* transmitted by Ibn Ishāq alone (*inḥarada . . . bi-ḥadīth*), he gave this uncompromising answer: Ibn Ishāq would transmit a *ḥadīth* from a group of informants without “separating their words” (*inni raʿaytu yuḥaddithu ʿan jamāʿa bi-l-ḥadīthi l-wāhid wa-lā yaḥsilu kalām dhā min kalām dhā*).³⁴ Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1334), who cites Ibn Ḥanbal,³⁵ defends Ibn Ishāq by claiming that the group of informants may have reported identical *ḥadīths*. Furthermore, if their *ḥadīths* were not verbally identical, their contents may have been the same.³⁶ Both claims of the defense should be rejected: when Ibn Ḥanbal criticized Wāqidī saying that his sources for the CRs were often in disagreement (*warubbamā khtalafū*), he certainly did not mean the transmission of the same report or of the same report in different words.

Ibn Ḥanbal’s objection to the CR, which derived from its suppression of divergent reports, might also be voiced by modern scholars. Precisely like Ibn Ḥanbal, we too would like to learn about the history of Islam from original reports which have not been tampered with and are free from redaction and “harmonization.” After all, the CR creates an illusion of coherence where there might be dispute and of consistency where, in fact, major differences might exist. Generally speaking, the introduction of the CRs is unfortunate from the point of view of the modern historian (the possibly good intentions of their composers notwithstanding) because they blur our perception of the earlier stages in the formation of the *sīra*. Moreover, unlike Ibn Ḥanbal, we are also interested in finding out what the composers of CRs suppress and why.

Although opinions about Wāqidī’s status as a *ḥadīth* transmitter varied (we also encounter views which are favorable to him, ones which even express admiration), it can be demonstrated that Ibn Ḥanbal’s negative attitude was generally accepted by the leading *ḥadīth* experts. There is only one *ḥadīth* of Wāqidī in the six canonical *ḥadīth* collections,

³³ Dhahabī, *Nubalāʿ*, vol. 9, p. 460. The text in *Taʾriḥ Baghdad*, vol. 3, p. 7, is garbled. Cf. Jones, “Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī,” pp. 50 f. (who quotes this report without the climax).

³⁴ *Tahdhīb*, vol. 9, p. 43, l. 11. Cf. perhaps these words of praise for Ibn Ishāq (from Ibn Hibbān): *wa-huwa min aḥsani l-nās siyāqan li-l-akhbār*; *ibid.*, p. 46, l. 2. Cf. the phrase *siyāqa wāhida*, p. 21 above.

³⁵ Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, vol. 1, p. 11 (*idhā tafarrada bi-ḥadīth taqbaluhu? qāla: lā wa-ʾllāhi, inni raʿaytu yuḥaddithu ʿan jamāʿa bi-l-ḥadīthi l-wāhid wa-lā yaḥsilu kalām dhā min kalām dhā*).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 14 (*wa-qad tattaḥidu alfāzu l-jamāʿa wa-in taʿaddadat ashkhāṣuhum wa-ʿalā taqdir an lā yattaḥida l-lafz fa-qad yattaḥidu l-maʿnā*).

namely, in the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja; significantly, Ibn Māja does not name Wāqidi in the *isnād*, referring to him instead as *shaykh lanā* (one of our shaykhs).³⁷ That such harsh judgments could be voiced concerning this central figure in Islamic historiography is evidence of a rift between *muḥaddithūn* such as Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, who pursued legal matters and adhered to the verbal transmission of *ḥadīth*, and other *muḥaddithūn* who were also historians. Their different outlooks and their different approaches to the question of transmission were the principal areas of conflict among them.³⁸

IV. MORE ABOUT THE DIVERGENT APPROACHES TO THE REPRODUCTION OF TRANSMITTED TEXTS

Goldziher observed that in their *ḥadīth* criticism Muslim scholars differentiated between "*ḥadīths* which dealt with questions of what was allowed and what forbidden (*ḥalāl wa-ḥarām*), i.e., legal traditions or such as could serve as sources for legal and dogmatic deductions" and "*ḥadīths* which did not belong to the category of the law but offered pious tales, edifying maxims, and ethical teachings in the name of the Prophet. Though falsifications in this field were not actually approved of, it was nevertheless said that the *isnāds* of such sayings need not be quite as stringently examined as those of sunna, i.e., legal, traditions."³⁹ Asked to give his opinion about Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Ḥanbal, out of contempt, did not even specify the types of literature which he considered unworthy: he stated without objection that people wrote "these *ḥadīths*" from him, which the informant of this report somewhat insecurely identifies as "*maghāzī* and the like." Ibn Ḥanbal then explained in which particular category Ibn Ishāq must not be trusted: "When something comes to you which concerns what is lawful and forbidden, we want people who are like this," and the informant, imitating Ibn Ḥanbal's gesture, drew together the fingers of both hands except for the thumb.⁴⁰ The division between "these *ḥadīths*" vs. *ḥalāl wa-ḥarām* is clear as is Ibn Ḥanbal's disdain for the former category. The low esteem in which legal experts held the authorities on the *maghāzī* is also revealed by Ibn Ḥanbal's contemporary Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn (d. 233/847), who stated that

³⁷ Dhahabi, *Nubalā'*, vol. 9, pp. 463 f., 469 (Dhahabi explicates that Ibn Māja did not dare to mention Wāqidi explicitly because of his "weakness" in the eyes of the *ḥadīth* scholars: *fa-mā jasara bn Māja an yuḥsiha bihi wa-mā dhāka illā li-wahni l-Wāqidi 'inda l-'ulamā'*). Further negative evaluations of him by *ḥadīth* experts could easily be adduced. Cf. Wāqidi, introduction, p. 30.

³⁸ The fact that Zuhri was guilty of adopting the same technique had to be overlooked: Islamic tradition could do without Wāqidi, but Zuhri was too important to criticize; see my forthcoming article "Biographical Notes on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri," in *JSS*.

³⁹ Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. S. M. Stern, trans. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern (London, 1967-71), vol. 2, p. 145. Goldziher quotes (n. 3) the testimony of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādī, *Kifāya*, p. 134):

Idhā ruwīnā 'an rasūli llāhi ṣ fi l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām wa-l-sunan wa-l-aḥkām tashaddadnā (variant: shaddadnā) fi l-asānid

wa-idhā ruwīnā 'ani l-nabi ṣ fi faḍlī l-i-'māl wa-mā lā yaḍā'u ḥukman wa-lā yarfa'uhu tasāhlanā fi l-asānid.

⁴⁰ Bayhaqī, vol. 1, pp. 37 f.:

Wa-ammā Muḥammad b. Ishāq fa-huwa rajul tuktabu 'anhu ḥādhihi l-aḥādīth—ka-annahu ya'ni l-maghāziya wa-naḥ-wahā—fa-ammā idhā jā'aka l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām aradnā qawman ḥākadhā wa-qabaḍa . . . aṣābi'a yadihi l-arba' min kulli yad wa-lam yaḍumma l-ibḥāma.

Kister, "The *Sirah* Literature," *CHALUP*, p. 357, observes: "It was considered less binding as a duty to narrate the *maghāzī* than to transmit utterances of the Prophet. Scholars refrained from recording *ḥadīth* utterances transmitted by unreliable scholars while they did not hesitate to relate *maghāzī* material on their authority. It was only later, in the first half of the second century, that *ḥadīth* scholars reacted strongly against the popular *Sirah* literature and made attempts to discard dubious folk-stories by applying strict rules of *ḥadīth* criticism. They did not, however, succeed."

Ziyād b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bakkāʿī was generally unreliable (“worthless”) but for the field of *maghāzī*, where there was no objection to him.⁴¹

Ibn Ḥanbal’s approach to his own received material was diametrically opposed to the methods used by the composers of CRs. As noted by Goldziher, Ibn Ḥanbal meticulously reproduced the text, paying attention to the smallest differences (even the reading of *wa-* vs. *aw*, which would have had no effect on the contents).⁴² Of course Ibn Ḥanbal lived too late to change the course of Islamic historiography, and his elitist views were unlikely to have been accepted by many. Moreover, he came too late to influence even the legal *ḥadīth*, his main concern.

A prominent example of meticulous transmission is Ibn Ḥanbal’s contemporary Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/839), whose recension in his *Kitāb al-amwāl*, of the document known as “the Constitution of Medina” is quoted from Zuhri through two informants having identical *isnāds*. Having compared the two texts at his disposal and having concluded that they were identical, Abū ʿUbayd introduced the text of the “Constitution” using the word *qālā*, “they both said.” But, at one point, he interrupts his recension in order to indicate that his informants differ about one word, indeed one letter, an *alif*.⁴³ This is a model of faithfulness to a written text.⁴⁴

Ibn Ḥanbal was critical of Wāqidi’s CR technique even though he held the *maghāzī* and other non-*fiqh* types of literature in low esteem. In any case, it is clear that according to Ibn Ḥanbal, legal *ḥadīth* and *maghāzī* were two separate disciplines, each taking its own course. Apart from the evident difference in outlook, there was a gap between the experts in the two disciplines in connection with the *isnād*. In general, the *isnād* was not especially important for the *maghāzī* experts and was often omitted altogether. (Paradoxically, the historians’ indulgent attitude to the *isnād* makes the *isnāds* in their compilations look more reliable.) Criteria for evaluating the *rijāl* or transmitters were developed by the professors of *fiqh*, not the experts in *maghāzī*, who, by definition, were less particular about their informants.⁴⁵ In the formative stages, when the bulk of new material

⁴¹ *Tahdhīb*, vol. 3, p. 375: *laysa bi-shayʾ wa-kāna ʿindī fi l-maghāzī lā baʿsa bihi*. Cf. *Sira Shāmiyya*, vol. 4, p. 22: *Ziyād . . . al-Bakkāʿī . . . wa-huwa ṣadīq thabī fi l-maghāzī wa-fi ḥadīthihi ʿan ghayri bni l-shāq līn*. Cf. Sufyān b. ʿUyayna’s remark that from Baqiyya one must not hear *mā kāna fi sunna* but only *mā kāna fi thawāb wa-ghayrihi*; *Muslim Studies*, vol. 2, p. 230, n. 1 = al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāya*, p. 134. A similar attitude to legal matters is attributed to Muḥammad Ibn Sirīn (d. 110/729) who was humorous and liked to jest (*ṣāhib ḥāḥik wa-mizāḥ*, Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, vol. 1, p. 78); yet one could easily tell when the conversation moved into the realm of *fiqh* and *ḥalāl wa-ḥarām*: the color of his face was transformed, and he changed to a degree that you could hardly recognize him (*taghayyara lawnuhu wa-tabaddala ḥattā ka-annahū laysa bi-ʾlādhi kāna*); Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* (Beirut, 1380/1960–1388/1968), vol. 7, p. 195; cf. Abū Nuʿaym, *Hilyat al-awliyāʾ* (Cairo, n.d.; repr. Beirut, 1387/1967), vol. 2, p. 264; p. 274 (he frowned when a *ḥadīth mina l-sunna* was mentioned). See *GAS*, vol. 1, p. 633, for more about him.

⁴² Goldziher, “Neue Materialien,” pp. 499 f.; *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 4, p. 103 (“In der Mittheilung

seiner Texte befolgte bereits A. b. H. die denkbar peinlichste Genauigkeit und Akribie”).

⁴³ Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Kitāb al-amwāl*, ed. Muḥammad Khalīl Harrās (Cairo, 1396/1976), pp. 260 f. Cf. Ibn Zanjawayh, *Kitāb al-amwāl*, ed. Shākir Dhīb Fayyāḍ (Riyād, 1406/1986), vol. 2, p. 467.

⁴⁴ Cf. what Goldziher (*Muslim Studies*, vol. 2, p. 218) says about Bukhārī (d. 256/870): “In al-Bukhārī’s times, and largely through his influence, the rules for preserving traditions began to assume strict forms. So conscientious a collector as al-Bukhārī never deviated an inch from the strictest discipline. Literal accuracy—with which people were not overmuch concerned before—became the watchword in reproducing what had been heard; the receiver was permitted to pass on what he had heard, whether it was *isnād* or *matn*, only in the same form as he had obtained it.”

⁴⁵ Cf. the many individuals whose names can only be found in Sayf b. ʿUmar’s reports; E. Landau-Tasseron plausibly assumes, and in some cases proves, that Sayf did not “create” people (or places); see her “Sayf Ibn ʿUmar in Medieval and Modern Scholarship,” *Der Islam* 67 (1990): 19. Sayf’s narra-

was first being recorded, the compilers of Islamic historiographical works were required by the pioneering nature of their "fieldwork" to interview anyone claiming to have new evidence or accounts. They did not investigate the credentials of their informants but drew their records from anyone who possessed, or claimed to possess, new information about the history of his family or clan.

V. THE DRAWBACKS OF THE COMBINED REPORT

I return now to Wāqidī's CR about the assassination of Ka^cb b. al-Ashraf with which this study began. As stated above, one of the three sources used by Wāqidī is preserved by Bayhaqī. We now possess two pieces of the jigsaw puzzle instead of one, so to speak, and we can check Wāqidī's editorial work with reference to one of his sources (see Texts I and II below). Wāqidī quotes from this source the introduction to the story which deals with the causes of the assassination. After the words *fa-lammā abā bnū l-Ashraf an yan-zī'a 'an adhā l-nabiyyi ṣ wa-adhā l-muslimīna wa-qad balagha minhum* (note the last three words on p. 30, l. 4; they are not in Bayhaqī, see p. 31, l. 8 from below, and may be Wāqidī's own contribution to the CR), he leaves this source (viz., Zuhri < 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Ka^cb b. Mālik) and shifts to another. The shift, which is obvious, is made through the word *fa-lammā: fa-lammā qadima Zayd b. Ḥāritha*, etc.⁴⁶ From the second piece of the jigsaw puzzle, viz., Bayhaqī, we now know *what* Wāqidī chose *not* to incorporate in his CR. Zuhri's report < the grandson of the Companion Ka^cb b. Mālik, is, in fact, a complete story: it goes on to tell of the assassination itself, the shock among the Jews, their complaint to the Prophet about the murder of one of their leaders (Ka^cb b. al-Ashraf), the Prophet's response, and, finally, the treaty concluded between the Jews (the Banū al-Naḍīr) and the Prophet. Toward the end of the CR, Wāqidī again takes up Zuhri in describing the Jews' shock, their complaint, and their treaty with the Prophet (p. 30, l. 7; p. 32, l. 3).⁴⁷

Through Bayhaqī's text we are now in a position to discover what is missing as a result of Wāqidī's redactional work. There are two omissions and one major drawback. Wāqidī broke off his quotation from Zuhri (through Ma^cmar) precisely when the Prophet was about to issue orders for the assassination of Ka^cb:

The Messenger of God instructed Sa^cd b. Mu^cādh to send a party to kill him, so he sent to him Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Anṣārī, more precisely, al-Ḥārithī, Abū 'Abs al-Anṣārī, and Sa^cd b. Mu^cādh's nephew al-Ḥārith, in a company of five, etc.⁴⁸

tives mention many people who are missing from other sources because "not all the traditions which were in circulation were eventually put in writing, and not all the important people were recorded in the books" (p. 20). Especially relevant for us here are the examples she gives of transmitters of material on Jerusalem who are not found in the *rijāl* books (p. 21). It may be observed that the first priority for the *rijāl* experts was, after all, to provide auxiliary materials to be used in conjunction with the major *hadīth* compendia. Transmitters whose materials were left out of these compendia are less likely to be found in the *rijāl* literature.

⁴⁶ Cf. A. Noth, *Quellenkritische Studien zu Themen, Formen und Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtsüberlieferung* (Bonn, 1973), pp. 54 f., 155 f. See also Widengren's observation in connection with the growth of the *stra* literature ("Oral Tradition," p. 235): "the single tradition is more trustworthy than the context where it is found."

⁴⁷ Wāqidī, vol. 1, p. 192, l. 10; Bayhaqī, vol. 3, p. 198, l. 7 (with some differences).

⁴⁸ In Bayhaqī, the name of Sa^cd b. Mu^cādh is erroneously repeated; see correctly in Abū Dāwūd, vol. 2, p. 138; *Aghāni*, vol. 19, p. 106, l. 24.

In Zuhri's report we have here three names out of five, in addition to Sa^cd b. Mu^cādh to whom the task of killing Ka^cb b. al-Ashraf was entrusted. The name of the man put in charge of the assassination plot is no small matter: in *sira* literature, we often encounter disputes over the identity of people who carried out different actions. In Zuhri's report, the protagonist is Sa^cd b. Mu^cādh, while Muḥammad b. Maslama is given a secondary role. In Wāqidi's CR, however, because of his switch from Zuhri to another source, it is the reverse: Sa^cd b. Mu^cādh is relegated to a secondary role and Muḥammad b. Maslama becomes the protagonist. According to the scene described in the CR (Wāqidi, vol. 1, p. 187, l. 8), Muḥammad b. Maslama complied with the Prophet's request to rid him of Ka^cb b. al-Ashraf and had direct contact with the Prophet (which he did not have in Zuhri's report), while Sa^cd b. Mu^cādh is made a military adviser (the Prophet reportedly told Muḥammad b. Maslama: *shāwir Sa^cd b. Mu^cādh fī amrihi*). In other words, concerning the identity of the man put by the Prophet in charge of the operation, a matter of *paramount importance* in the environment in which these reports first emerged, Wāqidi's CR is not a reliable reproduction of his sources.

We can now identify which of Wāqidi's sources is responsible for the report making Muḥammad b. Maslama the protagonist: one of Wāqidi's three sources of information for the CR is Ibrāhīm b. Ja^cfar, whose lineage reveals his link with Muḥammad b. Maslama: Ibrāhīm b. Ja^cfar b. Maḥmūd b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Ḥārithī (see p. 17 above) < his father < Jābir b. ʿAbdallāh. In other words, there can be no doubt that Wāqidi received this part of the CR from the great-great-grandson of Muḥammad b. Maslama, who cited his father, Muḥammad b. Maslama's great-grandson.⁴⁹

The other omission in Wāqidi's CR is that of a detail concerning the preservation of the above-mentioned treaty between the Prophet and the Jews (i.e., the Banū al-Naḍīr). On the morning which followed the assassination,⁵⁰ while the Jews were in a state of shock, "the Messenger of God called on them to conclude between him and them and the Muslims [*sic*] a pact (*kitāb*) which would be binding for them. And the Prophet wrote between him and them and all the Muslims a treaty (*ṣaḥīfa*) which the Prophet wrote under the palm tree (or: the palm tree with its fruit) which was in the court of [Ramla] bint al-Ḥārith.⁵¹ *After the Prophet's death the treaty was kept with ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him*" (below, p. 32, l. 6).⁵² In the Wāqidi account (below, p. 30, l. 11), ʿAlī's preservation of this document is not mentioned. Instead, we find a sentence which may well be Wāqidi's own contribution to the CR (below, p. 30, l. 7 from below): "And the Jews were cautious, they feared and became submissive ever since the killing of Ibn

⁴⁹ In his own CR on the assassination of Ka^cb b. al-Ashraf, Ibn Ishāq adduces the same report from ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mughith b. Abi Burda al-Zafarī; see Ibn Hishām, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saqqā, al-Abyārī, and Shalabī (Beirut, 1391/1971), vol. 3, pp. 55 (where the sources for the CR are listed) and 58 f. Some changes notwithstanding, this is the same report, significantly used in two different CRs. The changes should presumably be ascribed to the different informants quoted by Wāqidi and Ibn Ishāq.

⁵⁰ See U. Rubin, "The Assassination of Ka^cb b. al-Ashraf," *Oriens* 32 (1990): 68.

⁵¹ On this court, see my forthcoming article "Judaism among Kinda and the *ridda* of Kinda," in *JAOS*.

⁵² Bayhaqi, vol. 3, p. 198:

Wa-daʿāhum rasūlu llāhi ṣ illā an yaktuba baynahu wa-baynahum wa-bayna l-muslimina kitāban yantahū[na] illā mā fīhi. fa-kataba l-nabi ṣ baynahu wa-baynahum wa-bayna l-muslimina ʿammatan ṣaḥīfa katabahā rasūlu llāhi ṣ tahta l-ʿadhqi lladhi kāna fī dāri bnati l-Ḥārith. Wa-kānat tilka l-ṣaḥīfa baʿda rasūli llāhi ṣ ʿinda ʿAlī.

Cf. *Aghāni*, vol. 19, p. 107; Abū Dāwūd, vol. 2, p. 138. Cf. Kister, "The *Sira* Literature," *CHALUP*, p. 364 = ʿAbd al-Razzāq, vol. 5, p. 343 (Zuhri confirmed Ibn ʿAbbās's claim that it was ʿAlī who had written the Ḥudaybiyya treaty).

Ashraf" (*fa-ḥadhirati l-yahūd wa-khāfat wa-dhallat min yawmi qatli bni l-Ashraf*). This sentence is presumably from the pen of Wāqidī himself because it does not occur in Zuhri's report at the end of which it is placed and because it is followed immediately by a new *isnād* belonging to a new report.

It can be argued that the assumption that Wāqidī made this second omission is not fully watertight. We recall that Bayhaqī received Zuhri's report through Shu^cayb b. Abī Ḥamza, while Wāqidī received it through Ma^cmar. There is a possibility, then, that the reference to ^cAli had been omitted by Ma^cmar before the report reached Wāqidī. For the time being, however, and until we recover elsewhere Ma^cmar's report from Zuhri omitting the mention of ^cAli, we may assume that the second omission should be ascribed to Wāqidī's editing of the text, as he combined various reports for the CR.

The major drawback of the CR is that Wāqidī's report on the assassination of Ka^cb b. al-Ashraf is new in that it did not exist in this form in any earlier source, and it can thus be seen as Wāqidī's creation (although his contribution to its wording is minimal).⁵³

VI. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Zuhri and, to a greater extent, Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidī, already display a certain technical sophistication in the arrangement of the materials which they received from their predecessors and can be said to represent a rather advanced stage in the formation of the *sira* literature.⁵⁴ By reconstructing, where possible, the sources used by Zuhri and later compilers in their CRs, we can arrive at the earliest stratum of Islamic historiography.

The rapidly growing corpus of Islamic literature available for research makes it potentially easier than ever before to look over the shoulder of the early Islamic compiler/historian at the materials which he used in his work. Ideally, one would like to have all the sources used for compiling a CR at one's disposal. A comparison would then reveal areas of difference and of agreement.

Since the formation of the CR involved conscious choices made between often conflicting versions in this "battlefield of early Islamic historiography," we may, as a result of the reconstruction of the earliest stratum of the *sira*, end up with several rival "truths" rather than just one.⁵⁵ But this would be a price worth paying if we want to have an idea of how early Islamic historiography evolved.

⁵³ Cf. Landau-Tasseron, "Process of Redaction," pp. 262 f., who says concerning the reports on the Tamīm delegation to the Prophet: "... the fusion of the various accounts into one... should not necessarily be considered as deliberate falsification, for it may have come about as the natural result of the pre-suppositions and formulaic thinking of the Muslim scholars, who apparently saw and presented things as they perhaps ought to have been and not as they were." Also her concluding sentence, p. 270: "The historical material underwent considerable changes not only as a result of tendentious forgeries but also through the mere process of redaction, which was for the most part carried out in good faith."

⁵⁴ Kister, "The *Sira* Literature," *CHALUP*, p. 352, observes that the *sira* literature "developed in

the first half of the first century of the *hijra*, and by the end of that century the first full-length literary compilations were produced."

⁵⁵ A striking parallel can be found in an observation made by J. Lassner concerning the reports on the ^cAbbāsīd revolt. In his *Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory: An Inquiry into the Art of Abbāsīd Apologetics* (New Haven, 1986), p. 31, he considers a case where "several variants have been fused into a unique version which defies separation," in which case "the recovery of the individual levels is largely, if not entirely, a matter of conjecture. Prudence may ultimately dictate that such difficult sources be set aside until the component parts can be sorted out, however restrictive and even punishing this may at times seem to a scholar with bold inclinations."

In breaking up CRs we are assisted by the two opposing attitudes which obtained in the Islamic community concerning the legitimacy of the redaction of texts (or *ḥadīths*) received from an earlier generation.⁵⁶ The different viewpoints of "conservative" and "progressive" traditionists is highly instructive for the study of Islamic historiography because, as we have just witnessed in the comparison of the texts of Wāqidi (Text I) and Bayhaqī (Text II), early Islamic literature developed simultaneously along two parallel lines, with "edited" texts (Wāqidi's CR which incorporates parts of three earlier sources) on the one hand and "unedited" texts (Bayhaqī's reproduction of one of these sources) on the other. We thus have a powerful tool: by comparing an "edited" text with an "unedited" one, we can learn what the "editing" consisted of. One will assume classification as "edited" and "unedited" to be no less important (it is probably more important) than classification as "early" and "late." Thus an "edited" text, which in relative terms must be late, may date back to the earliest days of Islamic historiography (Zuhri), while an "unedited" text, which in absolute terms is earlier, may have been found in a recent source compiled just a few centuries ago.

Thus, the CR plays an important role in early Islamic historiography, and awareness of its precise nature is crucial. As mentioned above, it was Goldziher who drew attention to Zuhri's method of combining many reports to create one account molded according to his personal taste. Shortly thereafter, Wellhausen published his *Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams* in which he commented on Wāqidi and other historians:

They are not compilers of disparate and contradictory traditions, but are rather representatives of a unified historical outlook, to which all the data collected by them corresponds, with certain explicitly stated exceptions. As a rule, then, one need go no further into the motley *isnāds* of separate traditions (*Einzeltraditionen*), but on the contrary may treat historians like Abū Mikhnaḥ, Ibn Ishāq, Abū Maʿshar, al-Wāqidi, etc. as his ultimate authorities. This is what al-Balādhuri and al-Ṭabarī do when they are content to say, "Ibn Ishāq says," "al-Wāqidi says," without adducing the *isnād* on which these latter rely. It can be asserted, in fact, that for us the value of the *isnād* depends on the value of the historian who deems it reliable. With bad historians one cannot put faith in good *isnāds*, while good historians merit trust if they give no *isnād* at all, simply noting that "I have this from someone whom I believe." All this permits a great simplification of critical analysis.⁵⁷

Wellhausen's position is no longer tenable. Study of the CR, following Goldziher, shows that to acquire an accurate picture of early Islamic historiography, one cannot stop at the histories of Ibn Ishāq, Wāqidi, and the other historians but that one has to go further back, attempting to reconstruct the sources on which these based their histories.

To close, it must be emphasized regarding Islamic historiography in general and the *sīra* literature in particular that a thorough analysis of the disparate and, at times, con-

⁵⁶ This touches upon the dispute over verbal reproduction of *ḥadīth*, *bi-l-lafz*, as opposed to transmission of the contents, *bi-l-maʿnā*. Cf. n. 36 above.

⁵⁷ Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 4, but I quote here the translation of Humphreys, *Islamic History*, pp. 82 f. A. Noth argued against Wellhausen's assumption that the early major historians were "representatives of a unified historical outlook" ("Vertreter einheitlichen historischen Anschauung") in his "Der Charakter der ersten großen Sammlungen von Nachrichten zur frühen Kalifenzeit," *Der Islam* 47 (1971): 168 f.,

197. In Noth's "Iṣḥān-Nihāwand: Eine quellenkritische Studie zur frühislamischen Historiographie," *ZDMG* 118 (1968): 295, one finds the first clues of these views. See also P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 10. She observes, with reference to Noth's "Sammlungen": "The works of the first compilers—Abū Mikhnaḥ, Sayf b. ʿUmar, ʿAwāna, Ibn Ishāq, Ibn al-Kalbī and so forth—are . . . mere piles of disparate traditions reflecting no one personality, school, time or place"; see also *ibid.*, p. 13, note.

conflicting evidence concerning the assassination of Ka' b b. al-Ashraf will no doubt provide a sound foundation for historical reconstruction of this event. Of course, the details will have differing degrees of probability—an aspect of the study of early Islam which modern researchers have to accept and tolerate. Paradoxically, contradictions in our sources have their benefits. They not only highlight the matters which the early Islamic community considered worth disputing, but they often provide us with information which, because it is shared by otherwise conflicting sources, has a strong claim to historical veracity.

TEXT I: WĀQIDĪ

قتل ابن الأشرف

وكان قتله على رأس خمسة وعشرين شهراً في ربيع الأول .

حدّثني عبد الحميد بن جعفر ، عن يزيد بن رومان ، ومَعْمَر ، عن الزُّهْرِيِّ ، عن ابن كعب بن مالك ، وإبراهيم بن جعفر ، عن أبيه ، عن جابر بن عبد الله ؛ فكلُّ قد حدّثني بطائفة ، فكان الذي اجتمعوا لنا عليه قالوا : إنَّ ابن الأشرف كان شاعراً وكان يهجو النبيَّ صَلَّى اللهُ عليه وسلَّم وأصحابه ، ويُحرِّضُ عليهم كُفَّار قُرَيْشٍ في شعره .

وكان رسول الله صَلَّى اللهُ عليه وسلَّم قدم المدينة وأهلها أخلاط - منهم المسلمون الذين تجمعهم دعوة الإسلام ، فيهم أهل الخَلَقَةِ والحُصُون ، ومنهم حلفاء للحبيبين جميعاً الأوس والخزرج . فأراد رسول الله صَلَّى اللهُ عليه وسلَّم حين قدم المدينة استصلاحهم كلَّهم وموادعتهم ، وكان الرجل يكون مسلماً وأبوه مشركاً . فكان المشركون واليهود من أهل المدينة يُؤذون رسول الله صَلَّى اللهُ عليه وسلَّم وأصحابه أذى شديداً ، فأمر الله عزَّ وجلَّ نبيَّه والمسلمين بالصبر على ذلك والعفو عنهم ، وفيهم أنزل : ﴿ وَكَانَ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِن قَوْمِكَافِرٍ أَعْتَقُوا كُفْرَهُمْ لِقَاءِ رَبِّهِمْ أَلَمْ يَكْفُرُوا بِاللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ بِالْحَقِّ وَإِنَّ لِحِطَّةَ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَشَيْئاً بَرّاً لَكُمْ فِي قَوْلِ الْكُفْرَانِ بَلَّغُوا الْكَلِمَةَ وَلَا تَقْبَلُوا لَهُمْ دِيْنَاً وَلَا يَتَّبِعُوا أَمْرَهُمْ وَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا أَمْرَهُمْ وَلَا تَحْسَبُوا بِكُفْرِهِمْ كَعِدْوَةِ اللَّهِ وَلِئِنَّ كَيْدَ الْكُفْرَانِ لَشَدِيدٌ ﴾ .

مِن قَبْلِكُمْ وَمِنَ الَّذِينَ أَشْرَكُوا أَذَى كَثِيرًا وَإِنْ تَصْبِرُوا وَتَتَّقُوا فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ مِنْ عَزْمِ الْأُمُورِ^(١). وفيهم أنزل الله عز وجل: ﴿وَدَّ كَثِيرٌ مِّنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ..﴾ الآية.

فلما أبى ابن الأشرف أن ينزع عن أذى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وأذى المسلمين ، وقد بلغ منهم ، فلما قدم زيد بن حارثة بالبشارة من بدر بقتل المشركين وأسر من أسير منهم ، فرأى الأسرى مقرنين ، كُتبت وذَلَّ ، ثم قال لقومه : ويلكم ، والله لبطن الأرض خير لكم من ظهرها اليوم !

ففرغت اليهود ومن معها من المشركين ، فجاءوا إلى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم حين أصبحوا فقالوا : قد طُرق صاحبنا الليلة وهو سيّد من ساداتنا قُتل غيلةً بلا جُرم ولا حدّث علمناه . فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم : إنّه لو قرّر كما قرّر غيره ممّن هو على مثل رأيه ما اغتيل ؛ ولكنه نال منا الأذى وهجانا بالشعر ، ولم يفعل هذا أحدٌ منكم إلّا كان له السيف . ودعاهم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم إلى أن يكتب بينهم كتاباً ينتهون إلى ما فيه ، فكتبوا بينهم وبينه كتاباً تحت العذق في دار رملة بنت الحارث . فحذرت اليهود وخافت وذلت من يوم قتل ابن الأشرف .

TEXT II: BAYHAQI

أخبرنا أبو بكر أحمد بن الحسن القاضي قال : أخبرنا أبو سهل أحمد بن محمد بن عبد الله بن زياد القطان ، قال : حدثنا عبد الكريم بن الهيثم ، قال : حدثنا أبو اليمان ، قال : حدثنا شعيب عن الزهري ، قال : أخبرني عبد الرحمن ابن عبد الله بن كعب بن مالك وكان من أحد الثلاثة الذين تيب عليهم يريد كعب

ابن مالك « أن كعب بن الأشرف اليهودي كان شاعراً، وكان يهجو رسول الله ﷺ ويحرض عليه كفار قريش في شعره، وكان رسول الله ﷺ قدم المدينة وأهلها أخلاطاً منهم المسلمون الذين تجمعهم دعوة رسول الله ﷺ، ومنهم المشركون الذين يعبدون الأوثان، ومنهم اليهود وهم أهل الحلقة والحصون، وهم حلفاء للحيين: الأوس، والخزرج، فأراد رسول الله ﷺ حين قدم المدينة استصلاحهم كلهم، وكان الرجل يكون مسلماً وأبوه مشرك، والرجل يكون مسلماً وأخوه مشرك.

وكان المشركون واليهود من أهل المدينة حين قدم رسول الله ﷺ، يؤذون رسول الله ﷺ وأصحابه أشد الأذى فأمر الله تعالى رسوله والمسلمين بالصبر على ذلك والعفو عنهم ففيهم أنزل الله جل ثناؤه: ﴿ ولتسمعن من الذين أوتوا الكتاب من قبلكم ومن الذين أشركوا أذى كثيراً ﴾ الآية.

وفيهم أنزل الله ﴿ ود كثير من أهل الكتاب لو يردونكم من بعد إيمانكم كفاراً حسداً من عند أنفسهم من بعدما تبين لهم الحق فاعفوا واصفحوا حتى يأتي الله بأمره ﴾

فلما أبى كعب بن الأشرف ان ينزع عن أذى رسول الله ﷺ وأذى المسلمين، وأمر رسول الله ﷺ سعد بن معاذ أن يبعث رَهطاً ليقبلوه، فبعث إليه سعد ابن معاذ، ومحمد بن مسلمة الأنصاري ثم الحارثي، وأبا عبيس الأنصاري، والحارث ابن أخي سعد بن معاذ في خمسة رهط أتوه عشية، وهو في مجلسهم بالعوالي، فلما رأهم كعب بن الأشرف أنكر شأنهم وكان يذعر منهم. فقال لهم: ما جاء بكم؟ فقالوا: جاءت بنا إليك حاجة. قال: فليدن إليّ بعضكم فليحدثني بها فدنا إليه بعضهم فقال: جئناك لنبيحك أدراعاً لنا نستنق أثمانها فقال والله لئن فعلتم ذلك لقد جهدتم قد نزل بكم هذا الرجل، فواعدهم أن يأتوه عشاء حين يهدي عنهم الناس، فجاءوا فناداه رجل منهم فقام ليخرج فقالت

امراته ما طرقوك ساعتهم هذه لشيء مما تحب . فقال : بلى إنهم قد حدثوني حديثهم ، فاعتنقه أبو عبيس ، وضربه محمد بن مسلمة بالسيف ، وطعنه بعضهم بالسيف في خاصرته ، فلما قتلوه فزعت اليهود ومن كان معهم من المشركين ، فغدوا على رسول الله ﷺ حين أصبحوا فقالوا : إنه طرق صاحبنا الليلة وهو سيد من ساداتنا فقتل ، فذكرهم رسول الله ﷺ الذي كان يقول في أشعاره وينهاهم به ، ودعاهم رسول الله ﷺ إلى أن يكتب بينه وبينهم وبين المسلمين كتاباً يتهوا إلى ما فيه ، فكتب النبي ﷺ بينه وبينهم وبين المسلمين عامة صحيفة كتبها رسول الله ﷺ تحت العذق الذي كان في دار ابنة الحارث ، وكانت تلك الصحيفة بعد رسول الله ﷺ عند علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه .

ABBREVIATIONS OF ARABIC TEXTS

- ʿAbd al-Razzāq. ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣanʿānī. *al-Muṣannaḥ*. Ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī. Beirut, 1390/1970–1392/1972.
- Abū Dāwūd. Abū Dāwūd, Sulaymān b. al-Ashʿath al-Sijistānī. *Sunan*. Ed. Aḥmad Saʿd ʿAlī. Cairo, 1371/1952.
- Aghānī*. Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī. *Kitāb al-aghānī*. Būlāq, A.H. 1285.
- Bayhaqī. al-Bayhaqī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn. *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*. Ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī Qalʿajī. Beirut, 1405/1985.
- Dhahabī, *Nubalāʾ*. al-Dhahabī, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān. *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*. Ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnāwūṭ et al. Beirut, 1981.
- Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*. al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, 3d ed. Hyderabad, 1376/1956.
- Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫ*. al-Dhahabī, *Taʾriḫ al-islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhir wa-l-aʿlām*, the volume of A.H. 201–10. Ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī. Beirut, 1411/1991.
- Ibn Sayyid al-Nās. Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Faṭḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Yaʿmarī. *ʿUyūn al-athar*. Cairo, 1956.
- Kifāya*. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī. *Kitāb al-kifāya fī ʿilm al-riwāya*. Hyderabad, A.H. 1357.
- Mizzī. al-Mizzī, Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf. *Tahdhib al-kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl*. Ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf. Beirut, 1405/1985–.
- Samʿānī. al-Samʿānī, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad. *al-Ansāb*. Ed. ʿAbdallāh ʿUmar al-Bārūdī. Beirut, 1408/1988.
- Sira Shāmiyya*. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī. *Subul al-hudā wa-l-rashād*, vol. 4. Ed. Ibrāhīm al-Tarazī and ʿAbd al-Karīm al-ʿAzbāwī. Cairo, 1399/1979.
- Tahdhib*. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī. *Tahdhib al-tahdhib*. Hyderabad, A.H. 1325.
- Taʾriḫ Baghdād*. Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. *Taʾriḫ Baghdād*. Cairo, 1349/1931.
- Wāqidi. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidi. *Kitāb al-maghāzī*. Ed. M. Jones. London, 1966.

VIII

MUHAMMAD AT MEDINA: A GEOGRAPHICAL APPROACH*

For the study of the early Islamic history of Medina, a geographical approach seems particularly appropriate. The geographical source-material is relatively abundant. In addition, geographical data can usually be trusted – a substantial advantage, considering that reports about the Prophet's life are often controversial. Some incidents are so disputed, that it is doubtful whether the truth can ever be established. On the other hand, geographical data (as is the case with casual reports of any kind) contain information which is practically undisputable. Needless to say, Medina underwent radical changes after the Hijra. Many place-names fell into oblivion in the course of time, but fortunately, the old place-names are preserved in the Islamic historical tradition.

I

A unique passage¹ relates the acquisition of land by the Prophet Muḥammad shortly after the Hijra. It is mentioned in the context of the dispute over the question of whether the first *ṣadaqa* ("charitable endowment") in Islam was the Prophet's (as the Anṣār claimed) or 'Umar's (as the Muḥājirūn claimed):

... The messenger of God, immediately after he came to Medina, found (*wajada*) a large tract of land in Zuhra, which had belonged to the people of Rātij and Ḥusayka. They were expelled from Medina before the Prophet's arrival, leaving behind a large tract of land; part of it was a spacious piece of land with no seed-produce or trees on it (*minhā barāh*) and part of it included unirrigated palm shoots named al-Ḥashshāshina. He gave

* This study is extracted from a Ph. D. thesis written under the supervision of Prof. M.J. Kister at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

¹ Quoted from 'Umar b. Shabba, probably from his *Akhbār al-madīna*, see GAS, 345.

‘Umar some of it: (the estate called) Thamgh, and he (i.e., ‘Umar) bought land adjacent to it from some Jews. It was an estate which excited admiration.²

Zuhra, Rātij, Ḥusayka, al-Ḥashshāshīna and Thamgh were, as is to be expected, in the same area, probably to the northwest of Medina.

Samhūdī says that Rātij was to the northeast of (the mountain) Dhubāb, on which the mosque of the Banner (*masjid ar-rāya*)³ was erected; further to the east was the abode of Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal. He objects to al-Maṭarī’s view that Rātij was west of Buṭhān, in the direction of Masājīd al-Faṭḥ (“the mosques of the victory”).⁴ Masjid Banī⁵ Rātij was one of the nine mosques in Medina whose worshippers could hear the *adhān* of Bilāl in the Prophet’s time.⁶ The mosque of Rātij is the name of a fortress near Banū Jāsim to the east of Dhubāb.⁷

Rātij and Ḥusayka are mentioned several times in the context of the siege of Medina during the battle of Khandaq (“the ditch”). Cavalrymen led by the Qurashī commander Khālid b. al-Walīd waited at Rātij to be joined by Banū Qurayza.⁸ ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was on guard near Ḥusayka, between Dhubāb and Masjid al-Faṭḥ.⁹ The pagans would ride

² Samhūdī, II, 273–274: *sa’alnah ‘an awwal man habasa ft l-islām, fa-qāla qā’il: sadaqatu rasūli llāhi ṣ wa-ḥadhā qawlu l-ansār. wa-qāla l-muhājirūna: sadaqatu ‘umar, wa-dhālika anna rasūla llāhi ṣ, awwala mā qadima l-madīna, wajada ardan wāsī‘atan bi-zuhra li-ahl rābih (!) wa-husayka, wa-qad kānū ujlū ‘ani l-madīna qabla maqdami n-nabiyyi ṣ wa-tarakū ardan wāsī‘atan, minhā barādhun wa-minhā mā fthi wādin (read wadiyy) lā yusqā, yuqālu lahu l-ḥashshāshīna, wa-a‘ṣā ‘umara minhā thamghan. wa-‘sharā ‘umarū ilā dhālika min qawmin min yahūda, fa-kāna mālan mu‘jiban.*

³ Cf. M.J. Kister, “The Battle of the Harra”, in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem, 1977, 44–45.

⁴ Samhūdī, II, 62–63: *...wa-qāla l-maṭarī inna ft gharbiyyi wādī buṭhān min jihati masājīdi l-faṭḥ jabalayni ṣaghtrayni aḥaduhumā yuqālu lahu rātij wa-yuqālu li-lladhī ilā janbihi jabal abī (read: bant, Samhūdī, I, 152, I. 10) ‘ubayd...*

⁵ Cf. below, pp. 43–52 for a discussion of Rātij’s inhabitants.

⁶ *‘Umdat al-akhbār*, 115, I. 9 (printed: Rābih). Cf. Samhūdī, II, 62, I. 4 from bottom: *wa-masjid bant rātij min bant ‘abdi l-ashhal. qultu (=Samhūdī): wa-ṣawābu l-‘ibāra masjid rātij.* And see al-‘Umārī, *Masālik al-absār*, I, ed. A.Z. Bāshā, Cairo, 1342/1924, 131; Abū Dāwūd, *al-Marāṣil*, Cairo, 1310, 4: *... wa-masjid bant rābih (!) min bant ‘abdi l-ashhal.*

⁷ Qalyūbī, 30a (he has: Rā’ih, Hāsim). On Jāsim see below, n. 152. Cf. *op. cit.*, 36a (Bir J.S.M., in *Wādī Rānūnā*).

⁸ Wāqidī, II, 466, I. 3 from bottom.

⁹ Wāqidī, II, 466, I. 2 from bottom.

and turn around (*yujlūna khaylahum*) between al-Madhād and Rātij.¹⁰ The Khandaq itself stretched from al-Madhād through Dhubāb to Rātij, and Sal^c was at the Muslims' back.¹¹ In another report, Jabal ("the mountain of") Banī 'Ubayd¹² replaces al-Madhād: the Muhājirūn dug from Rātij to Dhubāb and the Anṣār – from Dhubāb to Jabal Banī 'Ubayd.¹³ According to another report, the ditch ran from Jabal Banī 'Ubayd, in Khurbā, to Rātij; the Muhājirūn dug the section between Dhubāb and Rātij and the Anṣār the section between Dhubāb and Khurbā.¹⁴ Khurbā was in the abode of Banū 'Ubayd, as can be inferred from the fact that Masjid al-Khurbā belonged to them.¹⁵

The area of Rātij corresponds, perhaps only in part, to what is called the Jabbāna ("burial-ground; level, elevated land"). This is borne out by two accounts¹⁶ of the place in which the Bedouins pitched their tents in "the year of drought" (*'ām ar-ramāda*), in the days of 'Umar. One report simply states that they camped in the Jabbāna. The other is more detailed: they camped within the area demarcated by: the top of the Thaniyyat ("the long mountain that lies across the road and which the road traverses") al-Wadā' ("of Farewell"¹⁷) – Rātij – Banū Hāritha – Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal – Baqī' (i.e., Baqī' al-Gharqad¹⁸) – Banū Qurayza. Some (*tā'ifa*) of them camped in the neighbourhood (*bi-nāhiyati*) of Banū Salima; and they (i.e., all of them) surrounded Medina. The Khandaq was dug in the Jabbāna of Medina.¹⁹ The cemetery of Banū

¹⁰ Wāqidī, II, 468, l. 4 from bottom.

¹¹ Wāqidī, II, 445. Cf. *loc. cit.*, l. 2: *am nakūnu qariban wa-na'fala zuhūrānā ilā hādha l-jabal* (i.e., Sal^c). Cf. below, n. 54.

¹² Banū 'Ubayd belonged to the Khazrajī clan Banū Salima, see Samhūdī, I, 142, l. 4 from bottom.

¹³ Wāqidī, II, 446, l. 2. Cf. *op. cit.*, 449–450 ('Umar b. al-Khattāb digging near Jabal Banī 'Ubayd).

¹⁴ Wāqidī, II, 450.

¹⁵ Samhūdī, I, 142, l. 2 from bottom (al-Khurba written with a *tā' marbūta*). Cf. *loc. cit.*, l. 12: Khurbā was the name of the court of Banū Salima.

¹⁶ Ibn Sa'd, III, 316, 317: Cf. below, n. 161.

¹⁷ See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v.; Samhūdī, II, 275–278.

¹⁸ See below, n. 38.

¹⁹ Abū 'Awāna, *Musnad*, IV (Hyderabad, 1385/1965), 376: *hattā balaghū l-jabbāna wa-barazū min dūri l-madīna 'nṣarafū ilā ahlthim wa-ra'suhum yawma'idhin 'abdullāh b. ubayy... thumma kānat waq'atu l-ahzāb... yawma khandāqa rasūlu llāhi ṣ wa-l-muslimūna bi-jabbānati l-madīna*. On the Khandaq see also Wensinck, 18–21; F. Wüstenfeld, *Das Gebiet von Medina*, Göttingen, 1873, 115; *EI*¹, s.v. (A.J. Wensinck); *EI*², s.v. (W.M. Watt); M. Ḥamidullāh, *The Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, Woking, 1373/1953, 26–27.

Sā'ida will be discussed below (III). There was also a Jewish cemetery in the same area, namely in Sal^c (see above, note 11).²⁰

The Prophet's *ṣadaqāt* and the property of Jewish clans

Ibn Shabba's account of the origin of the *ṣadaqāt* (the Prophet reportedly "found" them; the verb is rather peculiar in this context) conflicts with other accounts. It is usually reported that the Prophet inherited his *ṣadaqāt* from a Jew named Mukhayrīq.²¹ In any case, estates of several Jewish clans, among them the main Jewish clans in Medina, can be shown to have been in the Rātij – Zuhra – Ḥusayka area.

Banū Tha^claba b. al-Fityawn

The sources have contradictory remarks about Mukhayrīq's extraction. According to one of them, he was from Banū Tha^claba b. al-Fityawn.²² Banū Tha^claba inhabited Zuhra.²³ They owned the two fortresses on the road of al-^cUrayḍ (which were located at the point) where the road descends from the Ḥarra.²⁴ Bu^cāth was between (the abode of) Qurayza and Ḥarrat al-^cUrayḍ.²⁵ The "healthiest" part of Medina (*aṣahḥu al-madina*) was between the Ḥarrat Banī Qurayza and al-^cUrayḍ.²⁶ Zuhra itself was a plain (*al-arḍ as-sahla*) between the Ḥarra and

²⁰ *Ta'rikh Tubari*, VII, 600. The companions of Muḥammad b. ^cAbdallāh an-Nafs az-Zakiyya were crucified between Thaniyyat al-Wadā' and the court of ^cUmar b. ^cAbd al-^cAzīz. Then they were cast *alā l-mafrāh* (should probably read: al-Mudarraḥ, see Samhūdī, II, 370: *ism nuḥdath li-thaniyyati l-wadā'*) *min sal^c, wa-hiya (!) maqbaratu* (var. *maṭmūratu*, cf. Lane, s.v.) *l-yahūd. thumma ulqū fī khandaq (sic), bi-aṣl dhubāb*. Cf. Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*; VII, 191, l. 10: *wa-^cazamū alā an yudfana* (i.e., ^cUthmān b. ^cAlfān) *bi-maqbarati l-yahūd bi-dayr* (read: *bi-dabr*, "behind"; *dabr* means however "in the Abyssinian language" a mountain, see Lane, s.v.) *sal^c*. Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields*, 19, mentions a tribal graveyard of Banū Ḥarām (from the Khazraji Banū Salima) on the Mount Sal^c. Cf. Abū Dāwūd, *al-Marāṣil*, 32–33.

²¹ See e.g. Samhūdī, II, 152, l. 13.

²² Ibn Hishām, II, 161.

²³ Samhūdī, I, 115, l. 8 from bottom; *Aghāni*, II, 176, l. 19 (*al-qityawn* [?; see ed. Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, 1347/1929, III, 40: *al-fityawn*] *ṣāhib zuhra*).

²⁴ Samhūdī, I, 115, l. 7 from bottom; cf. Samhūdī, II, 319–320 (*al-^clrd* instead of *al-^cUrayḍ*).

²⁵ Wāqidī, I, 190.

²⁶ Zurqānī, I, 362, l. 21.

the Sāfila, near al-Quff.²⁷ The eastern Ḥarra was known also as Ḥarrat Zuhra.²⁸

The descriptions of the *ṣadaqāt* are interwoven with descriptions of the estates of other Jewish clans as well.

Banū Nadīr

According to one account, Zuhra was the village of Banū Nadīr.²⁹ It was close to several *ṣadaqāt* of the Prophet.³⁰ Various accounts mention that the *ṣadaqāt* had previously belonged to Banū Nadīr.³¹ The *ṣadaqa* known as Mashrabat Umm Ibrāhīm had belonged to Sallām b. Mishkam an-Nadīrī.^{31a} Another estate, ad-Dilāl, is said to have belonged to a woman from Nadīr.³² According to one report, Mukhayrīq was from the Banū Nadīr.³³ Banū Nadīr had lands to the west of Mashrabat Umm Ibrāhīm. This can be inferred from the location of the *ṣadaqa* of az-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, called also Baqīʿ az-Zubayr and az-Zubayriyyāt. The Prophet's *ṣadaqa* was adjacent to az-Zubayr's *ṣadaqa*.³⁴ The latter was in the territory of a Jewish clan called Banū Muḥammam,³⁵ to the west of Mashrabat Umm Ibrāhīm. The southern side of the Mashraba was near Khunāfa and al-Aʿwāf (the latter was one of the Prophet's

²⁷ Samhūdī, II, 319, l. 3 from bottom. Cf. Ibn Rusta, 59–60; Samhūdī, I, 110, l. 6 from bottom.

²⁸ Samhūdī, II, 320, l. 1.

²⁹ *Sīra ḥalabiyya*, II, 263, l. 10; and see Fāʿid b. al-Mubārak, *Mawrid az-zamʿān*, Ms. Kilic Ali, 767, 1b; *Tafsīr al-khāzin*, VII, 47, l. 21.

³⁰ Samhūdī, II, 320, l. 4.

³¹ Ibn Saʿd, I, 502.

^{31a} *Loc. cit.*, l. 2 from bottom. According to Ibn Saʿd, VIII, 120, l. 14, he was from Qurayza; and see *Kitāb al-maʿārif*, 138.

³² Samhūdī, II, 153, l. 1. She was the master of Salmān al-Fārisī. (Cf. below.) Ad-Dilāl is said to have belonged to Banū Nadīr because it was watered by Mahzūr, "and it is well-known that Mahzūr waters only the estates of Nadīr"; however Samhūdī objects to this: "The torrent known to belong to Nadīr is Mudhaynib, and Mahzūr belongs to Qurayza".

³³ Samhūdī, II, 153, l. 17 (Wāqidi); Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, I, 518 (quoting Ibn Ishāq). See also Wensinck, 26, n. 12.

³⁴ Samhūdī, II, 68, l. 8.

³⁵ See on them Samhūdī, I, 115, l. 5. They owned the estate called Khunāfa, see also below, n. 36. For the vocalization Muḥammam see Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 30. It seems that Muḥammam was used in a pejorative manner ("the one whose face was blackened with charcoal"); cf. *Taʾriḥ Tabarī*, VII, 562, l. 14: *kāna muḥammad* (i.e., Muhammad b. ʿAbdallāh an-Nafs az-Zakiyya) *ādama shadīda l-adma... wa-kāna yulaqqabu l-qāriyya min admatihī, ḥattā kāna abū jaʿfar yadʿūhu muḥammaman*.

ṣadaqāt), both belonged to Banū Muḥammam.³⁶ Az-Zubayr's *ṣadaqa* was in part his share in the lands of Banū Naḍīr.³⁷ Az-Zubayriyyāt, where the mosque of the *ṣadaqa* (i.e., the *ṣadaqa* of az-Zubayr) was located, was on the side of Baqīʿ al-Gharqad.³⁸ The area between Baqīʿ az-Zubayr and Baqīʿ al-Gharqad was called al-Baqqāl.³⁹ Al-Baqqāl was to the east of Baqīʿ az-Zubayr.⁴⁰ Baqīʿ az-Zubayr itself was to the east of the abode of Banū Zurayq.⁴¹ It was also to the east of the courts which were close to the southern side of the Prophet's mosque, and was bounded by the abodes of Banū Zurayq, Banū Ghanm (from Najjār) and al-Baqqāl.⁴²

A report on the court of Ḥuyayy b. Akhtab should be added to these remarks on the estates of Naḍīr. One of the mosques in which the Prophet prayed was the mosque of Banū ʿAmr, i.e., Banū ʿAmr b. Mabdhūl (from Najjār), near Baqīʿ az-Zubayr.⁴³ It was the mosque nearest to the mosque of the Prophet.⁴⁴ Besides Banū ʿAmr b. Mabdhūl,

³⁶ Samhūdī, II, 68, l. 4 mentions the mosque of az-Zubayr in Banū Muḥammam (Ibn Zabāla) or in the *ṣadaqa* of az-Zubayr in Banū Muḥammam (Ibn Shabba): *qultu* (=Samhūdī): *wa-dhālika bi-l-jizʿ al-maʿrūf bi-z-zubayriyyāt gharbiyya mashrabati umm ibrahīm, wa-qiblatuhā bi-qurb khunāfa wa-l-ʿwāf, wa-humā min amwāl bani muḥammam.*

³⁷ Samhūdī, II, 68, l. 9 (Ibn Shabba): *anna n-nabiyya ṣ aqatʿa z-zubayr mālahu lladhi yuqālu lahu banū muḥajjam (!) min amwāl bani n-naḍīr fa-biʿā ilayhi z-zubayr ašyāʾ min amwāl bani muḥammam fa-taṣaddaqa bihā ʿalā wuldihi.* Cf. Ibn Saʿd, III, 103: *...anna rasūla llāh ṣ lammā khaṭṭa d-dūr bi-l-madīna jaʿala li-z-zubayr baqʿan waṣīʿan.*

³⁸ Qalyūbī, 39a, 30a: "The mosque of the *ṣadaqa*, to the west of the Mashraba (written: Mashrafa), in Ḥārat al-Khuddām, at the edge of Baqīʿ al-Gharqad. . ."; cf. *op.cit.*, 39a: Ḥārat al-Khuddām, near Baqīʿ az-Zubayr. And see al-Ḥāzimi, *al-Amākin*, 30b-31a: Baqīʿ al-Gharqad in Medina, . . . and Baqīʿ az-Zubayr, in Medina as well, in it there were courts and houses (written: *wa-manār*; cf. ʿUmdat al-akhbār, 243, l. 2: *... fthi dūr wa-manāzil*).

³⁹ Qalyūbī, 37b (*ism limā bayna. . . mina l-buyūt wa-ghayrihā*). See also Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Baqqāl; ʿUmdat al-akhbār, 241, l. 9: *...ilā janbi baqīʿi z-zubayr bi-l-baqqāl, wa-bihi dūr yujāwiru baʿḍuhā li-baqīʿi z-zubayr wa-baʿḍuhā li-baqīʿi l-gharqad.*

⁴⁰ ʿUmdat al-akhbār, 243, l. 3: *...wa-l-ʿalla r-raḥba llatf bi-ḥārati l-khuddām* (see above, n. 38) *bi-tariq baqīʿi l-gharqad minhu.*

⁴¹ Qalyūbī, 29b lists among the mosques in which the Prophet prayed the mosque of Baqīʿ az-Zubayr, to the east of Banū Zurayq, near (*bi-jānib*) al-Baqqāl.

⁴² Samhūdī, I, 150, l. 5 from bottom. And see Ibn Saʿd, III, 51: *aqtaʿa rasūlu llāh ṣ li-ʿubayda b. al-ḥārith wa-t-tufayl wa-akhawayhi mawḍiʿ khatbatihimi l-yawm bi-l madīna fimā bayna baqīʿ az-zubayr wa-bani māzin* (from Najjār).

⁴³ Qalyūbī, 29b; and see ʿUmdat al-akhbār, 183, l. 1: *...fi masjid bani ʿamr b. mabdhūl wa-manziluhum ʿinda baqʿ az-zubayr.*

⁴⁴ ʿUmdat al-akhbār, 115, l. 5; Abū Dāwūd, *al-Marāṣil*, 4.

another group, called Banū Mālik b. Mabdhūl is mentioned. Samhūdī lists three fortresses which belonged to Banū Mabdhūl: 1 al-Salj;⁴⁵ 2 a fortress which belonged to Banū Mālik b. Mabdhūl and was in the court of the family (*al*) of Huyayy b. Akhtab; 3 a fortress which was in the court of Sirjis, the *mawlā* of az-Zubayr, which was near Baqī az-Zubayr.⁴⁶ The location of the second fortress is significant, because it bears clear evidence of the proximity of Huyayy's fortress to the Prophet's mosque.

Banū Qurayza

One of the sections (*arbā'*) of Medina was known as Banū Qurayza.⁴⁷ Some *ṣadaqāt* of the Prophet had previously belonged to Banū Qurayza. Burqā and Mīthab belonged to az-Zabīr b. Bāṭā. Salmān al-Fārisī planted dates on them,⁴⁸ and they were part of what God bestowed (on the Prophet) from the estates of Qurayza.⁴⁹ The estate al-A^cwāf, which was mentioned above, is reported to have belonged to Khunāfa the Jew, who was from Banū Qurayza.⁵⁰ The Prophet housed Māriya the Copt in his *ṣadaqa* in Banū Qurayza.⁵¹ (Cf. Mashrabat Umm Ibrāhīm, mentioned above; Māriya was the mother of the Prophet's son Ibrāhīm.) Mashrabat Umm Ibrāhīm was to the north of (what became later known as) "the mosque of Banū Qurayza," near the eastern Harra, in a place called ad-Dasht, among the palm trees.⁵² "The mosque of Banū Qurayza" was built in the fortress of az-Zabīr b. Bāṭā. It was a considerable distance east of Masjid ash-Shams ("the mosque of the

⁴⁵ Wüstanfeld, *Medina*, 49 has: al-Falaj.

⁴⁶ Samhūdī, I, 150, l. 8 from bottom. See Saleh Ahmad al-Ali, in *Islamic Culture*, 35(1961), 79. On the court of Saḥīyya bint Huyayy see Samhūdī, II, 104, l. 17. On her *bayt* see Samhūdī, I, 329, l. 5; 327, l. 17.

⁴⁷ Al-Jāsir, *al-Manāsik*, 412. From the lack of mention of sections belonging to Banū Nadīr and Banū Qaynuqā' one may possibly infer that these two clans were nearer than Qurayza to "the centre" of Medina.

⁴⁸ Cf. above, n. 32.

⁴⁹ Samhūdī, II, 153, l. 7. Qalyūbī, 30a lists among the mosques in which the Prophet prayed the mosque of Banū Mīthab, near Burqā and the other *ṣadaqāt*; al-Burqā is a name of one of the *ṣadaqāt*, near the mosque of Mīthab, *ibid.*, 37b.

⁵⁰ Samhūdī, II, 153, l. 8. Cf. above, n. 36.

⁵¹ Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ miṣr*, ed. C. Torrey, New Haven, 1922, 52, l. 19.

⁵² Al-Maṭarī, 50a; cf. Samhūdī, II, 36, l. 18: the Mashraba is a mosque to the north of Banū Qurayza. And cf. Qalyūbī, 28a: Masjid al-Mashraba to the east of Masjid Banī Qurayza.

sun”), close to the eastern Harra, at the gate of a fruit-garden called Hājiza.⁵³ Bu^ʿāth was between Zuhra and Banū Qurayza.⁵⁴ According to a different account (above, p. 32), it was between (the court of) Qurayza and Harrat al-^ʿUrayḍ. It seems to follow that Zuhra corresponds to Harrat al-^ʿUrayḍ. The warriors who took part in the expedition against Ka^ʿb b. al-Ashraf retreated in the following course: Banū Umayya b. Zayd – Qurayza – Bu^ʿāth – Harrat al-^ʿUrayḍ, “and when they reached the Baqī^ʿ al-Gharqad they cried ‘Allāh Akbar’ ” (above, note 25). In Bu^ʿāth, which was one of the estates of Banū Qurayza, there was a cultivated field (*mazraʿa*) known as Qawrā.⁵⁵ Samhūdī suggests identifying it with Qawrān, an orchard to the east of Medina, “below” ad-Dilāl (which was one of the Prophet’s *ṣadaqāt*).⁵⁶

When Banū Qurayza left the Sāfila and moved to the ^ʿĀliya they settled beside the torrent Mahzūr.⁵⁷ Mahzūr flows from the territory (*min jihat*) of Banū Qurayza and passes through Medina. Al-Baqī^ʿ (i.e., Baqī^ʿ al-Gharqad) and the mosque of the Prophet are along its course. At its end there is a heap of earth referred to as Kūmat Abī l-Ḥamrā’.⁵⁸ In another report, Mahzūr flows from Harrat Shawrān and passes the estates of Banū Qurayza, then it flows to Medina, waters it and continues on, passing the mosque of the Prophet.⁵⁹ Several *ṣadaqāt* of the Prophet (and other estates as well) seem to replace the estates of Banū

⁵³ Samhūdī, II, 34; al-Maṭarī, 49a–49b; al-Marāghī, 121. See also *al-Jarḥ wa-t-taʿḍīl*, II, 463.

⁵⁴ Wāqidī, II, 460–461 describes the course taken from the Khandaq to Banū Qurayza: Sal^ʿ – Rātij – ^ʿAbd al-Ashhal – Zuhra – Bu^ʿāth – Qurayza. See already F. Buhl in *EI*¹, s.v. Bu^ʿāth. Banū Qurayza were on the way of the ^ʿĀliya/^ʿAwāli people from the Khandaq to their houses. They had to go to Sal^ʿ, then enter Medina, then go to the ^ʿĀliya, Wāqidī, II, 474, l. 5 from bottom; cf. *ibid.*, 451 (Banū Wāqif were ordered to take their weapons when they went home for fear from Banū Qurayza).

⁵⁵ Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Bu^ʿāth; and see *Aghānī*, XV, 163, l. 3 from bottom; *ibid.*, 164, l. 3: *fa-nḥazamati l-aws... fa-wallaw muṣʿidna fī harrati qawrā nahwa al-ʿurayḍ wa-dhālika wajh ʿarīq najd*.

⁵⁶ Samhūdī, II, 364, l. 1; see also *ibid.*, 262, l. 16.

⁵⁷ *Aghānī*, XIX, 95, l. 7; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Mahzūr (*wa-qāla abū ʿubayd: mahzūr wādī qurayza*). And see above, n. 32.

⁵⁸ Qalyūbī, 33b. On the Kūma see below (IV).

⁵⁹ *ʿUmdat al-akḥbār*, 317. Samhūdī’s reading (II, 216, l. 3 from bottom): *fa-yasqīhā* was preferred to: *fa-yashuqquhā*.

Qurayza in other descriptions of the course of Mahzūr,⁶⁰ among them, Burqā, Mīṭhab and ad-Dilāl.⁶¹

Banū Qaynuqāʿ

Elsewhere it is stated that Mukhayrifq was from the remnants (*baqāyā*) of Banū Qaynuqāʿ.⁶² He was the wealthiest man among Banū Qaynuqāʿ.⁶³

Banū Qaynuqāʿ had a village which was close to two of the *ṣadaqāi*, Ḥasnā and Mashrabat Umm Ibrāhīm. The Bayt al-Midrās of the Jews was located in the village; a meeting of the Jewish scholars, one of whom was Ibn Šūriyā, took place there, as well as the scholars' dispute with the Prophet over the affair of the stoning.⁶⁴ The house (*manzil*) of ʿAbdallāh b. Salām (who is usually said to have belonged to Qaynuqāʿ)⁶⁵ was near the mosque of the Mashraba and the *ṣadaqa* called Ḥasnā, which was to the east of the Mashraba.⁶⁶

The name of Banū Qaynuqāʿ' s village can be inferred from the sources. As noted above, the Bayt al-Midrās was in the village of Banū Qaynuqāʿ. According to one report the Prophet was invited by some Jews to come to al-Quff,⁶⁷ and he came to the Bayt al-Midrās (i.e., in al-Quff).⁶⁸ In addition to this, both Ḥasnā and the Mashraba were *in* (cf. above) al-Quff.⁶⁹ It may therefore be suggested, that al-Quff was the

⁶⁰ Samhūdī, II, 337, l. 7 from bottom: *wa-taqaddama anna ṣ-ṣāfiya wa-mā maʿahā mina ṣ-ṣadaqāt mutajāwirāt bi-ʿlā ṣ-ṣawrayni, qaṣr marwān, wa-anna sayl mahzūr yasqihā, thumma yufdi ilā ṣ-ṣawrayni, qaṣr marwān, thumma yaʿkhudhu baʿna l-wādī ʿalā qaṣr banī yūsuf, thumma yaṣubbu fī l-baqʿ* (printed: *an-naqʿ*).

⁶¹ Samhūdī, II, 152, l. 18: *fa-ammā ṣ-ṣāfiya wa-burqa* (written with a *ṭā* *marbūʿa*) *wa-dilāl wa-l-mīṭhab fa-mujāwirāt li-ʿlā ṣ-ṣawrayni min khalfi qaṣr marwān b. al-ḥakam wa-yasqihā mahzūr*; on *as-Ṣawrayni* see also Bakrī, s.v. *as-Ṣawrāni*; Wāqidī, II, 498, 499; Samhūdī, II, 337, l. 15.

⁶² Samhūdī, II, 152, l. 14.

⁶³ Ibn Saʿd, I, 502 (*aysaru banī qaynuqāʿ*); see also at-Ṭabarī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, n.p., 1312, 46 (*wa-kāna aktharahum mālan wa-ḥadāʿiqa*).

⁶⁴ *ʿUmdat al-akhbār*, 347, l. 11 (written: al-Ḥasaniyya).

⁶⁵ Cf. Samhūdī, I, 115, l. 11.

⁶⁶ *ʿUmdat al-akhbār*, 328, (Ḥasna written with a *ṭā* *marbūʿa*).

⁶⁷ Cf. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v.: *ʿalamun li-wādin min awdiyati l-madīna ʿalayhi māl li-ahlihā*.

⁶⁸ Samhūdī, II, 362, l. 3 from bottom.

⁶⁹ On the Mashraba see Samhūdī, II, 36, l. 13: *... fī l-māli lladht yuqalu lahu l-yawm mashrabatu umm ibrahīm bi-l-quff*. Bayt al-Midrās is mentioned in the instructions prepared for those who want to go to the Mashraba, *loc.cit.*, l. 2: *fa-idhā khallafta bayt midrāsi l-yahūd fa-jiʿta māl abi ʿubayda b. ʿubayd allāh b. zamʿa al-asadī, fa-*

village of Banū Qaynuqā^c and that the Bayt al-Midrās was in al-Quff. Al-Quff had orchards⁷⁰ and pasture land.⁷¹

There are also other reports which indicate the proximity of Banū Qaynuqā^c to the land obtained by the Prophet in Zuhra. Al-Quff was near Zuhra.⁷² Part of the land in Zuhra had unirrigated palm shoots known as al-Ḥashshāshīna. Al-Ḥashshāshīna is reported to have been in the abode of Banū Qaynuqā^c.⁷³ They owned an estate (*māl*) called Ḥibra, near al-Ḥashshāshīna. Ḥibra was also the name of a fortress in Medina.⁷⁴ Another report says that Banū Qaynuqā^c had two fortresses near al-Ḥashshāshīna, near the estate called Ḥibra.⁷⁵ The two fortresses near al-Ḥashshāshīna appear to be the two fortresses belonging to Banū Qaynuqā^c referred to, in a different account, as near their famous market. Banū Qaynuqā^c settled near the edge (*muntahā*) of the bridge of Buṭhān on the side of the ʿĀliya; one of the markets of Medina (i.e., the market of Banū Qaynuqā^c) was there. They owned the two fortresses which were near the edge of the bridge, “on your right hand side when you go from Medina to the ʿĀliya if you choose (the road which crosses)

mashrabatu umm ibrahīm ilā janbihi. Bayt al-Midrās (*midrās al-yahūd*) was on ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's way to his estate in the ʿĀliya, *Tafsīr ṭabari*, I, 334, l. 24: *kāna li-ʿumar b. al-khaṭṭāb ard bi-ʿalā l-madīna fa-kāna yaʿtīhā wa-kāna mamarruhu ʿalā tariq midrāsi l-yahūd* etc. On Ḥasnā see Samhūdī, II, 362, l. 7 from bottom: *wa-sabaqa anna ḥasnā* (sic) *aṣ-ṣadaqa bi-l-quff tashrabu bi-mahzūr wa-anna z-zāhira annahā l-mawḍiʿu l-maʿrūf bi-l-ḥusayniyyāt, wa-yuʿayyiduhu anna l-ḥusayniyyāt fi shāmiyyi l-mashraba bi-qurbihā wa-hiya mina l-quff*.

⁷⁰ See above, n. 67: Samhūdī, II, 362–363 (... *fi ḥāʾiṭin bi-l-quff*). ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān bought a fruit-garden in al-Quff which had belonged to an Anṣārī. It was called Khamsūna because he paid fifty thousand (Dirham). Samhūdī suggests to identify it with an estate near al-Ḥusayniyyāt called ath-Thamin.

⁷¹ Samhūdī, II, 362, l. 4 from bottom: ... *anna n-nabiyya ṣ kāna lahu qiʿatu ghanam tarʿā bi-l-quff tarūhu ʿalā māriya*. On al-Quff see already Saleh Ahmad al-Ali (above, n. 46), 75.

⁷² Samhūdī, II, 319, l. 3 from bottom.

⁷³ Samhūdī, II, 291, l. 7 from bottom: *Hishshān... jamʿ ḥashsh... wa-huwa l-bustān, ism uṭum li-yahūd ʿalā yamini ṭ-tariq min shuhadāʾ uḥud. wa-l-ḥashshāshīna bi-ṣiḡhati l-jamʿ ayḍan, bi-manāzil bani qaynuqāʿ*. Cf. Samhūdī, II, 154, l. 3: *kānat amwāl rasūli llāh ṣ min amwāl bani n-naḍir ḥashshāshīna wa-mazāriʿ wa-ublā fa-gharasahā l-umarāʾ baʿdu wa-ʿamilūhā. wa-hiya sabʿatu amwāl, wa-dhakara l-ḥawāʾiqa l-mutaqaddima*.

⁷⁴ ʿUmdat al-akhbār, 260.

⁷⁵ Samhūdī, II, 284, s.v. Ḥibra (... *inda l-māl lladhi yuqālu lahu khaybar* (!)). Samhūdī remarks however that the reading should be Hibra. Later on the fortress Hibra was included in the court of Sāliḥ b. Jaʿfar, Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Hibra. Cf. below, n. 176.

the bridge", and other fortresses as well.⁷⁶ One of the fortresses near the bridge is known by its name.⁷⁷ A list of the fortresses which the Banū Qaynuqā' owned includes two fortresses near the bridge, two fortresses (apparently the same ones) near al-Hashshāshina, close by an estate referred to as Hibra, and another fortress near the orchard referred to as Dhū sh-Shahr.⁷⁸

Two more Jewish groups should be noted.

Banū Hujr⁷⁹

They lived near the Mashraba which was close to the bridge. They had a fortress which carried their name.⁸⁰ It seems that the Mashrabat Umm Ibrāhīm and the bridge of Buṭhān (which is mentioned a few lines above in Samhūdī) are being referred to here.

Banū Māsika

Al-Quff was also inhabited by another Jewish clan called Banū Māsika. They lived near the *ṣadaqa* of Marwān b. al-Hakam, on the side of the Prophet's *ṣadaqa*. They owned the two fortresses which were in al-Quff, "in the village."⁸¹ Several *ṣadaqāt* were located behind Marwān's *qaṣr*.^{81a}

The historical background

Before elaborating on the identity of the other groups which inhabited the Rātij area it seems appropriate to look into the circumstances which facilitated the acquisition of land in that area by the Prophet. Fortunately we are well-informed about developments before the Hijra concerning two areas, which have a direct bearing on this subject. These are Ḥusayka and Rātij, the people of which (according to Ibn Shabba) had owned the land that the Prophet "found" in Zuhra; "they were expelled from

⁷⁶ Samhūdī, I, 115, l. 12.

⁷⁷ Samhūdī, II, 373, l. 8: Murayh . . . *yamina qāṣidi l-madina* (cf. the preceding note); al-Hāzimi, *al-Amākin*, 174b has: Murbih; *Umdat al-akhbār* 359: Marah. On the bridge see Wāqidī, I, 366, 374.

⁷⁸ *Umdat al-akhbār*, 23, 13. For more details on the market see below (III).

⁷⁹ See also Ibn Rusta, 62. For the vocalisation see Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 30.

⁸⁰ Samhūdī, I, 115, l. 9 from bottom.

⁸¹ *Loc.cit.*, l. 3; they are also mentioned in Ibn Rusta, 62; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 656, l. 6 (Banū Māsila).

^{81a} See above, nn. 60, 61; and see Samhūdī, II, 362, l. 3.

Medina before the Prophet's arrival" (*wa-qad kânū ujlū 'ani l-madina qabla maqdami n-nabiyyi š*).

Husayka, which was near Dhubāb, or, more precisely, between Dhubāb and Masājid al-Fath,⁸² was also called Husayka adh-Dhubāb.⁸³ Jews who had inhabited Husayka were driven out by the Khazrajī Banū Salima. Before the Prophet set out for Badr he camped at buyūt as-Suqyā, where Banū Salima had camped before their attack on the Jews of Husayka, who had many houses (*manāzil*) there and were the strongest Jewish group at that time (*wa-hum a'azzu yahūd kânū yawma'idhin*). The Jews were defeated and since that day, the rest of the Jews were subordinate to Banū Salima. The name of the place used to be al-Buq^c, but the Prophet changed it on that day to as-Suqyā.⁸⁴ It is not clear whether the statement concerning the strength of the inhabitants of Husayka should be accepted at face value: reports on the strength, or the relative strength of the Arab and the Jewish clans in Medina are a most sensitive issue in accounts of pre-Islamic Medina. For this and other reasons, which cannot be discussed here, the veracity of the report on the subordination of the rest of the Jews (i.e., in Medina) to Banū Salima is doubtful. However, one thing can be established: as a result of a clash, which probably remained local, the Jewish inhabitants of Husayka were compelled to leave their homes. For some reasons Banū Salima failed to pick the fruits of their victory, and the Prophet evidently profited from this failure.

A broadly similar process is traceable in Rātij as well. Its population underwent considerable changes before the Hijra, which are summarized in a report dealing with three phases in this process: 1 Jews; 2 Banū l-Jadh mā'; and 3 the people of Rātij (*ahl rātij*), who were confederates (*hulafā'*) of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal.⁸⁵ It seems that Banū l-Jadh mā' had

⁸² Samhūdī, II, 291, l. 10. It is followed by a more detailed description: *nāhiyat arđ ibn māqiya ilā qaṣr ibn abī 'amr ar-rābid ilā qaṣr ibni sh-shamf'al ilā adānt l-jurf*; and see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v.

⁸³ Wāqidī, I, 23, l. 2.

⁸⁴ Wāqidī, I, 21, 22–23. See already Hirschberg, 127.

⁸⁵ Samhūdī, I, 152, l. 4: *wa-kāna bi-rātij nās mina l-yahūd. wa-kāna rātij uṭuman summiyat bihi tilka n-nāhiya, thumma šāra li-banū l-jadh mā', thumma šāra ba'du li-ahl rātij lladhtna kânū hulafā'a bant 'abdi l-ashhal*. Cf. above, n. 6. The abode of Banū l-Jadh mā' before they moved to Rātij is also recorded, Samhūdī, I, 115–116: *wa-kānat banū l-ḥadh mā' (!) ...wa-hum ḥayy mina l-yaman, mā bayna maqbarati banī 'abdi l-ashhal wa-bayna qaṣri bni 'arāk, thumma 'ntaqalū ilā rātij*. They are listed

already left Rātij, or alternatively, had mingled with the other groups comprising “the people of Rātij” (the expression will be discussed below), by the time the Prophet arrived at Medina. When Ibn Shabba reports that “the people of Rātij” were expelled before the Prophet’s arrival, this has to be interpreted as only pertaining to some of them, because Rātij was also populated by “the people of Rātij” after the Hijra, as will be shown below.

There is mention of the expulsion of Jewish groups from the area between Medina and Uḥud in two other places. These sources discuss the villages Zuhra and Yathrib, which played a major role in the economic activities of both pre-Islamic and Islamic Medina. However, these reports probably refer to events in the days of the Prophet.

Zuhra was inhabited by *jummāʿ* (see below) of Jews, and it was one of the greatest (*ʿazam*) villages of Medina; its inhabitants have vanished (*wa-qad bādū*).⁸⁶ Since both Naḍīr and Thaʿlaba b. al-Fityawn inhabited Zuhra, the reference may be to the expulsion of Naḍīr and of Thaʿlaba b. al-Fityawn.⁸⁷ According to az-Zubayr b. Bakkār, Zuhra was the biggest village in Medina (*ʿazamu qarya bi-l-madīna*) and it had three hundred (Jewish) goldsmiths.⁸⁸

As to Yathrib, its Jewish inhabitants, who were also *jummāʿ*, also vanished and not a single one remained (*wa-qad bādū, fa-lam yabqa minhum aḥad*).⁸⁹ On the expulsion of Jews from Yathrib see below (IV).

The Yathribī Jews had a special status within the Jewish population of Medina. The *Aghānī*⁹⁰ refers to them in the following statement: *fa-kāna yaskunu yathrib jamāʿa min abnāʾi l-yahūd fihim sh-sharaf wa-*

among the Bedouin groups which “were with the Jews”, Samhūdī, I, 114, l. 2; *Aghānī*, XIX, 25, l. 13; Banū l-Hirmān (!); Ibn Rusta, 62, l. 4; Banū l-Jadh mā (with an *alif maqṣūra*), *ḥayy mina l-yaman*. Qaṣr Ibn ʿArāk was in the neighbourhood of the cemetery of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, on the road to Uḥud, Samhūdī, II, 361; Qaṣr Ibn ʿAwwān seems an error (this is Samhūdī’s opinion); it is reported that Banū l-Jadh mā’ settled in its southern side, Samhūdī, II, 361–362, quoting Yāqūt (*Buldān*, s.v.). Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 31 has: Ibn ʿArrāk.

⁸⁶ Samhūdī, I, 115, l. 6 from bottom.

⁸⁷ The expulsion of the latter clan is probably referred to in *Muḥabbar*, 112: *thumma sanatu thalāth. fihā ajlā rasūlu llāhi ṣ bant l-fityawn ʿan ghayr qitāl. fa-laḥiqū bi-sh-shām*.

⁸⁸ *Al-Maghānim al-muṭāba*, 173. Cf. below, n. 93.

⁸⁹ Samhūdī, I, 116, l. 11.

⁹⁰ XIX, 95, l. 11.

th-tharwa wa-l-‘izz ‘alā sā’iri l-yahūd. The edition of Dār al-Kutub⁹¹ records a variant reading on the margin of the text. It has: *jummā‘ min umanā (!) l-yahūd*. The reading *jummā‘*, which is a *lectio difficilior*, is preferable. Translation: “And Yathrib was inhabited by people from various Jewish clans,⁹² who excelled the rest of the Jews in nobility, wealth and power.” This is corroborated by a report on the beginnings of the Jewish settlement in Medina. According to this report, they (i.e., the bulk of the settlers) settled in Zuhra, while the nobility among them (*jumhūruhum*) settled in Yathrib.⁹³

Rātij, Husayka, Zuhra and Yathrib were adjacent localities to the northwest of Medina. The accounts of the first two localities brought above explain the vacuum which was created in the area shortly before the Hijra. It was filled by the Prophet after the Hijra. The inhabitants of the latter two localities, or some of them, were expelled in Islamic times. The arrival of the Prophet at Medina can be viewed as completing a process which had already begun some time before the Hijra.

⁹¹ XXII, ed. ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibrāhīm al-‘Azbāwī and Maḥmūd Muḥammad Ghunaym, 1393/1973, 109.

⁹² On *abnā’* (*al-yahūd*) cf. *Naqā’id*, Glossary, s.v.

⁹³ Samḥūdī, I, 113, l. 2: *fa-kāna jam‘uhum bi-zuhra wa-kānat lahumu l-amwāl bi-s-sāfila . . . wa-nazala jumhūruhum bi-makān yuqālu lahu yathrib bi-mujtamā‘i s-suyūl mimma yalt zaghāba*. On *jumhūr* see Lane, s.v. Among other meanings, the following meaning is recorded: “the eminent, elevated or noble of men, or people”, quoted from *Tāj al-‘arūs: al-jumhūr mina n-nās jalluhum wa-ashrafuhum*. Cf. however *Ta’rīkh Tabari*, III, 462. Cf. al-Marāghī, 7b–8a. He reports, that Yathrib was the abode (*manāzil*) of Banū Hāritha b. al-Hārith, a *batn* from Aws. It had been, before the settlement of Aws and Khazraj, the main village of Medina (*umm qurā l-madīna*) and in it were most (*mu‘zam*) of the Jews, who were the rulers of Medina (*wa-l-ghālibīna ‘alā l-madīna*) after the Amalekites. And there were in it three hundred Jewish goldsmiths. According to al-Marāghī, al-Maṭarī reported this on the authority of Ibn Zabāla. This, he adds, should however be looked into (*wa-ftḥi naẓar*), because another report of Ibn Zabāla states that the three hundred goldsmiths were in Zuhra (cf. above, n. 88), which was one of the biggest villages of Medina. The report quoted from Ibn Zabāla appears in al-Maṭarī, fol. 11. Samḥūdī (I, 7, l. 11) thought, that al-Maṭarī added the piece of information concerning the goldsmiths out of misunderstanding: he thought that Yathrib and Zuhra were the same place: *wa-qad naqala dhālika l-jamāl al-maṭarī ‘anhu, wa-zāda ft n-naql, annahu kāna bihā thalāthumi’ati ṣā’igh mina l-yahūd, wa-ibn zabāla innamā dhakara anna dhālika kāna bi-zuhra* (printed: *bi-zuhwa*), *wa-qad ghāyara* (printed: *ghāmara*) *baynahā wa-bayna yathrib, wa-ka-anna l-jamāl fahima ‘ittihādahumā*. “The place in which the market of Banū Qaynuqā‘ was located” (cf. below, n. 194) is also connected with the beginnings of the Jewish settlement in Medina; Samḥūdī, I, 110, l. 14: *fa-nazalū fi mawḍi‘ suq banī qaynuqā‘*.

II

The abundance of source-material about Rātij facilitates a detailed discussion of its inhabitants, with an emphasis on their tribal affinities. Rātij was inhabited after the Hijra, and probably also shortly before it (i.e., in the “third phase”, see above) by “the people of Rātij” (*ahl rātij*), who were confederates (*ḥulafāʾ*) of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal. The expression “the people of” is unusual (although a name of a locality sometimes becomes a name of a tribal group). Watt observes: “. . . We find units like the ‘people of Rātij’ which was an amalgamation of fragments joined together for mutual defence, and becoming in course of time also linked by blood”; and elsewhere he says: “. . . in some cases, like that of the ‘people of Rātij’, organization by kinship appeared to be giving place to organization by locality”.^{93a} This inspiring observation needs further corroboration. At any rate the expression “the people of” also appears together with names of other localities in the vicinity of Medina.⁹⁴ These localities were invariably inhabited by Jews – they are all mentioned in the chapter in which Samhūdī deals with the Jewish population of Medina. They seem to have had a peculiar kind of population, as can be learned from the term *jummāʿ*. It appears with regard to two of these localities: Zuhra: *wa-kānat bi-zuhra jummāʿ min al-yahūd*,⁹⁵ and Yathrib: *ahl yathrib, wa-kānū jummāʿan min al-yahūd*;⁹⁶ *jummāʿ* means: people from various tribes who have the same status, or, what seems more appropriate in our case: groups from various tribes.⁹⁷

On dealing with the inhabitants of Rātij special attention will be paid to their pedigrees.

Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal

This clan seems to have played the most important role in the area. Actually they did not live in Rātij itself but on its outskirts; their abode

^{93a} Watt, 173, 241, respectively.

⁹⁴ See Samhūdī, I, 115, l. 18 (Zuhra); 116, l. 6 (ash-Shawṭ); l. 11 (Yathrib). The same probably applies to al-ʿAnābis, al-Wālij and Zubāla, l. 5; see l. 8: “the people of al-Wālij”; and perhaps also to Ḥusayka, see above, n. 2.

⁹⁵ Samhūdī, I, 115, l. 6 from bottom.

⁹⁶ Samhūdī, I, 116, l. 11.

⁹⁷ Az-Zamakhshari, *al-Fāʾiq*, ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm and ʿA.M. al-Bijāwī, Cairo, 1364/1945–1367/1948, I, 216: *al-ashābih min qabāʾil shattā*; Ibn al-Athīr, *an-Nihāya fī ghartbi l-ḥadīth wa-l-athar*, ed. T.A. az-Zāwī, and M.M. at-Ṭanāḥī, Cairo, 1383/1963, s.v.: *jamāʿat min qabāʾil shattā mutafarriqa*.

was between Rātij and Zuhra.⁹⁸ In the battle of Khandaq they dug a ditch around their abode, going from Rātij to the back of the abode.⁹⁹ Their abode was at the edge of the eastern Ḥarra.¹⁰⁰ The area was named for Wāqim, one of their fortresses.¹⁰¹ The eastern Ḥarra (Ḥarrat Zuhra) was also called Ḥarrat Wāqim and Ḥarrat Banī Qurayza, since they settled on its southern side.¹⁰²

“The people of Rātij” were, as was already mentioned, the confederates of ‘Abd al-Ashhal. This relationship began before the Hijra. They are mentioned together with ‘Abd al-Ashhal, Zafar and Banū Mu‘āwiya in connection with an attempt carried out by these groups to ally with Quraysh.¹⁰³ ‘Abd al-Ashhal and Zafar belong to the tribal group Nabīṭ.^{103a} Mu‘āwiya originally belonged to the tribal group ‘Amr b. ‘Awf,¹⁰⁴ (which belonged, like Nabīṭ, to Aws), but they broke away from their group and moved to another section of Medina.¹⁰⁵

Banū Za‘ūrā’¹⁰⁶

In one passage they are referred to as “the people of Rātij”.¹⁰⁷ They settled in the vicinity of (what became later known as the) Mashrabat Umm Ibrāhīm, and had a fortress near it.¹⁰⁸ In the battle of Bu‘āth,

⁹⁸ See above, n. 54.

⁹⁹ Wāqidī, II, 450, l. 2 from bottom: *wa-khandaqat banū ‘abdi l-ashhal ‘alayhā minimā yali rātij ilā khalfihā.*

¹⁰⁰ Samhūdī, I, 134, l. 3 from bottom.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 134–135.

¹⁰² Samhūdī, II, 289, l. 8 from bottom.

¹⁰³ *Munammaq*, 32.

^{103a} Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 338.

¹⁰⁴ They appear as such in Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 335.

¹⁰⁵ (Apparently forming a new alliance), Samhūdī, I, 137, l. 3 from bottom.

¹⁰⁶ See already Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber*, Hannover, 1864, 54–56, esp. 56, n. 1; J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin – Leipzig, 1926, 158.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 338: *wa-z‘ūrā’*, *baṭn*, *wa-hum ahl rātij*. And see al-Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat al-‘Arab fī mārifat ansābi l-‘Arab*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, Cairo, 1378/1959, 271; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Rātij: . . . *wa-huwa li-banī z‘awarā’ (sic; see below, n. 114) b. jusham b. al-ḥārith b. al-khazraj b. ‘amr, wa-huwa n-nabīṭ b. mālik b. al-aws*. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 22346, 55b mentions Za‘ūrā’ also as ‘Abd al-Ashhal’s son, see below.

¹⁰⁸ Samhūdī, I, 115, l. 10: *banū za‘ūrā’ ‘inda mashrabati umm ibrahīm b. an-nabiyyi ṣ, wa-lahumu l-uṭumu l-ladhi ‘indahā*. And see *ibid.*, II, 36–37 (Sayf al-Qabr should read: Abū Sayf al-Qayn, see *Iṣāba*, VII, 197). On Banū Ḥujr, who were also near the Mashraba, see above, p. 39.

Banū Za^ʿūrā' joined the Jewish clans together with Nabīṭ; however, they are still referred to as being "from Ghassān" and are presented as being distinct from the Nabīṭ.¹⁰⁹ Ibn Zabāla does not mention Za^ʿūrā' among the clans of Nabīṭ either, or even among the clans of the Anṣār.¹¹⁰ The reason seems to be that he had already listed them among the Jewish clans of Medina.

Genealogies which refer to a period after Bu^ʿāth reflect Za^ʿūrā''s incorporation into the tribal group Nabīṭ. There are, however, divergent accounts of their Nabīṭī pedigree. According to Ibn Ḥazm, who mentions Za^ʿūrā' among the clans of Nabīṭ, Za^ʿūrā' was the son of Jusham b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj b. ʿAmr (= Nabīṭ). Thus Za^ʿūrā' "became the brother" of Jusham's other sons ʿAbd al-Ashhal, ʿAmr and al-Ḥārīsh.¹¹¹ It is reported that Banū Za^ʿūrā' b. Jusham, from the people of Rātīj, who were the nephews of ʿAbd al-Ashhal (*banū akhthim*), settled near them.¹¹² But another account, referring to an incident during the battle of Uḥud, seems to indicate that at that time (3AH) Za^ʿūrā' were in fact living in the abode of ʿAbd al-Ashhal. The Za^ʿūrī Salama b. Salāma "came to (the abode of) ʿAbd al-Ashhal and informed *his people*" etc.¹¹³ This report indicates, that in what seems to be the second stage of their incorporation into Nabīṭ, they were incorporated into ʿAbd al-Ashhal. This can be corroborated by pedigrees of Za^ʿūrā'. According to one version Za^ʿūrā''s father, Jusham, was the son of ʿAbd al-Ashhal.¹¹⁴ In another version, Za^ʿūrā' himself was the son of ʿAbd al-Ashhal.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ *Aghāni*, XV, 162, l. 15.

¹¹⁰ *Samhūdī*, I, 136, l. 15.

¹¹¹ Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 338. And see al-Qalqashandī, *loc.cit.*

¹¹² *Umdat al-akhbār*, 28, l. 11.

¹¹³ (See on him *Isāba*; III, 148, s.v. Salama b. Salāma b. Waqsh b. Zughba b. Za^ʿūrā' b. ʿAbd al-Ashhal.) *Wāqidi*, I, 208: *wa-kharaja salama b. salāma b. waqsh* (erroneously vocalised: *waqash*) . . . *hattā idhā kāna bi-adnā l-ʿird . . . jāʿa ilā mazraʿatihi bi-adnā l-ʿird fa-kharaja hattā atā bant ʿabdi l-ashhal fa-khabbara qawmahu bi-mā laqiya minhum*. And see *op. cit.*, 211: *wa-qāla iyās b. aws b. ʿatīk* (from Za^ʿūrā', Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 340): *yā rasūla llāhi, nahnu banū ʿabdi l-ashhal . . .*

¹¹⁴ *Taʾrikh Khalifa*, I, 33: *wa-min ahl rātīj iyās b. aws b. ʿatīk* (see the preceding note) . . . *b. zaʿwarā* (see this reading in Ibn Hishām, II, 342) *b. jusham b. ʿabd al-ashhal*.

¹¹⁵ See above, n. 113. And see Ibn Saʿd, VIII, 321–324 (with one exception, p. 321: Umm ʿAmr . . . b. Za^ʿūrā' b. Jusham, the brother of ʿAbd al-Ashhal b. Jusham); in Ibn Saʿd, III, 439 both pedigrees appear. Cf. also another Nabīṭī group, Banū l-Ḥārīsh. It was already said above, that al-Ḥārīsh was the son of Jusham; however in the pedigree of one Sayfī b. Qayzī, Ḥārīsh figures as ʿAbd al-Ashhal's son, *Isāba*, III, 455 (his mother was aṣ-Saʿba, Abū l-Haytham b. at-Tayyihān's sister, see below, n. 120).

The technique by which Za'ūrā' were incorporated into the tribal system of Nabīf and of 'Abd al-Ashhal is called *dukhūl fī* (lit. "entering into"), i.e., affiliating with a tribal group and adopting its pedigree. Anmār "entered into" Banū l-Hujaym and "said" (i.e., reported their pedigree as being:) Anmār b. Hujaym.¹¹⁶ Banū 'Awf b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib "entered into" Banū Dhubyān b. Ghatafān b. Qays 'Aylān and they are (known as) Banū Murra b. 'Awf b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān. When they report their pedigree (*yantamūna*) they say: Banū 'Awf b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān.¹¹⁷ Tha'laba b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān "declared" 'Awf b. Lu'ayy his brother and the latter became known as 'Awf b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān.¹¹⁸

Banū 'Amr b. Jusham¹¹⁹

It has already been said that 'Amr was 'Abd al-Ashhal's brother. Several women from this group are said to have been "from the people of Rātij".¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ Ibn Hazm, *Ansāb*, 207, l. 2; and see *ibid*, 269, l. 11; 332, l. 12; *Durr manthūr*, II, 191, l. 6 from bottom.

¹¹⁷ Ibn Hazm, *Ansāb*, 13 (the editor preferred the reading *min ghatafān*).

¹¹⁸ *Ta'rikh Ya'qūbī*, I, 235: . . . *wa-ja'alahu lahu akhan. fa-sāra nasabuhu fī 'awf b. sa'd b. dhubyān.*

¹¹⁹ Ibn Hazm, *Ansāb*, 338.

¹²⁰ *Muḥabbar*, 417: *hind bint sahl . . . b. 'amr b. jusham, min ahl rātij.* Cf. Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 324, On Mulayka, Abū l-Haytham b. at-Tayyihān's wife, see *Muḥabbar*, 417; Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 325. On his sister aṣ-Ṣa'ba see the same sources and above, n. 115. And see Ibn Sa'd, III, 449: *wa-qadi 'nqarada aydan wuld 'amr b. jusham b. al-hārith b. al-khazraj mundhu zamān ṭawīl, wa-hum ahl rātij, illā anna fī ahl rātij qawman min ghassān min wuld 'ulba b. jafna khulafā'uhum* (!; the Leiden ed., vol. III, 21, is also erroneous) *āl abi sa'id, wa-lahumu l-yawm 'aqibun yaskunūna ṣ-ṣafrā'a bi-nāhiyati l-madīna, wa-yaddā'ūna annahum min wuld rāfi' b. sahl, wa-anna 'ammahum 'abdallah b. sahl alladhī shahida badran;* see also *ibid*, 449: the wife of 'Ubayd b. at-Tayyihān was aṣ-Ṣa'ba bint Rāfi' b. 'Adī b. Zayd b. Umayya, *min wuld 'ulba b. jafna al-ghassānī. ha-hum hūlafā'uhum.* Rāfi' b. Sahl seems to have been the grandfather of Wahba bint Sulayman b. Rāfi' b. Sahl b. 'Adī b. Zayd b. Umayya b. Māzin b. Sa'd b. Qays b. al-Ayham b. Ghassān, from the inhabitants of (*min sākinī*) Rātij (printed: Rābikh), who were the confederates of Banū Za'ūrā' b. Jusham, (Za'ūrā' being) the brother of 'Abd al-Ashhal b. Jusham; in times of war they (i.e., the inhabitants of Rātij) were mobilized with Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal (*wa-da'watuhum fī bani 'abdi l-ashhal*); Ibn Sa'd, IV, 373. 'Abdallah b. Sahl is listed by Ibn Ishāq among the Za'ūrī participants in Badr; according to another version quoted by Ibn Hishām (II, 343) he was from Ghassān; see also *Iṣāba*, IV, 122. And see below, n. 151.

Al-Jaʿādira

Rātij had also inhabitants from another branch of Aws, namely Banū Murra b. Mālik b. al-Aws. Murra had two sons, ʿĀmir and Saʿd.¹²¹ According to one account, the Jaʿādira included all Banū Murra; in different accounts they included only the descendants of either ʿĀmir or Saʿd.¹²² All of Banū Murra, the descendants of both ʿĀmir and Saʿd, inhabited Rātij.¹²³

We can hypothesize that Banū Saʿd, and perhaps Banū ʿĀmir as well, shifted their loyalty at some undefined date (however not long before the Hijra) from Banū Zaʿūrāʾ to Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal. Probably, they were following Banū Zaʿūrāʾ themselves. In this case the statement that Banū Zaʿūrāʾ were “the people of Rātij” is to be interpreted in the following way: they, together with other tribal groups who were their confederates, were “the people of Rātij”. The Zaʿūrī Salama b. Salāma was married to a woman “from the Jaʿādira, from the inhabitants of Rātij (*min sākinī rātij*), from Aws, confederates (*ḥulafāʾ*) of Banū Zaʿūrāʾ b. Jusham”.¹²⁴ The pedigree of that woman supposedly reflects the pre-Islamic conditions at Rātij because it seems that by the Hijra Zaʿūrāʾ had lost their independent tribal organization. She was from Banū Saʿd (cf. above, note 121) b. Murra.¹²⁵ Another report states, that the Jaʿādira, “who are Banū Saʿd b. Murra b. Mālik b. al-Aws”,¹²⁶ were incorporated into (lit. “are in”) Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal (*wa-hum fī banī ʿabdi l-ashhal*)¹²⁷ – this apparently refers to a later development. Some

¹²¹ Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 345; Caskel, I, no. 184 has: ʿĀmira and Saʿd; Ibn al-Kalbī (above, n. 107), 56b has ʿĀmir and Saʿda.

¹²² Ibn Ḥazm, *loc. cit.*: *wa-ḥaʾulāʾi banū murra . . . wa-humu l-jaʿādira*; and see Caskel, Index, s.v. Samhūdī, I, 139, l. 11 lists only the three *buṭūn* which were the descendants of ʿĀmir b. Murra: *wa-wāʾil wa-umayya wa-ʿaṭiyya banū zayd humu l-jaʿādira*. On the other hand Ibn Saʿd, VIII, 358 lists only the Banū Saʿd (*sic*; cf. above, n. 121) b. Murra: *wa-mina l-jaʿādira, wa-hum banū saʿd* etc. Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, II, 85 says, that Banū Saʿd are the Jaʿādira. Cf. Samhūdī, *loc. cit.*, l. 16; al-Marāghī, 8b; Ibn Hazm, *loc. cit.*, l. 12.

¹²³ On Saʿd b. Murra see Ibn Hazm, *Ansāb*, 345, 346; Samhūdī, I, 152, l. 7 (quoting Ibn Hazm). On ʿĀmir b. Murra see *ʿIqd*, III, 377, l. 11: *ʿāmira* (*sic*, cf. above, n. 121), *hum ahl rābikh* (read: *rātij*), *b. murra b. mālik b. al-aws, minhum wāʾil b. zayd b. qays b. ʿāmira wa-abū qays b. al-aslat*.

¹²⁴ Ibn Saʿd, III, 439, l. 13.

¹²⁵ *Iṣāba*, VIII, 265.

¹²⁶ Cf. above, n. 122.

¹²⁷ Ibn Saʿd, VIII, 358; see also *Iṣāba*, VII, 706 (. . . Saʿd b. Murra . . .): *mina l-jaʿādira, wa-ʿidādhum fī banī ʿabdi l-ashhal*. The preposition *fī* (cf. the expression *dakhala fī*, above, p. 46) indicates the status of confederates, see Wāqidi, III, 1082, l. 5: . . .

corroborative data can be adduced. A man of Ghassāni extract was from the inhabitants of Rātij, who were the confederates of Banū Za‘ūrā’ b. Jusham, (Za‘ūrā’ being) the brother of ‘Abd al-Ashhal b. Jusham; in times of war they (i.e., the inhabitants of Rātij) were mobilized with Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal (above, note 120; the last statement may reflect a later period, after Za‘ūrā’ themselves were incorporated into ‘Abd al-Ashhal). A man from Azd Shanū’a is said to have been from Za‘ūrā’, or a confederate of Za‘ūrā’; other passages say: from ‘Abd al-Ashhal; a confederate of ‘Abd al-Ashhal (below, note 151). The famous *naqīb* Abū l-Haytham b. at-Tayyihān, who is reported to have been from Balī was, according to one version, from Za‘ūrā’. In a different passage he is described as a confederate of Za‘ūrā’. Yet another report states that he was a confederate of ‘Abd al-Ashhal (see below, note 152). All this reflects the following development in Rātij, which probably took place before the Hijra: the decline of the Ghassānī Banū Za‘ūrā’ and the rise of ‘Abd al-Ashhal. The divergent pedigrees of Za‘ūrā’ and of the other inhabitants of Rātij are clear indications of this process.

Banū l-Hārith b. al-Khazraj

Rātij was also inhabited by Khazrajī clans, among them Banū l-Hārith b. al-Khazraj. A report about the temporary settlement of a man from Banū l-Hārith in the Rātij area mentions ash-Shawṭ locality. Ash-Shawṭ was between Medina and Uḥud,¹²⁸ to the north of Dhubāb, near the houses (*manāzil*) of Banū Sā‘ida and the Kūmat Abī l-Hamrā’.¹²⁹ It was in the Jabbāna, as was Dhubāb.¹³⁰ Rātij was to the northeast of Dhubāb.¹³¹ Ash-Shawṭ was once inhabited by Jews.¹³² The people of ash-Shawṭ owned a fortress called ash-Shar‘abī, which was the fortress behind Dhubāb.¹³³ In one of his verses Qays b. al-Khaṭim mentions a

raḥṭun min aslam kānū fīnā. . . hulafā’ lanā; and see Balādhurī, Ansāb al-ashraf, I, 284, l. 6: wa-kāb b. al-ashraf at-ṭā’ī min banī nabhān, ḥalīf banī n-naḍīr; Bayhaqī, Dalā’il an-nubuwwa, ed. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad ‘Uṭhmān, al-Madīna, 1969, II, 456: wa-kāna kāb b. al-ashraf al-yahūdī wa-huwa aḥadu banī n-naḍīr aw fīhim. Cf. the editor’s note: hiya ka-dhālika bi-l-aṣl wa-s-ṣaḥīḥ annahā “aw qayyimuhum”.

¹²⁸ *Yāqūt, Buldān, s.v. ash-Shawṭ.*

¹²⁹ *Samhūdī, II, 332, l. 13.*

¹³⁰ *Loc.cit., l. 16: . . . bi-sh-shawṭ mina l-jabbāna. Cf. above, p. 31.*

¹³¹ See above, n. 4. Cf. above, n. 7.

¹³² *Samhūdī, I, 116, l. 5; above, n. 94.*

¹³³ *Samhūdī, loc. cit.*

battle ("the day of as-Sarrāra") which took place between ash-Sharʿabī and Rātij.¹³⁴ As-Sarrāra was a place near Medina, between ash-Sharʿabī and Rātij.¹³⁵

On the settlement of the Hārithī the following data can be adduced: Banū Jusham and Banū Zayd, who were both (i.e., Jusham and Zayd) the sons of al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj and were twins, lived in as-Sunh.¹³⁶ after they had left the abode, shared by all of Banū l-Hārith b. al-Khazraj.¹³⁷ A descendant of Jusham, ʿInaba b. ʿAmr b. Khadīj broke away from his clan, settled in ash-Shawṭ and heaped up the heap of earth (al-Kūma) known as Kūmat Abi-Ḥamrā'. Afterwards he returned to as-Sunh.¹³⁸ This incident was evidently short-lived.

A section of Banū l-Hārith which actually settled in the Rātij area was Banū Khudāra b. ʿAwf b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj. They broke away from their tribal group and settled in the court referred to as Jirār Saʿd ("the jars of Saʿd", i.e. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, from the Khazrajī Banū Sāʿida), near the market of Medina.¹³⁹ Jirār Saʿd were probably in Rātij (see below, III).

Whereas the time of Banū Khudāra's settlement in Rātij is not reported, the time of ʿInaba's can be deduced: it took place approximately two generations before the days of the Prophet, because ʿInaba was the grandfather of one of the Prophet's companions,

¹³⁴ Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. ash-Sharʿabī; *Dirwān*, ed. Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Asad, p. 125.

¹³⁵ Bakrī, s.v. as-Sarrāra (printed: Rābikh).

¹³⁶ See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v.; Samhūdī, II, 325, l. 1; Bakrī, s.v. Sunh.

¹³⁷ Samhūdī, I, 140, l. 12.

¹³⁸ Samhūdī, I, 140, l. 7 from bottom: *wa-kharaja ʿutba (!) b. ʿumar (!) b. khadtj b. ʿamir b. jusham b. al-hārith b. al-khazraj (sic) fa-sakana sh-shawṭa wa-kawwama l-kūma yuqālu (!) lahā kūmat abī l-ḥamrāʾ, thumma rajāʿa fī s-sunh*. On the Kūma see below (IV).

¹³⁹ Samhūdī, I, 140, l. 5 from bottom: *wa-kharajat banū khudra (!) b. ʿawf b. al-hārith b. al-khazraj (sic) hattā sakanū d-dāra llatt yuqālu lahā jirār saʿd mimma yalt sūqa l-madīna*; and see Samhūdī, I, 148, l. 16; Samhūdī, II, 62, l. 6: *... anna n-nabiyya ṣ wadaʿa yadahu ʿalā l-hajari lladht fī ujum saʿd b. ʿubāda ʿinda jirār saʿd wa-ṣallā fī masjid bant khudāra*. Cf. ʿAbd ar-Razzāq, V, 490: the Prophet visited Saʿd b. ʿUbāda before Badr in (the abode of) Banū l-Hārith b. al-Khazraj. According to another report the domain of Banū Khudāra was to the south of the abode of Banū Sāʿida, between this abode and Budāʿa, near the market of Medina, al-Matarī, 78a. The text has "this abode", but before that the mosque of Banū Khudāra, near the fortress which is in Jirār Saʿd, is mentioned. It was "to the south of the abode of Banū Sāʿida and between (!) Budāʿa".

Khubayb b. Isāf b. ʿInaba.¹⁴⁰ He may have attempted to take over and cultivate a tract of land that offered excellent conditions for farming; the area was also of commercial significance (see below, IV).

The rise of Banū l-Hārith occurred about the same time. As was shown by Prof. M. J. Kister, Nadīr and Qurayza, who had carried out the collection of taxes from Aws and Khazraj for the Persians, were replaced by ʿAmr b. al-Itnāba al-Khazrajī, who lived in the second half of the sixth century.¹⁴¹ ʿAmr belonged to one of the groups of Banū l-Hārith, namely the Banū Mālik al-Agharr.¹⁴² He was the grandfather of one of the Prophet's companions, Qaraza b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr.¹⁴³ Thus we see that two generations before the Hijra a man from Banū l-Hārith was entrusted by the Persians with the collection of taxes in Medina, and two generations before the Hijra a Hārithī attempted to obtain an important tract of land to the northwest of Medina. Perhaps the settling of Banū Khudāra in the area of Rātij should also be connected with the rise of Banū l-Hārith at that period.

Awsī, or even Nabīfī pedigrees of people who were (according to an earlier pedigree) from Banū l-Hārith are quite unique. Khubayb b. Isāf is called al-Awsī.¹⁴⁴ ʿAbdallāh b. Zayd and his brother al-Hārith, who were from another group of Banū l-Hārith, are mentioned by Ibn Ḥazm in a passage dealing with that group. The following pedigree is recorded: ʿAbdallāh b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Rabbihi b. Thaʿlaba b. Zayd b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj.¹⁴⁵ Ibn Ḥazm remarks, however, that according to another account they were from Banū Jusham b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj; ostensibly, this does not make much difference, because Jusham was Zayd's brother, and at any rate the latter version leaves them in the ranks of the Khazrajī Banū l-Hārith b. al-Khazraj. But the "Jusham b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj" who is probably referred to here can be found

¹⁴⁰ *Iṣāba*, II, 261. On the settlement of another group from al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj, namely Banū Khudra (al-Abjar) in a new abode see Samhūdī, I, 140, l. 4 from bottom. It should perhaps be connected with the Kūma-affair and the settlement of Banū Khudāra.

¹⁴¹ M. J. Kister, "al-Hīra", in *Arabica*, 15 (1968), 145-149.

¹⁴² Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 363, 365.

¹⁴³ "Al-Hīra" (above, n. 141), 148 (footnote); ʿAmr's granddaughter Kabsha bint Wāqid was ʿAbdallāh b. Rawāha's mother, *Iṣāba*, IV, 83.

¹⁴⁴ *Iṣāba*, II, 261 (. . . b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj b. al-Aws al-Anṣārī al-Awsī). Cf. *Iṣṭāb*, II, 443; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, II, 101-102.

¹⁴⁵ Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 361.

in the pedigree of ‘Abdallāh b. Zayd’s grandson: Bashīr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Zayd b. ‘Abd Rabbihi b. Tha‘laba b. Zayd b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj b. *Jusham b. al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj* b. ‘Amr, i.e., an-Nabīṭ, b. Mālik b. al-Aws.¹⁴⁶ Possibly, part of Banū l-Hārith was incorporated into the tribal system of Nabīṭ by “becoming” the sons of the Nabīṭī Jusham and the brothers of ‘Abd al-Ashhal.¹⁴⁷ Finally, it is noteworthy that a member of a once powerful group in Medina, the grandson of the above-mentioned tax collector ‘Amr b. al-Itnāba, Qaraza b. Ka‘b, was a confederate of Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal.¹⁴⁸

The data concerning some groups of Banū l-Hārith b. al-Khazraj seem to indicate that peculiar pedigrees may reflect a later stage than that recorded as the “standard genealogical system” in the *nasab* compilations. On the other hand these pedigrees reflect a process which was also discernible in discussions of other Rātijī groups, namely the growing influence of ‘Abd al-Ashhal or perhaps of Nabīṭ in general.

Three more Khazrajī clans inhabited Rātij: Banū Sā‘ida¹⁴⁹ and Banū Zurayq – passages relating to their abodes will be brought below, III – and Banū Hudayla (from Najjār).¹⁵⁰

An important component in the population of Rātij was people of Bedouin extraction and Bedouin clans (i.e., parts of clans), perhaps in the process of becoming sedentary. The first category included people

¹⁴⁶ *Ta’rikh dimashq*, X, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān, Damascus, 1383/1963, 163 (*wafada ‘alā ‘umar b. ‘abd al-‘azīz*).

¹⁴⁷ This is perhaps reflected in Samhūdī’s interpretation of a statement quoted from Ibn Zabāla which concerns ash-Shawṭ. ‘Inaba from Banū Jusham b. al-Hārith from Khazraj settled in ash-Shawṭ (see above); Ibn Zabāla’s words seem to refer to the Khazrajī Jusham b. al-Hārith, while Samhūdī says that the group from Nabīṭ is meant here, Samhūdī, I, 116, l. 6: *wa-kāna li-ahli sh-shawṭ al-utumu lladhi yuqḍu lahu sh-shar‘abi, wa-huwa l-utumu lladhi dūna dhubāb, wa-qad sāra li-banī jusham b. al-hārith b. al-khazraj* (now comes Samhūdī’s interpretation:) *ayi l-asghar, ya‘ni ikhwata banī ‘abdi l-ashhal*.

¹⁴⁸ Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 365; Ibn Sa‘d, VI, 17.

¹⁴⁹ Banū Sā‘ida seem to have been in the Prophet’s time (at least in 9AH) the owners of ash-Shawṭ. Abū Usayd as-Sā‘idī (see on him *Isāba*, V, 723–724) reports that he brought the woman from Banū l-Jawn whom the Prophet had married to as-Shawṭ, behind Dhubāb, to a fortress, see Ibn Sa‘d, VIII, 146, l. 9; and see *Usd al-ghāba*, V, 398, l. 3 (*hā‘it yuqḍu lahu sh-shawṭ . . . wa-qad utiya bi-l-jawniyya fa-unzilāt fī bayt min nakhl*). According to a similar report (with an almost identical chain of transmitters), on the authority of the same person, he brought her to the fortress of Banū Sā‘ida, Ibn Sa‘d, VIII, 144, l. 15; and see *loc. cit.*, l. 6.

¹⁵⁰ See below, n. 153.

from Azd Shanū'a¹⁵¹ and Balī,¹⁵² while the second made up (parts of) Kilāb (b. Rabī'a), Ḍamra and ad-Dīl, who inhabited the Jabbāna.¹⁵³ The Jabbāna corresponds, perhaps only in part, to Rātij (see above, p. 31). Other Bedouin clans could be added; the Sulamī Banū Dhakwān seem to be of special interest (see below).

¹⁵¹ Hājib b. Zayd (or Yazid) and Sahl b. 'Adī were both killed at Yamāma, *Ta'rikh Khaltfa*, I, 94–95. Hājib was from 'Abd al-Ashhal, or, according to another account, their confederate, from Azd Shanū'a, *Iṣāba*, I, 561–562. According to other accounts he was from Za'ūrā', or was a confederate of Za'ūrā', from Azd Shanū'a, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, I, 315; *Istī'āb*, I, 280.

Sahl b. 'Adī was from Banū 'Amr b. Jusham (see above, p. 46). He was however killed at Uhud, *Istī'āb*, II, 666: Sahl b. 'Adī b. Zayd b. 'Āmir b. 'Amr b. Jusham etc. Cf. *Iṣāba*, III, 203 ('Amr is missing). Cf. however *Uṣd al-ghāba*, II, 368, l. 8: *rawā 'urwa b. az-zubayr fī tasmiyati mani 'stushhida ya'wma l-yamāma mina l-anṣār. thumma min bant 'abdi l-ashhal: sahl b. 'adi min bant tamtm halṭf lahum*. One Suhayl b. 'Adī is recorded among those killed at Yamāma, and he was from Azd Shanū'a, a confederate of 'Abd al-Ashhal, *Iṣāba*, III, 212.

¹⁵² The famous *naqīb* Abū l-Haytham b. at-Tayyihān inhabited Rātij: his well, Jāsīm, was in Rātij, Ibn Sa'd, I, 503 (listing the wells from which the Prophet used to drink): *wakāna yashrabu min jāsim. bi'r abī l-haytham b. at-tayyihān bi-rātij*; Samhūdī, II, 62, l. 15: ... *anna n-nabiyya ṣalla fī masjid rātij wa-shariba min jāsum* (sic) *wa-hiya bi'r hunaka*. Samhūdī remarks (l. 18): *wa-sa-ya'tl'anna jāsum bi'r abī l-haytham b. at-tayyihān wa-anna n-nabiyya ṣalla fī hā'iṭihi*. Both versions of the well's name appear in Samhūdī, II, 131–132. According to one account he was from Za'ūrā', *Iṣāba*, VII, 449: Abū l-Haytham b. at-Tayyihān b. Mālik b. 'Atīk b. 'Amr b. 'Abd al-'Alam b. 'Āmir b. Za'ūrā'; according to another (*ibid.*) he was from Balī, a confederate of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal: *dhakara ibn ishāq anna abū l-haytham min balī min bant 'amr b. al-hāf b. quḍā'a, hālaḥa bani 'abdi l-ashhal*. On the *mu'ākhāt* with 'Uthmān b. Maẓ'un see below, n. 168. And see Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 325: *umayma bint abi l-haytham mālik b. at-tayyihān b. mālik b. balī quḍā'a, halṭf bant 'abdi l-ashhal b. jusham*. According to yet another account Abū l-Haytham and his brother were from Balī and were confederates of Banū Za'ūrā', Wāqidi, I, 157–158. The order of words is erroneous. The edition has: *wa-min bant 'abd b. ka'b b. 'abdi l-ashhal bant za'ūra: sa'd b. mālik b. 'abd b. ka'b. wa-salama b. salāma b. waqsh* etc. Sa'd is the only warrior from Banū 'Ubayd (sic) b. Ka'b b. 'Abd al-Ashhal who took part in Badr, Ibn Hishām, II, 342. He is called here: Sa'd b. Zayd b. Mālik b. 'Ubayd. The words "Banū Za'ūrā'" in Wāqidi should be transferred to their appropriate place: before the name of Salama. Abū l-Haytham and his brother, as well as 'Abdallāh b. Sahl (see above, n. 120) are mentioned at the end of the list of participants from Za'ūrā', the first two were *halṭfāni lahum min balī*. In the passage on Banū Za'ūrā', Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 340 refutes the Quḍā'i pedigree: ... *qila innahumā* (i.e., Abū l-Haytham and his brother) *halṭfāni li-l-anṣār min quḍā'a. wa-hādha khata' bi-lā shakk. li-annahu lam yakun aḥadun mina n-nuqabā' halṭfan. wa-innamā kāna n-nuqabā' mina ṣ-samīmi ṣ-sarṭh*.

¹⁵³ See al-Jāsir, *al-Manāsik*, 412 (listing *arbā' al-madīna*): *thumma l-jabbāna, wa-hiya manāzil bant kilāb wa-bant ḍamra wa-d-dīl wa-bant ḥudayla mina l-anṣār wa-bant hāritha*.

III

The market of the Prophet¹⁵⁴ was in (what was previously) the cemetery of the Khazrajī Banū Sāʿida.¹⁵⁵ The cemetery, and the market, were in Rātij. The cemetery extended from the court of Ibn Abī Dhiʿb¹⁵⁶ to the court of Zayd b. Thābit.¹⁵⁷ According to Samhūdī, both courts were at the eastern side of the market, the former at its north-eastern end and the latter at its south-eastern end.¹⁵⁸ Now the court of Ibn Abī Dhiʿb was in Rātij. This can be inferred from a report on a Sulamī clan, namely Banū Dhakwān. They (i.e., part of them) settled “with the people of Rātij, the Jews,” (i.e., in Rātij),¹⁵⁹ between the court of Qudāma (i.e., Qudāma b. Mazʿūn al-Jumahī) and the court of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd,¹⁶⁰ in the Jabbāna.¹⁶¹ It follows that these two courts were in Rātij. The same goes for the court of Ibn Abī Dhiʿb, which was at one end of the cemetery, because the court of Qudāma was at its rear.¹⁶² We may conclude that the Prophet chose Rātij as the site of his market. Since, then, both the Prophet’s *ṣadaqāt* and his market were in Rātij, it is not unexpected to find evidence that one of his *ṣadaqāt* can be identified with his market. (After all he granted the market to the Muslims as a charitable endowment; see below.)

According to one report, the Mashrabat Umm Ibrāhīm was called Mahrūz.¹⁶³ On the other hand Mahrūz was the name of the market of

¹⁵⁴ See M.J. Kister, “The Market of the Prophet”, in *JESHO*, 8 (1965), 272-276.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 275 (quoting Samhūdī, I, 540).

¹⁵⁶ See on him *Mizār al-ʿIṭidal*, III, 620.

¹⁵⁷ Samhūdī, I, 540, l. 11: *wa-kānat maqābiruhum mā ḥāzat dār ibn abī dhiʿb ilā dār zayd b. thābit.*

¹⁵⁸ *Loc. cit.*, l. 13; Samhūdī stresses, that the above-mentioned cemetery was not the whole market of Medina, but only part of it.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 124: “. . . unter dem Jüdischen Stamme Rātij . . .”.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. perhaps Samhūdī, I, 149, l. 7: *fa-ʿbrānā banū ghanm b. mālik (from Najjār) utuman yuqālu lahu fuwayrʿ, wa-ft mawdʿihi dār ḥasan b. zayd b. ḥasan b. ʿalt b. abī ʿalib (radiya llāhu ʿanhu);* and cf. above, n. 153.

¹⁶¹ Samhūdī, I, 550, l. 7: *wa-qad nazalat banū dhakwān min banī sulaym maʿa ahl rātij mina l-yahūd mā bayna dār qudāma ilā dār ḥasan b. zayd bi-l-jabbāna.*

¹⁶² Samhūdī, I, 550, l. 8: *qultu: wa-dār qudāma hiya l-murāda bi-qawli bni shabba ft dār banī jumah: wa-ʿttakhadha qudāma b. mazʿūn ad-dāra llatt ftḥā l-majzara ʿalā fūhati sikkati banī damra wa-dubra dār al abī dhiʿb ʿalā yamtnika wa-anta dhāhib ilā banī damra, wa-llāhu aʿlamu;* and see p. 548, l. 3 from bottom; 542, l. 6 from bottom.

¹⁶³ *Isāba*, VI, 58: “. . . mashrabat umm ibrahīm lladht yuqālu lahu (!) mahrūz (in ed. Cairo 1325/1907, VI, 73: Mahrūz). The source is az-Zubayr b. Bakkar, *Akhbār al-madīna* (GAS, 318), quoting Ibn Zabāla.

the Prophet. He granted it to the Muslims as a charitable endowment.¹⁶⁴ This case for the identity of one of the Prophet's *sadaqāt* and his market can be taken a little further. The Mashraba was in (or, on another report: near) al-Quff, which was the village of Banū Qaynuqā' (above, p. 37). The site chosen by the Prophet was therefore close to the market of Qaynuqā'. Indeed only the Muṣallā separated the bridge (of Buṭhān) and the market of Medina, as is shown by an account of the course taken by Banū Naḍīr when they were expelled from Medina.^{164a}

Ibn Shabba's report on the land obtained by the Prophet in Zuhra can possibly be linked with his market. It was already suggested (above, p. 38) that the two fortresses which belonged to Qaynuqā' near al-Ḥashshāshīna and near the estate called Ḥibra, were identical to the two fortresses of Qaynuqā' near the bridge of Buṭhān. Al-Ḥashshāshīna was a name of unirrigated palm-shoots in the land of Zuhra which the Prophet "found", according to Ibn Shabba. Finally it is noteworthy that the Mashraba was near the bridge, i.e., the bridge of Buṭhān (above, p. 39).

The strategic sites held by Banū Sā'ida may account for their position among the Anṣār. Banū 'Amr and Banū Tha'laba, the sons of al-Khazraj b. Sā'ida, settled in the abode of Banū Sā'ida, which is between the market of Medina and Banū Ḍamra, on the north-eastern side of the market of Medina.¹⁶⁵ Another sub-clan of Sā'ida settled at one of the market's edges: Banū Abī Khuzayma, the clan of Sa'd b. 'Ubāda. Their abode was called Jirār Sa'd (see above, p. 49).¹⁶⁶ One of the fortresses

¹⁶⁴ *Lisān*, s.v. *hrz*: Mahzūr: *wāḍi' qurayza bi-l-ḥijāz. wa-ammā bi-taqḍīmi r-rā'i 'alā z-zāy fa-mawḍi' sūqi l-madīna, taṣaddaqa bihi sayyidunā rasūlu llāhi ṣ 'alā l-muslimīna; Tāj al-'arūs*, s.v. *hrz*: Mahrūz: *ism mawḍi' sūqi l-madīna lladhi taṣaddaqa bihi etc.; az-Zamakhsharī, al-Fā'iḳ* (above, n. 97), III, 204 (s.v. *hrz*): *wa-mahrūz, 'alā l-'aks: mawḍi' sūqi l-madīna etc.*; and see *al-Maghānim al-muṭāba*, 397, s.v. Mahrūz (quoting *al-Fā'iḳ*). Cf. *ar-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*, s.v. Mahzūr, p. 560: *wa-qṭla mahzūr mawḍi' sūqi l-madīna etc.*; Bakrī, s.v. Mahzūr: *wa-qila mahzūr mawḍi' sūqi l-madīna etc.*; *Iqd* IV, 283, l. 16: *wa-taṣaddaqa rasūlu llāhi ṣ bi-mahzūr, mawḍi' sūqi l-madīna, 'alā l-muslimīna etc.*

^{164a} *Wāqidi*, I, 384.

¹⁶⁵ *Samhūdī*, I, 147, l. 5 from bottom. For *Damra* cf. above, nn. 153, 162.

¹⁶⁶ *Samhūdī*, I, 148, l. 6. *Samhūdī* prefers to locate Jirār Sa'd at the northern side of the market (and not at its eastern side), near *Thaniyyat al-Wadā'*, *Samhūdī*, I, 148, l. 8; II, 62, l. 8; I, 540, l. 16. *Wüstenfeld* (*Medina*, 47, n. 2) thought, that *Hirār Sa'd* (see also Bakrī, s.v.: *jam' harra, wa-hiya maqābir sa'd b. 'ubāda li-l-muslimīna - sic*), being a cemetery, was another place. However, Jirār Sa'd has to be read here also. Bakrī's

of the Banū Thaʿlaba b. al-Fityawn and the people of Zuhra was near the estate of Saʿd b. ʿUbāda.¹⁶⁷

Finally some suggestions – which can only be considered tentative, due to the problems involved – can be made concerning the relations between some Muhājirūn and the inhabitants of Rātij. They deal with the settlement in Medina of Muhājirūn from two branches of Quraysh.

Banū Jumah

As already said, the court of Qudāma b. Mazʿūn was in Rātij. It is not unexpected to find Qudāma's brother, ʿUthmān b. Mazʿūn, linked in the *mu'ākhāt* with Abū l-Haytham b. at-Tayyihān,¹⁶⁸ who was an inhabitant of Rātij.¹⁶⁹ The court of Qudāma was in (the abode of) Banū Zurayq.¹⁷⁰ A man from Banū Zurayq was adopted (in the Jāhiliyya) by a Jumahī.¹⁷¹ When they came from Ethiopia to Medina, the Zuraqī's two sons and their brother from the same mother (Shurahbil son of Ḥasana) settled with Banū Zurayq in their abode (*rabʿ*).¹⁷²

Banū Nawfal b. ʿAbd Manāf

Jubayr b. Muṭʿim's court was in Rātij. This can be inferred from its location: it was between the courts of Zayd b. Thābit and Ibn Abī Dhīʿb.¹⁷³ Banū Nawfal had allies from Sulaym, namely Banū Riʿl and

modern editor as-Saqqā referred in a footnote to s.v. Jirār Saʿd, and remarked: *wa-ḥirār saʿd hunā bi-l-ḥāʿ, fa-laʿalla ḥādhihi ghayru tilka. Cf. al-Maghānim al-muʿābā. s.v. Jarr Hishām; Samhūdī, I, 541, l. 3.*

¹⁶⁷ *ʿUmdat al-akhbār*, 23, l. 4 from bottom: *wa-kāna banū thaʿlaba wa-ahl zuhra wa-hum raḥṣu l-fityawn* (printed: *al-qityawn*) . . . *wa-kāna lahumu l-uṭumu lladht ʿinda mā l saʿd b. ʿubāda wa-l-uṭumāni lladhāni ʿalā ʿarṭqi l-ʿurayd*. The latter two were recorded by Samhūdī, cf. above, n. 24.

¹⁶⁸ Ibn Saʿd, III, 296.

¹⁶⁹ See above, n. 152.

¹⁷⁰ Samhūdī, I, 552, l. 6.

¹⁷¹ *Istīʿāb*, II, 631. s.v. Sufyān b. Maʿmar b. Ḥabīb b. Wahb b. Ḥudhāfa b. Jumah al-Qurashī al-Jumahī, (quoting Ibn Ishāq): *wa-kāna sufyan mina l-anṣār, thumma ahada banī zurayq . . . qadima makka fa-aqāma bihā, wa-lazima maʿmar b. ḥabīb b. wahb b. ḥudhāfa b. jumah fa-tabannāhu wa-zawwajahu ḥasanata, wa-lahā waladun yusammā shurahbil b. ḥasana min rajul akhar, wa-ghalaba maʿmar b. ḥabīb ʿalā nasab sufyan ḥadhā wa-nasab banthi, fa-hum yunsabūna ilayhi.*

¹⁷² *Usd al-ghāba*, II, 391, l. 9.

¹⁷³ Samhūdī, I, 542, l. 4.

Banū Dhakwān; Jubayr's grandmother was from Banū Ri'ī.¹⁷⁴ The fact that Banū Dhakwān, (i.e., part of them) inhabited Rātij may have played some role in the settlement of Jubayr in Rātij. On the other hand Jubayr had connections with Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, who was also an inhabitant of Rātij; Sa'd would grant protection (in the Jāhiliyya) to the merchants who were in Jubayr's service when they arrived at Medina.¹⁷⁵

IV

'Umar's share in the tract of land which the Prophet "found" in Zuhra became afterwards a *ṣadaqa* called Thamgh (above, p. 30).¹⁷⁶ However according to another version, Thamgh was obtained as spoils from "the Jews of Banū Hāritha".¹⁷⁷ The latter version can be corroborated by a report on the expulsion of "the Jews of Banū Hāritha" from Medina in the Prophet's time.¹⁷⁸ Banū Hāritha, and evidently also "the Jews of Banū Hāritha", lived in Yathrib (cf. above, notes 93, 153); they were however only one component in its population (cf. above, p. 41). Originally Banū Hāritha, a Nabīṭī clan, lived with Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, who also belonged to Nabīṭ, but later they settled to the west of Ḥamza's tomb, "in the place known today as Yathrib".¹⁷⁹ The area to the west of Ḥamza's tomb offered excellent conditions for agriculture and was also a centre of commercial activity. It was therefore the site of old Yathrib,

¹⁷⁴ See M.J. Kister, "The Expedition of Bi'r Ma'ūna", *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb*, Leiden, 1965, p. 352, quoting Sam'ānī, *Ansāb* (Gibb Memorial, XX), fol. 255a, s.v. ar-Ri'ī; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, 97, 198–199. The text is (p. 198): . . . *banū ri'ī wa-dhakwān, wa-hum ḥulafā' bant nawfal* etc. The court of another Nawfalī was in the same area. It was in the Jabbāna, near the *mahalla* of Banū d-Dīl (cf. above, n. 153), Samhūdī, I, 549, l. 3.

¹⁷⁵ He also cooperated with al-Hārith b. Harb b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams (see on him Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, 123), Ibn Hishām, II, 92: *la-qad kuntu ujtru li-jubayr b. muṣ'im . . . tijārahu wa-amna'uhum mimman arāda zulmahum bi-bilādī, wa-li-l-hārith b. harb b. umayya* etc.

¹⁷⁶ According to another report 'Umar had an estate called Thamgh in Khaybar, Samhūdī, II, 273, l. 13; Ibn Sa'd, III, 357, l. 3 from bottom. Cf. above, n. 75.

¹⁷⁷ Samhūdī, II, 273, l. 18: *anna 'umara radiya llāhu 'anhu aṣāba arḍan min yahūd bant hāritha yuqālu lahā thamgh*.

¹⁷⁸ See e.g. 'Abd ar-Razzāq, VI, 54–55: *...wa-ajlā rasūlu llāhi ṣ yahūda l-madina kullahum, bant qaynuqā', wa-hum qawm 'abdillāh b. salām, wa-yahūd bant hāritha wa-kulla yahūdī kāna bi-l-madīna*.

¹⁷⁹ Samhūdī, I, 134, l. 6 from bottom; 135, l. 7; 136, l. 8 (they settled in their new abode after they had stayed for a year at Khaybar). On Yathrib see also Hamīdullāh (above, n. 20), 19; *El*¹, s.v. al-Madīna (F. Buhl), 83–84.

which is connected with the beginnings of the Jewish settlement in Medina (above, p. 42).

Lands in Yathrib and its vicinity were intensively cultivated before and after the Hijra. They were blessed with the best water supply in the whole region: Yathrib was near Zaghāba, in the confluence of the main torrents in the vicinity of Medina.¹⁸⁰ There were there twelve springs.¹⁸¹ Two other localities near Yathrib were connected with the storage of water: Zubāla and the Kūma (the heap of earth; it was perhaps a dam, cf. below, note 190). Zubāla was one of the boundaries of Yathrib: Yathrib extended from Qanāt to al-Jurf¹⁸² and from the estate called al-Barnī to Zubāla.¹⁸³ Zubāla was to the north of Medina, between Medina and Yathrib.¹⁸⁴ It was "the beginning of Yathrib" to the north of Medina (*awwalu yathrib mimma yali shāma l-madīna*), near the Kūmat Abī l-Ḥamrā'.¹⁸⁵ The people of Zubāla (*ahl zubāla*), who were Jewish, owned the two fortresses near Kūmat Abī l-Ḥamrā' ar-Rābiḍ, and what was behind them (i.e., behind these two fortresses).¹⁸⁶ Important water reservoirs were located in the area of the Kūma. The Kūma itself was near the point where the torrent Mahzūr meets the torrent Qanāt.¹⁸⁷ One account holds that Zubāla was so named because it was a place where water was stored (*li-hifzihā l-mā'*).¹⁸⁸ Whether or not it was the reason

¹⁸⁰ Samhūdī, I, 113, l. 3: *bi-mujtamā'i s-suyūl mimma yali zaghāba*; and see Samhūdī, II, 318, l. 8: *zaghāba . . . mujtamā'u s-suyūl ākhira l-'aqlī gharbiyya qabr ḥamza . . . bi-mujtamā'i l-asyūl min rūma, bayna l-jurf wa-zaghāba*.

¹⁸¹ Al-Jāsir, *al-Manāsik*, 412, l. 1 (followed by a list of 13 springs).

¹⁸² Cf. above, n. 180.

¹⁸³ Samhūdī, I, 7, l. 9 (Ibn Zabāla): *wa-kānat yathrib umm qurā l-madīna wa-hiya mā bayna ṭaraf qanāt ilā ṭarafi l-jurf wa-mā bayna l-māli lladhi yuqālu lahu l-barnī ilā zubāla*; Ibn Rusta, 62, has: *al-buwā*, instead of: *al-barnī*. Barnī is a kind of dates, see *Lisān*, s.v.

¹⁸⁴ Samhūdī, II, 317, s.v. Zubāla (az-Zujj is an error, and belongs to the following entry; cf. *al-Maghānim al-muṭāba*, s.v., note).

¹⁸⁵ *Umdat al-akhbār*, 291, l. 3.

¹⁸⁶ Samhūdī, I, 116, l. 10: *wa-kāna li-ahl zubāla al-ṣumāni 'inda kūmati abi l-ḥamrā'i r-rābiḍ wa-'lladhi dūnahumā*; see below, n. 190.

¹⁸⁷ Samhūdī, II, 217, l. 7: *wa-ākhiruhu kūmatu abl l-ḥamrati (sic), thumma yamdi fa-yasubbu ft wādī qanāt*

¹⁸⁸ *Umdat al-akhbār*, 291, l. 4 (*wa-qīla summiyat bi-zubāla bint mas'ūd mina l-'amāliq nazalat mawḍī'ahā fa-summiyat bihā*).

for its name it is clear that water was stored in Zubāla. Naturally in later periods irrigation projects were carried out in that area.¹⁸⁹

But the significance of 'Umar's *ṣadaqa* was, most likely, also commercial. Thamgh, the *ṣadaqa*, was near Kūmat Abī l-Ḥamrā', as is shown by an account of the battle of the Harra.¹⁹⁰ In nearby Zubāla during the Jāhiliyya there used to be a market, "in the area called Yathrib".¹⁹¹ It would seem that the market was actually located in Zubāla.

Finally, another Jewish group that was probably affected by the developments in the area can be added to "the Jews of Banū Ḥāritha", who inhabited Yathrib. Banū Murāna¹⁹² are listed among the Jewish groups which remained in Medina when Aws and Khazraj settled there. They settled to the north of Banū Ḥāritha.¹⁹³ According to another report they were "in the place of" (*fi mawḍiʿ*)¹⁹⁴ Banū Ḥāritha and owned the fortress called al-Khāl.¹⁹⁵ Another fortress of Banū Murāna was ash-Shabʿān. It was in Thamgh, the *ṣadaqa* of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭab.¹⁹⁶

¹⁸⁹ See e.g. Marāghī, 7b. He says that Yathrib is "now" a name of a land (*ard*) to the west of Ḥamza's tomb and to the east of the place called al-Birka (which is) the outlet (*maṣrif*) of 'Ayn al-Azraq; the pilgrims call it (i.e., the spring) 'Uyūn Ḥamza. And see Kister (above, n. 3), 43, n. 50.

¹⁹⁰ Samhūdī, II, 273, l. 6 from bottom (Waḳīdī): ...*thumma dhakara mubārāza waqaʿat yawma'idhin fi jihat dhubāb ilā kūmati abī l-ḥamrā': thumma qāla: kūmatu abī l-ḥamrā' qarya* (read: *qarība*) *min thamgh; see Samhūdī, II, 366, l. 4: kūmatu abī l-ḥamrā' l-r-rābiq: kūmatu turāb ka-annahā āṭam qarība min thamgh, fi shāmiyyi l-madina; 'Umdat al-akhbār, 248, l. 4 (quoting Khulāṣat al-waḳāʿ): Thamgh: ...māl shāmiyya l-madīna qarba kūmati abī l-ḥamrā' etc.*

¹⁹¹ Samhūdī, I, 8, l. 3 (Ibn Shabba): *wa-kāna bi-l-madīna fi l-jāhiliyya saq bi-zubāla fi n-rāhiya llati tudʿā yathrib*. Yathrib was a long covered passage (*saqifa*) with many whores in it, and people would come to them from long distances (*yudrabu ilayhinna mina l-buldān*); in the village of Yathrib they would bring back in the evening eighty black camels, in addition to camels of other colours, Samhūdī, I, 113, l. 4.

¹⁹² Ibn Rusta, 62: Mazāya (not vocalized), Ms. Marāya; Wüstenfeld, *Medina*, 31: Mazāta (which he preferred to Marāya in the text).

¹⁹³ Samhūdī, I, 116, l. 1.

¹⁹⁴ This expression usually appears when the former or the later owners, function etc. of a locality is indicated; cf. above, the end of n. 93 and n. 164.

¹⁹⁵ *Aghānī*, XIX, 95, l. 12.

¹⁹⁶ Samhūdī, I, 116, l. 2. Samhūdī, II, 273, l. 17 has: ash-Shaʿbān. And see *al-Maghānīm al-muṭāba*, s.v. ash-Shabʿān: *uṭum min āṭami l-madīna fi diyār usayd b. muʿāwiya (?)*

Conclusions

1. The community of the Muhājirūn led by the Prophet had, shortly after the Hijra, a territorial basis. It was in the Rātij area, where the Prophet's *ṣadaqāt* and his market were located, and in the adjacent areas of Zuhra, al-Quff, Ḥusayka and Yathrib.
2. Developments in Medina before the Hijra account for the political vacuum in that area, which paved the way for the creation of this territorial basis.
3. The build-up of the Muslim power in Medina and the Prophet's relations with the Jews are inseparably interwoven, due to the propinquity of estates owned by the Jews to the territorial basis of the Muhājirūn.
4. The rise of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal seems one of the main features on the Anṣārī scene. This is reflected in the virtual "annexation" of Rātij by the incorporation of its inhabitants into the Ashhalī genealogical system.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ‘Abd ar-Razzâq – ‘Abd ar-Razzâq, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb ar-Raḥmān al-A‘zamī, Beirut, 1390/1970 – 1392/1972.
- Aghānī* – Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Būlāq, 1285.
- Bakrī – Mu‘jam mā ‘sta‘jama, ed. Muṣṭafā as-Saqqā, Cairo, 1364/1945 – 1371/1951.
- Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, I – ed. Ḥamīdullāh, Cairo, 1959
- Caskel – W. Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab...*, Leiden, 1966.
- Durr manthūr* – as-Suyūṭī, *ad-Durr al-manthūr fi t-tafsīr bi-l-ma‘thūr*, Cairo, 1314.
- Futūḥ al-buldān* – al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. al-Munajjid, Cairo, 1957.
- GAL – C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Leiden, 1937–49.
- GAS – F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, I, Leiden, 1967.
- al-Hāzimī, *al-Amākin* – Ms. Laleli, 2140.
- Hirschberg – H.Z. Hirschberg, *Yisrael be-‘arav* (Hebrew), Tel-Aviv, 1946.
- Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil* – *al-Kāmil fi t-ta‘riḫ*, Beirut, 1385/1965.
- Ibn Hishām – Ibn Hishām, *as-Sīra an-nabawiyya*, ed. as-Saqqā, al-Abyārī, Shalabi, Beirut, 1391/1971.
- Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb* – Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *Jamharat ansābi l-‘arab*, ed. ‘Abd as-Salām Ḥarūn, Cairo, 1382/1962.
- Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya* – Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-n-nihāya*, Beirut, 1974.
- Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar* – ed. Cairo, 1355/1936.
- Ibn Rusta – Ibn Rusta, *al-A‘lāq an-nafīsa* (BGA VII), Leiden, 1891.
- Ibn Sa‘d – Ibn Sa‘d, *at-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut, 1380/1960 – 1388/1968.
- ‘Iqd – Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *al-‘Iqd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amin *et al.*, Cairo, 1384/1965
- Iṣāba* – Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb fi ma‘rifati l-aṣḥāb*, ed. al-Bijāwī, Cairo, n.d.
- al-Jarḥ wa-t-ta‘dīl* – Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarḥ wa-t-ta‘dīl*, Hyderabad, 1371/1952 – 1373/1953.
- al-Jāsir, *al-Hajārī* – Ḥamad al-Jāsir, *Abū ‘Alī al-Hajārī wa-abḥāthuhu fi taḥdīdi l-mawādi‘*, Riyāḍ, 1388/1968.
- al-Jāsir, *al-Manāsik* – Abū Ishāq al-Ḥarbi (?), *Kitāb al-manāsik...*, ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir, Riyāḍ, 1389/1969.
- Kitāb al-ma‘ārif* – Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma‘ārif*, ed. Tharwat ‘Ukāsha, Cairo, 1969.
- Lane – E.W. Lane, *An Arabic English Lexicon...*, London, 1865–1893.
- Lisān* – Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘arab*, Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, n.d.
- al-Maghānim al-muṭāba* – al-Fayruzābādī, *al-Maghānim al-muṭāba fi ma‘ālim ṭāba*, ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir, Riyāḍ, 1389/1969.

- al-Marāghī - *Tahqiq an-nusra bi-talkhiş ma'ālim dāri l-hijra*, Ms. Ra'is al-Kuttāb, 3034.
- al-Maṭārī - *at-Ta'rif bi-mā ansati l-hujra min ma'ālim dāri l-hijra*, Ms. Lāla Ismā'īl, 62.
- Mizān al-i'tidāl* - adh-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl fi naqd ar-rijāl*, ed. al-Bijāwī, Cairo, 1382/1963.
- Muḥabbar* - Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Likhten-Shteter(!), repr. Beirut, n.d.
- Munammaq* - —, *al-Munammaq fi akhbār quraysh*, Hyderabad, 1384/1964.
- Muṣ'ab, *Nasab* - Muṣ'ab az-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, ed. E. Levi Provençal, Cairo, 1953.
- Naqā'id* - *Naqā'id jarir wa-l-farazdaq*, ed. A.A. Bevan, Cambridge, 1905.
- Qalyūbī - Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Qalyūbī, *an-Nubdha al-laṭīfa fi bayān maqāşidi l-hijāz wa-ma'ālimihi sh-sharīfa*, Ms. Nur Osmaniya, 2935/3442.
- ar-Rawḍ al-mi'tār* - Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī, *ar-Rawḍ al-mi'tār fi khabari l-aqtār*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās, Beirut, 1975.
- ar-Rawḍ al-unuf* - as-Suhaylī, *ar-Rawḍ al-unuf*, ed. Tāhā 'Abd ar-Ra'ūf Sa'd, Cairo, 1291/1971.
- Samhūdī - *Wafā' al-wafā bi-akhbār dāri l-muṣṭafā*, Cairo, 1326.
- Sīra ḥalabiyya* - 'Alī b. Burhān ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-'uyūn fi sirati l-amīni l-ma'mūn*, Cairo, 1320.
- Ta'rikh Khalīfa* - Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Damascus, 1968.
- Ta'rikh Ṭabari* - Abū Ja'far b. Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rikh ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1380/1960 - 1387/1967.
- Ta'rikh Ya'qūbī* - ed. Beirut, 1379/1960.
- Tafsir Ibn Kaṭhīr* - ed. Beirut, n.d.
- Tafsir al-Khāzin* - *Lūbab at-ta'wil fi ma'āni t-tanzil*, Cairo, 1381.
- Tafsir Nasafi* - Abū l-Barakāt an-Nasafi, *Tafsir*, Cairo, n.d.
- Tafsir Qurṭubī* - Abū 'Abdallāh al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi' li-aḥkāmi l-qur'ān*, Cairo, 1387/1967.
- Tafsir Ṭabari* - *Jāmi' al-bayān fi tafsir al-qur'ān*, Būlaq, 1321-1330 (repr. Beirut, 1392/1972).
- '*Umdat al-akhbār* - Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-'Abbāsī, *Kitāb 'umdat al-akhbār fi madīnati l-mukhtār, qāma bi-taṣḥīhihi... Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭayyib al-Anṣārī, awḍaha ghawāmiḍahu... As'ad Ṭarabzūnī, n.p., n.d.*
- Usd al-ghāba* - Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba fi ma'rifati ş-şahāba*, Cairo, 1280.
- Wāqidī - Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, London, 1966.
- Watt - W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford, 1956.
- Wellhausen - J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Heft 4, Berlin, 1889.

Wensinck - A.J. Wensinck, *Muhammad and the Jews of Medina*, trans. W. Behn, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1975.

Wüstenfeld, *Medina* - F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, Göttingen, 1860.

Yāqūt, *Buldān* - Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, Beirut, 1957.

Zurqānī - Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī az-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ ʿalā l-mawāhibi l-laduniyya*, Cairo, 1329.

IX

ON THE MARKETS OF MEDINA (YATHRIB) IN PRE-ISLAMIC AND EARLY ISLAMIC TIMES*

Many details are still vague surrounding the events leading up to the Prophet Muḥammad's rule of Medina. An understanding of the state of affairs in Medina on the eve of the Hijra is vital in this context. Of significant advantage is the readiness of the sources to supply quite prolific material concerning pre-Islamic Medina, a readiness which is not matched with regard to the Islamic period. In a short time, Medina had changed completely and the former place-names were mostly forgotten, but there are, nevertheless, reports which do preserve them. A close scrutiny of these reports and their connecting links enables us to form some conception of the town, or rather the cluster of villages, as it was when the Prophet arrived.

This paper deals with two issues: 1. the markets of pre-Islamic Medina; 2. the Hijra and later developments concerning the markets.

1. The markets of pre-Islamic Medina

Besides the famous market of B. Qaynuqā' there were three other markets in pre-Islamic Medina. The four markets were in the following places: 1. in Zubāla; 2. at the bridge (i.e., the bridge of Wādī Buṭḥān), in the court of B. Qaynuqā'; 3. in aṣ-Ṣafāṣif, which is in al-ʿAṣaba; and 4. in a place which later became known as the Zuqāq (lane) of Ibn Ḥubayn. The place used to be called Muzāḥim, and the market was held there in the Jāhiliyya and in the early days of Islam (*awwal al-islām*).¹ There is also a

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¹ Samh., I, pp. 539, l. 3 from bottom-540. The source is Ibn Shabba, see on him *GAS*, I, pp. 345f.

report on a market in Qubá'² but this is possibly a reference to no. 3 (see below).

1. Zubála lay north of Medina, between Medina and the village called Yathrib: Yathrib extended from Qanát to al-Jurf and from the estate called al-Barni to Zubála. Zubála was "the beginning of Yathrib" to the north of Medina (*awwalu yathrib mimmā yali shāma l-madina*), near the Kūma ("the heap of earth"; perhaps a dam) of Abi l-Hamrā'. The people of Zubála (*ahl zubāla*), who were Jewish, owned the two fortresses near the Kūma. Zubála and the nearby Kūma were places where water was stored. As a result, irrigation projects were later carried out in that area. Yathrib is reported to have been west of the tomb of the Prophet's uncle Hamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and east of the place called al-Birka, which was the outlet (*maṣrif*) of 'Ayn al-Azraq. The pilgrims call this spring 'Uyūn Hamza.³ The expression *ahl zubāla* denotes that it was inhabited by people who were from various tribes; Zubála, like the other villages in that area, was populated by Jews.⁴

2. The famous market of B. Qaynuqá'⁵ will be discussed in some detail below, p. 139.

3. The market of aṣ-Ṣafāṣif was possibly in the territory of B. Jahjaba, who were among the clans comprising B. 'Amr b. 'Awf. It was not their original court, but a court they inhabited after they had left their former court, following the settling of a blood-feud with another of the B. 'Amr b. 'Awf clans. Al-'Aṣaba was, according to Samhūdī, west of Masjid Qubá'.⁶

4. The owner of the market of Muzāhim can also be identified. The place was later known as Zuqāq Ibn Ḥubayn. The Zuqāq is a demarcation line of the court granted by the Prophet to B. Ghifār. It was north-west of the market of Medina, near the (later) castle (*hiṣn*) of the governor of Medina. Ibn Ḥubayn was a *mawlā* of al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's uncle.⁷ The name Muzāhim appears elsewhere in

² Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi l-ta'rikh*, Beirut, 1385/1965, I, p. 659, l. 9 (the war of Sumayr). Cf. below, nn. 19, 20.

³ *JSAI*, 6(1985), ch. IV and the notes.

⁴ *JSAI*, 6(1985), the beginning of ch. II.

⁵ *JSAI*, 6(1985), chs. I, III.

⁶ Samh., II, pp. 345-346, s.v. (there are various ways of pronouncing the name; the place is also called al-Mu'aṣṣab). Cf. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. 'Uṣaba.

⁷ Samh., I, p. 547, l. 8. And see *ibid*, 549, l. 10

the reports on pre-Islamic Medina: it was the name of 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy's fortress.⁸ The fact that the market and the fortress had the same name suggests that the market of Muzāhim was controlled by Ibn Ubayy, that obstinate opponent of the Prophet Muḥammad, and that it was held near his fortress. It is noteworthy that the market was also held in the early days of Islam. It was obviously a source of wealth and political power for Ibn Ubayy, and this was true for the other market owners in Medina as well.

Qubā', which was mentioned in the passage on the market of aṣ-Ṣafāṣif, is also connected to the market of Muzāhim. Ibn Ubayy belonged to B. 'Awf b. al-Khazraj, more specifically, to the tribal group called B. al-Ḥublā. (Al-Ḥublā was a nickname of their eponym; his real name was Ṣalim. They are not to be confounded with another of B. 'Awf b. al-Khazraj groups, called B. Ṣalim⁹). The court of B. al-Ḥublā, which was named after them, was between Qubā' and the court of B. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj which was east of Wādī Buṭḥān and Ṣu'ayb.¹⁰

Different parts of B. 'Awf b. al-Khazraj were allied with the Jewish B. Qaynuqā'. For the sake of the present discussion, it suffices to note the propinquity of the market of Muzāhim to the market of B. Qaynuqā' and to the market of aṣ-Ṣafāṣif, in al-'Aṣaba. This propinquity can be deduced from what is known about the territories of various groups belonging to B. 'Awf b. al-Khazraj. One of their groups was called al-Qawāqil and one of their fortresses was called *uṭum al-qawāqil*. Al-'Aṣaba is mentioned in a report concerning the location of this fortress: it was the fortress on the side of the houses of B. Ṣalim (not al-Ḥublā, see above), which belonged to B. Ṣalim b. 'Awf, near al-'Aṣaba.¹¹ The court of B. Ṣalim was at the edge ('*alā ṭaraf*) of the western Ḥarra, west of the valley in which the Masjid al-Jum'a ("the Mosque of the Friday-prayer") was situated, in

⁸ Samh., II, p. 373, s.v.: *uṭum kāna bayna zahrānay buyū bani l-ḥublā*; (this is followed by the statement concerning the market, but there is no attempt to establish a link between the two). On the fortress Muzāhim see also *Aghāni*, XV, pp. 164, l. 7 from bottom; 165, l. 13 (the report on Bu'āth). Qays b. al-Khaṭīm mentions in a verse the fortresses (*ājām*) surrounding Muzāhim, Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v.; *Diwān*, ed. Nāṣir ad-Dīn al-Asad, Beirut, 1387/1967, p. 86.

⁹ Ibn Hazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 354-355.

¹⁰ Samh., I, p. 141, l. 14. Cf. Ibn Hazm, *Ansāb*, p. 355, l. 1: *kānat dāruhum bayna dār bani n-najjār wa-bayna dār bani ṣā'ida*.

¹¹ Samh., I, p. 141, l. 7: *uṭumu l-qawāqil, wa-huwa lladhī fi ṭaraf buyū bani ṣalim mimmā yalī nāhiyata l-'aṣaba, kāna li-bani ṣalim b. 'awf*.

Wādī Rānūnā.¹² In conclusion, the market of Muzāḥim, which was situated somewhere in the court of B. ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj, was not far from al-ʿAṣaba, which also had a market, and both places were not far from the western Ḥarra. However, the market of B. Qaynuqāʿ was also in that neighbourhood, as can be deduced from the details of the course of Wādī Rānūnā. Aṣ-Ṣafāsif is a place between the dam (*sadd*) of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān and aṣ-Ṣaʿbiyya or, according to another report, between al-ʿAṣaba and the dam of ʿAbdallāh al-ʿUthmānī (i.e., ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān).¹³ Rānūnā flows through the dam of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, then it separates (*yatafarraqu*) at aṣ-Ṣafāsif, then it flows into the land of Ismāʿil and Muḥammad, the sons of al-Walid, in al-ʿAṣaba (printed: al-Qaṣaba), then it enters al-ʿAṣaba (*thumma yastabtinu l-qaṣaba* [!]) until it advances towards Qubāʿ, which is to its right (*ḥattā yaʿtarīḍa qubāʿa yamīnan*). Later on (a few other place-names on its course are mentioned) it enters (*yastabtinu*) as-Sarrāra, until it passes through the pool (al-Birka). Then it divides into two branches, one flowing into Wādī Buṭḥān after making a turn and the other flowing into Buṭḥān directly.¹⁴

The above description of Rānūnā mentions all four markets of pre-Islamic Medina. First mentioned was aṣ-Ṣafāsif, followed by Muzāḥim, because Masjid al-Jumʿa of B. Ṣalīm b. ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj was at some point along the Wādī.¹⁵ It then passed the market of B. Qaynuqāʿ who had settled near the edge (*muntahā*) of the bridge of Buṭḥān on the side of the ʿĀliya and owned the two fortresses which were near the edge of the bridge, “on the right side when one goes from Medina to the ʿĀliya, if one chooses (the road which crosses) the bridge”.¹⁶ It is presumable that the point where the Rānūnā flows into Buṭḥān was at the bridge of Buṭḥān. It is reported that Rānūnā reached Masjid al-Jumʿa, in the court of B. Ṣalīm, then it flowed into Buṭḥān.¹⁷ The branch which flowed directly into Buṭḥān is perhaps meant here. According to one report,

¹² Samh., I, p. 141, l. 3.

¹³ Samh., II, p. 335, s.v. Cf. Samh., II, p. 321, s.v. as-Sudd: *sudd ʿabdillāh b. ʿamr b. ʿuthmān yaʿti minhu rānūnāʿ fihā* (?) On ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān see Muṣʿab, *Nasab*, Index.

¹⁴ Samh., II, p. 213, l. 14. Cf. *op.cit.*, I, p. 145, l. 13.

¹⁵ E.g. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Rānūnāʿ.

¹⁶ *JSAT*, 6(1985), chs. I, III.

¹⁷ Samh., II, p. 214, l. 6 (al-Maṭari).

Buṭhān begins near the bridge of Buṭhān.¹⁸ As to the fourth market at Zubāla, it seems to have been at some distance from the other three markets, further to the northwest. Yathrib, near Zubāla, was east of a place called al-Birka and, as mentioned above, Rānūnā flowed through Birka before it divided and flowed into Buṭhān; it is tempting to identify these two Birkas, but it seems impossible since Zubāla was near the confluence of the torrents of Medina, further to the northwest.

In sum: all four markets were in the western part of what came to be known as Medina, and their order from south to north was: aṣ-Ṣafāṣif, Muzāḥim, Qaynuqāʿ and Zubāla. Two out of four (Qaynuqāʿ and Zubāla) were controlled by Jews while Muzāḥim was controlled by their close ally ʿAbdallāh b. Ubayy.

The study of place-names can be extended a little further to reveal a curious link between B. Qaynuqāʿ and an Awsī clan. From the reports on Yawm Sumayḥa, or Yawm Sumayr, which took place before Islam, it can be deduced that the court of B. Qaynuqāʿ was between the court of B. Sālim of B. ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj and Qubā'.¹⁹ Between B. Sālim and Qubā' there was a place called Ṣafīna.²⁰ This place-name is probably identical with Ṣafna, which was between B. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf (that is, Qubā', because B. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf were among the inhabitants of Qubā') and B. al-Ḥublā, "in the Sabkha".²¹ Details concerning the location of Ṣafīna and Ṣafna are

¹⁸ This is a wise deduction made by Samhūdī on the basis of what Ibn Shabba writes concerning the torrent Buṭhān; Samhūdī says (II, p. 213, l. 9), *wa-yuṣṣhamu min aṭrāf kalām ibn shabba anna bīdā'a wādī buṭhān min jīsr buṭhān, wa-dhālika bi-qurbi l-mājīshūniyya, wa-ākhirahu gharbiyya masājidi l-faṣḥ* etc. Indeed Ibn Shabba mentions several other localities along this torrent before it reaches the bridge (i.e., the bridge of Buṭhān); however it is only at that point, according to Samhūdī, that it becomes known as Buṭhān, *loc. cit.*, l. 3: *ḥattā yarīda l-jīsa, thumma yastabṭīnu wādī buṭhān ḥattā yaṣubba fi zaḡhāba*.

¹⁹ Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Diwān*, ed. W. ʿArafāt, London, 1971, II, pp. 37, 41; the first battle was fought in the *faḍā'* (open area) between B. Sālim and Qubā', the village of B. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf (see also the following note); the second battle was fought in the *faḍā'*, near the wells which were cased with stones (*aṭwā'*) of B. Qaynuqāʿ; or, according to another version, in the *faḍā'*, near the fortress (*uṭum*) of B. Qaynuqāʿ — this is probably a reference to the same *faḍā'*; the third battle took place behind (*dubra*) B. Sālim, *op.cit.*, p. 42.

²⁰ *Aghānī*, II, p. 176, l. 6 from bottom (the war of Sumayr): *fa-lṭaqaw bi-ṣ-ṣafīna, bayna banī sālīm wa-bayna qubā', qaryati banī ʿamr b. ʿawf*; see also Samh., II, p. 336, s.v. Cf. *Aghānī*, II, p. 177, l. 4: *thumma lṭaqaw bi-l-faḍā'* (printed: *bi-l-faṣl*, and corrected in the Dār al-Kutub edition) *inda ātām banī qaynuqāʿ*.

²¹ Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Ṣafna. And see Wāqīdī, II, p. 451, l. 13: "We deviated from (the road of) the bridge (i.e., the bridge of Buṭhān) and Ṣafna and took the road to Qubā'".

almost identical, as are their names. It can be assumed, then, that B. Qaynuqāʿ inhabited Ṣafina, or at least that Ṣafina, or part of it, was part of their court. The wells cased with stones (i.e., in the court of Qaynuqāʿ) were between B. Sālim and Qubā; and on the other hand, Ṣafina was also between B. Sālim and Qubā'. Now an Awsī clan called B. ʿAṭiyya is reported to have inhabited Ṣafna (=Ṣafina, according to our suggestion), "above" (*fawqa*) B. al-Ḥublā. There they built a fortress named Shās, which belonged to one of them, Shās b. Qays. The fortress was on the left side in the large vacant area (*raḥba*) of the Mosque of Qubā' when one stands facing south.²² B. ʿAṭiyya were of the clans comprising the Awsī group of B. Murra b. Mālik. The combination of reports concerning the courts of B. Qaynuqāʿ and B. ʿAṭiyya would not prove significant were it not for one more piece of information. Shās b. Qays, who is evidently the owner of the above-mentioned fortress, is listed among the adversaries of the Prophet from B. Qaynuqāʿ.²³ However, the exact relationship between B. Qaynuqāʿ and B. ʿAṭiyya has yet to be established.

2. The Hijra and later developments concerning the markets

It may prove useful to compare the information concerning the Prophet's activity among the markets of Medina with the details concerning the area in his possession, or rather his "territorial basis" which was formed shortly after his arrival at Medina.²⁴ We are only concerned here with material relating to the main Jewish clans in Medina, B. Nadir, B. Qurayza and B. Qaynuqāʿ.

A unique report of ʿUmar b. Shabba tells us that immediately after he had come to Medina, the Prophet "found" a large tract of land in Zuhra, which had belonged to the people of Rātij and Ḥusayka. They had been expelled from Medina before the Prophet's arrival. Two more place-

Cf. *ʿUmdat al-akḥbār*, p. 309, l. 4: "Ṣafna — a place in Medina; and another version says: in Qubā'".

²² Samh., I, p. 139, l. 7; and see Samh., II p. 327, l. 5 from bottom: *shās — uṭum bi-raḥbati masjid qubā' ʿalā yasārika mustaqbilu l-qiblati, kāna li-shās, akhi bani ʿaṭiyya b. zayd*.

²³ Ibn Hishām, *as-Sira an-nabawiyya*, ed. as-Saqqā, Abyāri, Shalabi, Beirut, 1391/1971, II, p. 161, l. 8; and see *op.cit.*, Index.

²⁴ *JSAI* 6(1985), pp. 29ff. The data in the following passage is drawn from that paper.

names appear in this report. It is said that part of that tract of land had unirrigated palm shoots, named al-Ḥashshāshina; ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was granted the estate called Thamgh. In the article mentioned above (n. 24) the present writer endeavoured to show in some detail that the land in Zuhra was, in fact, in the middle of an area densely populated by various Jewish clans, including the three main clans. A few more remarks attempting to pinpoint the location of these places in Medina may not be superfluous.

Zubāla: Thamgh, which was ʿUmar's share in the land in Zuhra was near the heap of earth called Kūmat Abi l-Ḥamrā'. Zubāla was also near that Kūma. As was pointed out, a market used to take place in Zubāla, "in the area called Yathrib" (*mina n-nahiya llati tud'ā yathrib*), which seems to indicate that the market was actually located in Zubāla. Therefore it was suggested that the land granted to ʿUmar was also of commercial value.²⁵

The market of B. Qaynuqā': It is evident that from the outset the Prophet owned lands close to the market of B. Qaynuqā'. The name of the palm shoots included in the plot of land in Zuhra was al-Ḥashshāshina and al-Ḥashshāshina is reported to have been in the court of B. Qaynuqā'. In addition, B. Qaynuqā' had two fortresses near al-Ḥashshāshina. They appear to be the two fortresses of B. Qaynuqā' near their market.²⁶

The Prophet granted land to az-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and this land can also be linked with the market of B. Qaynuqā'. The land, called Baqī' az-Zubayr and az-Zubayriyyāt, is said to have been in the territory of a Jewish clan called B. Muḥammam. However, at least part of it was evidently the market of B. Qaynuqā'. (It is noteworthy that according to one report, that land was az-Zubayr's share in the lands of B. Naḍir when they were exiled from Medina;²⁷ cf. the involvement of Ka'b b. al-Ashraf from B. Naḍir in the Prophet's attempt to obtain a market of his own, below, p. 140). This can be deduced from the two parallel reports on the market of the Prophet.²⁸ According to one report; when the Prophet wanted to make a market for Medina (*an yaj'ala li-l-madina suqan*) he came to the

²⁵ *Ibid*, ch. IV.

²⁶ *Ibid*, ch. I.

²⁷ *Loc.cit.*

²⁸ Cf. M.J. Kister, "The Market of the Prophet", in *JESHO*, 8 (1965), pp. 273-274.

market of B. Qaynuqā^c; then he came to the market of Medina.²⁹ (For possible references to pre-Islamic commercial activities in what was to become the market of the Prophet see below, p. 144.) According to another report, the Prophet pitched a tent "in the place of Baqī^c az-Zubayr" (that is, the place which came to be known as Baqī^c az-Zubayr) and said, "This is your market". Ka^cb b. al-Ashraf (who was at that time the *sayyid* of B. Nadir or was elected to that post shortly afterwards³⁰) entered the market and cut the ropes of the tent. The Prophet said, "In truth, I shall move it to another place, and that will be for him more outrageous" (*la-anqulannahu ilā mawḍi^c huwa aghyazu lahu min hādihā*); and he moved it "to the place of the market of Medina".³¹ These two parallel reports seem to indicate that the market of B. Qaynuqā^c was identical with Baqī^c az-Zubayr, in other words, the Prophet granted az-Zubayr b. al-^cAwwām the market of B. Qaynuqā^c.

The market of the Prophet was not far from the market of Qaynuqā^c; the Prophet's market (which was, in fact, one of his Ṣadaqāt) was separated from the market of Qaynuqā^c only by the Muṣallā. We know this because the Muṣallā is reported to have been between the bridge of Buṭhān (where the market of Qaynuqā^c was located) and the market of Medina.³² Another report to the same effect is that the Ṣadaqa of the Prophet was adjacent to az-Zubayr's Ṣadaqa.³³ No wonder, then, that both the market of the Prophet and the market of B. Qaynuqā^c are mentioned in reports on the market of Medina in the time of the Umayyad caliph Hishām b. ^cAbd al-Malik. Samhūdi preserved for us Ibn Zabāla's detailed report on the court of the governor of Medina, Ibrāhīm b. Hishām (a maternal uncle of the caliph³⁴) which included the market of Medina.³⁵ Ibn Zabāla's report is completed by passages from Ibn Shabba which refer to the localities mentioned in it.

²⁹ Samh., I, p. 539, l. 6 from bottom.

³⁰ ^cAlī b. Burhān ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-^cuyūn fi sirati l-amin al-ma'mūn (as-Sira al-halabiyya)*, Cairo, 1320, II, p. 108, l. 25; Kister (above, n. 28), p. 276, n. 4.

³¹ Samh., I, p. 540, l. 1.

³² *JSAI* 6(1985), ch. III.

³³ *JSAI* 6(1985), ch. I.

³⁴ Samh., I, p. 541, l. 15. See on him *Tahdhib ta'rikh dimashq*, II, Damascus, 1330, p. 305f.

³⁵ Samh., I, pp. 541, l. 8 (*ahdatha...dāran akhadha bihā sūqa l-madina, wa-sadda bihā wujūha d-dūri sh-shawāri^c fi s-sūq*)-543.

The market of the Prophet: It was located in what had been previously the cemetery of B. Sa'ida of the Khazraj. The cemetery extended from the court (i.e., what later became the court) of Ibn Abi Dhi'b to the court of Zayd b. Thabit.³⁶ Fortunately, these two courts appear in the description of the market of Ibrahim b. Hisham and are said to have been along its eastern wall.³⁷ We may conclude that the market of the Prophet later became part of Ibn Hisham's much larger market.

The market of B. Qaynuqa': The Sadaqa of az-Zubayr, that is, Baqi' az-Zubayr, previously the market of B. Qaynuqa', was on the northeastern side of the market of Ibn Hisham, as can be deduced from the list of estates along the eastern wall, from south to north.³⁷ Baqi' az-Zubayr was not, however, part of Ibn Hisham's market. It is true, as Ibn Zabala reports, that Baqi' az-Zubayr was not excluded from the construction projects of Ibn Hisham. There he built vaults and leased them to the merchants; however Samhudi emphasises that Ibn Zabala meant to say that Ibn Hisham built in the open area (*fad'a*) of Baqi' az-Zubayr a court similar to the court in which he incorporated the market. It should not be interpreted, he adds, that Baqi' az-Zubayr was part of the market of Ibn Hisham.³⁸ So if Samhudi is right, then unlike the market of the Prophet, the market of B. Qaynuqa', although obviously bordering it, was not included in the market of Ibn Hisham.

The Muṣallā: As was already pointed out, the Muṣallā separated the market of B. Qaynuqa' from the market of Medina. In the Prophet's time the Muṣallā was a piece of wide flat land with no buildings on it (*ṣaḥrā' lā binā'a bihā*), and the Prophet prohibited any construction there. It is

³⁶ JSAI 6(1985), ch. III.

³⁷ Samh., I, p. 542, l. 4: *thumma (akhadha) wajha dār zayd b. thābit wa-ja'ala li-ṭ-ṭariq manfadhan, thumma wajha dār jubayr b. mu'īm llati fihā aṣḥābu l-'abā', thumma wajha dāri l-qāriziyyina (sic), thumma wajha dāri l-'abbās b. 'abd al-muṭṭalib, ay ath-thāniya llati kāna 'abdullāh b. 'abbās yaskunuhā, wa-ja'ala li-bani damra ṭariqan mubawwaban, thumma wajha dār ibn abi dhi'b, thumma dār āl shuwayfi', thumma ṣadaqatu z-zubayr, wa-ja'ala li-bani d-dīl ṭariqan mubawwaban. qultu (= Samhūdi) wa-hādḥā ṭ-ṭariq 'inda nihāyati hādḥā l-jidāri sh-sharqiyyi mimnā yali sh-shām, qurba thaniyyati l-wadā'. wa-ṭ-ṭuruqu l-madhkūra qablahu kulluhā fi l-jidāri l-madhkūr fi l-mashriq.*

³⁸ Samh., I, p. 543, l. 8 (*dār hishām b. 'abd al-malik llati akhadha bihā s-sūq*): *thumma banā dhālika buyūtan fa-ja'ala fihā l-aswāq kulluhā...wa-ja'ala dhālika fi baqi'i z-zubayr, wa-daraba 'alayhi ṭāqāt wa-akrahā wa-sadda wujūha dūrihim, wa-ja'ala li-s-sikak manfadhan yughlaqu. qultu (= Samhūdi): wa-murāduhu annahu ja'ala fi fadā' baqi'i z-zubayr dāran ka-dāri s-sūq, wa-lā yatawawhamu min dhālika anna baqi'a z-zubayr min jumlati s-sūq, li-mā sa-ya'ti fi tarjamatihi.*

noteworthy that the wording reportedly employed by the Prophet (*lā yudayyaqu wa-lā yuntaqaṣu minhu shay'*) is very similar to the wording of his prohibition regarding his market.³⁹ Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān bought the court of Abū Sufyān b. al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and attached it to the Muṣallā of the Prophet.⁴⁰ From the report on the court of Abū Sufyān b. al-Hārith it can be inferred that the Muṣallā was also included in the market of Ibn Hishām.⁴¹ Indeed, Ibn Zabāla says that along its width ('*arḍ*'), the market of Medina extends from the Muṣallā to Jirār Sa'd (b. 'Ubāda "the jars of Sa'd b. 'Ubāda", from the Khazraji clan of B. Sā'ida); Samhūdi assumes that the Muṣallā was the southern boundary of the market, not its western boundary.⁴² The wheat-sellers were in the Muṣallā.⁴³ The tomb of Mālik b. Sinān, the father of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudri, who was killed in the battle of Uḥud, was in the mosque near the cloak-sellers (*aṣḥāb al-'abā'*), on the side of the wheat-sellers. According to another report, he was buried near the mosque of the cloak-sellers which belongs to the old market of Medina.⁴⁴ According to yet another report he was buried "in the place of the cloak-sellers" (i.e., in the place which later became theirs), near Dār Nakhla.⁴⁵ The place called Ahjār az-Zayt was near his tomb.⁴⁶ (On Dār Nakhla and Ahjār az-Zayt see below.)

Az-Zawra': Az-Zawra' is mentioned quite often. The tomb of Mālik b. Sinān, which was reported to have been at the old market of Medina, or alternatively near Dār Nakhla, is said in another report to have been in, or near, az-Zawra': it is reported that the court of al-'Abbās b. 'Abd

³⁹ Samh., II, p. 6, l. 8. See Samh., II, p. 12, l. 1: *kharaja rasūlu llāhi ṣ ilā l-muṣallā, fa-qāla: hādḥā mustamṭarunā wa-muṣallānā, li-adhānā wa-fiṭrinā, lā yudayyaqu wa-lā yuntaqaṣu minhu shay'*; cf. Kister (above, n. 28), pp. 273f.

⁴⁰ Samh., I, p. 547, l. 7 from bottom; M.J. Kister, "The Battle of the Ḥarra", in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, p. 43, n. 48.

⁴¹ (Ibn Shabba):...inna abā sufyān b. al-hārith b. 'abd al-muṭṭalib itakhadha dāran bi-l-muṣallā fi mawḍi'i l-hajjāmīna, thumma btā'ahā mu'āwiya wa-zādahā fi muṣallā n-nabiyyi ṣ, thumma akhadhahā ba'du hishām b. 'abd al-malik fi dārihi llatī akhadha bihā s-sūq, thumma hudimat.

⁴² Samh., I, p. 148, l. 8; *JSAI* 6(1985), n. 166.

⁴³ Samh., II, p. 3, l. 13: '*inda l-ḥannātina bi-l-muṣallā*. On the coppers see above, n. 41.

⁴⁴ Samh., II, p. 106, l. 13. Cf. above, n. 37; *JSAI* 6(1985), the end of ch. III.

⁴⁵ Wāqidi, I, p. 312, l. 3.

⁴⁶ Samh., II, p. 118, l. 1 from below; Saleh Ahmed al-Ali, "Studies in the Topography of Medina", in *Islamic Culture*, 35 (1961), p. 80.

al-Muṭṭalib was in az-Zawra', near the tomb of Mālik b. Sinān.⁴⁷ Another court, called Dār Nakhla, was next to the court of al-ʿAbbās, near the end of the Balāt; there is a similar description concerning al-Ghars, on the southeastern edge of the court in which Ibn Hishām incorporated the market of Medina.⁴⁸ Another report describes Dār Nakhla as "the market near az-Zawra'".⁴⁹ Next to Dār Nakhla there was the court of Maʿmar b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAdawī, in the court-yard of which the man in charge of the market (*ṣāhib as-sūq*) used to sit.⁵⁰ The Prophet is said to have granted Maʿmar his court which is in the market; this is the court in which the *ʿāmil as-sūq* sits.⁵¹ The above-mentioned courts were along the eastern wall of the market of Ibn Hishām (above, n. 37). Another court along that wall was that of Ibn Masʿūd. His nephew, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUtba b. Masʿūd was appointed by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to control the market.⁵² From other reports it is clear that az-Zawra' was along the edge of the market of Medina. The forepart (*muqaddam*) of the market of Medina was near the end of al-Balāt and the area around it was called az-Zawra'.⁵³ In az-Zawra' there was a market of potash and the people would descend to it by steps.⁵⁴ The place called Ahjār az-Zayt was near az-Zawra'.⁵⁵ In keeping with the findings concerning the market of Medina, it is reported that the tomb of Mālik b. Sinān was inside the (later) wall

⁴⁷ Samh., I, p. 541, l. 7 from bottom: ...*khātimati l-balāt, ayi lladhi ʿinda dāri l-ʿabbās bi-z-zawra', bi-qurb mashhad mālik b. sinān.*

⁴⁸ Samh., I, pp. 541-542: *qāla ibn zabāla ʿaqiba dhikrihi li-btidā'i d-dūr min khātimati l-balāt: fa-madā bihā hattā sadda bihā wajha dāri l-ʿabbās b. ʿabd al-muṭṭalib, ayi llati ʿinda khātimati l-balāt, wa-dāra nakhla, wa-kānat li-āl shayba b. rabiʿa, wa-innamā summiyat dāra nakhla li-nakhla kānat fihā.*

⁴⁹ ʿUmdat al-akhbār, p. 278.

⁵⁰ Samh., I, p. 542, l. 1: *thumma dār maʿmar al-ʿadawī llati kāna yajlisu ṣāhibu s-sūq bi-finā'ihā.*

⁵¹ *Iṣāba*, VI, p. 189: ...*anna n-nabiyya ṣ aqṣaʿa maʿmar b. ʿabdillāh dārahu llati bi-s-sūq, wa-hiya llati yajlisu ilayhā ʿāmilu s-sūq.*

⁵² *Iṣāba*, IV, p. 166, l. 11; as-Suyūṭī, *Tanwīr al-hawālik sharḥ ʿalā muwaṭṭaʿ mālik*, Beirut, 1973, I, p. 266, l. 7; cf. *Iṣāba*, III, p. 27, l. 4 from bottom; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb fi maʿrifati l-aṣḥāb*, ed. al-Bijāwī, Cairo, n.d., II, p. 576, l. 2 from bottom.

⁵³ Samh., I, p. 544, l. 15: ...*anna muqaddam sūqi l-madīna mim mā yali khātimata l-balāt wa-mā ḥawla dhālika kāna yusammā bi-z-zawra'. Cf. Yāqūt, Buldān. s.v. Zawra', p. 156: ...wa-z-zawra': mawḍiʿ ʿinda sūqi l-madīna qurba l-masjid; ...huwa murtafiʿ ka-l-manāra; wa-qīla: bali z-zawra' sūqu l-madīna nafsuḥu. See already al-ʿAlī, (above, n. 46), p. 88.*

⁵⁴ Samh., I, p. 544, l. 16: *adraku sūqan bi-z-zawra' yuqālu lahu(!) sūqu l-ḥurud (printed: al-ḥurus), kāna n-nās yanzilūna ilayhā bi-daraj.*

⁵⁵ Samh., II, p. 242, l. 3 from bottom.

of Medina, attached to it (*mulāṣiqan lahu*), in the western area of Medina, in the old market.⁵⁶ Other reports connect *az-Zawra'* with a place called *Baqi' al-Khayl*. This connection is of some interest because the market of the Prophet is involved. It is reported that some of those who were killed at Uhud were buried in *Baqi' al-Khayl* (printed: *al-Jabal*), near the court of Zayd b. Thābit, in the market, that is, the market of camels (*sūq az-zahr*).⁵⁷ The court of Zayd b. Thābit is located at one edge of the cemetery of B. Sā'ida, which became the market of the Prophet (above, p. 141). *Baqi' al-Khayl* (obviously a pre-Islamic name) seems to have been the site of commercial activities before the Hijra. The area was not, then, merely a cemetery. *Az-Zawra'* is the name of a place in the market of Medina, in *Baqi' al-Khayl*, near the tomb of Mālik b. Sinān, and also a name for the tomb of the Prophet's son Ibrāhīm (see below).⁵⁸ It would seem that the northern gate of Medina was called (in later times) *Bāb al-Baqi'* because of *Baqi' al-Khayl*.⁵⁹ We also know that *Baqi' al-Khayl* was close to Mt. Sa'f (above, n. 57).

⁵⁶ Qalyūbi, fol. 32b.

⁵⁷ Wāqidī, I, p. 312, l. 1; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. *Khayl*. Cf. *sūq al-ghanam*, which seems identical to *sūq az-zahr*, being near the other court demarcating the market of the Prophet, that is, the court of Ibn Abi Dhi'b, Samh., I, p. 548, l. 1 from bottom. The same goes for *mirbad an-na'am*, Samh., II, p. 52, l. 8 (it is related to the war of Khandaq).

The market of Medina used to be called *Baqi' al-Khayl*, Samh., I, p. 544, l. 5 from bottom: *kāna yuqālu li-sūqi l-madīna baqi' al-khayl*; l. 3 from bottom: *thumma 'amida ilā baqi' al-khayl, wa-huwa sūqu l-madīna*. Samh., II, p. 264 reports that *Baqi' al-Khayl* is "the place of the market of Medina which is adjacent to the Muṣallā" (*mawḍi' sūqi l-madīna al-mujāwir li-l-muṣallā*). Samhūdī goes on to identify *Baqi' al-Khayl* as *Baqi' al-Muṣallā*. (Cf. *al-Maghānim al-mutāba*, s.v. *al-Balāṭ: janūbu l-muṣallā*.) The *Baqi'* referred to is that part of the market of Medina which is close to *al-Muṣallā* and is also called *Baqi' al-Muṣallā*, Samh., I, p. 545, l. 6. *Sūq al-Muṣallā* (Samh., I, p. 546, l. 3 from bottom) is identical to *Sūq al-Baqi'*, i.e., *Baqi' al-Muṣallā*, Samh., I, p. 545, l. 10. Another report has *Baqi' al-Madīna* as a name of its market, *al-Fakhr ar-Rāzi, at-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, Cairo, n.d., XVI, p. 172: *...wa-innaka la-tabī'u l-qarāza yawma'idhin bi-baqi'i l-madīna*. Cf. however Samh., II, p. 264, l. 4 from bottom: *baqi' al-khayl: mawḍi' sharqiyya (!) l-madīna al-mujāwir (!) li-l-muṣallā* (in a verse which follows there is mention of *Baqi' al-Muṣallā*). *Baqi' al-Khayl* was close to Mt. Sa'f, Qalyūbi, fol. 27b. He says, that those who claim that the Prophet prayed the *ṣalāt al-'id* in the *Baqi'* are wrong, unless it is interpreted as referring to *Baqi' al-Khayl*, which is close to Mt. Sa'f. Sa'f was in the market of Medina.

⁵⁸ Qalyūbi, fol. 39a.

⁵⁹ *Az-Zurqānī, Sharh 'alā l-mawāhibi l-laduniyya*, Cairo, 1329, II, p. 18, l. 22 (quoting Samhūdī): *... wa-huwa (= Mt. Uhud) jabal mashhūr bi-l-madīna 'alā aqalla min farsakh minhā, li-anna bayna awwalihi wa-bayna bābihā l-ma'rūf bi-bābi l-baqi' milayni wa-arba'ata asbā' mil tazidu yasiran*.

A considerable amount of construction seems to have taken place under ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. He “built az-Zawra’”,⁶⁰ in his time the building activity reached Sal⁶¹ and there are eschatological (*fitna*) traditions connected with this expansion. It must be noted that, in other reports, az-Zawra’ is connected to Baqīʿ al-Gharqad, which is east of the Mosque of the Prophet. Az-Zubayriyyāt (=Baqīʿ az-Zubayr = the market of B. Qaynuqāʿ) was adjacent to Baqīʿ al-Gharqad. The area between Baqīʿ al-Gharqad and Baqīʿ az-Zubayr was called al-Baqqāl. Al-Baqqāl was east of Baqīʿ az-Zubayr.⁶² The link between Baqīʿ az-Zubayr and az-Zawra’ is supplied by two parallel reports on the grave of the Prophet’s son Ibrāhīm. According to one report he was buried in az-Zawra’.⁶³ In another report, when Ibrāhīm died the Prophet was asked, “Where shall we bury your son”, to which he replied, “Near him who was the first of us to arrive at Paradise, ʿUthmān b. Mazʿūn”. The grave of ʿUthmān b. Mazʿūn was near the *kibā* (“the sweepings”) of B. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf.⁶⁴ That the *kibā* was in fact in Baqīʿ al-Gharqad can be seen from another report: ʿUthmān was buried in Baqīʿ al-Gharqad, formerly called Baqīʿ al-Khabkhaba, near the *kibā* (*ʿinda mawḍiʿi l-kibā l-yawma*, i.e., near the place which afterwards became known by that name), near the court of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya.⁶⁵ Besides the study of these parallel reports, the information on the construction carried out by ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān in az-Zawra’ should be linked perhaps with another detail concerning construction by ʿUthmān, pointing to Baqīʿ al-Gharqad. Al-Maqāʿid were shops (*dakākin*) near the court of ʿUthmān, close to the gate of the Mosque of the Prophet in the east.⁶⁶ When the Prophet’s son Ibrāhīm

⁶⁰ *Taʾriḫ yaʿqūbi*, II, p. 166, l. 9: *wa-fi hādhihi s-sana (=27AH) banā ʿuthmān dārahu wa-banā z-zawraʿ*. Cf. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. *Zawraʿ*, p. 156: *wa-z-zawraʿ ayḍan dār ʿuthmān b. ʿaffān bi-l-madīna*. And see Yaʿqūbi, *Mushākalat an-nās li-zamānihim*, ed. William Millward, Beirut, 1962, p. 13; Masʿūdī, *Murūj adh-dhahab*, ed. Pellat, Beirut, 1966f, III, p. 76.

⁶¹ ad-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾriḫ al-khamīs*, Cairo, 1283, II, p. 269, l. 9 from bottom.

⁶² *JSAI* 6(1985), ch. I.

⁶³ *Samh.*, II, pp. 84–85; cf. p. 851. 3:... *fa-yustafādu tasmiyatū dhālika l-mawḍiʿ bi-z-zawraʿ ayḍan*.

⁶⁴ *Lisān al-ʿarab*, s.v. *kbw.*..., *ʿinda faraḥinā ʿuthmān b. mazʿūn, wa-kāna qabr ʿuthmān ʿinda kibā banī ʿamr b. ʿawf, ay kunāsatihim*. Cf. *Samh.*, II, p. 84, l. 2 from bottom (Ibn Zabāla)... *wa-dufina ʿuthmān b. mazʿūn ʿinda kuttāb banī ʿamr b. ʿuthmān*.

⁶⁵ *Ibn Saʿd*, III, p. 397; *Samh.*, II, pp. 84., l. 8; 85, l. 8.

⁶⁶ See also Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, pp. 272–273.

died, the prayer for him took place in al-Maqā'id.⁶⁷ The eastern gate referred to was behind 'Uthmān's court. From it one could go out to Baqī' al-Gharqad. In Baqī' al-Gharqad there were the graves of most Medinans, and the graves of Ibrāhīm and al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib were also there.⁶⁸ We may safely conclude that az-Zawra' was located in the centre of Islamic Medina.

⁶⁷ Samh., II, p. 376, l. 10.

⁶⁸ Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī, *ar-Rawḍ al-mi'ār fī khabari l-aqtār*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās, Beirut, 1975, s.v. Ṭayba (a report on the wall built 263AH).

Abbreviations

- Aghāni* — Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghāni*, Būlāq, 1285.
- GAL* — C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2nd. ed., Leiden, 1943–1949; 3 Supplementbände, Leiden, 1937–1949.
- GAS* — F. Sezgih, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, I, Leiden, 1967.
- Ibn Baṭṭūṭa — *Voyages*, ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, Paris, 1853–1859.
- Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb* — Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī, *Jamharat ansāb al-‘arab*, ed. ‘Abd as-Salām Ḥārūn, Cairo, 1382/1962.
- Ibn Rusta — *al-A‘lāq an-nafisa*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1894.
- Ibn Sa‘d — *aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut, 1380/1960–1388/1968.
- Iṣāba* — Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣāba fi tamyizi ṣ-ṣaḥāba*, ed. al-Bijāwī, Cairo, 1392/1972.
- al-Maghānim al-mu‘āba* — al-Firūzabādī, *al-Maghānim al-mu‘āba fi ma‘ālim ṭāba*, ed. Ḥamad al-Jāsir, Riyāḍ, 1389/1969.
- al-Maṭari* — *at-Ta‘rif bi-mā ansati l-hujra min ma‘ālim dāri l-hijra*, MS. Lāla Ismā‘īl, 62.
- Muṣ‘ab, *Nasab* — Muṣ‘ab az-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*, ed. Levi-Provençal, Cairo, 1953.
- Qalyūbī — Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Qalyūbī, *an-Nubdha al-latifa fi bayān maqāsidī l-hijāz wa-ma‘ālimihī sh-sharifa*, MS. Nur Osmaniya, 2935/3442.
- Samh. — as-Samhūdī, *Wafā‘u l-wafā bi-akhbār dāri l-muṣṭafā*, Cairo, 1326.
- Ta‘rikh tabarī* — Abū Ja‘far b. Jarir aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ta‘rikh ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1380/1960–1387/1967.
- Ta‘rikh ya‘qūbi* — ed. Beirut, 1379/1960.
- ‘Umdat al-akhbār* — Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamid al-‘Abbāsī, *‘Umdat al-akhbār fi madinati l-mukhtār*, ed. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭayyib al-Anṣārī, As‘ad Ṭarabzūnī, n.p., n.d.
- Usd al-ghāba* — Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba fi ma‘rifati ṣ-ṣaḥāba*, Cairo, 1280.
- Wāqidi — Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāzi*, ed. Marsden Jones, London, 1966.
- Yāqūt, *Buldān* — Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, Beirut, 1957.

ON ARABS OF THE BANŪ KILĀB EXECUTED TOGETHER WITH THE JEWISH BANŪ QURAYZA*

The student of early Islam always keeps a watchful eye open for the rare, sometimes unique record which has somehow survived from the heyday of Islamic historiography and illuminates an aspect of history otherwise unknown to us. One such record concerns a clan of Arab proselytes whose men were executed by the Muslims together with the men of the Jewish Banū Qurayza.

The massacre of the Banū Qurayza has recently been studied in this journal.¹ It must be observed that it represented a novelty in Medinan politics, and in tribal Arab politics in general: before Islam, the annihilation of an adversary was never an aim of war. When, after their great victory in the battle of Bu'āth on the eve of Islam, the Aws killed many of the defeated Khazraj, someone allegedly shouted: "O company of the Aws, be gentle and do not destroy your brothers, because having them as neighbours is better than having foxes as neighbours."² This is a genuine reflection of pre-Islamic tribal attitudes and practices.

As is often the case in early Islamic literature, the evidence about a certain matter is not where it is "supposed to be". The same happens here: we learn of these Arabs from information concerning the Prophet's wives (a subject still awaiting a thorough scholarly discussion). Ibn al-Kalbī, in a long report certainly taken from his lost monograph on the Prophet's wives, *Kitāb azwāj al-nabī (s)*,³ lists the Prophet's marriages in chronological order. Two of his wives concern us here. We can roughly

* I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Shaul Shaked for commenting on this paper.

¹ M.J. Kister, "The Massacre of the Banū Qurayza: a Re-examination of a Tradition". M. Rodinson ("A Critical Survey of Modern Studies on Muhammad", in M. Swartz, *Studies on Islam*, New York-Oxford 1981, 77, n. 142) draws attention to the "painful irony" in R. Paret's remark that this event should not be judged in the light of our moral conceptions, for "the customs of that time in the conduct of war were, in many respects, more brutal than we are accustomed to in the age of the convention of Geneva"; R. Paret, *Mohammed und der Koran: Geschichte und Verkündigung des arabischen Propheten*, Stuttgart 1957, 112. Not that Rodinson himself is unaware of the existence of the same mitigating circumstances: "It is not easy to judge the massacre of the Qurayza", he writes. "It must be remembered that the customs of the time were extremely primitive"; M. Rodinson, *Mohammed*, New York 1974, 213, quoted by Kister, *op. cit.*, 63n.

² Abū l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Būlāq 1285 A.H., XV, 164:16.

³ Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Beirut 1398/1978 (reprint of the Cairo 1347 A.H. edition), 142:1.

date their marriages to the Prophet through other marriages, for which we have dates.

The two marriages took place after that of Maymūna al-Hilāliyya, for which we have a firm date: it happened during the 'umrat al-qadā' (Dhū l-Qa'da, 7 A.H.). Later the Prophet married, consecutively, the two women mentioned below. Then we find another undated marriage (or near-marriage) to a woman of the Banū Abī Bakr b. Kilāb, and then we again arrive at a firm date: the marriage to Asmā' bint al-Nu'mān al-Kindiyya, in Rabī' al-Awwal of 9 A.H.⁴ We may conclude that the two women who concern us here married the Prophet between Dhū l-Qa'da of 7 A.H. and Rabī' al-Awwal of 9 A.H.

Ibn al-Kalbī says:

Then the Messenger of God (ṣ) married a woman of the Banū Kilāb b. Rabī'a called al-Nashāt bint Rifā'a, and they [i.e., the members of her clan] were allies [*ḥulafā'*, which can also be translated "clients", see below] of the Banū Rifā'a of Qurayza (*wa-kānū ḥulafā'a li-Banī Rifā'a min Qurayza*).⁵

Ibn al-Kalbī continues:

Then the Messenger of God (ṣ) married al-Shanbā' bint 'Amr al-Ghifāriyya, and they [i.e., the members of her clan] were also the allies of the Banū Qurayza. Some claimed that she was of Qurayza and that her pedigree [i.e., her precise Qurazī pedigree] was forgotten because of the destruction of the Banū Qurayza (*wa-kānū ayḍan ḥulafā'a li-Banī Qurayza, wa-ba'duhum yaz'umu annahā Qurazīyya wa-qad juhila nasabuhā li-halāk Banī Qurayza*). It was also said that she was of Kināna.⁶

Ibn al-Kalbī adds that al-Shanbā' was menstruating at the time she was brought to the Prophet, and Ibrāhīm (i.e., the Prophet's son by Māriya the Copt) died before she became pure again. She said: "Had he been a prophet, the dearest person to him would not have died. So the Messenger of God divorced her."⁷

⁴ Tab., III, 166-7 [I, 1774 of the Leiden edition]; *Iṣāba*, VII, 497:-1.

⁵ Ibn al-Kalbī adds that some called her Sanā, saying that she was of Sulaym; cf. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, 85f. This indicates a confusion with the Sulamī Sanā.

⁶ For the name Shanbā' see also *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. 'b.y., 7 (a poetess called al-Shanbā' bint Zayd b. 'Umāra). The Kināna version involves no difficulty, because the Ghifār are a subdivision of the Kināna.

⁷ Tab., *loc. cit.* Another reason for an unconsummated marriage to an unnamed Ghifārī woman is reported elsewhere: the Prophet found a trace of leprosy on her body; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, V, 300:15. See also Zurqānī, III, 267:23; *Iṣāba*, II, 618. Remarking on the Prophet's marriage to a woman of the Layth, Wāqidī says: "And our friends deny this and say that he never married a woman of the Kināna"; *TMD*, *Mukht.*, II, 289.

Rather surprisingly, the dictionaries of Companions and Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt* do not have an entry on either al-Nashāt or al-Shanbā'.⁸ In addition, no information on these wives is found in the monograph by Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā on the wives of the Prophet, which altogether fails to mention them.⁹

Al-Shanbā' also appears in a report going back to Anas b. Mālik and Ibn 'Abbās. She and another wife of the Prophet were among the fifteen wives who were forbidden to remarry after the Prophet's death, in spite of the fact that their marriages with the Prophet had not been consummated. In the other woman the Prophet found a trace of leprosy. As to al-Shanbā', the reasons for not consummating her marriage are the same as those quoted above from Ibn al-Kalbī, namely that she had menstruated, and when consummation became possible, she made a vicious remark about the death of the Prophet's son Ibrāhīm.¹⁰

Our main concern here is the valuable new information about al-Nashāt and her clan found in Ibn 'Asākir's *History of Damascus*. He mentions her among the thirteen wives with whom the Prophet had intercourse. This is followed by the words:

And these Banū Rifā'a¹¹ are of the Banū Kilāb b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a. They were the allies of the Banū Qurayza, [more precisely] of the Banū Rifā'a of Qurayza. They were killed with them when they were killed and all of them perished (*wa-l-Nashāt bint Rifā'a*, [* min Banī Rifā'a] *wa-Banū Rifā'a hā'ulā'i min Banī Kilāb b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a*, *wa-kānū ḥulafā'a fī Banī Qurayza*, fī *Banī Rifā'a min Banī Qurayza*, *fa-uṣībū ma'ahum yawma uṣībū fa-'nqaradū*).

⁸ This was noticed by Ṣāliḥī, *Azwāj al-nabī*, 248, 250.

⁹ Abū 'Ubayda, *Tasmiyat al-azwāj al-nabī (s) wa-awlādihī*, ed. Nuhād al-Mūsā, *Majallat Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiyya* 13 (1967), 244-79; another edition, by Yūsuf 'Alī Badīwī, appeared in Beirut and Damascus in 1410/1990. I am indebted to Professor Maribel Fierro for helping me obtain a copy of the latter edition. For quotations from Abu 'Ubayda's monograph see *TMD*, *Sīra*, 433; Ṣāliḥī, *Azwāj al-nabī*, *passim*.

¹⁰ *TMD*, *Mukht.*, II, 270-1. The wording merits some attention. While Ibn al-Kalbī says: *fa-'arakat* ("she menstruated") *hīna dakhalat 'alayhi*, the *TMD* has: *lammā udkhalat 'alayhi lam takun bi-l-m.s.y.ra fa-'ntazara bihā l-yasra. Wa-māta Ibrāhīm 'bn rasūli 'llāhi (s) 'alā tafī'ati* (printed: *tafi'a*) *dhālika, fa-qālat: law kāna nabīyyan mā māta aḥabbu l-nāsi ilayhi wa-a'azzuhu[m] 'alayhi. Fa-ṭallaqahā wa-awjaba lahā l-mahra wa-ḥurrimmat 'alā l-azwāj. Cf. TMD, Sīra, 136 (lam takun bi-l-yasirati lammā udkhalat fa-'ntazara bihā l-yasira[!]).* (The passage in *TMD*, *Tahdh.*, I, 300:14 is garbled.) Instead of *m.s.y.ra* (the editor suggests: *lam takun bi-l-yasra, ay lam takun layyinata li-'nqiyād[!]*) and *al-yasira*, read probably: *lam takun bi-l-muyassara*, i.e., since she had menstruated, her state did not permit sexual intercourse.

¹¹ *Sic*; but they were not mentioned earlier in the text and could have been omitted due to haplogly.

We find in the same source that when the Prophet's wives "were given the choice between this world and the latter one", i.e., between a commitment not to remarry after the Prophet's death and divorce, al-Nashāt chose to remarry after him and he divorced her.¹²

A parallel report reveals the source of this information. Al-Mufaḍḍal b. Ghassān al-Ghallābī in his *Ta'riḫ* quotes, with an *isnād* going back to Sayf b. 'Umar, from Abū 'Umar (*sic*) 'Uthmān b. Miqsam (al-Burrī), from Qatāda, a report on the Prophet's wives which includes a passage almost identical to the one quoted from Ibn 'Asākir: *wa-l-Shāt bint Rifā'a huwa[!]¹³ min Banī Kilāb b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a fī Banī Rifā'a min Banī Qurayza, fa-uṣībū ma'ahum yawma uṣībū fa-'nqaradū. Thumma qāla: wa-ammā l-Shāt ḥīna¹⁴ khayyara nisā'ahu bayna l-dunyā wa-l-ākḥira fa-'khtārat (sic) an tatazawwaja ba'du fa-ṭallaqahā.¹⁵*

There is some uncertainty concerning the woman's name: some have al-Shāt instead of al-Nashāt. But although al-Shāt is possible as a female name ("the sheep", comparable to Sakhla, Sukhayla, "the lamb, the little lamb"), al-Nashāt, being a *lectio difficilior*, is preferable.¹⁶

The repetition of the name Rifā'a in the above passage from Ibn 'Asākir is problematic. It is the name of al-Nashāt's father, the name of her Kilābī clan and the name of the Qurayza subdivision connected with her Kilābī clan. One MS of Ibn 'Asākir calls the Qurayza subdivision Rufay'a (or Rafī'a; but the former is better). Perhaps Rufay'a, located after two Rifā'as, became Rifā'a through assimilation.¹⁷

¹² *Wa-ammā al-Nashāt, ḥīna khayyara nisā'ahu bayna l-dunyā wa-l-ākḥira, fa-'khtārat an tazawwaja ba'dahu fa-ṭallaqahā; TMD, Sira, 138f; TMD, Mukht., II, 272* (in this source she is called al-Shāt). In *TMD, Tahdh.*, I, 301:7, the name al-Nashāt is corrupt: 'shā'a, al-th.n.ya.

¹³ Perhaps a corruption of *hum* referring to the omitted phrase: **min Banī Rifā'a*.

¹⁴ *Sic*, one expects: *fa-ḥīna*. See also above, n. 12.

¹⁵ Ṣāliḥī, *Aswāj al-nabī*, 248. See on al-Mufaḍḍal (d. 246/860), in Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'riḫ Baghdad*, Cairo 1349/1931, XIII, 124 (a Baṣran by origin, lived in Baghdad, transmitted, among others, from Wāqidī); Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, Cairo 1350, II, 112 (*wa-lahu ta'riḫ mufīd*). Al-Mufaḍḍal is quoted in *Akhbār al-dawla l-'abbāsiyya*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī and 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Muṭṭalibī, Beirut 1971, 34. On 'Uthmān b. Miqsam see Ibn Hajar, *Lisān al-misān*, Beirut 1407/1987, IV, 179f; al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, ed. 'Abdallāh 'Umar al-Bārūdī, Beirut 1408/1988 (note, however, that his *kunya* in these sources is Abū Salama, not Abū 'Umar); Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut 1380/1960-1388/1968, VII, 285 (wrongly: al-Barsamī, instead of al-Burrī; he died at the time of al-Mahdī).

¹⁶ In addition, the *nān* is attested both in Ṭabarī and in the *Ta'riḫ madīnat Dimashq* (though not in its *Mukhtaṣar*); *nashāt* means "dry tree"; see *Lisān al-'arab*, the end of s.v. *n.sh.y*. It is possible that Tradition gave her a pejorative byname: after all, the Prophet divorced her when she chose to remarry after his death. But perhaps her name is derived from *nasha'a*, "to grow up".

¹⁷ *TMD*, MS Cambridge 2927, I, 157b (*wa-kānū khulafā[!] min[!]*) *Banī Qurayza fī Banī R.f.y.'a min Banī Qurayza fa-uṣībū ma'ahum yawma uṣībū fa-'nqaradū*. Zurqānī, III, 268:1, says that al-Mufaḍḍal, in his *Ta'riḫ*, on the au-

But these are marginal matters. We learn from the rare piece of information quoted above that when the Banū Qurayza were executed, their Kilābī allies (or clients) were also slain with them. The execution of the allies strongly suggests that they were Jewish proselytes, moreover, that they probably refused to embrace Islam and save their lives. We know that the women and children of Qurayza were sold into slavery.¹⁸ Al-Nashāt is not said to have been a slavegirl; this may be an indication that the Arab women captured in the fortress of Qurayza were not sold. Alternatively, they could have been ransomed by their fellow tribesmen.

It is plausible that the execution of these Kilābīs by the Muslims was somehow connected to the attack on the Muslims at Bi'r Ma'ūna which was led by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl al-Kilābī (of the Banū Ja'far b. Kilāb, the leading clan of the Kilāb). Assuming that Bi'r Ma'ūna took place at the beginning of 4 A.H. (in the month of Ṣafar) and Banū Qurayza at the end of 5 A.H. (in Dhū l-Qa'da),¹⁹ we may reach the conclusion that the Muslim relatives of those killed at Bi'r Ma'ūna enthusiastically carried out the Kilābī execution some two years later.²⁰ But it could have been the other way round: the Damascene scholar Makḥūl (d. 112/730 or later), whose *Ḥadīth* was transmitted, among others, by Zuhri and Ibn Ishāq, dates Bi'r Ma'ūna after the Khandaq (i.e., after the siege of Banū Qurayza which took place immediately after the Khandaq).²¹ If Makḥūl is right, then 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl may have avenged at Bi'r Ma'ūna the execution of his fellow Kilābīs by the Muslims. In this case the relation between the violent clashes of Khandaq/Banū Qurayza and Bi'r Ma'ūna is not only chronological but also causal. In other words, 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl was driven by anger and frustration. The Sulamīs, who provided part of the troops at Bi'r Ma'ūna, had an account of

thority of Qatāda, mentions Shāt (*sic*) bint Rifā'a (we already know that in al-Mufaḍḍal's book she is called al-Shāt); he follows this with the mention of al-Shanbā' bint 'Amr al-Ghifāriyya, remarking that her marriage was consummated (*dakhala bihā*).

¹⁸ Kister, "The Massacre of the Banū Qurayza: a Re-examination of a Tradition", 94.

¹⁹ J.M.B. Jones, "The Chronology of the *maghāzī*: A Textual Survey", *BSOAS* 19 (1957), 249 f.

²⁰ On Bi'r Ma'ūna cf. Kister, "The Expedition of Bi'r Ma'ūna".

²¹ Jones, "The Chronology", 249 = Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, IV, 71: *wa-aghraha Makḥūl raḥimahu 'illāh haythu qāla innahā kānat ba'da l-khandaq*, which Jones translates: "Ibn Kathīr states . . . that Makḥūl was presenting an unusual version in putting it after al-Khandaq". But in this context the term *aghraha* (similarly: *gharīb*, *gharā'ib*) connotes a *Ḥadīth* which is reported by one authority only. See for example *TMD*, XL, ('Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ḥabīb — 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh), ed. Sukayna al-Shihābī, Damascus 1407/1986, 315 (a traditionist is blamed for *al-aḥādīth al-gharā'ib 'illati kāna yaǰī'u bihā*), 316 (the same person is blamed for *aḥādīth tafarrada bihā, la tu'rafu*). On Makḥūl see F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden 1967 f, I, 404.

their own to settle with the Muslims.²² All this is of course hypothetical.

There must have been other Bedouin proselytes with the Qurayza. The poet Jabal b. Jawwāl al-Tha'labī of the Banū Tha'laba b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān (a subdivision of the Ghatafān) was a Jewish proselyte who "was with Qurayza" (*kāna yahūdiyyan ma'a Banī Qurayza*), i.e., he was their ally (or client). He composed an elegy on the Naḍīr leader Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab and another elegy bewailing the fate of the Naḍīr and the Qurayza. Later he embraced Islam.²³

The term *ḥulafā'* which defines the status of the Kilābīs is ambiguous and can be understood both as "allies" and "clients". The latter possibility suggests that they lived permanently in or near the court of Qurayza; the preposition *fi* (*ḥulafā' fi* . . . , "clients living in the midst of . . . ") possibly points in this direction. But a parallel text quoted above has the variant *ḥulafā' li-* . . . , "allies of . . . ". Admittedly, a client status is more indicative of proselytizing to Judaism. We know that the Jews of Taymā' demanded that Bedouins of the Balī convert to Judaism before allowing them to settle in their castle.²⁴

There is yet another possibility, which seems to me more likely. The Kilābīs may have formed auxiliary forces from outside Medina, called in by the Jews in times of crisis. We know that such forces formed an integral part of the Jews' defence system²⁵ and indeed this type of military cooperation was an important element in the relationship between the settled population and the nomads in Arabia.²⁶

²² Kister, "The Expedition of Bi'r Ma'ūna", 350f. On the participation of the Kilābīs see *op. cit.*, 355 f.

²³ *Iṣāba*, I, 454 (from Ibn al-Kalbī); Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saqqā, al-Abyārī and Shalabī, Beirut 1391/1971, III, 285; Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, ed. Walid 'Arafāt, London 1971, no. 94 (*wa-kāna yahūdiyyan fa-aslama ba'du*); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, ed. Nāji Ḥasan, Beirut 1407/1986, 427, omits his father's name ("Jabal b. Ṣafwān" etc.). Note the enigmatic statement of Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (quoted in the *Iṣāba*, *loc. cit.*): Jabal, he says, was a descendant of al-Fiṭyawn b. 'Āmir b. Tha'laba. On the Banū Tha'laba b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān cf. F.M. Donner, "Some Early Arabic Inscriptions from al-Ḥanākiyya, Saudi Arabia", *JNES* 43 (1984), 188 f; cf. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, 3 f.

²⁴ Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā 'sta'jama*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā, Cairo 1364/1945-1371/1951, I, 29.

²⁵ Cf. for example the anticipated military aid of the Ghatafān (who were to arrive from their territory outside Medina) to the Banū Naḍīr; al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, London 1966, I, 368 (*wa-yumiddukum ḥulafā'ukum min Ghatafān*).

²⁶ Cf. the military role of the *bādiya* as reflected in the alleged mild reproach of the Prophet to 'Ā'isha, when she referred to a certain tribe as *a'rāb*: *yā 'Ā'isha, laysū bi-a'rāb, hum ahlu bādiyatīnā wa-naḥnu ahlu ḥaḍiratihim fa-idhā du'ū ajābū fa-laysū bi-a'rāb*; Abū 'Ubayd, *Kitāb al-amwāl*, ed. Muḥammad Khalīl Harrās, Cairo 1396/1976, 280.

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XI

THE ḤUDAYBIYYA-TREATY AND THE EXPEDITION AGAINST KHAYBAR*

The treaty concluded at Ḥudaybiyya in Dhū l-Qa'da, 6 AH/March, 628 AD¹ poses several intriguing questions.² Discussion in this paper is limited to one of them, namely the connection between the Ḥudaybiyya-treaty and the expedition against the Jewish oasis of Khaybar which, as is well-known, took place shortly afterwards.

I

The minute accounts of the negotiations between the Prophet and Quraysh which preceded the concluding of the Ḥudaybiyya-treaty, and to no less extent the text of the treaty itself, do not fail to reflect the apparently lenient position adopted by the Prophet throughout the negotiations. He does not seem to have offered Quraysh any tough bargaining; to the contrary, some of the concessions he made were related to the very essence of his prophetic mission. He complied with the pagans' demand that *bi-'smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīm* be replaced by the old Arab *bi-'smika llāhumma* and that *muḥammad rasūlu llāhi* be replaced by *muḥammad b. 'abdallāh*.³ He agreed to send back to Mecca anybody from Quraysh who would come to him (either a Muslim or intending to embrace Islam) without the permis-

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¹ On the chronology see J. Wellhausen, *Muhammed in Medina*, Berlin, 1882, p. 18 (Dhū l-Qa'da 6AH started on the 13th of March, 628); L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Milano, 1905, II, LXVI.

² See now César E. Dubler & Ursula Quarella, "Der Vertrag von al-Hudaybiyya als Wendepunkt in der Geschichte des frühen Islam", in *Asiatische Studien* 21 (1967), pp. 62-81; Miklos Muranyi, "Die Auslieferungsklausel des Vertrages von al-Hudaiblya und ihre Folgen", in *Arabica* 23 (1976), pp. 275-295 (— Muranyi); F.M. Donner, "Muḥammad's political consolidation in Arabia up to the conquest of Mecca", in *Muslim World* 69 (1979), pp. 229-247, esp. pp. 240-247 (— Donner).

³ Ibn Hishām, III, 331-332. On *allāhumma* see F. Buhl, *Et*^{1,2}, s.v.

sion of his guardian (*wall*).⁴ Moreover this stipulation was not reciprocal, a feature which is outstanding in its one-sidedness.⁵

Considering these grave concessions⁴ one expects to find benefits on the Muslims' part which were meaningful enough to account for what the Prophet sacrificed in terms of strength and prestige. It has been suggested that the Prophet benefited by the "recognition of Medina by Quraysh as a power equal in importance to Mecca", or in other words by regarding him as a partner with equal rights to a treaty.⁷ Another suggestion was that he benefited by the permission to perform the "little pilgrimage" (*umra*) the following year.⁸ However, one Qurashī concession, which was by far the most important achievement of the Prophet, has as yet to be discussed.⁹

A unique passage in a treatise on *fiqh*, which was already connected to the affair of Ḥudaybiyya more than forty years ago seems to provide the missing Qurashī concession. In his book *Muslim conduct of state*¹⁰ the prominent Muslim scholar Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh analyzed carefully the situation in Arabia when the Ḥudaybiyya-treaty was concluded:

At that time, he (i.e., the Prophet Muḥammad) had the embittered Jews in the formidable colony of Khaibar, in the north; and the irritated, though much exhausted, Quraish of Mecca in the south. A Khaibar-Mecca coalition was imminent. At least this muḥ was certain that, if the Muslims marched towards Mecca, the Jews would storm the empty and undefended Madīnah; and if the Muslims attacked Khaibar, the same was the fear on the part of the Meccans,¹¹ and the Muslims at that time were not sufficiently powerful to undertake both the expeditions at once, or at least to spare sufficient force to defend the metropolis of Islam when the expedition against either Mecca or Khaibar had left the city.

⁴ Cf. Watt, p. 48: "The clause about returning persons under protection (chiefly minors and clients presumably) was a concession to the feelings of Quraysh which cost the Muslims little. The son of one of the Meccan negotiators is said to have come to Muḥammad... and to have been told he must return to Mecca".

⁵ Cf. Watt, *loc. cit.*: "The fact that this clause was not reciprocal is perhaps mainly an expression of Muḥammad's belief in the superior attractiveness of Islam".

⁶ For attempts to minimize them cf. e.g. Lammens, *EP*, s.v. Ḥudaybiya; above, notes 4 and 5. Cf. Muranyi, p. 277.

⁷ See F. Buhl, *EP*, s.v. al-Madīna; idem, *Das Leben Muhammads*, trans. Schaedler, Heidelberg, 1955, p. 290. See also Watt, pp. 48, 51; R. Paret, *Mohammed und der Koran*, Stuttgart, 1957, p. 115; Dubler & Quarella (above, note 2), pp. 63, 77-78. Cf. Muranyi, p. 277.

⁸ See Muranyi, p. 279.

⁹ Cf. Donner, pp. 241-242 and below, note 12.

¹⁰ A "first partial German edition" appeared in Germany forty-five years ago. I used the 3rd revised edition, Lahore, 1953, p. 277.

¹¹ Reference to as-Sarakhsī, *al-Mabnīf*, Cairo, 1324, X, p. 86.

Moreover the Iranians had just suffered a decisive defeat at Nin-evah at the hands of the Byzantines, and it was just the time for Arabia to postpone its internecine feuds and take advantage of the international situation, and at least free the Arabian provinces toiling under the Iranian yoke, e.g., Bahrain, 'Umān and Yaman. The Prophet wanted a free hand regarding Khaibar and Iran, and to that end was prepared to concede terms even derogatory to his prestige.¹²

The first part of this analysis can be corroborated by further evidence (see below). The second can however be adopted only in a modified form,

¹² Surprisingly enough Ḥamīdullāh concludes by saying (p. 282): "The main object of the treaty was to get permission to visit the national sanctuary of the enemy"; idem, *Le prophète de l'Islam*, Paris, 1959, I, pp. 392-393 (quoting, beside *al-Mabsūṭ*, also as-Sarakhsī's interpretation on ash-Shaybānī's *Kitāb as-siyar*, and see below). Commenting on the one-sided "extradition" clause of the Hudaibiyya-treaty and on the position of Jews in the Prophet's *umma* Ḥamīdullāh remarks: "The only conclusion permissible in both the cases cited above, viz. the clause in the constitution and the clause in the armistice, is that 'Necessity knoweth no law' but demands concessions", see his "Sources of Islamic Law — a new approach", in *Islamic Quarterly*, I (1954), p. 207; idem, *Battlefields*, p. 41: "The pact with the Meccans at Hudaibiyah had left the Prophet Muhammad with his hands free to deal with the growing danger of Khaibar. The Meccans had agreed to remain neutral in case the Muslims attacked Khaibar". Cf. *ibid.*, p. 33: "The Qurashites were given all they really desired and also their *amour-propre* was satisfied in return for their remaining neutral in case Muslims were at war with a third party. The Meccans may or may not have known that in this way they were deserting the Jews of Khaibar, and consequently they were also losing Jewish help against the Muslims". It is however hardly conceivable that the Qurashīs came to terms with the Prophet disregarding the impact upon Khaybar, see below, III.

It is noteworthy that Caetani, *Annali*, II, p. 11 (7AH, 68) has already observed, that the Hudaibiyya-treaty assured the Prophet that he would not be attacked by Quraysh while marching on Khaybar; cf. M. Rodinson, *Mohammed*, trans. Anne Carter, Penguin Books, 1971, p. 252. And see now the penetrating remarks made by Donner (pp. 242-243): "...the cessation of hostilities between Muḥammad and the Quraysh... allowed him to turn his full attention to subduing tribal groups and major towns north of Medina. He had... attempted to do this in the period immediately following the battle of the Trench, but had failed, probably because of Medina's difficult strategic situation; for at that time Medina was located between two hostile centers — Mecca to the south and other towns allied to Quraysh (notably Khaybar, where the exiled Medinese Jews had taken refuge) to the north. Muḥammad's position between these two hostile centers made it difficult for him to attack the weaker northern towns since any sustained siege attempted against Khaybar or other towns in the northern Hijāz would have left Medina itself vulnerable to an attack by the Meccans from his rear... As long as a state of war existed with Meccans, then, Muḥammad would remain locked powerless between Mecca and Khaybar. This strategic dilemma made it imperative for Muḥammad to neutralize, at least for a time, the ability of one of these centers to attack him. A truce with the Meccans could do just that; by freeing him of the threat of a Meccan invasion, it would allow him to focus his energies on bringing the northern towns under his control". Cf. however Donner's concluding passage (p. 247): "The reinterpretations proposed here cannot be considered decisively proven, of course, and in view of the state of our sources they may remain forever beyond decisive proof or disproof".

emphasizing the relationship between Persia and the Jews of Arabia.

It seems appropriate to reproduce here as-Sarakhsī's (d. 483/1090)¹³ interpretation on ash-Shaybānī's (d. 189/804) *Kitāb as-siyar al-kabīr*.¹⁴ The passage (pp. 297-298) concerns a Muslim troop which comes across a town of the *ahl al-ḥarb*. The Muslims are not powerful enough to overcome that town, but they want to cross its territory in order to reach other people and fight against them. The people of the town demand from them not to take a certain route (*a'ṣūnā an lā tamurrū fī ḥādhdhā ṣ-ṣartq*) and in return the town's people will not kill or take captive any of them. If it is to the benefit of the Muslims (*fa-in kāna dhālika khayran li-l-muslimīna*) there is no harm (*fa-lā ba's*) in undertaking this and taking another route, even if it is longer and less convenient (*wa-in kāna ab'ada wa-ashaqqa*). This is followed by as-Sarakhsī's comments (see Appendix):

Because they — the Muslims) cannot be secure that they — the town's people) will not pursue them and kill one or two of those who are at the rear of the troop, and this truce (*muwāda'a*) secures them from it. Indeed the Messenger of God (ﷺ) agreed in the truce on the day of Ḥudaybiyya to obligations which were more critical (*a'ẓam*) than this, since the people of Mecca imposed on him to undertake to return to them any of them who would come to him as a Muslim. He fulfilled this obligation to them until it was abrogated because there was in it a benefit (*naẓar*)¹⁵ for the Muslims, owing to the agreement (*muwāḍa'a*) which was between the people of Mecca and the people of Khaybar. It prescribed that if the Messenger of God (ﷺ) marched on one of the two parties, the other party would attack Medina. And he made a truce (*fa-wādda'a*) with the people of Mecca so as to secure his flank when (*idhdh*) he would march on Khaybar. And we know that there is no harm in accepting an obligation like this if there is in it a benefit (*naẓar*) for the Muslims.

The Meccan-Khaybarī treaty was not an ordinary treaty. Usually allies

¹³ W. Heffening, *EJ*, s.v.

¹⁴ Ed. Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Munajjid, I, Cairo, 1958, p. 298. For German and English translations of this passage see Hans Kruse, "Die Begründung der islamischen Völkerrechtslehre", in *Saeculum*, 5 (1954), p. 232; and the English translation of the same, "The foundation of Islamic international jurisprudence", in *Journal of the Pakt. Hist. Soc.* 3 (1955), pp. 250-251. The section dealing with *siyar* in ash-Shaybānī's *Kitāb al-aṣl* was translated into English by M. Khadduri, *The Islamic law of nations, Shaybānī's Siyar*, Baltimore, 1966. On ash-Shaybānī's life and writings see *op. cit.*, pp. 26-45; W. Heffening, *EJ*, s.v.; Kruse, *Saeculum*, pp. 224ff; idem, *JPHS*, pp. 237ff.

¹⁵ This seems to be the proper rendering, cf. ash-Shaybānī's words quoted above: *fa-in kāna dhālika khayran li-l-muslimīna*; I could not find however this meaning of *naẓar* in the dictionaries. Cf. perhaps *Tāj al-'arūs*; Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. (*naẓara lahum* means *a'dnahum*).

undertake to come to the rescue of the other party in the other party's territory, where the attack is actually taking place. In this case however the common enemy of Mecca and Khaybar, the Prophet, was located between the two parties, and a troop from either side could hit the Muslims' defenseless base at Medina before hurrying to the rescue of either Khaybar or Mecca. The Prophet's flank was secured from a Qurashī attack by the first stipulation of the Ḥudaybiyya-treaty. It was an *amān*-provision, typical to many treaties of the Prophet's time: "They have agreed to lay aside war for ten years during which men can be safe and refrain from hostilities" (*iṣṣalahā 'alā waq'i l-ḥarb 'ani n-nās 'ashra sinīna ya'manu fthinna n-nāsu wa-yakuffu ba'duhum 'an ba'din*).¹⁶ In this case however this *amān*-provision had a special significance: it contradicted, and therefore abrogated, the treaty of Mecca with Khaybar.

II

Another reference, which is as yet not completely clear, to a treaty between Mecca and Khaybar is included in a report on a man from the tribe of Sulaym by the name of al-Ḥajjāj b. 'Ilāṭ.¹⁷ According to Wāqidī (II, 703) he came to Mecca from Khaybar after its conquest. Realizing that if it became known that he had embraced Islam (and that the Prophet had conquered Khaybar) he had no hope to collect money from his Meccan debtors, as well as money he had with his Qurashī wife, he turned the defeat of Khaybar into a defeat of the Prophet. He informed the Meccans that the Jews had defeated the Muslims and that the Prophet himself had been taken captive. The Khaybarīs had however refrained from killing him themselves, so as to send him to Mecca and have him killed among his fellow tribesmen in retaliation for the Jews and the Meccans who had been killed. Then follows a rather obscure utterance of al-Ḥajjāj: *wa-li-hādihā fa-innahum yarji'ūna ilaykum yaṣṭlubūna l-amāna ft 'ashā'irihim wa-yarji'ūna ilā mā kānū 'alayhi. fa-lā taqbalū minhūm wa-qad ṣana'ū bikūm mā qad ṣana'ū*, "And therefore they (i.e., the people of Khaybar) will apply to you seeking an assurance of security for their clans(?) and a return to their previous conditions (i.e., regarding their relations with you; this is proba-

¹⁶ See Ibn Hishām, III, p. 332. For an English translation see A. Guillaume, *The life of Muhammad*, Oxford, 1955, p. 504. The different versions as to the period agreed upon do not concern us here. Watt's suggestion (pp. 49, 51) that the giving up of the blockade of Mecca is implied here merely adds another concession of the Prophet. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 51: "...in stopping the blockade Muhammad had made a great military and economic concession, and what he had gained in return was chiefly among the *imponderabilia*". And cf. Donner, pp. 243-244.

¹⁷ See on him *Iṣṣaba*, II, 33-35 (al-Fihri should be read: al-Bahzī, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, I, p. 381, line 9).

bly an indication to a treaty between the two parties); you should not comply with their request after what they had done to you".¹⁸ It is not clear what development in the relationship between Mecca and Khaybar is meant here; however some unspecified harmful action on the part of the Jews is referred to.¹⁹

Indeed the list of the Prophet's demands transmitted to Quraysh by 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd ath-Thaqafī,²⁰ as preserved in the *Ta'rikh* of Ibn Abī Shayba²¹ includes the following demands: to allow me (— the Prophet) access to the Ka'ba (*wa-yukhallūna baynt wa-bayna l-bayt*) so that we (— the Muslims) perform the "little pilgrimage" and sacrifice our slaughter animals (*hady*); to establish between me and them (— Quraysh) a truce (*wa-ya'jahūna baynt wa-baynahum muddatan*),²² during which their wives will give birth to many children (*tarbulu fihā niswuhum*), their roads will be secure (*wa-ya'manu fihā sirbuhum*) and they will not interpose between me and "the people" (*an-nās*). The Prophet added that he would fight "for this cause" (*alā hādihā l-amr*, i.e., for the cause of Islam) "the red and the black" (i.e., all mankind, everyone who would resist him) until God would render him victorious or until he would die.

That "the people" implies the people of Khaybar and that an imminent battle with them is referred to can be deduced from what follows: "If the people defeat me, this is, after all, what you (— Quraysh) want; and if God renders me victorious over them, Quraysh will be able to make their choice: either to fight (i.e., fight against the Prophet) after an appropriate preparation or to make peace (literally: enter the peace) after having increased in number (*wāfirīna*, i.e., after having grown stronger)."²³

¹⁸ Cf. Wāqidī, ed. A. von Kremer (*History of Muhammad's campaigns*), Calcutta, 1856, p. 396; (*op. cit.*, preface, pp. 5-6, 23-24); Wāqidī, the abridged German translation by J. Wellhausen (*Muhammed in Medina*, Berlin, 1882), pp. 289-291.

¹⁹ The partial account of Ibn 'Ilāṣ's utterances found in Ibn Hishām, III, p. 360, line 9 is less conspicuous about the common cause of Mecca and Khaybar. They'd rather have him — so this version goes — killed in Mecca in retaliation for the Meccans (or rather: the Meccan leaders) whom he killed (*fa-yaqtulūhu bayna aḥhurihim bi-man kāna aḥāba min rijālihim*. On *rijāl* cf. Wāqidī, I, p. 191.

²⁰ See on him *Iṣāba*, IV, pp. 492-494.

²¹ Ms. Berlin, 9409, fol. 57a. The *isnād* (see fol. 56a, line 1) is: Abū Usāma (i.e., Ḥammād b. Usāma Abū Usāma, d. 201/816, see on him *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, I, pp. 321-322) — Hishām (i.e., Hishām b. 'Urwa, d. 146/763, *GAS*, I, pp. 88-89) — his father (i.e., 'Urwa b. az-Zubayr, d. 94/713, see *GAS*, I, pp. 278-279). On the book see H. Schützinger, "Ibn Abī Šaiba und sein Ta'rikh", in *Oriens*, 23-24 (1974), pp. 134-146.

²² The term *mudda* is in this case identical to the term *muwāda'a*, see e.g. Wāqidī, II, pp. 729, line 2 from bottom; 730, lines 4, 9; 731, line 1.

²³ *fa-in aḥābanī n-nās fa-dhāka lladhī turīdūna, wa-in aḥāranī llāhu 'alayhim ikhtārū: immā qātālū mu'iddīna wa-immā dakhālū fī s-silm* (vocalised in the Ms. *as-salm*) *wāfirīna*. See also *op. cit.*, fol. 62b (... Zuhri—'Urwa b. az-Zubayr; I added some variants from

At this point Ibn Abī Shayba seems to offer an outstanding insight into the background of the Muslims' abstention from performing the "little pilgrimage" that year and their consent to postpone it to the next year. After 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd ath-Thaqafī had convinced Quraysh to accept the Prophet's demands Suhayl b. 'Amr and Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ²⁴ were sent to the Prophet with the following directions: "Go to Muḥammad, and if he grants you what 'Urwa has mentioned make an agreement with him, on condition that he will withdraw from us this year and not reach the Ka'ba, so that those of the Bedouins who will hear of his advent will hear that we have repelled him" (...*fa-qāḍiyāhu 'alā an yarji'a 'āmahu ḥādhā 'annā wa-lā yakhlūṣa ilā l-bayt ḥattā yasma'a man yasma'u bi-masfrihi mina l-'arab annā*

Wāqidī, II, p. 593), the message to Quraysh transmitted by Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'i: *innī lam āti li-qitāl ahādin, innamā ji'tu aqḍī nuskt wa-aḥṣu bi-ḥādhā l-bayt* (Wāqidī ad. *fa-man ṣaddanā 'anhu qḍialnāhu, wa-quraysh qawm qad aḍarrat bihimi l-ḥarb wa-nahakathum*) *wa-illā fa-hal li-quraysh ft ghayri dhālika? hal lahum ild an umāddahum muddatan ya'manūna fthā wa-yastajimmūna wa-yukhallūna fthā* (Wāqidī: *fthā*) *baynanā wa-bayna n-nās* (Wāqidī ad. *wa-n-nāsu aktharu minhum*. Cf. Daḥlān, II, p. 37, line 4; Zurqānī, II, p. 187, line 5 from bottom, quoting 'Urwa b. az-Zubayr: ...*fa-in shā'ū mādadtuhum... wa-yukhallū bayn wa-bayna n-nās min kuffāri l-'arab wa-ghayrihim fa-in zahara amr 'alā n-nās kānū fthā bi-l-khiyār, an yadkhalū fthā dakhala n-nās wa-bayna* (sic) *an yuqḍitilū* (Wāqidī: *kānū bayna an yadkhalū... aw yuqḍitilū*) *wa-qad jammū* (cf. Wāqidī: *jama'ū*) *wa-a'addū*. And cf. *Ta'rīkh ṣabari*, II, 623-624 (Zuhri—'Urwa—al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam); as-Suyūṭī, *al-Khaṣṣ'īṣ al-kubrā*, ed. M.Kh. Harrās, Cairo, 1387/1967, II, pp. 25-26; Zurqānī, II, pp. 187-188, who omit the reference to the possibility that "the people" may overcome the Prophet and to the fact that the truce with the Prophet will enable Quraysh to prepare for war with him. However Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī*, V, p. 247, line 3 quotes from Ibn 'Ā'idh (evidently from his *maghāzī*, see *GAS*, I, p. 302) on the authority of Zuhri the missing reference to the possibility of the Prophet's defeat: *fa-in zahara n-nās 'alayya, fa-dhālika alladhī yabtaghūna*; this is followed by Ibn Ḥajar's comment: *fa-ṣ-ṣāhiru anna l-ḥadhīf waqa'a min ba'di r-ruwā'i ta'adduban*.

In another account the Prophet's demands are presented to the Qurashīs by 'Uthmān b. 'Affān at Baldah (to the west of Mecca), Wāqidī, II, pp. 600-601: they should embrace Islam; alternatively they should refrain from hostile activities (*takuffūna*) "and people other than you will handle this with him" (*wa-yalf ḥādhā minhu ghayrukum*, i.e., other people will fight against him). The rest is similar to the above-mentioned account on 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd.

Cf. Ibn Hishām, III, p. 323; *Ta'rīkh ṣabari*, II, p. 623 (Zuhri—'Urwa—al-Miswar and Marwān), who quote the Prophet's reaction when he was told that Quraysh had taken steps to block the road to Mecca: *yā wayḥa quraysh, la-qad akalathumu l-ḥarb. mādhā 'alayhim law khallaw bayn wa-bayna sā'iri l-'arab* (cf. however Aḥmad, *Musnad*, Cairo, 1313, IV, 323, line 22 [...Yazīd b. Ḥārūn — Ibn Ishāq — Zuhri — 'Urwa — al-Miswar and Marwan] ..*wa-bayna sā'iri n-nās*) *fa-in hum aṣābūnī, kāna dhālika lladhī arādū, wa-in aḥzarant llāhu 'alayhim dakhalū ft l-islām wāfirna, wa-in lam yaq'ahū qḍialū wa-bithim quwwa*. Cf. Watt, p. 48; idem, *Muḥammad, Prophet and Statesman*, Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 185.

²⁴ See on them *Iṣāba*, III, pp. 212-215; VI, pp. 206-207, respectively (they were both from the Qurashī clan of 'Āmir b. Luayy).

qad ṣadadnāhu).²⁵ According to this account, which seems to agree with the purport of the Ḥudaybiyya-treaty, the Prophet was not compelled to give up the "little pilgrimage" scheduled to take place that year; rather he complied with a Qurashī request.

III

Attention should be drawn now to a development outside Arabia which seems to have contributed to the Qurashī willingness to come to terms with the Prophet. A link between the affair of Ḥudaybiyya and the victory of Byzantium over Persia was already suggested by Ḥamīdullāh (see above, pp. 2-3). One more detail should however be added to his analysis.

As has been observed by Prof. M.J. Kister, Arabia was far from being isolated from the struggle between Byzantium and Persia.

According to the commentaries of Qur'ān, XXX, 1-2, the sympathies of the unbelievers of Mecca were with Persia whereas the Muslim community inclined towards the Byzantines. The victories of the Byzantines, it is stressed, coincided with the victories of the Prophet.²⁶

Close links existed between the Jews of Medina, and apparently also the Jews of Khaybar, and Persia. The Jewish tribes of Naḍīr and Qurayza carried out for the Persians the collection of taxes from the Aws and the Khazraj until the middle of the sixth century.²⁷ Presumably the Jews' links with the Persians continued also after that time;²⁸ the Ḥudaybiyya-treaty, which played a crucial role in Khaybar's defeat can be linked with the defeat of the Persian emperor Khusro Parwez by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius.²⁹ The news of Parwez' death on the 29th of February, 628

²⁵ Ibn Abi Shayba, *loc. cit.* For the *isnād* see above, note 21. The same report (with slight variants) can be found in Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, [Cairo], n.d., p. 228. Abū Yūsuf's account is a "combined tradition", quoted from three authorities: Hishām b. 'Urwa — his father (cf. above, note 21), Muḥammad b. Ishāq and al-Kalbī. Abū Yūsuf remarks, that their reports were not identical (*zāda ba'ḍuhum 'alā ba'ḍin fī l-ḥadīth*). Cf. Ibn Hishām, II, 331 (— Zuhri): *thumma ba'athat quraysh suhayl b. 'amr... wa-qdlū lahu: 'i'ti muḥammadan fa-ṣdliḥu, wa-lā yakun (sic) fī ṣulḥihi illā an yarjī'a 'annā 'āmahu ḥadhā, fa-wa-llāhi lā taḥaddathu l-'arab annahu dakhalaḥā 'alaynā 'anwatan abadan*; and cf. Wāqidī, II, p. 605; Donner, pp. 240-241, 243, note 40.

²⁶ "Al-Ḥīra", in *ARABICA* 15 (1968), pp. 143-144. And see F. Altheim & R. Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, Frankfurt a.M., 1957, pp. 141ff.

²⁷ Altheim—Stiehl, *op. cit.*, pp. 149ff; idem, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, V/1, Berlin, 1968, pp. 363f; Kister, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-149; F. Buhl, *El'*, s.v. al-Madīna, p. 84.

²⁸ Cf. Altheim—Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte*, pp. 151ff.

²⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 159ff., esp. p. 161.

On the victorious march conducted by Heraclius into Persia see J.B. Bury, *A History of the later Roman Empire*, London, 1889 (repr. Amsterdam, 1966), II, pp. 227-244; A. Rustum, *ar-Rūm*, Beirut, 1955, I, 226-228; A.N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the seventh century*, I, trans. M. Ogilvie-Grant, Amsterdam, 1968, pp. 204-234; cf. now W.E. Kaegi

reached the Prophet "on the day"³⁰ of Ḥudaybiyya" and he and those who were with him rejoiced.³¹ According to other accounts the Byzantines overcame the Persians "on the day of Ḥudaybiyya".³² According to yet another account they overcame the Persians "on the day of Ḥudaybiyya" and the news came on the day when the "pledge of good pleasure" (*bay'atu r-riḍwān*) took place.³³

The Ḥudaybiyya-treaty was another manifestation of shrewd and pragmatic statesmanship on the part of the Prophet Muḥammad.³⁴

Jr., "Two notes on Heraclius", in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 37 (1979), pp. 224-227.
³⁰ The use of *yawm* in the sense of "several days" was observed by Dr. U. Rubin (see his forthcoming article in *Journal of Semitic Studies*).

Cf. *Durr manḥūr*, V, p. 151, line 20; *Futūḥ miṣr*, p. 34, line 19: *thumma aḡhara llāhu r-rūma 'alā fāris zamana l-ḥudaybiyya fa-fariḡa l-muslimūna bi-zuhūr ahli l-kitāb*. The mention of the rejoicing of the Muslims is probably a reflection of Qur'ān, 33 (ar-Rūm), 4: ...*wa-yawma'idhin yafraḡu l-mu'minūna* (Dr. Rubin has kindly communicated this remark to the present writer). See also below, note 32.

³¹ *Ta'riḡh ṡabarf*, II, pp. 186-187, 218; Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leiden, 1879, pp. 303, 382; Buhl, *Das Leben Muḥammeds*, p. 284, note 69 ("...während er auf dem Zuge nach Mekka war"); A.J. Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt*, Oxford, 1902, pp. 125, 128, note. And cf. *Ta'riḡh khaliṡa*, I, p. 47. However according to another account he died in September 628, Altheim—Stiehl, *op. cit.*, p. 151; Caetani, *Annali*, I, p. 738, note 1; Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 139, note.

³² *Tafṡiṡ al-khāzin*, V, p. 167, line 25. (Cf. line 26: *wa-qīla kāna yawma badrin*); p. 168, line 21: *fa-udīla ar-rūm 'alā fāris 'inda dhālika wa-ghalabūhum wa-qatalūhum wa-māta kisrā wa-jā'a l-khabar ilā n-nabiyyi ṡ yawma l-ḥudaybiyya fa-fariḡa wa-man kāna ma'ahu mina l-muslimīna bi-dhālika*; cf. above, note 30.

³³ *Tafṡiṡ qurṡubī*, XIV, p. 5, line 14 (Qatāda, 'Ikrima). Cf. however *Tafṡiṡ ṡabarf*, XXI, p. 14, line 24: *fa-aḡhara llāhu r-rūma... wa-kāna dhālika marḡi'ahu mina l-ḥudaybiyya* (Qatāda).

³⁴ Cf. now M.J. Kister, "Some reports concerning al-Ṭā'if", in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 1 (1979), pp. 1-18. And cf. G. von Grunebaum, *Classical Islam*, trans. K. Watson, London, 1970, p. 42: (Ḥudaybiyya was) "an episode in the conflict between Muḥammad and the Meccans which I feel represents the climax of the Prophet's statesmanship"; this observation gains now renewed justification.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Dahlān — Aḥmad Zaynī *al-mashhūr bi-Dahlān, as-Sira an-nabawiyya wa-l-āthār al-muḥammadiyya*, Cairo, 1310.
- Donner — F.M. Donner, "Muḥammad's political consolidation in Arabia up to the conquest of Mecca", *MW* 69 (1979), pp. 229-247.
- Durr manthūr* — as-Suyūṭī, *ad-Durr al-manthūr fī t-tafsīr bi-l-ma'thūr*, Cairo, 1314.
- Fath al-bārī* — Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī*, Būlāq, 1301.
- Futūḥ miṣr* — Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ miṣr*, ed. Ch. Torrey, New Haven, 1922.
- GAS* — F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden, 1967 f.
- Ḥamīdullāh, *Battlefields* — M. Ḥamīdullāh, *The battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, Woking, 1373/1953.
- Ibn Hishām — Ibn Hishām, *as-Sira an-nabawiyya*, ed. as-Saqqā, al-Abyārī, Shalabī, Beirut, 1391/1971.
- Iṣāba* — Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamayzi ṣ-ṣaḥāba*, ed. al-Bijāwī, Cairo, 1392/1972.
- Muranyi — Miklos Muranyi, "Die Auslieferungsklausel des Vertrages von al-Ḥudaibiyya und ihre Folge", *Arabica* 23 (1976), pp. 275-295.
- Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz* — adh-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, ed. Hyderabad, 1376/1956.
- Tafsīr al-khāzin* — *Lubābu t-ta'wīl fī ma'ānī t-tanzīl*, Cairo, 1381.
- Tafsīr qurṭubī* — *al-Jāmi' li-aḥkām al-qur'ān*, Cairo, 1387/1967.
- Tafsīr ṣabari* — *Jāmi'u l-bayān fī tafsīri l-qur'ān*, Būlāq, 1321-1330 (repr. Beirut, 1392/1972).
- Ta'riḫ khālifa* — Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'riḫ*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Damascus, 1968.
- Ta'riḫ ṣabari* — *Ta'riḫ ar-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, ed. M. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1380/1960—1387/1967.
- Uṣd al-ghāba* — Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba fī ma'rīfati ṣ-ṣaḥāba*, Cairo, 1280.

Wāqidī — Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, London, 1966.

Watt — W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford, 1956.

Zurqānī — *Sharḥ 'alā l-mawāḥibi l-laduniyya*, Cairo, 1329.

APPENDIX: AS-SARAKHSI'S COMMENTARY

لأنهم لا يأمنون أن يتبعوهم فيقتلوا الواحد والاثنين ممن في أخريات العسكر . وهذه المودعة تؤمنهم من ذلك . وقد قبل رسول الله صلعم في المودعة يسوم الحديبية من الشرط ما هو أعظم من هذا . فإن أهل مكة شرطوا عليه ان يرد عليهم كل من أتى مسلما منهم (sic) . ووفى لهم بهذا الشرط إلى أن انتسخ . لأنه كان فيه نظر للمسلمين لما كان بين أهل مكة وأهل خيبر من المواطأة على أن رسول الله صلعم إذا توجه إلى أحد الفريقين أغار الفريق الآخر على المدينة . فوادع أهل مكة حتى يأمن من جانبهم إذا توجه إلى خيبر . فعرفنا أن مثل هذا الشرط لا بأس بقبوله إذا كان فيه نظر للمسلمين .

THE BEWITCHING OF THE PROPHET MUḤAMMAD
BY THE JEWS: A NOTE A PROPOS 'ABD AL-MALIK
B. ḤABĪB'S *MUKHTAṢAR FĪ L-ṬIBB*

The critical edition of 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb's *Mukhtaṣar fī l-ṭibb* prepared by Camilo Álvarez de Morales and Fernando Girón Irueste, together with a Spanish translation and a detailed introduction on medicine in al-Andalus¹, adds a major new text to the quickly expanding inventory of important Arabic and Islamic texts.

The following comments by no means aim at detracting from the scientific value of this work; when the deciphering of a difficult manuscript is involved, it is only natural that occasionally a better reading can be suggested.

It is of course commonplace that the texts written by Andalusian authors, while certainly having their local particularities, are at the same time an integral part of the general Arabic and Islamic literature. This can be demonstrated by the following case, in which the correct reading of a place-name mentioned by Ibn Ḥabīb comes from the History of Medina written by Samhūdī (d. 911/1505).

The estate as-S.ḥ.ra (vocalised as-Saḥra; text: p. 47; translation: p. 79) owned by Abū Hurayra is in fact ash-Shajara. Samhūdī says that Abū Hurayra lived in ash-Shajara when it was still uncultivated. It was Mu'āwiya's governor in Medina Marwān b. al-Ḥakam who granted him this land and constructed for him a dam.²

¹ Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Cooperación con el Mundo Árabe, 1992. Fuentes Árabe-Hispanas, 2.

² Samh., II, 1066. Another point of detail concerns the two doctors who were with 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. One was sent by Mu'āwiya and the other by 'Abdallāh b. Rabī'a (text: p. 11; translation: p. 45). But one expects the latter to be 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī'a

SPATHE



SPADIX

The dates of the type called 'ajwa which are recommended by the Prophet for breakfast (text: p. 40; translation: p. 72) should come *mimmā bayna lābatayhā*, (*bayna* is missing in the edition), i.e., «from the area between the two lava flows of Medina», in other words from Medina. The Prophet's description of the 'ajwa dates (*loc. cit.*) as *mina l-ḥ.b.r.* should read: *mina l-janna*, «they are from Paradise».³

The following notes concern the bewitchment of the Prophet by the daughters of Labīd b. al-A'ṣam al-Yahūdī (text: p. 86; translation:

of Makhzūm who was 'Uthmān's governor in the Yemen, more precisely in al-Janad; see e.g. *Iṣāba*, VI, 80. In other words one doctor came from Syria and the other came from the Yemen.

³ Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar az-Zamakhsharī, *al-Fā'iḳ fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, ed. al-Bijāwī and Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo, 1971, s.v. *b.s.l.* (Adam brought the 'ajwa from Paradise); Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, Beirut, 1968, s.v. 'j.w., 31R (*al-'ajwa mina l-janna*).

p. 113). We are told here that the daughters, who numbered three or four, did this by means of *khuff ṭal'*: *dhālika*, rendered «por medio de una zapatilla». The correct reading is *juff ṭal' dhakar*, i.e., the spathe of a spadix of a male palm-tree; *juff* means «the spathe of the palm-tree, the envelope of the ṭal'»,⁴ *ṭal'* being «spadix, or spadix in its spathe». The device of bewitchment (its description varies) was put into the spathe. *Ṭal'* is defined as «what comes forth from the palm-tree and becomes dates if the tree is female; and if the tree is male it does not become dates, but is eaten in its fresh state, or is left upon the palm-tree a certain number of days until there becomes produced in it a white substance like flour, [i.e., the pollen,] having a strong odour and with this the female is fecundated». We know that in this case the tree was male, in other words its spathe included the above mentioned white substance.

Considering the role of the white substance in nature there is little wonder that its odour was compared to that of sperm. One lexicographer defines the *ṭal'* as «a certain white thing that appears from the spathe of the palm-tree, to the colour of which that of the teeth is likened, and to the odour thereof that of the sperma».⁵

The employment of a spathe of a male palm tree to bewitch the Prophet provides a clue to the desired effect (or at least one of the desired effects), namely harming the Prophet's sexual potency. This is expressly said in the sources although curiously Ibn Ḥabīb does not mention it, while mentioning other symptoms. It is unlikely that Ibn Ḥabīb was unaware of the sexual effect of the bewitchment; Ibn Hishām, for example, mentions only this effect.⁶ Does Ibn Ḥabīb opt for a «milder» version because he is more «protective» with regard to the Prophet? Do anti-Muslim polemics play a role here?

This case of bewitchment is not always linked with Labīd's

⁴ A parallel version has *qishr ṭal'a*; Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, II, 257.

⁵ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.vv. *juff*, *ṭal'*.

⁶ Ibn Hishām, *as-Sīra an-nabawiyya*, ed. as-Saqqā, al-Abyārī and Shalabī, Beirut, 1391/1971, II, 162 (Labīd, *wa-huwa 'lladhī akkhadha rasūla 'llāhi Ṣ. 'an nisā'ihī*, he «withheld the Messenger of God [by means of enchantment] from his wives»). See also Zurqānī, I, 385:5 from below (*kāna yarā annahu ya'tī n-nisā'a wa-lā ya'tihinna*); 'Abd ar-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaḥ*, ed. Ḥabīb ar-Raḥmān al-A'zamī, Beirut, 1390/1970-1392/1972, XI, 13 (*wa-ḥubisa rasūlu 'llāhi Ṣ. min [sic, one expects here 'an] 'Ā'isha khāṣṣatan ḥattā ankara baṣarahū*); Ibn Sa'd, II, 198 [*wa-ukkhidha 'ani n-nisā' wa-'ani ṭ-ṭa'ām wa-sh-sharāb*]).

daughters. Some mention his sisters⁷ while others speak of Labīd himself (although as is well known women are usually associated with witchcraft).⁸ The early Qur'ān commentator Muqātil b. Sulaymān says, in his commentary on the first of the two *mu'awwidhatāni* (i.e., the last two chapters of the Qur'ān by which one charms oneself against evil⁹) that the Prophet was bewitched by Labīd b. 'Aṣim b. Mālik al-Yahūdī, «and some say: Ibn A'ṣam».¹⁰

It is not clear what exactly was put in the spathe, in other words, what the physical agents of witchcraft were. Most common in our sources is the mention of knots (knot-magic) and their number is also given: eleven.¹¹ The number had to be eleven: this is the total number of verses in the *mu'awwidhatāni*, reportedly revealed on that occasion, which were associated by the exegetes from early on with the bewitchment of the Prophet. The Prophet recited these chapters, and with each verse one knot was untied.¹² Abū 'Ubayda (Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā, d. ca. 210/825) interprets the *naffāthāt* of Qur'ān, 113 as a reference to the daughters of Labīd b. al-A'ṣam al-Yahūdī who bewitched the Prophet.¹³ By providing a specific name, no doubt taken from an earlier source, Abū 'Ubayda gives this chapter of the Qur'ān a *sabab nuzūl*.¹⁴ Muqātil (d. 150/767) shows that the association between the *Mu'awwidhatāni* and the bewitchment is no later than the middle of the second century but it should probably be dated

⁷ Ibn Sa'd, II, 197.

⁸ See e.g. Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XXXII, 195, who explains why Qur'ān, 113 mentions specifically female witches, *naffāthāt*. The main thing about witchcraft, he says, is to concentrate on the matter (or «bind the heart to it»), something achieved only by women *li-qillati 'ilmihinna wa-shiddati shahwatihinna*. Inadvertently, Rāzī has crossed the thin line separating women who practice witchcraft from women in general.

⁹ 113: Sūrat al-Falaq and 114: Sūrat an-Nās. When the plural *mu'awwidhāt* is used, no. 112: al-Ikhlāṣ is counted with them.

¹⁰ Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, *loc. cit.* It is not uncommon to find in Muqātil evidence which is not found elsewhere; other sources which I could check do not know the name of Labīd's grandfather.

¹¹ For example, Muqātil, *loc. cit.*: *Labīd... saḥara n-nabiyya Ṣ. fī ihdā 'ashrata 'uqda fī watar*, «...in a string».

¹² Muqātil, *loc. cit.*; Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XX, 253. It is not clear why Tha'labī in his *Tafsīr* (quoted in Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, Beirut, n.d., IV, 574) mentions twelve knots.

¹³ Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XXXII, 196.

¹⁴ Surprisingly, *jumhūr al-mufasssirīna* who associate the *Mu'awwidhatāni* with Labīd b. al-A'ṣam (Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, XXXII, 187) does not include Ṭabarī (*Jāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-qur'ān* Bulaq, 1321-1330, XXX, 225f) who does not mention Labīd in his commentary on Qur'ān, 113.

even earlier, to the dawn of the Qur'ān exegesis. Naturally, there is no unanimity about this: al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and others considered chapter 113 to be Meccan.¹⁵

In addition to knots we also find, as is common in the practice of witchcraft, something taken from the Prophet's body and an item closely associated with him, namely combings of the Prophet and teeth taken from his comb.¹⁶ These could only be obtained by a person who had access to the Prophet: one report speaks of a Jewish servant of the Prophet who reluctantly provided these items to «the Jews». The man who handled the bewitchment was Labīd b. al-A'ṣam.¹⁷

Finally, there is a reference to image-magic, namely a waxen representation of the Prophet in which needles were inserted.¹⁸ When the Prophet extracted the needles one by one, he felt pain followed by relief.¹⁹

¹⁵ Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XX, 251.

¹⁶ E. g. Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XX, 253.

¹⁷ Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, XX, 254 (*anna ghuḷāman mina l-yahūd kāna yakhdumu n-nabiyya Ṣ. fa-dassat ilayhi l-yahūd wa-lam yazālū bihi* (i.e., he was reluctant to cooperate) *ḥattā akhadha mushāṭata ra'si n-nabiyyi Ṣ... wa-akhadha 'idda min asnāni mushṭihi fa-a'ṭāhā l-yahūd fa-saḥarūhu fihā, wa-kāna 'lladhī tawallā dhālika Labīd...*). A more hostile (and therefore better) variant for *fa-dassat*, «they came secretly», or «they plotted», is *fa-dabbat*, «they crept»; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, IV, 574, from Tha'labī, *Tafsīr*. Obviously the above report does not identify the Jewish servant of the Prophet with the man who actually bewitched him, namely Labīd. Elsewhere we are told that the Prophet was bewitched by his servant Labīd; Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, VII, 92 (*kāna li-rasūli 'llāhi Ṣ. ghuḷām yahūdī yakhdumuhu yuqālu lahu Labīd b. A'ṣam, wa-kāna tu'jibuhu khidmatuhu, fa-lam tazal bihi yahūd ḥattā saḥara n-nabiyya Ṣ.*); cf. Rubin, «The "Constitution of Medina": some notes», 8 = Suyūṭī, *Durr*, VI, 417 = Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*. The other reports speaking of the Prophet's bewitchment by Labīd importantly do not make him the Prophet's servant.

¹⁸ There seems to have been an aversion to saying this explicitly; Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, VII, 94 (...*juff ṭal'a... fa-idhā fihā* (sic) *mushṭ rasūli 'llāhi Ṣ. wa-min murāṭati ra'sihi, wa-idha timthāl min sham' — timthāl rasūli 'llāhi Ṣ. — wa-idhā fihā* (one expects here *fīhi!*) *ibar maghrūza wa-idhā watar fīhi ihdā 'ashrata 'uqda*).

¹⁹ *Wa-ja'ala lā yanzi'u ibratan illā wajada lahā alaman, thumma yajidu ba'da dhālika rāḥatan*. That the needles were inserted into the waxen image is confirmed by Zurqānī, I, 385:4 from below (...*fi l-'uqadi l-ihdā 'ashrata wa-timthāli sh-sham'i 'lladhī 'alā ṣurati n-nabiyyi Ṣ. FīHI ibar maghrūza, kamā fī riwāya*); also *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, X, 196:15 (*wajada... timthāl min sham' — timthāl rasūli 'llāhi Ṣ. — wa-idhā FīHI ibar maghrūza... wa-kullamā naza'a ibratan wajada lahā alaman thumma yajidu ba'dahā rāḥatan*). Alternatively, the needles are said to have been inserted into the knots; 'Alī b. Burhān ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-'uyūn fī sirati l-amīni l-ma'mūn (as-Sira al-ḥalabiyya)*, Cairo 1320 A.H., II, 105 (according to the same source some said that the image was made of dough).

The story of the Prophet's bewitchment is an episode in the troubled relationship between the Prophet and the Jews of Medina. Reading it as a straightforward historical record is out of question both because of the context and because of the theological question of «God's preservation of the Prophet» (*işma*) which is involved here. In any case we can probably employ the above evidence as an indication of the forms of witchcraft practiced by the Jews of Medina on the eve of Islam.²⁰

The use (or alleged use) of a waxen image brings to mind a detail from the story of Mālik b. al-'Ajlān, the Medinan Arab who some three generations before the time of the Prophet²¹ inflicted a painful blow on the Jews with the help of a foreign power. After this event the Jews formed images of Mālik in their synagogues and cursed him whenever they entered them.²² Regardless of the historicity of this specific detail, the Jews of Medina were thought to have been involved in such practices.

The association with fecundity brings to mind the alleged rejoicing in Medina at the birth of 'Abdallāh b. az-Zubayr, the great rival of the Umayyads. The reason for the rejoicing was the fear that the Muhājirūn had been bewitched by the Jews so that no children would be born to them.²³ Again, the historicity of this story may be dubious,

²⁰ Cfr. Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish magic and superstition: A study in folk religion*, New York, 1984 (published for the first time in 1939), 127.

²¹ His great-grandson was a Companion of the Prophet; Ibn Hazm al-Andalusī, *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. 'Abd as-Salām Hārūn, Cairo, 1382/1962, 353.

²² Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣṣahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Būlāq, 1285 A.H., XIX, 97 (*wa-şawwarati l-yahūdu Mālikan fī biya'ihim wa-kanā'isihim fa-kānū yal'anūnahu kullamā dakhālūhā*). Of the terms *biya'* and *kanā'is*, the latter usually designates synagogues. (Cfr. *da'wa muşawwara* in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Ma'add wa-l-yaman al-kabīr*, ed. Nāji Ḥasan, Beirut, 1408/1988, II, 625?). Cfr. Ḥassān b. Thābit, *Dīwān*, ed. W. 'Arafāt, London, 1971, 16. A similar story is told by Hamdānī about the cursing of al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba by the Byzantines: *wa-li-shiddati nikāyati l-Ḥasan fī r-Rūm şawwarathu fī l-biya' wa-'alā ṭ-ṭuruq wa-kānū yaḍribūna bihi l-mathala*; Hamdānī, *Kitāb qaşīdat ad-dāmigha*, ed. al-Akwa', Cairo [1384/1964], 569. (The book is not available to me now.)

²³ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rīfati l-aşhāb*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo n.d., III, 906 (*wa-dhālika annahum qīla lahum inna l-yahūd qad saḥaratkun fa-lā yūladu lakum*); Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'riḫ madīnat Dimashq*, the volume beginning with 'Abdallāh b. Jābir, ed. Sukayna ash-Shihābī and Muṭā' aṭ-Ṭarābīshī, Damascus 1402/1981, 390f, 392 (when the Jews found out that God had annulled their stratagem, they altered it and wrote an enchantment in which they turned harm into benefit and benefit into harm, *lammā 'alimū anna 'llāha tabāraka wa-ta'ālā abṭala kaydahum ḥawwalū, fa-katabū ṭibban, fa-ja'alū mā yaḍurru yanfa'u wa-ma yanfa'u yaḍurru*).

but the Jews of Medina were believed to have engaged in such practices.

Towards the end of the first Islamic century (in the late eighties or early nineties) there was a Jew in Medina who engaged in the same field of witchcraft. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was then the governor of Medina for al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, was informed of this Jew, Zur'a b. Ibrāhīm, who was of the people of Khaybar. He «used, by means of witchcraft, to estrange the women from the men and the men from the women» (*afsada n-nisā'a 'alā r-rijāl wa-r-rijāl 'alā n-nisā' bi-siḥrihi*).²⁴

We return now to Labīd. He was called *munāfiq*, «hypocrite»²⁵ which suggests that he converted to Islam. In other words when he is called al-Yahūdī, it is in the sense of «the former Jew». The same is true for the leaders of the Jews who reportedly hired him to bewitch the Prophet: they embraced Islam outwardly and were hypocrites.²⁶ It is true that elsewhere we find that an unnamed man of the Ahl al-Kitāb (probably Labīd is meant) bewitched the Prophet. He is mentioned by Zuhri with reference to the question of whether or not a witch of Ahl al-'Ahd (i.e., Ahl adh-Dhimma) should be executed. Zuhri's answer was negative and he provided this precedent: the Prophet did not execute the man of Ahl al-Kitāb who had bewitched him.²⁷ But the former version seems to be preferable because the legal context of the latter is also a possible motive for fabrication.

There is a strong indication that Labīd was originally a Yemenite, which should point at the source of the witchcraft ascribed to him. While his precise tribal affiliation is still obscure, there is a *nisba*

²⁴ The pious governor expelled him to Syria where he was certainly not treated as a criminal: he alighted with a *mawlā* of the caliph becoming his servant (*fa-kāna fi khidmatihī*), later the caliph received his conversion to Islam (becoming his *mawlā*, or patron); Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh Dimashq*, IX, ed. Nasīb Nashshāwī, Damascus, 1405/1985, 35f (there are further details on his skills as a magician and conjurer). The fact that he was killed when the Abbasid troops entered Damascus in 132/750 suggests that he was closely associated with the Umayyads. The activity of this convert as a transmitter of Ḥadīth is noteworthy: he transmitted, among others, from 'Aṭā' b. Abī Ṛabāḥ, Nāfi' *mawlā* Ibn 'Umar and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and he was a source of Ibn Ishāq (which is reminiscent of the accusation that Ibn Ishāq transmitted from «Jews», i.e., Jewish converts); Awzā'ī accused him of fabricating Ḥadīth; Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rīkh madīnat Dimashq*, Facsimile edition, 'Ammān: Dār al-Bashīr, VI, 405, 407.

²⁵ *Faṭḥ al-bārī*, X, 192 (*rajul min B. Zurayq ḥalīfu l-yahūd wa-kāna munāfiqan*).

²⁶ Ibn Sa'd, II, 197.

²⁷ Ibn Sa'd, II, 199.

which is probably reliable: he is called as-Saḥūlī,²⁸ probably after a tribal group of Ḥimyar which gave its name to the village (rather: the region) in the Yemen called as-Saḥūl which is famous for its white cotton clothes, the Saḥūliyya.²⁹ The *nisba* as-Saḥūlī shows that Labīd was an alien in Medina, which is congruous with his status as *ḥalīf*.

In sum, Labīd, this practitioner (or alleged practitioner) of «black magic», was a Jew from the Yemen who settled in Medina.³⁰ This leads to the assumption that the magic practices linked with him or with his family came to Medina from the Yemen.

One assumes that Labīd was the client of Jewish members of the B. Zurayq. One such member is mentioned in the legendary story of Tubba'ʿs expedition to Medina. In one of its versions we find a Jewish woman of the B. Zurayq called Fukayha who brought Tubba' water from the well called Rūma.³¹

²⁸ Samh., II, 1136; Majd ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Firūzābādī, *al-Maghānim al-muṣṭāba fī maʿālim ṣāba*, Riyāḍ, 1369, s.v. Dharwān, 147.

²⁹ Yaq., s.v. Suḥūl; Bakrī, *Muʿjam mā ʿstaʿjama*, ed. Muṣṭafā s-Saqqā, Cairo, 1364/1945-1371/1951, s.v. Saḥūl. For the location of as-Saḥūl region see Hamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ, Riyāḍ, 1394/1974, 102n; also 344 [ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden, 1884f, 189:24] (the road between al-Janad and Dhimār and Ṣanʿāʿ goes through as-Saḥūl, then Haql Qatāb, then Dhimār). Cfr. Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan at-taqāsīm*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden, 1906, 113 (Dhimār - Yaḥṣīb as-Saḥūl - ath-Thujja - al-Janad); Yaq., s.v. ath-Thujja (the distance from ath-Thujja to al-Janad on one hand and as-Saḥūl on the other is eight parasangs).

³⁰ Uri Rubin, «The “Constitution of Medina”: some notes», 7f, discusses Labīd's status in the context of the Jewish participation in the «Constitution». Rubin emphasizes Wāqidī's statement, *wa-kāna ḥalīfan fī B. Zurayq* and concludes that he «belonged to one of those Jewish groups who had established *ḥilf* relations with the Banū Zurayq and lived among them». But in this case we can hardly speak of a group. The *nisba* as-Saḥūlī shows that we have here a Jewish family from the Yemen which emigrated to Medina and formed a clientage with the B. Zurayq of the Khazraj.

³¹ Ibn an-Najjar, *ad-Durra ath-thamīna fī taʾriḫ al-Madīna*, printed as an appendix to al-Fāsī's *Shifāʿ al-gharām bi-akḥbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, Cairo, 1956, II, 344 (*fa-dakhalat ʿalayhi ʿmraʿa min B. Zurayq mina l-Yahūd*, etc.).

When the Prophet came to Medina, the Rūma well was in the hands of a Jew; *Iṣāba*, II, 544 (*Rūma kānat li-fulāni l-Yahūdī*); Samh., II, 968, 970 (*kānat rakiyyatan li-Yahūdī*). The *Iṣāba* has a pedigree of Fukayha, quoted from Ibn Hishām's *Kitāb at-Tijān fī mulūk Ḥimyar*. Cfr. Yaq., s.v. Biʿr Rūma, where the woman is called Fākiha; more importantly, it is said that she and her children were the richest people among the B. Zurayq to the advent of Islam; see also Samh., II, 970 (from Ibn Zabāla). The stone building near Rūma was said to have belonged to Jews; Ibn Najjār, *loc. cit.* (*qīla innahu kāna dayran* [! read *dāran*] *li-Yahūd*); cfr. Samh., II, 971, quoting Ibn an-Najjar: *qīla innahu kāna dāran li-l-Yahūdī*; read: *li-l-Yahūd* because no specific Jew is mentioned by Ibn an-Najjār.

ABBREVIATED REFERENCES

- Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il* — al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il an-nubuwwa*, ed. 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī Qal'ajī, Beirut, 1405/1985.
- Fath al-bārī* — Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Cairo, 1301 A.H.
- Ibn Sa'd — *aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut, 1380/1960-1388/1968.
- Iṣāba* — Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīzi ṣ-ṣaḥāba*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo, 1392/1972.
- Muqātil, *Tafsīr* — MS Saray Ahmed III.
- Qurṭubī, *Tafsīr* — Abū 'Abdallāh al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi' li-aḥkām al-qur'ān*, Cairo, 1387/1967.
- Rāzī, *Tafsīr* — al-Fakhr ar-Rāzī, *at-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, Cairo, n.d. (reprint Tehran).
- Rubin, U., «The 'Constitution of Medina': some notes», *Studia Islamica*, 62 (1985), 5-23.
- Samh. — as-Samhūdī, *Wafā'u l-wafā bi-akḥbār dāri l-muṣṭafā*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyi d-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo, 1374/1955 (reprint Beirut).
- Suyūṭī, *Durr* — Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manḥūr fī t-tafsīr bi-l-ma'thūr*, Cairo, 1314 A.H.
- Yaq. — Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, Beirut, 1957.
- Zurqānī — *Sharḥ 'alā l-mawāhibi l-laduniyya*, Cairo, 1329.

Curiously, the well called Dharwān in which the witchcraft device was hidden has a namesake in the Yemen: Dharwān is a fortress in al-Ḥaql near Ṣan'ā'; Yaq., s.v. Dharwān. In one version of the story the well is called Dhū Dharwān; Ibn Sa'd, II, 196; cfr. Dhū Arwān in Yaq., s.v. Dharwān. The prefix Dhū is of course common in Yemenite names.

The conversion of Ḥimyar to Judaism and the Jewish Banū Hadl of Medina*)

The reported mass conversion of the Ḥimyarites to Judaism at the beginning of the fifth century C. E. is depicted by Islamic tradition as the consequence of a miracle effected by two Jewish scholars. According to a famous report which is quoted in many sources, Judaism was imported to the Yemen from Yathrib (Medina).¹⁾ The protagonists of this semi-legendary report are two Jewish scholars who, having converted the Ḥimyarite king Tubba' As'ad Abū Karib to Judaism,²⁾ managed to prove to his fellow Ḥimyarites through a miracle that the Jewish religion was superior to idol worship, thereby causing their conversion to Judaism.³⁾

A. F. L. Beeston has recently discussed this report. He doubts that the story of As'ad Abū Karib's conversion speaks of conversion to Judaism; for although Tabarī concludes it with what Beeston calls his "editorial comment" ("this was the beginning of Judaism in Yaman"), the actual account never uses the term "Judaism". Beeston concludes:

Could it not be that the original story related to the abandonment of polytheism in favour of monotheistic Raḥmanism (in the latter half of the fourth century), rather than to a full commitment to Judaism?⁴⁾

*) My thanks are due to my colleague Professor Simon Hopkins who read this paper and commented on it.

¹⁾ One expects the proselytizing to Judaism to be based on a local nucleus of Yemenite Jews.

²⁾ Abū Karib reigned in the first third of the fifth century; W. W. Müller, "Survey of the history of the Arabian Peninsula from the first century A. D. to the rise of Islam", in Abdelgadir M. Abdalla, Sami Al-Sakkar and Richard Mortel (eds.), *Studies in the History of Arabia*, vol. II: Pre-Islamic Arabia, Riyad 1404/1984, 128 f. Cf. Smith, "Events in Arabia in the 6th century A. D.", 445.

³⁾ See e.g. Ibn Hishām, I, 27 f. (28: *fa-asfaqat 'inda dhālika Ḥimyar 'alā dīnihi fa-min hunālika wa-'an dhālika kāna aṣlu l-yahūdiyya bi-l-Yaman*, "at that Ḥimyar agreed together to join his religion and this was the origin of Judaism in the Yemen"; another report has: *fa-asfaqat 'inda dhālika Ḥimyar 'alā dīnihimā*); Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, Beirut 1957, s. v. Ri'ām (on his way back from Medina Tubba' was escorted by two Jewish *aḥbār*); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-aṣnām*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Baṣhā, Cairo 1373/1924, 12 (the two *aḥbār* destroyed the idol Ri'ām, *wa-tahawwada Tubba' wa-ahlu l-Yaman*).

⁴⁾ "Judaism and Christianity in pre-Islamic Yemen", 278; Tab., II, 109 [I, 905].

Elsewhere, in the context of an argument that the "Raḥmanist cult" was not Judaism, Beeston says:

But when one looks carefully at the story as told by Ṭabarī, it is striking that the narrative itself contains no explicit mention of Judaism, but only speaks of "their *dīn*"; it is only after the conclusion of the narrative that we get the obviously editorial comment, "This was the beginning of Judaism in Yaman". Obviously, Ṭabarī himself thought that Abūkarib and the Ḥimyarites were converted to Judaism, but it is doubtful whether the original tradition envisaged anything more than what might be called "Jewish inspiration". Yet even if Abūkarib and his immediate circle were fully professing Jews, it still remains unproven that all succeeding kings from his reign down to that of Yūsuf [Dhū Nuwās], and all the other authors of Raḥmanist inscriptions, should have been Jews.⁵⁾

In what follows it is argued that:

1. The abovementioned report, whatever its historical value, speaks explicitly of conversion to Judaism and not to some obscure form of monotheism.⁶⁾

Khālid al-ʿAsalī, "ʿAbd Kulāl amīr Ḥimyarī", in *Majallat al-ʿArab*, 5 (1970-71), 631, argues that we have no evidence from the inscriptions that the kings of Yemen converted to Judaism. In his opinion religion in South Arabia drew closer to monotheism than to idol worship.

⁵⁾ Beeston, "Ḥimyarite Monotheism", 151. For a discussion of Beeston's paper (in connection with the introduction of Christianity into South Arabia) see I. Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century*, Washington 1984, 100f. For the term "Raḥmanism" see already D. S. Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam*, London 1924, 71, who suggests that "the term Judaism" applied to the Jewish tribes of Medina indicates "some form of monotheism which for want of a better term we call Raḥmanism, such as is found in the southern parts of the Peninsula, which may indeed have taken its leading ideas from Judaism, but was by no means identical therewith".

⁶⁾ The connection between Ḥimyar and Judaism was certainly much older; cf. H. Z. Hirschberg, *Yisra'el be-ʿarav*, Tel-Aviv 1946, 53f. (in Hebrew); idem, "Tombs of Ḥimyarites in Beth Shearim", in *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* 11 (1943-45), 25-34 (in Hebrew); F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, III, Berlin 1966, 16f.; E. Ullendorff, "Hebraic-Jewish elements in Abyssinian (Monophysite) Christianity", in *JSS*, 1 (1956), 219f. Cf. on the report in question H. Z. Hirschberg, "The Jewish kingdom of Ḥimyar (Yemen)", in Y. Yesha'yahu and Y. Tobi (eds.), *The Jews of Yemen*, Jerusalem 1975, 23 (in Hebrew); idem, "Arabic sources for the history of Jews in Arabia (I)", 82f. (in Hebrew).

Objection to the report on the mass conversion of the Ḥimyarites stems also from its implications for the composition of the modern Jewish Yemenite community; cf. Y. Kafih, "The ties of Yemenite Jewry with the Jewish centres", in *The Jews of Yemen*, 31; S. D. Goitein, *The Yemenites: History, Communal Organization, Spiritual Life*, ed. by M. Ben-Sasson, Jerusalem 1983, 333, 344 (both in Hebrew); Reuben Ahroni, *Yemenite Jewry: Origins, Culture and Literature*, Bloomington 1986, 42 ("... Yemen's Jewish settlements were populated not by Judaized Ḥimyarites but by Jews from the tribes of Israel who had migrated to Yemen"); 47 ("It would seem that the

2. One of Ibn Ishāq's sources for this report was the grandson of a Jewish Kindite who emigrated to Medina from the Yemen, which accounts for his interest in the history of Judaism in the Yemen.

1. The report speaks of Judaism

Regarding Beeston's assumption that the words "This was the beginning of Judaism in Yaman" are an editorial comment of Ṭabarī, reference should be made to Ibn Ishāq's biography of the Prophet (in the recension of Ibn Hishām) which shows that the comment is in fact Ibn Ishāq's, not Ṭabarī's. What is more, it is even older, and should be attributed to Ibn Ishāq's informant, Abū Mālik b. Tha'laba b. Abī Mālik al-Qurazī, or perhaps even to Abū Mālik's informant, a Qurashite who died at the time of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. In other words, the comment forms an integral part of the story and is not an editorial addition.⁷⁾

There are further indications that the text in question indeed deals with the introduction of Judaism into the Yemen or, more precisely, among the Ḥimyar. It is stated explicitly that Tubba' As'ad Abū Karib "brought the Jews" from the Ḥijāz to the Yemen (*wa-huwa 'lladhī jā'a bi-l-Yahūd min ardi l-Ḥijāz ilā l-Yaman*).⁸⁾

It so happens that one of the volumes of Hamdānī's *Iktīl* (the fifth: *al-sīra al-wustā*, "The History of the Middle Era"), covers precisely the period of roughly one century between As'ad Abū Karib and Dhū Nuwās, the famous Jewish king of Ḥimyar.⁹⁾ Unfortunately, this volume is not extant.

Judaised Ḥimyarites would never have been considered as perfect Jews by the Jewish authorities, who were known to be very strict in matters of conversion"). For a biting criticism of this book see Y. Shulḥud (J. Chelhod) in *Majallat al-'arab*, 22 (1987-88), 634-640.

⁷⁾ See Ibn Hishām, I, 28. Note that the Yemen appears as the passive recipient of religious movements started elsewhere in the stories about its conversion to Islam and about the introduction of Shī'ism and Jahmiyya; see Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Rāzī al-Ṣan'ānī, *Kitāb ta'rikh madīnat Ṣan'ā'*, ed. Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh al-'Amrī, Ṣan'ā' 1401/1981, 393f. (*Dhikr awal man qadima Ṣan'ā' bi-qawli l-rawāfiḍ; awal man adkhala Ṣan'ā' kalāma l-Jahmiyya* etc.).

⁸⁾ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, 367. See also above, n. 3 and below, n. 10. Note that according to one version, Tubba' was accompanied to the Yemen by three rabbis (which may account for the plural *yahūd*); these, the report goes on, were the first Jews to enter the Yemen; Samhūdī, I, 188.

⁹⁾ Hamdānī, *Iktīl*, I, Introduction, p. *zāy*; VIII, 9. F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, VI, Berlin 1968, 375, estimate that 70-80 years separated the reigns of As'ad Abū Karib and Dhū Nuwās.

Those called by Beeston "two propagandists from Yathrib" are described in the text as *ḥabrāni min aḥbār yahūd min Banī Qurayza, 'ālimāni rāsikhāni*, "two learned men of the Jews, (more precisely) of Banū Qurayza, well-versed scholars with a firm footing in knowledge". Clearly this text can only speak of the transference to the Yemen of the form of Judaism that existed in Yathrib.¹⁰

2. The Hadl connection

In his report on the introduction of Judaism among the Ḥimyar, which is in fact part of a long report on Tubba's expeditions, Ibn Ishāq

About the continuity in the adherence of the Ḥimyarites to the Jewish faith from As'ad Abū Karib onwards see Smith, "Events in Arabia in the 6th century A.D.", 462 ("the dynasty was Jewish in faith and connected with Yaṭrib ... There is no reason to distrust Arab traditions that 'As'ad Abū-karib, the 'Abi-karib 'As'ad of the inscriptions, who lived in the first half of the 5th century, accepted the Jewish faith at Yaṭrib; kings of the second half of that century in Ḥimyar professed it"). He refers on this to H. StJ. B. Philby, *The Background of Islam*, 116-119, which is not available to me. Cf. also I. Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, Washington 1989, 174f. (concerning Sozomen's statement in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, that many Arabs adopted Judaism [in the 4th and 5th centuries], Shahīd argues that "the Christianization of Oriens in these two centuries may have led in part to the spread of Judaism in western Arabia"; Shahīd's observation is based on the assumption that Sozomen speaks of Arabia; see *op. cit.*, p. 170).

¹⁰ Tab., II, 105 [I, 902]. See also Ḥamza al-Ḥṣṣahāni, *Ta'rikh sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa-l-anbiyā'*, Beirut n.d. 104 (the last Tubba', called here Tubba' b. Ḥassān b. Tubba', was *ṣāhib al-ḥabayni wa-ṣāhib Makka wa-l-Madīna ... thumma innahu 'nsharafa ilā l-Yaman ma'a l-ḥabayni wa-tahawwada wa-da'ā l-nāsa ilayhi fa-bi-dhālika dakhlati l-yahūdu l-Yaman*). Incidentally, the report on Dhū Nuwās in the same source (106) assumes that he was not born Jewish but converted to Judaism: he was introduced to Judaism while travelling through Yathrib, it excited his admiration and he converted (*wa-kāna nazala Yathriba mujtāzan bihā fa-a'jabathu l-yahūdiyya fa-tahawwada*). See also Mas'ūdī, *Murāj al-dhahab*, ed. Ch. Pellat, Beirut 1966f., II, 198, who tells about Tubba' Abū Karib that he returned to the Yemen having converted to Judaism, *wa-qad tahawwada, wa-ghalabat 'alā l-Yamani l-yahūdiyyatu wa-raja'ū 'an 'ibādati l-aṣnām*. The sentence *wa-arāda hadma l-Ka'ba fa-mana'ahu man kāna bihā min aḥbāri l-Yahūd* makes little historical sense; read: ... *fa-mana'ahu min dhālika man kāna ma'ahu min aḥbāri l-yahūd*, as in MS T. See Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif*, ed. Tharwat 'Ukāsha, Cairo 1969, 635: *wa-maḍā yurīdu Makkata, wa-ma'ahu hādḥā l-yahūdiyyu wa-rajul ākhar mina l-yahūd 'ālim, qa-humā l-ḥabrāni*. The same source goes on to say that when this Tubba', the last Tubba', returned to the Yemen, he was escorted by the two scholars, having converted to Judaism and having believed in Moses and in what had been revealed in the Torah, *fa-bi-dhālika dakhlati l-yahūdiyyatu l-Yaman*. Mas'ūdī (*Kitāb al-tanbih wa-l-ishrāf*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1894, 202) remarks about the story of the two scholars brought by Tubba' Abūkarib: *wa-kāna dhālika sababa tahawwudi kathīr min ahli l-Yaman wa-dhālika mashhūr fī akhbārihim*.

uses materials from a few informants. One of them is of particular interest for us here, namely the abovementioned Abū Mālik b. Thaʿlaba b. Abī Mālik al-Qurazī. His grandfather was a *Jew of Kinda* who emigrated to Medina from the Yemen (or rather from Hadramawt).¹¹⁾ Abū Mālik's link with Judaism on the one hand and with the Yemen on the other naturally explains his interest in the history of Judaism in the Yemen.¹²⁾

Abū Mālik b. Thaʿlaba merits closer attention. It is true that his *nisba* is al-Qurazī, but we have a clear indication that his family was linked rather to the Banū Ḥadl than to Qurayza: when his grandfather came from the Yemen to Medina, he married the daughter of Ibn Saʿya of the Banū Ḥadl, the "brothers" of the Banū Qurayza in whose midst they lived and whose clients they were until the advent of Islam.¹³⁾ It can be

¹¹⁾ See M. Lecker, "Abū Mālik ʿAbdallāh b. Sām of Kinda, a Jewish convert to Islam", in *Der Islam* 71 (1994) 280-282.

¹²⁾ Ibn Ishāq was accused of transmitting traditions taken from "the Jews", i.e. descendants of Jewish converts to Islam; M. J. Kister, "The massacre of the Banū Qurayza: a re-examination of a tradition", in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 8 (1986), 75f.; at the background of this accusation lies the presumption, that such informants are unreliable; cf. *op. cit.*, 80. Abū Mālik is a concrete example of one such informant. Curiously, Abū Mālik quotes the report not, as one would expect, from a fellow Hadlite (or Qurazite), but from an important figure of the Qurashite clan Banū Taym, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbaydallāh. In the sixties of the first century A. H. Ibrāhīm was in charge of the *kharāj* of Iraq for Ibn al-Zubayr and he lived to the days of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik; Muṣʿab b. ʿAbdallāh al-Zubayrī, *Kitāb Nasab Quraysh*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1953, 283. Obviously, this dignitary was interested, perhaps later in his life, in historical matters.

¹³⁾ Samhūdī, I, 163 (note the preposition *maʿa* which indicates their status as clients of Qurayza: *wa-kana maʿa Qurayza fī dārihim ikhwatuhum Banū Ḥadl*); Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā, al-qism al-mutammim li-tābiʿī ahl al-Madīna wa-man baʿdahum*, ed. Ziyād Muḥammad Maṣṣūr, Medina 1408/1987, 136 (*wa-l-kāhināni Qurayza wa-l-Naḍīr, wa-akhūhumā l-Ḥadl*). Concerning the client status of the Ḥadl see the important gloss in Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya fī l-taʾrīkh*, Beirut 1974, II, 309:2 from below: ... *Banū Ḥadl ikhwat Banī Qurayza, kānū maʿahum* ("they were their clients") *fī jāhiliyyatihim thumma kānū sādātahum fī l-islām*. M. Gil, "The origin of the Jews of Yathrib", in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 4 (1984), 210, suggests (incorrectly) that they had "some connection" with the ʿAmr b. ʿAwf. He renders the passage in question: "... B. Ḥadl ... were together with Qurayza during the *jāhiliyya* and then under Islam (that is evidently upon Muḥammad's arrival in Medina) became the masters of the B. Qurayza". But assuming that the advent of Islam introduced a major change in the status of the Ḥadl vis à vis Qurayza, *maʿa* which is the opposite of *sāda* (masters) should be rendered "clients".

It was his pendulous lower lip which reportedly gained the eponym Ḥadl this nickname; Samhūdī, I, 163 (*wa-innamā summiya Ḥadlan bi-hadlin kāna fī shafatihi*). This is probably a pejorative nickname, because "one having pendulous lips" is a euphemism for "an Abyssinian" or "a Negro"; *loc. cit.* (*ahdal al-shafatayni* is an *aswad* who is either a *Ḥabashī* or a *Zanjī*). Both aspects of the nickname, the phys-

said that when the grandfather Abū Mālik came from the Yemen, he associated himself directly with the Banū Hadl and indirectly with the Banū Qurayza, the masters of the Hadl. Hence the *nisba* al-Qurazī attached to the name of Abū Mālik b. Thaʿlaba b. Abī Mālik is rather misleading: his grandfather Abū Mālik was a client of the Banū Hadl who were in turn the clients of Qurayza.

Abū Mālik's association with the Banū Hadl should presumably be linked with the tribal affiliation of the two protagonists in one version of our story. The sources differ as to their identity. In a report quoted by Ibn Ishāq (probably from an informant other than Abū Mālik b. Thaʿlaba) the two are called Kaʿb and Asad and are said to be of Qurayza.¹⁴ But we are concerned here with a rival version which makes them Hadlites. Unfortunately, in the fragment of the story which Ibn Ishāq quotes from Abū Mālik, the two scholars are anonymous and unaffiliated, but evidence found in Samhūdī's *Wafāʾ* shows that the two scholars were of the Hadl. I submit that the Hadl connection, namely Abū Mālik's association with the Hadl on the one hand and the identification of the two *aḥbār* as Hadlites on the other, implies that the two unnamed scholars mentioned by Abū Mālik are indeed the two Hadlites mentioned below.

We turn now to the details of the Hadlite version. We arrive at the names and Hadlite affiliation of the two scholars by combining two passages from Samhūdī's famous history of Medina.

At the end of the chapter on the settlement of the Anṣār (or "the would-be Anṣār") in Yathrib/Medina, Samhūdī quotes the 2nd/8th century historian of Medina Ibn Zabāla who reports that when Tubbaʿ (viz. Asʿad Abū Karib) came to Medina and wanted to destroy it, two learned men of Qurayza (*sic*), Suḥayt¹⁵) and Munabbih, persuaded him to abandon his plan because "at the end of time" the city would become the destination of the Hijra (*muhājar*) of a prophet called Aḥmad, of the sons of Ishmael. But elsewhere in Samhūdī's book there is a more accurate indication of their tribal affiliation: Samhūdī mentions the

ical appearance of the eponym and the pejorative sense, are also found in "al-Ḥublā", "the pregnant woman", which was the nickname of the eponym of a Khazraj clan; see e.g. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 354 (*luqqiba bi-dhālika li-ʿizami baṭnihi*, "... because of the hugeness of his abdomen").

¹⁴) Tab., II, 105 [I, 902] (*wa-kāna ʾsmu l-ḥabrayni Kaʿban wa-Asadan wa-kānā min Banī Qurayza wa-kānā ʾbnay ʾamm wa-kānā aʾlama ahli zamānihimā*).

¹⁵) Below we shall find him named: Sukhayt. It is hard to tell what his correct name was because both Sukhayt and Suḥayt exist as proper names; see Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl*, ed. al-Yamāni, Hyderabad 1381/1962, IV, 267f. Hirschberg, "Arabic sources for the history of Jews in Arabia (I)", 85, n.14, notes the existence of two different versions concerning the identity of the *aḥbār* (he wrongly vocalizes this name: Saḥīt).

Banū Hadl in the chapter dealing with the Jewish tribes and their territories and among others he records the two sons of the eponymous Hadl, Sukhayt and Munabbih.¹⁶⁾ Obviously, these are the same as Suḥayt and Munabbih and we realize that they were of the Hadl, the clients of Qurayza, not of Qurayza themselves. This is then the Hadlite version concerning the identity of the two scholars who saved Medina. The fragment from Ibn Zabāla relates only the saving of Medina by the two rabbis, but on the basis of the other reports on Tubba's expedition we may assume that the complete report gave them the role of accompanying Tubba' to Mecca and later to the Yemen.

Islamic texts often refer to the Jewish rabbis who were the Prophet's contemporaries unfavourably.¹⁷⁾ However, the *aḥbār* are sometimes portrayed favourably in the context of *dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, "the proofs of (Muḥammad's) prophethood", namely when they are given the role of foretelling the appearance of Muḥammad. By mentioning the anticipated Hijra of the Prophet to Medina the two Jewish scholars persuaded Tubba' not to destroy the city. They also prevented Tubba' from acting against the Ka'ba.¹⁸⁾

In the semi-legendary story on the proselytizing of Ḥimyar we meet Jewish *aḥbār* presented in a positive light. Islamic tradition found no difficulty in recording the victory of Judaism, which is viewed as the precursor of Islam, over idol worship. According to Islamic tradition, these rabbis were providentially guided both when they destroyed idol worship among the Ḥimyar and when they anticipated the arrival of Muḥammad.

In sum, as we have seen the reports on the role of the *aḥbār* speak explicitly on the conversion of Ḥimyar to Judaism. In addition, we have seen that one of Ibn Ishāq's authorities on the conversion of Ḥimyar to Judaism was the grandson of a Kindite Jew who emigrated to Medina.

¹⁶⁾ See Samhūdī, I, 190 (Ibn Zabāla: when Tubba' came to Medina and wanted to destroy it, ... *jā'ahu ḥabrāni min Qurayza yuqālu lahumā Suḥayt wa-Munabbih* ...), 163 (*Banū Hadl* ... *wa-min wuldihī* ... *wa-Sukhayt wa-Munabbih 'bnā Hadl*). The fragment which Ibn Ishāq quotes from Abū Mālik b. Tha'laba and the fragment from Ibn Zabāla may belong to one and the same report.

¹⁷⁾ Mālik b. al-Ḍayf is "the fat rabbi", *al-ḥabr al-samīn*; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī al-tafsīr bi-l-ma'thūr*, Cairo 1314 A. H., II, 29, on Qur'an 6,92 (in the context of polemics).

¹⁸⁾ Ibn Hishām, I, 22, 24; Tab., II, 105, 107 [I, 901, 903]. The technique by which Ibn Ishāq weaves this passage into his report is transparent to us because it is introduced by the words *fa-baynā Tubba' 'alā dhālika min ḥarbihi wa-ḥarbihim yuqātiluhum wa-yuqātilūnahu idh jā'ahu ḥabrāni* ... (from Tab.; Ibn Hishām has: ... *'alā dhālika min qūālihim idh jā'ahu ḥabrāni* ...). Albrecht Noth would have called this phrase "Übergangsfloskel"; cf. his *Quellenkritische Studien zu Themen, Formen und Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtsüberlieferung*, Bonn 1973, 155 f.

Abbreviated References

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JUDAISM AMONG KINDA AND THE RIDDA OF KINDA

Islamic sources indicate that on the eve of Islam, the Jews were the largest religious community in the Yemen. Ya'qūbī says that all the inhabitants of the Yemen were Jewish, while Ibn Ḥazm says that all the Ḥimyarites and many Kindites were Jews. Our attention is focused on Kinda, who inhabited both the Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt. We hear about a mass conversion to Islam of Jewish Kindites, who lived in the Yemen. Concerning the famous tribal leader al-Ash'ath b. Qays of Kinda who lived in Ḥaḍramawt, coinciding reports indicate that before he embraced Islam, he had been Jewish. The sources point to an analogy between the massacre of Kinda, at the end of their rebellion shortly after the Prophet Muḥammad's death, and the massacre of the Jewish Banū Qurayza in Medina several years earlier.

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN THE YEMEN on the eve of Islam was diverse. Its population included idol worshippers, Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians (viz., the descendants of the Persian conquerors of the Yemen, the so-called Abnā').¹

Naturally, we do not possess statistical evidence concerning the relative numbers of the different religious communities. Yet our evidence indicates that on the eve of Islam, the Jews were by far the largest religious community in the Yemen (and probably in Ḥaḍramawt as well). A passage found in the *History of Ya'qūbī* (d. 284/897) is particularly important for our discussion. Ac-

cording to Ya'qūbī, the Arabs were initially either Ḥums or Ḥilla,² then part of them converted to Judaism while others became Christian or Zoroastrian. In the first category, that of Jews, he mentions *all the inhabitants of the Yemen* who were converted by two Jewish rabbis (*aḥbār*) brought to the Yemen by Tubba'. In addition, Ya'qūbī specifically mentions groups of Yemenite (or "southern") origin who were converted to Judaism. He probably differentiates between the conversion to Judaism of the inhabitants of the Yemen and the conversion of the said groups, because the former took place in the Yemen itself at the behest of Tubba', while the latter took place outside the Yemen and was not part of what Ya'qūbī seems to envisage as the mass conversion of its inhabitants. In the latter category we find the Aws and Khazraj, who became Jewish after their emigration from the Yemen, because they were neighbors of the "Yahūd Khaybar and Qurayza and Naḍīr." We also find in this category people of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b (who lived in Najrān and its vicinity), people of Ghassān (who could have converted to Judaism either in Madīna or in Syria), and people of Judhām (who could have converted in Palestine).³

I am indebted to Professor Simon Hopkins for a thorough criticism of this study. The map on p. 637 was drawn by Mrs. Tamar Soffer at the Cartography Laboratory of the Geography Department, The Hebrew University.

¹ The Zoroastrians of the Yemen are mentioned in Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 93, 97, in connection with the levying of *jizya* (poll tax) from them. As to idol worshippers, historiographical tradition assumes that upon the advent of Islam, there were in the Yemen no idol worshippers. This is reflected in the Prophet's injunction (or alleged injunction) to levy a poll tax of one dinar from every adult (*mushalim* or "one who has reached puberty") in the Yemen (be he Jewish, Christian, or Zoroastrian), in e.g., Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 97; see also (loc. cit.) the Prophet's instructions to Mu'ādh b. Jabal, whom he sent to the Yemen, on how he should go about converting the Ahl al-Kitāb there (he should do it by stages, one "pillar of Islam" at a time). However, it is clear that idolatry persisted in the Yemen until the advent of Islam; see, for instance, Yāqūt, s.v. "Yaghūth."

² See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Ḥums" (W. M. Watt).

³ Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir-Dār Bayrūt, 1379/1960), 1:257: *thumma dakhala qawm mina l-'arab fi dini l-yahūd . . . fa-amma man takawwada minhum fa-l-Yaman bi-asrihā, kāna Tubba' ḥamala ḥabrayni min aḥbāri l-yahūd ilā l-Yaman fa-abtala l-arwāna wa-takawwada man bi-l-Yaman*.

In addition, it is interesting that Yemenite historiographical tradition takes for granted that even after the defeat of Dhū Nuwās in 525 c.e., the Yemen remained predominantly Jewish. This is shown by the legendary conversation between the Himyarite hero Sayf b. Dhī Yazan and the Byzantine emperor who denied him military aid against the Ethiopians. The Emperor allegedly explained that the Yemenites were Jewish and the Ethiopians were Christian, "and it is contrary to religion to help the divergent against the similar."⁴

On Jews in Najrān, where the above-mentioned Banū al-Hārith b. Kaʿb were the dominant factor, we hear—concerning the agreement between the Prophet and the Christian envoys from Najrān (which related to taxation and other matters): *wa-dakhala yahūd Najrān maʿa l-naṣārā fī l-ṣulḥ wa-kānū ka-l-ʿabd lahum*, "and the Jews of Najrān entered the agreement together with the Christians and were as their subordinates."⁵

The Jewish community in Najrān was old. One report (which is possibly apologetic) tells us that more than a century before ʿUmar's expulsion of the Najrānites, the Jewish king Dhū Nuwās came to Najrān following a complaint of its Jews about the Christians' domineering behavior (*fa-shakā ilayhi yahūd Najrān ghalabata l-naṣārā, wa-dhālika annahu waqaʿa bayna l-yahūd*

wa-l-naṣārā fitna bi-Najrān).⁶ Historiographical legend dates the origins of Judaism in Najrān to the period preceding the settlement there of the Hārith b. Kaʿb tribe: it was the *kāhin* al-Aʿfā al-Najrānī, Bikīṣ' governor in Najrān and her envoy to Solomon, who spread the Jewish faith among his people.⁷

JUDAISM AMONG KINDA ON THE EVE OF ISLAM

While Himyar was the dominant tribe in the Yemen, it appears that Kinda, part of which inhabited the Yemen, was the dominant tribe in Ḥaḍramawt. It is explicitly reported that Judaism was more widespread among Himyar than it was among Kinda; Ibn Ḥazm says that the whole of Himyar and many of Kinda were Jewish.⁸ The Kindites in the Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt who were not Jewish were presumably idol worshippers.⁹

⁴ Nashwān al-Himyarī, *Mulūk Himyar wa-aqyāl al-Yaman wa-sharḥuhā l-musammā Khulāṣat al-sira al-jāmiʿa li-ʿajāʾib akhbār al-mulūk al-tabāʾif*, ed. Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad al-Jarāfī and ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl al-Muʿayyad (Beirut: Dār al-ʿAwda, 1978), 148.

Obviously, Jews and Christians continued their coexistence in Najrān after the massacre of its Christians by Dhū Nuwās.

⁷ ʿUmāra, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, 133 (from Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*).

⁸ Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 491 (*wa-kānat Himyar yahūdān wa-kāthir min Kinda*); Ibn Ruṣṭa, 217. Cf. Nashwān b. Saʿīd al-Himyarī, *Shams al-ʿulūm (Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naṣwan's im Šams al-ʿulūm*, ed. ʿAzīm al-Dīn Aḥmad [London: Gibb Memorial Series, 1916]), 112: *wa-kānati l-yahūdiyya fī l-jāhiliyya li-Himyar wa-Kinda wa-Banī l-Hārith wa-Kindāna*.

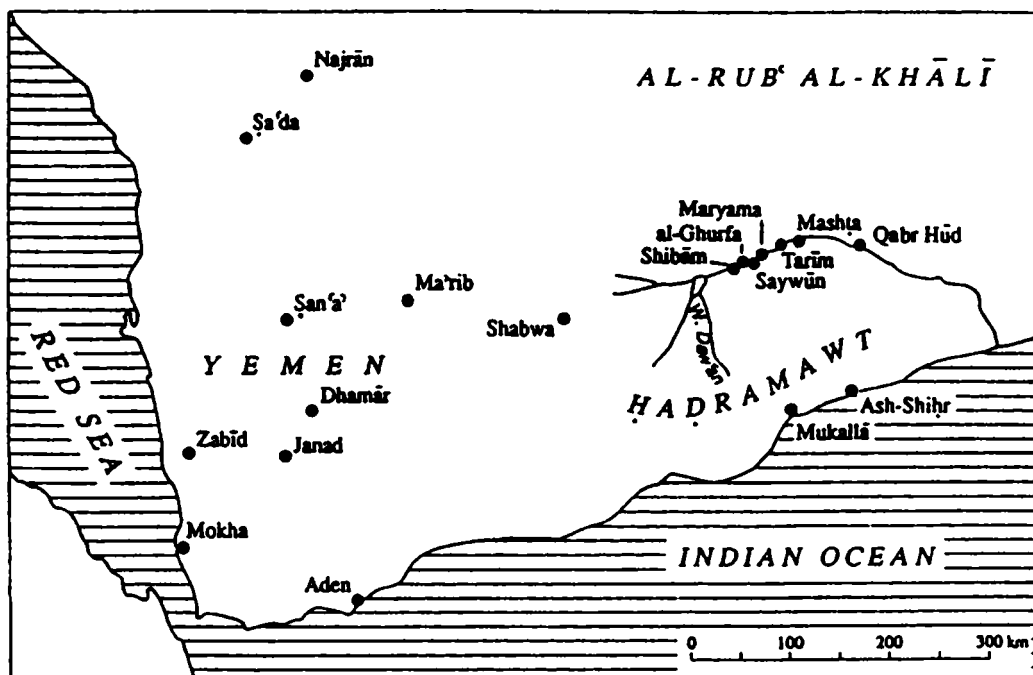
⁹ Christianity among Kinda is usually associated with the Kindite groups who lived in northern Arabia, although *al-ʿibād min Kinda*, who are said to have owned many villages and palm trees in a certain wādī in Ḥaḍramawt (Hamḍānī, *Šifa*, 171 [ed. Müller, p. 86, l. 16]), may well have been Christian.

J. S. Trimingham's statement (*Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times* [London: Longman; Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1979], 276) that "the Kinda ruling clan professed Christianity" is far too sweeping; his evidence relates to Ḥira and Dūmat al-Jandal, not to the Yemen or Ḥaḍramawt. Because he assumes that "people of Dūma were certainly Christian," he has to explain away (p. 277, n. 88) the report about the destruction of the idol Wadd in Dūma in the time of the Prophet; he resolves the difficulty by suggesting that the reports which do not mention the destruction of an idol during the expeditions against Dūma are "more reliable." Similarly, when I. Shahīd, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Kinda," speaks of Christianity among Kinda, he has in mind Ḥira, not the Yemen or Ḥaḍramawt. He says: "The house of ʿĀkīl al-Murār adopted Christianity, and must have been an important factor in disseminating

wa-tahawwada qawm mina l-Aws wa-l-Khazraj baʿda khurūjihim mina l-Yaman li-mujdwaratihim yahūd Khaybar wa-Qurayza wa-l-Naḍir wa-tahawwada qawm min Banī l-Hārith b. Kaʿb wa-qawm min Ghassān wa-qawm min Judhām. The words *wa-tahawwada man bi-l-Yaman* show that Yafʿqūbī uses Yaman in the geographical, not the genealogical, sense.

⁴ Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, 2:203 (Qayṣar: *antum yahūd wa-l-Ḥabasha naṣārā wa-laysa fī l-diyāna an naṣura l-mukhālif ʿalā l-muwāḥiq*).

⁵ Balādhurī, *Furūḥ*, 89. The above statement seems misplaced. Instead of following immediately upon the report on the *ṣulḥ*, it appears among the reports on the expulsion of the people of Najrān to Syria and Iraq by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Indeed, we know that Jews from Najrān were among those expelled by ʿUmar; note that Ṭab., 4:112 [1:2595], curiously, mentions *only* Jews in this context: *wa-fihā (year 20 A.H.) ajlā yahūd Najrān illā l-Kāfa, fīmā zaʿama l-Waqīdī*. (The verb *zaʿama*, "he claimed," refers here to the date, not to the fact of the expulsion.) Cf. H. Z. Hirschberg, *Yisraʾel be-ʿarav* (Tel-Aviv, 1946; in Hebrew), 110, who does not know of Jews in Najrān in Muḥammad's time. Also Irfān Shahīd, "Byzantium in South Arabia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979): 76, 78 (reprinted in *Byzantium and the Semitic Orient before the Rise of Islam* [London: Variorum Reprints (no. 9), 1988]), mentions in this context only the Christians of Najrān.



Southern Arabia, with sites mentioned herein

There are further attestations of Judaism among Kinda:¹⁰

1. The Sakāsik of Kinda

We know of Arabs in the Yemen who were Ahl Kitāb, viz., Jewish or Christian proselytes. Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838) reports that the Prophet accepted the poll tax from the people of the Yemen who were Arab (*wa-hum ʿarab*), because they were Ahl

it in central and northern Arabia." Regarding Judaism among Kinda, Shahīd mentions correctly that the father of Ashʿath b. Qays adopted Judaism (see more on this below) and that Kinda "is counted among the Arab tribes who adopted Judaism in pre-Islamic times, and it must have been this Kinda in the south that became Judaized." Elsewhere, Shahīd (*Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century* [Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1989], 175, n. 38) argues convincingly that "Kinda was a client of Ḥimyar in South Arabia, and the most natural explanation for its adoption of Judaism is the assumption that they adopted the religion of their overlords."

¹⁰ See also M. Lecker, "Abū Mālik ʿAbdallāh b. Sām, a Jewish Convert to Islam," *Der Islam* 71 (1994): 280–82.

Kitāb, and that he also accepted it from the people of Najrān, the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb. Abū ʿUbayd follows this with a *ḥadīth* showing that the people of Najrān were Christian.¹¹ Abū ʿUbayd argues that only Arabs who practiced idol-worship, but not those who were Ahl Kitāb, were to be converted to Islam forcibly, or, to use his expression, were to be given the choice between conversion to Islam and death.¹²

There are clear indications that Muʿādh b. Jabal al-Anṣārī, who governed part of the Yemen in the Prophet's time, officiated in an area populated by Jews. (Being an Anṣārī from Madīna, which had a large Jewish population, he was particularly qualified for disseminating Islam in a predominantly Jewish environment.)¹³ Two of the *ḥadīths* adduced by Abū ʿUbayd in the section dealing with the (lawfulness of) taking the poll tax from

¹¹ Which may possibly indicate that when Abū ʿUbayd speaks of Ahl al-Kitāb in the Yemen, as opposed to the mainly Christian Najrān, he has in mind Arabs who were proselytized to Judaism.

¹² Abū ʿUbayd, *Amwāl*, 34f.

¹³ The Prophet's governor in Ḥadramawt, Ziyād b. Labīd, was also an Anṣārī.

Arabs who are *Ahl Kitāb* (*bāb akhdhi l-jizya min 'arab ahli l-kitāb*) relate to Mu'adh; both deal with Jews, not with Christians.

The first *ḥadīth* concerns the directions reportedly given by the Prophet to Mu'adh b. Jabal when he dispatched him to the Yemen: Mu'adh was ordered to levy from each adult one dinar (per year) or its equivalent. Significantly, a Yemenite source of the sixth/twelfth century glosses the word "adult" as "Jewish adults" (*wa-min kulli ḥālim—ya'ni mina l-yahūd—dīndran*).¹⁴ The second *ḥadīth* tells of a letter reportedly sent by the Prophet to Mu'adh in the Yemen. In it we find an explicit clue that Mu'adh's subjects were Jewish: "... and every adult, be he a man or a woman, pays one dinar or its equivalent in (the striped cloth called) *ma'āfir*. No Jew may be lured away from his faith" (... *wa-lā yuṣṭanu yahūdī 'an yahūdiyyatihi*). The context obviously suggests that exemption from the poll tax must not be used in order to attract the Jews (i.e., the Jewish proselytes among the Arabs) to Islam.

The historicity of the letter is immaterial for our argument; what matters is the fact that the report assumes that the subjects of Mu'adh's jurisdiction were predominantly Jewish. His jurisdiction was centered on the Yemenite town al-Janad and the surrounding region, although he was reportedly disseminating Islam all over the Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt.¹⁵

In terms of the tribes involved, Mu'adh's activity in the Yemen was linked in particular with two branches of Kinda, parts of which inhabited the Yemen, namely the Sakāsik and the Sakūn. According to Mu'adh's own testimony (or alleged testimony), when the Prophet sent him to the Yemen, he ordered him, among other things, to position himself between the (territories of) the Sakūn and the Sakāsik (*fa-nzil bayna l-ḥayyayni l-Sakūn wa-l-Sakāsik*).¹⁶ Mu'adh's marriages to a woman of the

Sakāsik and to another of the Sakūn confirm his link with them.¹⁷

The evidence concerning Mu'adh's activity in the Yemen toward the end of the Prophet's life forms the necessary background for discussing a unique report concerning a mass conversion of Jews to Islam which took place in al-Janad. The report in question, which includes supernatural and polemical elements, speaks of a mass public conversion held in al-Janad during the first Friday prayer of Rajab (the seventh month of the Islamic year). The prayer was attended by the Banū al-Aswad, a subdivision of the Sakāsik. The Banū al-Aswad, we are told, were the dominant group among the Sakāsik, who were the inhabitants of the Janad region (... *al-Sakāsik, wa-hum ahl mikhlaḥfi l-Janad*). It is also reported that Mu'adh brought the Banū al-Aswad a letter from the Prophet. Beside the Banū al-Aswad who had already converted to Islam, the Friday prayer was also attended by a group of Jews (*wa-ḥim jam' mina l-yahūd*).¹⁸ Mu'adh managed to answer a difficult question directed to him by the Jews (the "keys to Paradise," he told them, were the testimony *an lā ilāha illā llāhu waḥdahu lā sharika lahu*) and when he explained to them that the

nazala bayna l-Sakūn wa-l-Sakāsik wa-ḡatala ḥattā aslama l-nās). According to Ṭab., 3:228 [1:1852f.]; Ibn Māköla, *al-Ikmdl*, 1:96, 'Ukkāsha (or 'Ukkāsha) b. Thawr was put by the Prophet in charge of these two branches of Kinda, as well as of the Banū Mu'āwiya of Kinda. G. Rex Smith, "The Early and Medieval History of Ṣan'ā', ca. 622–953/1515," in *Ṣan'ā': An Arabian Islamic City*, ed. R. B. Serjeant and R. Lewcock (London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1983), 53, incorrectly includes Mu'āwiya b. Kinda, which is a subdivision of Kinda, in his "list of governors of the Yemen resident in Ṣan'ā'." (This name of a tribal group has somehow crept into the list of the Prophet's governors in the Yemen; see Ibn al-Daybāf, *Buḡhyar al-mustaḥḍir fi ta'rikh madīnat Zabīd*, ed. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥabēbi [Ṣan'ā': Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-l-Buḡūth al-Yamanī, 1979], 20.) Incidentally, instead of Wabr b. Yuḥannās in Smith's "list of governors," read: Wabr b. Yuḥannās; cf., e.g., *Tāj al-'arūs*, s.v. ḥ.n.s. (the Prophet's messenger to Fayrūz [al-Daylamī] is said here to have been Yuḥannās b. Wabara l-Azdī).

¹⁷ It is reported that a man of the Sakāsik was Mu'adh's *ḥihr*, i.e., father-in-law or brother-in-law; *Nasab Ma'add*, 1:196. For Mu'adh's marriage to a woman of the Sakūn see Ṭab., 3:230f. [1:1855] (the background is his flight, together with Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, from the rebel al-Aswad al-'Ansī; they took shelter with the Sakūn and the Sakāsik, respectively).

¹⁸ The context suggests that they were also of the Banū al-Aswad, but this is not certain. We may have to allow for the possibility that the report also speaks of Jews of other subdivisions of the Sakāsik.

¹⁴ 'Umar b. 'Alī al-Ja'dī (Ibn Samura), *Ṭabaqāt fuqahā' al-Yaman*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1957 [reprint Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1401/1981]), 18.

¹⁵ Ṭab., 3:228 [1:1852] (the Prophet sent Mu'adh as a teacher [*mu'allim*] for the people of the Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt); Janādī, *Sulūk*, 90 (*wa-kāna Mu'adh yataraddadu ["he travelled frequently"] bayna mikhlaḥfay l-Janad wa-Ḥaḍramawt*); *Iḥāba*, 2:363f. (Mu'adh proselytizing a *kāhin* of Ḥimyar in Ṣan'ā'); Ḥamdānī, *Ikhl*, ed. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Akwāf (Beirut: Maashūrāt al-Madīna, 1407/1986), 1:266f. and *Iḥāba*, 1:204 (Mu'adh probably proselytizing in Ṣan'ā'); Ibn Sa'd, 3:586 (when the Prophet died, Mu'adh was still his governor in al-Janad).

¹⁶ Ṭabarānī, *Kabir*, 20:90; cf. Ibn Sa'd, 7:424 (where there is mention of two couriers sent by Mu'adh to the Prophet *yawma*

Prophet had anticipated their question (and of course had provided him with the correct answer), they were convinced: "His words to them were the reason for the conversion of the Jews (viz., the Jewish Arabs) who had remained behind" (*wa-kāna qawluhu lahum sababan li-islāmi man ta'akhhara mina l-yahūd*). This reportedly happened in a huge place of assembly (*mahfil 'aḥīm*), where people from different places congregated, and subsequently the people became accustomed to arrive at al-Janad every year on the first Friday of Rajab to pray the well-known prayer (i.e., in commemoration of their conversion to Islam).¹⁹

2. Al-Ash'ath b. Qays of Kinda, a Jewish convert to Islam

Al-Ash'ath, son of Qays al-Kindī (d. 40/660 or 42/662), was one of the most important tribal leaders of the early Islamic period.²⁰

¹⁹ Janādī, *Sulūk*, 90. See also 'Umāra, *Ta'rīkh al-Yaman*, 7 (when the common people of al-Janad and its vicinity say *hajj*, they mean the *ziyāra* to its mosque on the first Friday of Rajab). Note that Janādī, the author of the *Sulūk*, was himself of the Sakānik (Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf al-Janādī al-Sakānik al-Kindī, d. 732/1332; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "al-Djanādī" [C. L. Goddes]). Concerning the leading position of the Banū al-Aswad at that time see Janādī, *Sulūk*, 89 (*wa-kānat riyāsatanhum idh dhūka li-qawm minhum yuqālu lahum Banū al-Aswad*). That al-Janad is in the land of the Sakānik is confirmed by Hamdānī, *Sīfa*, 77 (ed. D. H. Müller, p. 54, l. 18). See, on the mosque of Janad, Paolo M. Costa, "The Mosque of al-Janad," in *Arabian and Islamic Studies: Articles Presented to R. B. Serjean* . . . , ed. R. L. Bidwell and G. R. Smith (London and New York: Longman, 1983), 43-67.

Interestingly, a mass conversion of Jews to Islam stands in sharp contrast to the several conversions of Jews in Medina at the time of the Prophet, which took place on an individual basis.

²⁰ Ash'ath is a nickname, his name being Maf'dikarib. *Ash'ath* means "one having his hair shaggy, or dishevelled." Also, "having the hair defiled with dust, and matted, or compacted, in consequence of its being seldom anointed" (Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*). Note that the practice of rendering the hair shaggy (etc.) as an act of mourning is documented in a Yemenite source; see Ahmad b. 'Abdallāh al-Rāzī al-Ṣan'ānī, *Kiṣṣa ta'rīkh madīnat Ṣan'ā'*, 2nd ed., ed. Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh al-'Amrī ('Ṣan'ā', 1401/1981), 399 (Moses and Aaron mourning the death of Aaron's two sons). But it is more plausible that this nickname has a military context: being a warrior, Ash'ath neglected his appearance and was not given to the pleasures of life.

His prestige among his tribesmen was based on the distinguished position of his family, his own charisma and his skills as a military commander. But while there can be no doubt about these factors, the evidence concerning him is by no means free from exaggeration and intertribal polemics: some of the statements promulgated by Yemenite informants are unreliable and can only be used to demonstrate his status among the Yemenites, in general, and Kinda, in particular. For example, we are told that when he was captured by the Madhhij (more precisely, the Zubayd and Ḥārith b. Ka'b subdivisions of the Madhhij), he ransomed himself by paying three thousand camels, i.e., three times the usual ransom of "kings" (and many more times the ransom of ordinary people). Ash'ath was the first to be accompanied, while riding, by an infantry escort. In addition, he was the first to be escorted by men carrying maces (*a'mida*), who walked before and behind him. In Kūfa, after the conquests, Kinda fulfilled a promise which Ash'ath had made to al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, that upon al-Ḥasan's visit to his newly wedded wife who was Ash'ath's daughter, he would be treading on the cloaks (*urdiya*) of the Kindites. They stood in two ranks at the sides of the road, their cloaks forming a carpet which extended from al-Ḥasan's residence to Ash'ath's gate. The purport of this and similar stories is clear: Ash'ath enjoyed the unbounded admiration of the Kindites (of Kūfa) and commanded absolute power over them.²¹

The story of the ransom merits further examination because it clearly reveals the intertribal polemics involved here. A report which is manifestly hostile to Ash'ath maintains that he betrayed the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b, with whom he had concluded a pact (*'aqd wa-ṣulh*). Having been taken captive in the above-mentioned raid against them, he undertook to pay a ransom of two

²¹ Ibn Qutayba, *Awḍ'īl*, ed. Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-Qahwajī and Maḥmūd al-Arnā'ūqī (Beirut and Damascus: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1407/1987), 47 (ransom), 22 (riding); a remark of Maymūn b. Mihrān [in *TMD MS*, 3:47] may allude to the Persian origin of this practice: when the Muḥājirūn saw a Dihqān riding while surrounded by men on foot, they said: "May God curse him! What a tyrant he is!" *qātalahu llāhu jabbāran*); Suyūṭī, *al-Waṣā'īl ilā ma'rifat al-awḍ'īl*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-'Adawī and 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar (Cairo: al-Khānījī, 1400/1980), 104 (*a'mida*); *TMD MS*, 3:46 (cloaks). For the ransom, see also *Nasab Ma'add*, 1:145f.; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Tharwat 'Ukāsha (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1969), 555 (who is specific about the polemical context of such reports: *wa-qāla man yafīakhiru min ahli l-Yaman: al-Ash'ath b. Qays aktharu l-'arab kullihā fida'an* etc.).

hundred young she-camels. But he paid only half that amount and the rest remained unpaid until the advent of Islam, which abolished the practices of the Jāhiliyya (including this specific ransom).²² This relatively small ransom would certainly not have become proverbial.²³

The historian may wish to determine whether Ash'ath paid one hundred camels (evading the payment of the rest), or perhaps thirty times that amount.²⁴ Was Ash'ath the most expensive ransomed captive in the history of tribal Arabia, or a crook? One thing is certain—harmonizing arithmetic will get us nowhere. We should simply take note of the fact that as a result of intertribal polemics, contradictory claims are sometimes mutually neutralizing. In any case, this is by no means the general state of our evidence and in many cases we seem to be treading on firmer ground.

Ash'ath's Jewish descent is attested in a few mutually independent sources. Our starting point is a piece of political propaganda related to the rebellion, in 82/701,²⁵ of Ash'ath's grandson, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad

²² Muḥabbar, 244.

²³ Cf. Maydāni, *Amthal*, 2:380: *uwfaru fidd'an mina l-Ash'ath*.

²⁴ The advertising of the version with three thousand camels was of course in the interest of the receivers (or alleged receivers) of this huge ransom; cf. W. Caskel, *Ġamharat an-Nasab, Das genealogische Werk des Hilāl ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbi* (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 2, s.v. "Ma'dikarib b. Qais" (this "exaggerated claim" appears in two verses of the poet 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib of the Banū Zubayd; cf. Abū 'Alī al-Qāṣi, *Dhayl al-amālī wa-l-nawādir* [Cairo: Dār al-Kutub, 1344/1926], 145f., 150).

It could have been recorded by men such as Abū l-Kannās (printed: l-Kayyās!) Iyās b. Aws b. Hānī² of the Banū Jabala b. 'Adī (Ash'ath's clan), who was Kalbi's source for the genealogy of Kinda. That he was Kalbi's source is stated by Kalbi's son, Ibn al-Kalbi; *Nasab Ma'add*, 1:142 (*wa-minhu akhadha Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib nasaba Kinda*). The *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (Cairo, 1347 A.H. [reprint Beirut, 1398/1978]), 140, quotes al-Kalbi's own testimony, reported by his son, concerning his reliance on this informant for the genealogy of Kinda: *wa-akhadhu nasaba Kinda 'an Abi l-Kannāsi l-Kindī wa-kāna a'lama l-nās*. (Caskel, 2:47, vocalizes: Abū l-Kubās.) On the loss of Ibn al-Kalbi's *Kitāb mulūk Kinda*, see G. Olinde, *The Kings of Kinda of the Family of 'Ādil al-Murār*, Lund Universitets Årsskrift, n.s. (Lund, 1927), 16f., who mentions in this context the connection between Muḥammad al-Kalbi and Ibn al-Ash'ath (Muḥammad participated in Ibn al-Ash'ath's revolt); Olinde cites Ch. Lyall, "Ibn al-Kalbi's account of the First Day of al-Kalbi," in *Orientalische Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern*, ed. C. Bezold (Gießen, 1906), 128. See also Ibn Sa'd, 6:359.

b. al-Ash'ath, usually referred to as Ibn al-Ash'ath. The passage in question is preserved by Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā (no doubt in his *Mathalib* monograph which deals with "vices" or "faults"): a Persian called Sibukht, son of Dhakkar, is said to have been the great-grandfather of the rebel's grandfather, Ash'ath. When 'Abd al-Rahmān rebelled against 'Abd al-Malik, the poet Farazdaq called him, in his verses, "Ibn Sibukht" ("the son [viz., the descendant] of Sibukht") and "Sibukht b. Dhakkar." Sibukht, we are told, was an 'ilj (a Persian) of the people of Fāris (i.e., the province of Fārs; the 'ilj came from Tawwaj, a town in Fārs). This Persian, who was a shoemaker, crossed the sea to Ḥaḍramawt.²⁶ In the satirical poem just mentioned, Farazdaq also referred to 'Abd al-Rahmān/Sibukht as "the weaver of the Yemenites" (*hawwaku l-yamānina*) and "the village weaver" (*hawwāk qarya*).²⁷

The claim that Ibn al-Ash'ath was a descendant of a man called Sibukht was equivalent to a statement that he was a descendant of a Persian Jew; the above-mentioned Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā, who was of Jewish origin, was himself pejoratively called Sibukht, because this was a typical name of Jews.²⁷ Farazdaq did not

²⁵ Ibn Rosta, 205 (*kāna jaddu l-Ash'ath b. Qays b. Ma'dikarib b. Sibukht b. Dhakkar 'iljan min ahli Fāris Isḫāfan fa-qaṣ'a l-bahra min Tawwaj ilā Ḥaḍramawt*). On Tawwaj, see M. Hinds, "The First Arab Conquests in Fārs," *IRAN* 22 (1984): 39–53.

²⁶ *Dhwān*, ed. R. Boucher (Paris: Adolphe Labitte, 1870), Arabic text, 1:207f.; translation, 2:623f. (Sibukht is interpreted as "nom d'un prince persan qui avait excité Abd-el-Rahman à la révolte" [!] in the Beirut edition (Dār Šādir-Dār Bayrūt, 1380/1960), 1:238f. In the latter edition, the rebel's pedigree was abridged almost beyond recognition ('Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. Ma'dikarib al-Kindī; read: 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath b. Qays b. Ma'dikarib al-Kindī). In both editions of the *Dhwān* the Persian name is vocalized Saybukht and, because the transmitters of the poem no longer knew that Dhakkar was a proper name, they replaced *Sibukhta l-ḡalālī b. Dhakkara* (Ibn Rosta) with the corrupt *Saybukhta l-ḡalālī WA-dhakkara*.

²⁷ See M. Lecker, "Biographical Notes on Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā," forthcoming.

Philippe Gignoux interpreted the name as "sauvé par les Trois," adding, "c.à.d. par la Trinité selon le Christianisme?"; see *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, ed. Manfred Mayrhofer and Rüdiger Schmitz, vol. 2: *Mitteliranische Personennamen*, fasc. 2: *Noms propres sassanides en moyen-persa épigraphique*, by P. Gignoux (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986), 157, s.v. "Sā-buxt." However, Theodor Nöldeke, "Geschichte des Artachštr i Pāpakān aus dem Pehlewi übersetzt,"

create the story about the alleged non-Arab descent of this family, he merely relied on a tradition circulating in Iraq. His audience must have been familiar with the unpleasant connotation of the name Sibukht.

Weaving is also linked with this family elsewhere: Ash'ath is called Ibn al-Hā'ik and al-Hā'ik b. al-Hā'ik.²⁸ The mention of weaving, a trade certainly *not* practised by this family was, according to the cultural code of the Umayyad period, an insulting (and no doubt false) allusion to non-Arab descent.

The mention of the Jewish-Persian shoemaker from Fārs belongs to a particularly virulent piece of political propaganda. There is no trace of Persians in Ash'ath's pedigree; his name is Ash'ath b. Qays b. Ma'dikarib b. Mu'āwiya b. Jabala b. 'Adī.²⁹ It is doubtful that any-

body in the Umayyad period took these "revelations from the family's history" seriously, but the story was meant to be an insult. The disparate claims made concerning Ash'ath's ransom (see above) show that what was told and recorded about this family involved strong emotions and fanciful inventions. But the slanderous story is not completely unfounded; it elaborates on the family's Jewish descent, furnishing its enemies with an effective weapon. It must, however, be emphasized that the verbal lashing was not caused by the family's Jewish descent; the family drew fire because it was one of the most important tribal families and, as such, inevitably immersed in politics.

Before adducing further indications of Ash'ath's Jewish descent, we should dwell on the treacherousness ascribed to this family, with reference, as we shall presently see, to its Jewish origin. A section of the *Muḥabbar* entitled "the Arabs who have the deepest inborn disposition to treachery" (*a'raq al-ʿarab fi l-ghadr*),³⁰ which is clearly hostile to the family, includes a survey of the treacherous acts committed by Ibn al-Ash'ath (thus dating its composition to the Umayyad struggle against him, in the eighties of the first Islamic century) and by his ancestors down to his great-great-grandfather. This is done in the style which is familiar from the *adab* collections of "three (or four, or five, etc.) in a genealogical row

in *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 4 (Göttingen, 1879), 49, n. 4, interpreted the name as "die Drei (wahrscheinlich 'guter Gedanke, gutes Wort, gute That' humat, hücht, buwarkt) haben erlöst." Obviously, Nöldeke did not have a Christian connotation in mind. Professor Shaul Shaked (to whom I am indebted for help on this point) proposed to interpret the name as "sauvé par le médiateur (i.e., Mithra)": see Gignoux, loc. cit. Professor Shaked suggested that although there were Christians who carried this name, it was common among Zoroastrians. Hence it is not plausible that it had a typically Christian import. It stands to reason, he added, that it had a Zoroastrian meaning.

For Sibukht in the pedigree of an Egyptian transmitter of *hadith* see Ibn Mākilā, *al-Ikmal*, 4:387. See al-Samʿāni, *al-Ansāb*, ed. ʿAbdallāh ʿUmar al-Bārūdī (Beirut: Dār al-Jinān, 1408/1988), s.v. "al-Sabukhtī" (*sic*), 3:212.

²⁸ See I. Goldziher, "Die Handwerke bei den Arabern," in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Joseph Desomogyi (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1967f.), 3:318, n. 24, quoting Tab., 6:380 [2:1121] and *Aghāni*, 14:143, l. 2, respectively. 'Alī called Ash'ath *hā'ik b. hā'ik, mundfiq b. kāfir*. We are told in this context that weaving is not a specific reference to Ash'ath, but to the Yememites in general; Ibn Abī Hadīd, 1:96, 99. See also *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., supplement, s.v. "hā'ik" (M. A. J. Beg).

²⁹ *Nasab Ma'add*, 1:139. One could argue that the Persian names were replaced with Arabic ones, but this seems improbable. A rare passage from a lost book is preserved in Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ʿalab fi ta'rikh Ḥalab*, facsimile ed. (Frankfurt a. M.: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, 1989), 4:448. It is from a book by Abū l-Ḥasayn Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Nasāba al-Tamīmī: "The Arabs were often angry with Ash'ath b. Qays b. Ma'dikarib al-Kindī. They would deny his affiliation to Kinda and make him a descendant of Sibukht. But this is incorrect and unacceptable (... *rubbama ghaqilbat ʿalayhi l-ʿarabu fa-nafathu ʿan Kinda wa-alhaqathu bi-Sibukht, wa-hādhdh minā l-bāʿilli lladhī lā yuqbalu*)." The above-

mentioned Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim identifies Sibukht as "the king of Kinda and Ḥaḍramawt, Siyād's brother" and provides him with a pedigree going back to Sāsān. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim is probably right in rejecting the false claim concerning Ash'ath's Persian origin and in placing it in the context of intertribal polemics, but his identification of Sibukht seems to be unsound. The title of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim's book poses a problem. Ibn al-'Adīm has *Kitāb al-ʿarq wa-l-sh.ā.* which can be read *Kitāb al-ʿarq wa-l-shajar*, not an inappropriate title for a book on genealogy. However, the short item on this author in *Hadiyyat al-ʿarifin* (Istanbul, 1955), 2:58, which informs us that he was a Baḡran and died in 400 A.H., lists the following books: *Akhbār al-furs wa-ansābuhā*, *Kitāb al-ansāb wa-l-akhbār* and *Kitāb al-Munafarat bayna l-qaba'il wa-ashraf al-ʿashā'ir wa-aqdiyat al-hukkam baynahum fi dhālika*.

³⁰ A similar formula (but one that relates to violent death, *a'raq l-nās fi l-qatl*) is used by Abū ʿUbayda with regard to the family of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, where we find men of six generations, starting from al-Zubayr's grandfather, whose lives ended with a violent death; Abū l-Mahāsīn Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Yaghmūrī, *Nār al-qabas al-mukhtaṣar min al-muqtabas fi akhbār al-nuḥdī wa-l-udabā' wa-l-shu'arā' wa-l-ʿulamā'*, ed. R. Sellheim (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1384/1964), 114; *Muḥabbar*, 189. See also *Muḥabbar*, 249 (Sa'īd b. ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣān is *a'raq al-nās fi l-r'āsa*).

who were such-and-such" (one-eyed, *qāḍis*, etc.). Of these treacherous people we are mainly concerned here with Ash'ath's father Qays.³¹ It is told that he attacked the tribe of Murād (a subdivision of the Madhij) in breach of a provisional truce (*walṭh illā ajal*). This was on Friday, one day before the truce was to expire. "He was Jewish, and he said: 'I am not permitted to fight tomorrow.'" He received his punishment, to be sure, for his army was defeated and he himself was killed.³² We are told that Ash'ath's grandfather Ma'ḍikarib was similarly perfidious. He concluded a truce with Mahra (*ʿaqada li-Mahra sulḥan*), but raided them in violation of it. He paid with his life.³³

³¹ He was nicknamed, following a war injury, *al-ashajj*, "a man having a mark of a wound by which his forehead has been broken"; Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, 1:97. According to another version, *al-ashajj* was Ash'ath himself; Ibn Durayd, *Jamharat al-lughā*, ed. Ramzi Ba'labakki (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm li-l-Maʿlūyīn, 1967-88), 1:65; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st and 2nd eds., s.v. "al-Ash'ath b. Qays" (H. Reckendorf).

³² *Muḥabbar*, 244f.; cf. *Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, 527 (two sons of Qays were killed); also pp. 269f. (the kings of Kinda who were in Najd [and] ruled Hajar and other places in the land of the Arabs were *jāhiliyya* and idol worshippers, while Qays b. Ma'ḍikarib was reported to have been Jewish). Also Ibn Rusta, 229 (the difficult term *walṭh* is replaced here by *irīḡāq*; this report, at the very end of Ibn Rusta's book, is truncated and the climax concerning the attack on Friday is missing). For a Yemenite nickname, *ʿurf al-nār*, given to the treacherous Ash'ath, see Tab., 3:338 [1:2010]; cf. perhaps *Aghāni*, 12:156, l. 12 (the treacherous Banū Minqar of Tamīm were nicknamed *aʿraf al-bighāl*). For the term *walṭh*, see Kister, "The Massacre of the Banū Qurayza," 82f. The *Muḥabbar* passage shows that the truce called *walṭh* had a date of expiration; indeed this is an integral element in every truce. On the death of Ash'ath's father at the hands of the Murād see also *Nasab Maʿadd*, 1:145.

³³ The manner in which his corpse was allegedly mutilated is reminiscent of the happy ending in some versions of "Little Red Riding Hood": The Mahra split his belly open and filled it with pebbles; then they said to him: "Be satiated, may you never be satiated, O son of the harlots of Ḍariyya"; *Muḥabbar*, 245. Ibn ʿAbbās reportedly reminded Ash'ath of this event. From the former's insulting comment we learn that Ash'ath's father was injured on that occasion ("a slave of Mahra killed your grandfather *wa-jaʿana fi sri abika*"); Ṭabarāni, *Kabir*, 1:238. An injury in the buttocks is particularly humiliating because it means that the injured was fleeing from the battlefield. The revilement of Ash'ath's father can be balanced by the panegyric poems dedicated to him by al-Aʿshā; see Aʿshā (Maymūn), *Diwān*, nos. 2-5, 68, 71, 76, 78. The mention of Ḍariyya could refer to

In the lifetime of the Prophet, Ash'ath is supposed to have had a land dispute with a Jew (who was presumably both his neighbor and relative).³⁴ We know that Ash'ath had a Jewish paternal aunt. This fact is mentioned in the following two *ḥadīths*. A man of Kinda who was at some time the governor of Mesopotamia (or the Jazīra) reports on the authority of Ash'ath that after a paternal aunt of his had died, he came to the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb demanding (his permission to receive) her legacy. However, ʿUmar gave it to the Jews. In the other *ḥadīth* the Madinan *faqīh* Sulaymān b. Yaṣār (d. ca. 100/718) quotes from Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath the following: A paternal aunt of his father³⁵ died in the Yemen. His father mentioned this to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, but the caliph decreed that only her coreligionists would inherit her bequest (*lā yarīthuhā illā aḥlu dīnihā*).³⁶ The *ḥadīths* are not concerned with *mathālib* and do not serve any propagandistic aims; as such they may be accepted as factual and trustworthy statements. Obviously, our sources are interested in them for the legal point at issue, viz., inheritance by believers of a different faith, but we may use them as further corroboration of Ash'ath's Jewish descent.³⁷

With a Jewish father and a Jewish paternal aunt, Ash'ath himself must have been Jewish too. While he converted to Islam, his aunt and other relations chose to remain Jewish.³⁸ This conclusion calls for a fresh reading of the reports concerning Ash'ath and Kinda—in particular those connected with the rebellion (*riḍḍa*) of Kinda and the massacre at Nujayr.³⁹ This will now be attempted.

the Kindite presence in Najd before they (or rather most of them) returned to Ḥaḍramawt.

³⁴ Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Maymaniyya, 1313 [reprint, Beirut]), 5:211; *TMD MS*, 3:33.

³⁵ *ʿAmmā laḥu*; one expects here: *ʿamma li-abīhi*.

³⁶ ʿAbd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓami (Beirut: al-Majlis al-ʿIlmi, 1390/1970-1392/1972), 6:17. See the faulty text in Ibn Saʿd, 5:65; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalāni, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb* (Hyderabad, 1325), 9:65. On Sulaymān see op. cit., 4:228f.

³⁷ Not surprisingly, the evidence concerning Ash'ath's Jewish paternal aunt can also be found in the context of *mathālib*: "Warda, daughter of Ma'ḍikarib, the paternal aunt of Ash'ath, was married to a Jew and died childless. Ash'ath came to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb demanding her inheritance. ʿUmar told him: 'People of two (different) faiths do not inherit from each other' (*lā mirṭha li-aḥli millatayni*)"; Ibn Rusta, 205.

³⁸ It is of course extremely unlikely that they converted to Judaism under Islam.

³⁹ See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "al-Ash'ath b. Qays" (H. Reckendorf). Cf. perhaps Ṭabarāni, *Kabir*, 10:222

THE MASSACRES OF THE KINDITES AND THE QURAZITES

The episode which concluded the *ridda* of Kinda was the siege of Nujayr and the massacre of the besieged. Hamdāni lists al-Nujayr among the fortresses of Ḥaḍramawt and says that it belonged to the Banū Maʿdīkarib of Kinda.⁴⁰ This is presumably a reference to the offspring of Ashʿath's grandfather, Maʿdīkarib b. Muʿāwiya b. Jabala.⁴¹ Following the siege, hundreds of men were massacred, women and children were enslaved. The sources significantly point to an analogy between this massacre and the well-known massacre of the Jewish Banū Qurayza several years earlier. This analogy merits a detailed investigation in the light of the evidence on Judaism among Kinda.⁴²

The massacre of the Banū Qurayza was probably inspired by the Prophet (although the verdict was conveniently proclaimed by Saʿd b. Muʿādh).⁴³ The resemblance between the two massacres begins with the legal status of the capitulating men and women. In both cases, they capitulated according to the procedure called *nuzūl ʿalā ḥukm*, "the consent of the besieged to descend from their fortification, agreeing in advance to accept the verdict of the besieger."⁴⁴ The besieged Qurayza, and later

the besieged Kinda at Nujayr, agreed in advance to accept whatever decision that would be made by the leader of the victorious party.

As in the case of the Qurayza, the basic facts are not disputed (variations concerning the numbers of those slaughtered notwithstanding). Ziyād b. Labīd beheaded their *ashraf*,⁴⁵ who numbered seven hundred,⁴⁶ *ʿalā dam wāhid*, which presumably means "at the same spot." A parallel report has: *fi ʿaḍid wāhid*, "in the same tract of even ground." The sight of the slain Kindites at Nujayr reportedly reminded an Anṣārī of the slain Qurayza (*fa-mā huwa illā an raʾaytuhum fa-shabbahu bihim qatla Banī Qurayza yawma qatalahumu l-nabi (ṣ)*).⁴⁷

At Nujayr an unknown number of Kindites (the reports vary) were spared through negotiations carried out between Ashʿath and the besiegers. The precise details are obscure and disputed, obviously because the evidence is contaminated by apologetics and mutual accusations. While betraying the majority of the besieged, Ashʿath may well have rescued a considerable number of people from his own family and clan.⁴⁸

as Kister correctly remarks, the Qurayza "were compelled to surrender unconditionally." "Judgment" is slightly better than "arbitration," but it is still not very felicitous. In fact, the Prophet delegated to another his power to decide the fate of those who surrendered unconditionally. Arbitration takes place between equals. Aḥmad Barakat (*Muhammad and the Jews: A Reexamination* [New Delhi: Vicas, 1979], 77f., 80; with references to Wāqidi, 2:510f.; Ibn Saʿd, 2:75) speaks of "the appointment of Saʿd as *ḥakam*," which he renders "umpire" and "judge" (pp. 78, 80, respectively; see also pp. 92f. for a discussion of *tahkim*, "arbitration"). But when the sources which he quotes mention Saʿd's *ḥukm*, they do it with reference to the above-mentioned procedure of *nuzūl ʿalā ḥukm*. In short, this *ḥukm* (not *ḥakam*) means "ruling," not "arbitration."

⁴⁵ See above, n. 42.

⁴⁶ Another version puts their number at eight hundred; ʿAskarī, *Awāʿid*, 311.

⁴⁷ Ibn Ḥubaysh, 1:138. This Anṣārī tells us also that Ziyād b. Labīd's refusal to allow their burial was more unbearable for the survivors than the killing itself. See, on the Anṣārī in question, *Iḥṣā*, 6:476. In stirring verses, allegedly recited during the siege of Nujayr, Ziyād instigated his men to prepare for "the battle of *Aḥzāb*"; [pseudo-]Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-ridda wa-nubdha min fuṭūḥ al-ʿIrāq*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamidullāh (Paris: Éditions Tougui, 1409/1989), 115. This appears to be yet another allusion to Qurayza: the *Aḥzāb*, or "parties," were the tribal troops which besieged Medina during the battle of the Khandaq ("the Trench"), shortly before the siege of the Qurayza.

⁴⁸ One version mentions seventy men; Abū al-Rabiʿ Sulaymān b. Miṣā al-Kalʿī, *Ḥurūb al-ridda*, ed. Aḥmad Ghunaym

(Ashʿath is surprised that ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd does not fast on ʿAshūrāʿ). An expedition carried out by Ashʿath against the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb (see, e.g., Ibn Rusta, 229) could have been one carried out against his coreligionists (Judaism among the Ḥārith b. Kaʿb is mentioned by Ibn Rusta, 217; above, n. 5), or against Christians, or against pagans (on Christians and pagans among the Ḥārith b. Kaʿb see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb" [J. Schleifer]).

⁴⁰ Hamdāni, *Iḥṣā*, ed. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Akwaʿ (Beirut: Manshūrāt al-Madīna, 1407/1986), 8:157.

⁴¹ A verse from a panegyric poem dedicated to Ashʿath's father clearly links him to wādī al-Nujayr; Aʿshā (Maymūn), *Dhūʿa*, no. 71, l. 2.

⁴² The massacre at Nujayr was not the only one during the *ridda*. A similar event took place in Dabā in ʿUman. Its people agreed to the terms of capitulation dictated by the Azdī tax-collector appointed by the Prophet. The Azdī's verdict was that their noblemen (*ashraf*) would be executed and their women and children taken captive. One hundred of their noblemen were executed; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 1:121f. See Ibn Aʿtham, *Fuṭūḥ*, 1:60f.

⁴³ See Kister, "The Massacre of the Banū Qurayza," 90 ("the Prophet could indeed trust Saʿd b. Muʿādh and rely on his decision: after all, he had been entrusted with arranging the murder of Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf").

⁴⁴ Kister (loc. cit.) refers to the *ḥukm* of Saʿd b. Muʿādh as *arbitration and judgment*: "The Prophet preferred to transfer the authority of arbitration and judgment to Saʿd b. Muʿādh." But,

Ash'ath's role (or alleged role) in the capitulation of Nujayr is closely related to the mode of the conquest. According to one report, he handed over Nujayr to the Muslims under Ziyād b. Labid (he "opened it," i.e., opened its gates).⁴⁹ From the legal point of view the "opening of the gates" means that Nujayr was taken by force and did not surrender. Taking by force (*'anwatan*) automatically entitled the conquerors to kill the men and enslave the women and children; in other words, in this scenario the procedure of *nuzūl 'alā ḥukm* with its problematic implications is dismissed.⁵⁰

In the "opening of the gates" story, Ash'ath takes all the blame for the fate of his fellow tribesmen. Who stands to gain from his vilification? Above all, Ziyād b. Labid, the commander-in-chief of the Muslim army. That this was a question of Ziyād's guilt against Ash'ath's is shown by the following imaginary dialogue (which is yet another piece of historical apologetics). After Ziyād executed seven hundred of their *ashraf*, we are told, the Kindites blamed Ash'ath:

(Cairo, 1399/1979), 206. See Ibn A'tham, *Furūḥ*, 1:67: *wa-nazala l-Ash'ath b. Qays mina l-ḥiṣṣi fī ahli baytihi wa-'ashiratihi min ru'asā' banī 'ammīhi ma'a aḥlīhim wa-amwālihim* [read probably: *wa-mawālihim*] *wa-awlādīhim*. Ash'ath had promised to obtain for all of his fellow Kindites a guarantee of security, but in the end he assured the safety of his own family and property; see Ibn A'tham, *Furūḥ*, 1:66 (*fa-ḡanna ahlu l-ḥiṣṣi anna l-Ash'atha qad akhadha lahumu l-amān bi-ajma'īhim fa-sakarū wa-lam yaqūlū shay'an*).

⁴⁹ E.g., Ibn Ḥubaysh, 1:137. According to Ṭab., 3:337 [1:2009], the Qurashites 'Itrima b. Abī Jahl and al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayya, not the Anṣārī Ziyād b. Labid, negotiated with Ash'ath. "Opening" is rather euphemistic; cf. the blunter expressions in *Manāqib Mazyadīyya*, 77: *fa-wāḡa'ā l-Ash'athu l-muslimīna wa-dallāhum 'alā 'awrāṭi l-Nujayr*, "Ash'ath concurred with the Muslims and directed them to the gap in Nujayr's defences." According to Ibn A'tham, *Furūḥ*, 1:52, Ash'ath had regretted his rebellion before any fighting took place(!).

⁵⁰ Cf. the alleged letter of Abū Bakr concerning Nujayr which suggests three alternatives: taking by force, *nuzūl 'alā ḥukm*, and an agreement of capitulation (which should include their expulsion). The first alternative involves killing the warriors and enslaving the women and children; Ṭab., 3:337 [1:2008] (*fa-in zafirtum bi-l-qawm fa-ḡulū l-muḡāṭila wa-sbū l-dhurriyya in akhadhnumūhum 'anwatan*, *aw yanzilū 'alā ḥukmī*, *fa-in jarū baynakum ḡulh qabla dhālika*, *fa-'alā an tukhrijūhum min diyārihim*). Curiously, in a report of Madā'īni we find the phrase *ḡulh al-Nujayr*; Balādhuri, *Anṣāb* (al-Shaykhāni), 87; below, n. 98.

Kindites: Ash'ath has betrayed us. He obtained a guarantee of security for himself and his family, but not for us. Yet he descended undertaking to obtain it for all of us. We descended trusting that we had an *amān* (*fa-nazalū wa-naḡnu āmināna*), and we were killed.

Ziyād: I have not given you a guarantee of security.

Kindites: You have spoken the truth. Ash'ath has deceived us.⁵¹

In this peculiar dialogue Ziyād receives a full acquittal from none other than the Kindite survivors themselves. The Kindites are aware that any complaints they may have in connection with the slaughter of their relatives should be addressed to Ash'ath.⁵²

An even more fantastic report puts the blame on two Kindites (and of course on Ash'ath), acquitting both Abū Bakr and his governor Ziyād. We are told that the besieged and the besiegers agreed to let Abū Bakr decide the fate of the former (*fa-sālahūhum 'alā an yanzilū 'alā ḥukm Abī Bakr*). Two Kindite messengers were sent to Madina and a deadline was set for their return. Abū Bakr ordered the besieged to be spared and released, but the good tidings were belated because of the envoys' evil intentions: someone on the way told them that al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayya⁵³ had been defeated and they slowed their pace deliberately (perhaps anticipating that their fellow Kindites would achieve an even greater victory). Meanwhile Ash'ath despaired and betrayed the besieged, obtaining a guarantee for ten of them.⁵⁴

The Qurayza were Jewish and the same is true for Ash'ath and certainly for many of the besieged Kindites. The analogy between the Qurayza and the Kinda at Nujayr can help us understand why the Kindites were punished so harshly after they had ceased to be a military threat.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Ibn Ḥubaysh, 1:138.

⁵² It may be relevant here that a grandson of Ziyād b. Labid was involved in transmitting reports on his grandfather's role in Ḥaḡramawt during the *rida*; Ibn Ḥubaysh, 1:131, 136.

⁵³ That he is presented in this source as the main figure in the siege cannot be discussed here (see also above, n. 49).

⁵⁴ 'Askari, *Awā'il*, 310 (as we have seen, the reports on the numbers of those rescued differ). Cf. Ṭab., 3:337 [1:2009].

⁵⁵ In addition, the specific mention of *ashraf* in connection with the massacre of Nujayr may reveal a deliberate attempt to wipe out the political and military leadership of Kinda. Admittedly, not all of them were executed: after the massacre, eighty survivors of *baḡyā mulūk Kinda* were sent in chains to Abū Bakr; Ibn A'tham, *Furūḥ*, 1:68. See also p. 69 (Ash'ath suggests the ransom of himself, "these kings" and every captive in the

But this was not simply an emulation of the Prophet's conduct in dealing with insurgent Jews; it is tempting to assume that Madinan politics, more specifically the rivalry between the Aws and the Khazraj, might shed some light on this episode. It was Sa'd b. Mu'adh of the Aws who proclaimed the verdict of Qurayza; at Nujayr it was the turn of Ziyad b. Labid of the Khazraj to show that, when it came to punishing the enemies of Islam, he could be as merciless as Sa'd.⁶⁴

1. Captivity: Female captives from Nujayr

In this section we shall examine a few specific cases of women who were taken captive at Nujayr. One of them was later found with the Banu Nabd, a subdivision of the Qudā'a, and another with the Banu Ghutayf, a subdivision of the Murād (which presumably indicates the participation of both tribes in the siege of Nujayr).⁶⁵

But two women captured by Quraysh are of more interest to us. One was Bushrā bint Qays b. Abi l-Kaysam, who bore Sa'd b. Mālik (better known as Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās), his sons 'Umar and Muḥammad, and his daughters Ḥafṣa, Umm al-Qāsim and Umm Kulthūm.⁶⁶ Elsewhere she is called Māwiyya and is provided with a more detailed pedigree: Māwiyya bint Qays b. Ma'dikarib b. Abi l-Kaysam b. al-Sim' b. Imri' l-Qays b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya.⁶⁷ The biographies of Māwiyya's two sons reflect the fact that their mother was of Kinda: Muḥammad rebelled with the Kindite Ibn al-Ash'ath and was executed by Ḥajjāj; the Kinda of Kūfa gave the other son, 'Umar, their support "because they were his maternal uncles."⁶⁸ In the case of 'Umar, the link with Kinda continued: he had two sons, each of whom was called 'Abd al-Rahmān; the younger 'Abd al-Rahmān ('Abd al-Rahmān al-aṣghar), and a daughter named Umm 'Amr,

were born of a Kindite mother, Umm Yaḥyā bint 'Abdallāh b. Ma'dikarib b. Qays b. Ma'dikarib of Kinda.⁶¹ Umm Yaḥyā's grandfather, Ma'dikarib b. Qays b. Ma'dikarib, was none other than our Ash'ath.⁶² In other words, 'Umar b. Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās, whose Kindite mother was taken captive at Nujayr, married Ash'ath's granddaughter.

Far more important was Zur'a bint Mishrah, whose father was one of the kings of the Banu Wall'a, the royal family of Kinda on the eve of Islam. She bore the great 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās almost all his children, from his first-born, 'Abbās, to the youngest, 'Alī (nicknamed *al-sajjād*, "the man who prostrates himself much"). 'Alī was born on the night of 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib's murder (in Ramaḍān, 40 A.H.) and thus received his name. The other children of the couple were 'Ubaydallāh, al-Faḍl, Muḥammad, and 'Abd al-Rahmān, and there was also a daughter, Lubāba. In other words, one realizes that the royal family of Kinda contributed to the 'Abbāsīd line.⁶³ When Zur'a was brought to Ibn 'Abbās, she was technically a slave, but at the same time she belonged to one of the most prestigious families in Arabia. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, "the father of the ('Abbāsīd) caliphs," was of course the most important son of Ibn 'Abbās.⁶⁴

In the aftermath of the battle of the Ḥarra (63/683), when the Madinans were forced to pledge allegiance to the caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya according to a particularly humiliating formula, 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, who was then in his early twenties, was spared this treatment by the intervention of the Kindites in the Umayyad army, who constituted, as we are told in this context, its major segment (*wa-kānat Kinda mu'zama l-jaysh*).⁶⁵

2. Captivity: The court of Ramla bint al-Ḥārith in Madina

Finally, a point of detail concerns the site in Madina where the captives of Nujayr were imprisoned, namely,

Yemea; when Abū Bakr released Ash'ath from his chains, he also released those who were with him of the kings of Kinda).

⁶⁴ Concerning the competition between the Aws and the Khazraj in the context of the struggle against the Jews, see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fi ghariḥ al-ḥadīth wa-l-aḥar*, ed. Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Zīwī and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī (Cairo, 1385/1965), s.v. *z.w.l.*; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saqqī, al-Abyārī and Shalabī (Beirut, 1391/1971), 3:286 (the expedition against Sallām b. Abi l-Ḥuqayq).

⁶⁵ Ṭab., 3:340 [1:2012f.].

⁶⁶ Loc. cit.

⁶⁷ Ibn Sa'd, 3:137; 5:168 (read Māwiyya instead of Māriya).

⁶⁸ Ibn Sa'd, 6:221 (Muḥammad); Ṭab., 5:524 [2:460] ('Umar, 64 A.H.). Cf. Ṭabarānī, *Kabīr*, 1:337f. ('Alī b. Abi Ṭālib tells Ash'ath about the anticipated appearance of the terrible 'abd Ṭaqqf, viz., Ḥajjāj).

⁶¹ Ibn Sa'd, 5:168. (Another son, 'Abdallāh al-aṣghar, was born of an unnamed woman of Kinda.)

⁶² *Iḥāba*, 1:87f.

⁶³ *Nasab Ma'add*, 1:175; Ibn al-Kalbi, *Jamharat al-nasab*, ed. Najī Ḥasan (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub-Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-'Arabiyya, 1407/1986), 32; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, 28f.; anon., *Akḥbār al-dawla l-'Abbāsiyya*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī and 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Muḥallabī (Beirut, 1971), 117.

⁶⁴ Ibn Qudāma, *Tabayin*, 160. In Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, 29, it is 'Alī's son Muḥammad who is called *Abū l-khalā'if*.

⁶⁵ *Mandāqib Maẓyadiyya*, 79. Cf. Mas'ūdī, *Murāj*, 3:268, 269 ('Alī was protected by his maternal uncles of Kinda and troops of Rabi'a).

the court (*dār*)⁶⁶ of Ramla bint al-Ḥārith.⁶⁷ Several years earlier, the men of Qurayza were incarcerated in the court (*dār*) of Usāma b. Zayd, while the women and children were imprisoned in the court of Ramla bint al-Ḥārith.⁶⁸ Also, the captives of Dabā, who included warriors as well as women and children, were jailed by Abū Bakr in the same court.⁶⁹ In the time of the Prophet this very court was also used for hosting tribal deputations, such as the Nakha^c deputation of two hundred,⁷⁰ and the Khawlān deputation of ten.⁷¹

It could be argued that this is a mere literary topos, but it is more plausible that Ramla's court was chosen because it was sufficiently spacious and because Ramla herself was a trustworthy woman. The literary option becomes improbable when one considers the location of Ramla's court. In order to find this out we turn to Ramla's pedigree: it shows that she was of the Khazraj, more precisely of the Najjār, more precisely of the Banū Thaʿlaba b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār. Our detailed genealogical and geographical evidence on the Anṣār allows us to translate this pedigree into geographical reality.

A useful source for Anṣārī genealogies is a book entitled *al-Istibṣār fi nasab al-ṣahāba mina l-anṣār*, "The attentive observation concerning the genealogy of the Companions among the Anṣār," which was written by Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāma al-Jammāʿī al-Maqdisī (d. 620/1223).⁷² What makes the *Istibṣār* so useful is its division into many small sections, each dedicated to a little tribal group. For example, the clan of Ramla bint al-Ḥārith, the Banū Thaʿlaba b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār (certainly not a large one), is divided into three sub-sections, which gives us a clear idea of its subdivisions.⁷³

When we browse through the details about these Banū Thaʿlaba b. Ghanm, we realize that Ramla's court was located at the very heart of Islamic Madina, near the Prophet's mosque and the rooms of his wives. For instance, one of the Banū Thaʿlaba was Ḥāritha b. al-Nuʿmān, who had *mandzil*, presumably "empty plots," near the *mandzil* of the Prophet. Whenever the Prophet married a new wife, Ḥāritha gave up one of his *mandzil* (*fa-kāna kullamā aḥdatha rasūlu llāhi [s.] aḥlan taḥawwala lahu Ḥāritha b. al-Nuʿmān ʿan manzil baʿda manzil*).⁷⁴ The two orphans who had owned the land on which the Prophet's mosque was built were also of the Thaʿlaba.⁷⁵ In other words, Ḥāritha, the orphans, and no doubt Ramla as well, were in fact the Prophet's closest neighbors. The captives who were kept in Ramla's court and the delegations which were housed in it were near the Prophet's mosque, at the centre of Islamic Madina, among people whom the Prophet could trust.

APPENDIX: THE JEWISH HARLOT HIRR BINT YĀMIN IN THE RIDDĀ

Concerning the *ridda* of Kinda we have an unusual text from Ibn Ḥabīb's *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar* (pp. 184–89) which deals, from a peculiar angle, with the *ridda* in the Ḥaḍramawt region of the Kinda and Ḥaḍramawt tribes.

The text, which was studied by A. F. L. Beeston some forty years ago,⁷⁶ tells of the joyous reception given in Ḥaḍramawt to the news of the Prophet's death.⁷⁷ There were in Ḥaḍramawt six women of the Kinda and Ḥaḍramawt tribes who had longed for the death of the Prophet

⁶⁶ For the translation of *dār* as "court" see Kister, "The Massacre of the Banū Qurayza," 65, 74, n. 39.

⁶⁷ *TMD MS*, 3:41. See an entry on Ramla in *Iṣḍāba*, 7:651.

⁶⁸ *Wāqidi*, 2:512.

⁶⁹ Ibn Ḥubaysh, 1:122.

⁷⁰ Ibn Saʿd, 1:346 (Ramla bint al-Ḥārith); 5:531 (Ramla bint al-Ḥadath[!], which is how Wāqidi called her father; *Iṣḍāba*, 7:651).

⁷¹ Ibn Saʿd, 1:324.

⁷² He was born in 541/1146 in Jammāʿīl (nowadays, Jammaʿīn), not far from Nablus (Shechem), and emigrated to Damascus with his family as a boy of ten, following the Crusader occupation; Ibn Qudāma, *Tabayn*, the editor's introduction, 19; Yāqūt, s.v. "Jammāʿīl." On Muwaffaq al-Dīn's account about the battle of the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn (in which he participated), see B. Z. Kedar, "The Battle of the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn: Another View," *Cathedra* (Jerusalem) 61 (September 1991), 96 (in Hebrew).

⁷³ Ibn Qudāma, *Istibṣār*, 56f. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 349.

⁷⁴ Ibn Saʿd, 3:488. For *mandzil*, see Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Ḥārūn (Cairo: al-Khānījī, 1378/1958), 363: *Shurāḥbil b. as-Simʿ . . . wa-hurwa lladhi qasama mandzila Himṣ bayna ahlihā ḥina fīstahāhā*.

⁷⁵ Ibn Qudāma, *Istibṣār*, 63f.

⁷⁶ Beeston, "The So-called Harlots of Ḥaḍramawt." R. B. Serjeant reports that "this passage was not received at all well by some Ḥaḍramīs who considered it an aspersion on their ancestors, although it has the ring of authenticity": "Historians and Historiography of Ḥaḍramawt," *BSOAS* 25 (1962): 241; published also in *Studies in Arabian History and Civilization* (London: Variorum, 1981).

⁷⁷ Incidentally, the man who brought the news of the Prophet's death to Ḥaḍramawt is not Jabhal of Kulayb (*Muḥabbar*, 184, 186; Beeston, "The So-called Harlots of Ḥaḍramawt," 16), but Juhayl (b. Sayf) of the tribe of Kalb; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 458, l. 13.

and, when it happened, dyed their hands with henna and played on the tambourine.⁷⁸ They were joined by twenty-odd harlots from Ḥaḍramawt (*baḡḡayā Ḥaḍramawt*, in the geographical sense), who emulated them. This corresponds to a passage later in the same report (p. 187): the Yemenite women (*niswa min ahli l-Yaman*) who longed for the death of the Prophet were joined by singing-girls (*qiyān*) of Kinda and prostitutes (*ʿawḍhir*) of Ḥaḍramawt. Twelve of the so-called harlots are named. A few of them can be identified (see below), thanks to the relatively detailed information we have on the genealogies of Kinda.

As Beeston noticed, the word "prostitutes" in this case should not be taken literally.⁷⁹ Indeed there can be no doubt that the women (or at any rate most of them) were not harlots but respectable women of different Kindite and Ḥaḍramite clans. The reference to these women as harlots was not a light matter; when the report was recorded, the *ridda* was an event of the recent past.⁸⁰

The title of the *Muḥabbar* story is: *al-niswa al-mutamanniyyāt mawta rasūli llāhi (s.) wa-qisṣatuhunna*, "the women who desired the death of the Messenger of

⁷⁸ On Yemenite women (the text speaks of slaves) dyeing their hands and feet to celebrate a festival, see Ibn Saʿd, 5:540 (on the occasion of the Fīr and the Aḡḡā, Ṭāwūs al-Yamānī ordered all his slavegirls, black and otherwise, to dye their hands and feet; he used to say: "This is a festival," *innahu yawm ʿId*).

⁷⁹ Beeston, "The So-called Harlots of Ḥaḍramawt," 20: "... they cannot have been common prostitutes, since three of the women named were members of the noble class, the *al-ʿarāf*, and four of them belonged to the royal tribe of Kindah." He assumed that "these women, or some of them, were in fact priestesses of the old pagan religion of South Arabia, who hoped that the death of Muḥammad would afford them a chance of staging a revival of the old religion." Their "singing and dancing," Beeston suggested, was "an incitement to their fellow-tribesmen to rise and try to throw off the yoke of the new religion, which had deprived the pagan priests and priestesses of positions of considerable power and influence." The "revival of the old religion" theory seems to me improbable. Beeston dismisses the other alternative, namely that the term "harlot" was "simply an opprobrious epithet employed by their political antagonists among the Muslims" because "something more than this lies behind it." In my opinion, the term was simply a piece of invective; see below.

⁸⁰ The source of the *Muḥabbar* report (on whom see below) is familiar with the families involved; in two cases, a woman mentioned in the report is said to have been the *jadda* (grandmother, or perhaps great-grandmother) of a certain person.

God and their story." The employment of the verb *tamanna* in this context is not accidental; it connotes an illegitimate sexual desire and should be linked with the alleged immorality of these women.⁸¹

The following paragraphs discuss information on these women gleaned from the genealogies of Kinda. The first two women in the list are designated *mina l-ashraf*, while a third *sharifa* is unnamed. In the case of al-ʿAmarrada bint Maʿdīkarib, who is listed first, this "nobility" means belonging to the dominant royal line of Kinda at that time, viz., the Banū Waliʿa.⁸² But the other *sharifa* whose name is given, Hunayda bint Abi Shamir, was probably the younger sister of a man called Hānī³ b. Abi Shamir, who died before Islam. Her pedigree shows her to have been a member of Ashʿath's clan, the Banū Jabala b. ʿAdī.⁸³ About the third, unnamed, *sharifa* we only know that she was from Tinʿa (*imraʿa min Tinʿa sharifa mā summiyāt*).

Another woman in the list who can be identified is Ibnat al-Awdaj b. Abi Karib of Kinda, whose brother, according to the *Muḥabbar* report discussed here, was killed at Nujayr. She was also of Ashʿath's clan, the Banū Jabala b. ʿAdī; in fact, two brothers of hers, Bashir and Qays, sons of al-Awdaj b. Abi Karib, were killed at Nujayr.⁸⁴ An identification can also be suggested for Asmā² bint Yazīd b. Qays of the Banū Wahb of Kinda. Her father was Yazīd b. Qays b. Salama of the Banū Wahb, more precisely the Banū Ḥujr b. Wahb; he was

⁸¹ A famous woman, called *al-mutamanniya* with reference to her illegitimate sexual desires, was Ḥajjāj's mother, who coveted a handsome man of the Banū Sulaym: *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s.v. m.n.y., 294a; M. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym: A Contribution to the Study of Early Islam* (Jerusalem: Institute of Asian and African Studies, The Hebrew University, 1989), 79, n. 80.

Note also that in a letter allegedly sent by Abū Bakr to the governor of Ḥaḍramawt it is mentioned that beside dyeing their hands and playing on their tambourines, the women also "displayed the beautiful places of their bodies" (*wa-azharna maḥṣinahunna*).

⁸² See above, n. 63.

⁸³ *Nasab Maʿadd*, 1:142 (Hānī³ b. Abi Shamir, *kāna shariḥan jāhiliyyan*). Perhaps his sister's name was Hunayʿa, not Hunayda.

⁸⁴ *Nasab Maʿadd*, 1:143. See also Balādhuri, *Furūḡ*, 145 (Bashir b. al-Awdaj [printed al-Awdaj!] and Yazīd b. Amānāt are mentioned in an elegy of Ashʿath on those who died at Nujayr). Because she had two brothers who were killed there, the word *akhāh* in *Muḥabbar*, 185, should probably be read *akhawāh*. In the *Muḥabbar*, her father's name is wrongly printed al-Awdaj(!).

nicknamed *qārī*? *Banī Salama* and came to the caliph Mu'āwiya as an envoy.⁸⁵

At least one, but probably two, of the women were of a clan called Banū al-ʿĀtik. The father of Malka bint Amānāt b. Qays b. al-Ḥārith b. Shaybān b. al-ʿĀtik, known for his longevity, was a Companion who came to the Prophet as an envoy. Her brother Yazid b. Amānāt and another member of the Banū al-ʿĀtik, Maʿrūf b. Qays b. Shurāḥbil, were killed at Nujayr.⁸⁶ Malka bint Qays b. *Sharāḥbil*, whose brother was killed at Nujayr, was probably the sister of Maʿrūf b. Qays b. *Shurāḥbil* of the same clan, who was killed at Nujayr.⁸⁷

Special attention should be given to two women mentioned in the list. One is al-Tayhāʾ al-Ḥaḍramiyya (of the Ḥaḍramawī tribe), the mother of Ashʿath's [half-] brother Sayf b. [Qays b.] Maʿdīkarib.⁸⁸

The other is the only woman on the list specifically said to have been Jewish, namely Hirr bint Yāmin al-Yahūdīyya.⁸⁹ Her description is particularly venomous. We are told that she was not an ordinary harlot: her name "became synonymous with prostitution, and people said: 'more whoring than Hirr'" (*yudrabu bihā l-maḥal fi l-zinā fa-yuqālu: aznā min Hirr*). Her distinction is well attested in the literature of *amḥāl*.⁹⁰ It is reported that

⁸⁵ *Nasab Maʿadd*, 1:156.

⁸⁶ *Nasab Maʿadd*, 1:160; *Iḍāba*, 1:110; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba fi maʿrifat al-pahāba* (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-Wahbiyya, 1280 A.H.), 1:114.

⁸⁷ *Nasab Maʿadd*, loc. cit. The names *Sharāḥbil* and *Shurāḥbil* may be found interchangeably; cf. Olander, "ʿAlī al-Ḡaun of the family of ʿĀkil al-Murtr," 211.

⁸⁸ His father's name was omitted from the *Muḥabbar* report. See *Iḍāba*, 3:237 (Ibn al-Kalbī: *wa-umm Sayf ḥādhd al-Tayhā, qayma min Ḥaḍramawī, wa-hiya iḥdā l-shawāmi*). In *Nasab Maʿadd*, 1:141, her name is corrupted (al-Shahhāʾ); it is also corrupted in Balāḍuri, *Furūḥ*, 142 (al-Thabjāʾ). Umm Sayf's hand was cut off in *Mashāʾa*; *Muḥabbar*, 188 (*kamā quṣīʿat bi-Mashāʾata Ummi Sayfi*). The statement that the women's hands were cut off after the siege of Nujayr (ʿAskari, *Awāʾil*, 311) can only relate to some of them.

⁸⁹ In *Muḥabbar*, 188 (in a verse), she is called *Hirra*. For the name *Yāmin*, see, e.g., *Iḍāba*, 7:173 (there was a *Yāmin* b. ʿAmr among the Banū al-Naḍīr). For another *Hirr* (of Kalb) see Kister, "On the Wife of the Goldsmith from Fadak and her Progeny," *Le Muséon* 92 (1979): 322 = *Nasab Maʿadd*, 2:562.

⁹⁰ *Maydānī*, *Amḥāl*, 1:326 (Ibn al-Kalbī calls her *Hirr bint Yāmin*); Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Durra al-fakhira fi l-amḥāl al-sāʿira*, ed. ʿAbd al-Majīd Qatāmiḥ (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, [1966]), 213f.

"immoral people used to visit her in the Jāhiliyya in turn to commit sinful acts" (*wa-kāna l-fussāq yatanāwā būnahā li-l-fisq fi l-jāhiliyya*).⁹¹

The *Muḥabbar* also tells us (p. 188) that *Hirr* practiced fornication with a slave called al-Azʿar and bore him a son called *Ḥabīb*. *Ḥabīb* in his turn had an illegal liaison with a slavegirl who bore him a child called *Buḥayr*.⁹² This grandson of *Hirr* emigrated to Kūfa and claimed falsely to be of the Ḥaḍramite tribe (*wa-takhadha nasa-ban illā Ḥaḍramawī*). The falsity of this claim was divulged in verses of a genuine Ḥaḍramite called *Sharīk* b. *Shaddād* al-Tinʿī. *Sharīk* "reminded" *Buḥayr* that *Abū Bakr* had amputated his grandmother's hand, and that his "maternal uncle" *Mawraq* was *dhū l-karāʾif*, "the owner of the smith's tongs," i.e., a blacksmith. This is a reference to *Hirr*'s brother *Mawraq*, who was a blacksmith (*qayn*).⁹³

There are some indications concerning the source of the *Muḥabbar* report (or part of it). Our starting point is the role of two Ḥaḍramites, father and son. As we have seen, *Sharīk* b. *Shaddād* al-Tinʿī al-Ḥaḍramī divulged *Buḥayr*'s lowly descent. Although he is called al-Tinʿī, the *Muḥabbar* report shows him to be a resident of Kūfa. This is confirmed by the fact that this very *Sharīk* b. *Shaddād* al-Ḥaḍramī was among the companions of *Hujr* b. ʿAdī who were expelled from Kūfa in 51/671 by Mu'āwiya's governor, *Ziyād* b. *Abīhi*.⁹⁴ This gives us a *terminus ante quem* for the episode with *Hirr*'s grandson *Buḥayr* which took place in Kūfa.

The *Muḥabbar* mentions not only *Sharīk*, but also his father *Shaddād* (pp. 186f.). We are told that *Shaddād* b. *Mālik* b. *Ḍamʿaj*, a *sharīf* from Tinʿa, played a positive role during the *ridā*. He was allegedly one of the two righteous men who informed *Abū Bakr* (in verse) about

⁹¹ This is an explanatory sentence attached to the above proverb in *Mahmūd* b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsarī, *al-Mustaqqāʾ fi amḥāl al-ʿArab* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1397/1977), 1:150.

⁹² For the vocalization see Ibn Mākkūlā, *al-Ikmāl*, 1:203 (the vocalization *Baḥīr* here appears to be erroneous). Ibn Mākkūlā mentions a grandson of *Buḥayr*, al-Qāsim b. *Kathīr* b. *Buḥayr* b. *Ḥabīb* b. *Azʿar* al-Ḥaḍramī, who was killed fighting on the side of *Zayd* b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn (viz., in 121/739). This pedigree confirms that *Buḥayr*'s father was called *Ḥabīb* and his grandfather [al-] *Azʿar*.

⁹³ *Muḥabbar*, 185. His trade is possibly a hint of the non-Arab descent of the family. Incidentally, *Beeston*, "The So-called Harlots of Ḥaḍramawī," 19, vocalizes: *Shurayk*, but I see no reason for this.

⁹⁴ *Ṭab.*, 5:271 [2:136]. He was later executed by Mu'āwiya; op. cit., 277 [2:143].

the goings-on in Ḥaḍramawt and remained steadfast in their faith.⁹⁵ Shaddād and his son Sharik occupy a prominent place in the *Muḥabbar* report. Moreover, Shaddād's conduct during the *ridda* is presented in the most favorable terms. This may indicate that the report (or part of it) was composed by Sharik or by another descendant of Shaddād. This assumption brings us back to the above-mentioned unnamed *sharifa* from Tin'a. Shaddād was also a *sharif* from Tin'a, and he may well have been related to this woman. If indeed the report originated with a descendant of his we may have an explanation of the fact that the woman's identity was not disclosed.

The import of the *Muḥabbar* report is not the rejoicing in Ḥaḍramawt over the Prophet's death, but the *ridda* of Kinda as a whole. Two of the women are said to have had brothers who died at Nujayr, the site of the final episode of the *ridda* of Kinda. The so-called harlots were dispersed in the following localities: Tarim, Masḥa, al-Nujayr, Tin'a, Shabwa, and Dhamār(?).⁹⁶ These place names probably make up the map of the *ridda* in Ḥaḍramawt.

The section on the women that introduces us to the *ridda* of the Kinda and Ḥaḍramawt tribes implies that it was not caused by political or religious differences with the Islamic state and its governor in Ḥaḍramawt. Rather, it all happened because of women of dubious reputation. Then follows a section dealing with the two righteous men, who not only refrained from joining the rebels, but informed the caliph in Madina (in verse) about the rejoicing *baghāyā*. One of them was Imru'ū l-Qays b. 'Ābis of Kinda and the other was the above-mentioned Shaddād b. Mālik of Ḥaḍramawt.⁹⁷ Both sincere informants to the caliph demanded that the hands of the immoral women be amputated.⁹⁸ When the caliph wrote to the governor, al-Muḥājir b. Abi Umayya, he ordered him to march to the women with his horses and infantry and cut off their hands. Allegedly, there was no other assignment. Fighting was to take place only if they met with resistance and after due procedure was followed. The actual

fighting is given one sentence only: the Kindites and Ḥaḍramites insisted on fighting al-Muḥājir, then most of them withdrew (. . . *thumma raja'a 'anhu 'ammatahum*). He fought and defeated them (i.e., the rest), then he captured the women and cut off their hands. Most of them died and some of them emigrated to Kūfa.⁹⁹

This probably turns the facts upside down. The amputation of the women's hands was an *outcome* of Kinda's total defeat, not a predetermined *target of war*. The report plays down and completely trivializes the terrible bloodshed of the *ridda* by bringing the women to the fore and suppressing the role of the men. This trivialization (a form of historical apologetics) is the manner in which the tribal or local tradition handles the grievous events of the *ridda*.¹⁰⁰

ABBREVIATIONS

- Aghāni* = Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī. *Kitāb al-aghāni* (Cairo: Būlāq, 1285 A.H.).
- Iṣāba* = Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī. *al-Iṣāba fi tamyiz al-ṣaḥāba*. Ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat Miṣr, 1392/1972).
- Manāqib Mazyadiyya* = Abū l-Baqā' Hibat Allāh. *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyya*. Ed. Ṣāliḥ Mūsā Darādika and Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir Khriṣāt ('Ammān: Maktabat al-Risāla al-Ḥadītha, 1404/1984).
- Muḥabbar* = Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb. *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*. Ed. Ilse Lichtenstaedter (Hyderabad, 1361/1942).
- Nasab Ma'add* = Ibn al-Kalbī. *Nasab Ma'add wa-l-yaman al-kabir*. Ed. Najī Hasan (Beirut: 'Ālam al-Kutub-Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-'Arabiyya, 1408/1988).
- Ṭab. = al-Ṭabarī. *Ta'rikh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*. Ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1380/1960–1387/1967). References to the Leiden edition are added between square brackets.
- TMD MS* = Ibn 'Asākir. *Ta'rikh madinat Dimashq*, facsimile edition in 19 vols. ('Ammān: Dār al-Bashir, n.d.)

⁹⁵ He is presumably identical with Shaddād b. Dam'aj mentioned in Ṭab., 3:484 [1:2218] (as the commander of the troops of Ḥaḍramawt and al-Ṣadīf who set out from Madina to Iraq in 14 A.H.).

⁹⁶ The famous Dhamār is of course in the Yemen, not in Ḥaḍramawt.

⁹⁷ The balance between the two tribes is kept: there was a "face-saving" act of a virtuous man from each of them.

⁹⁸ This somehow conforms to the rule that the "punishment should fit the crime," because they were guilty of dyeing their hands with henna and of playing on the tambourine. On the extraction of the central incisor (*ṭhaniyya*), in addition to the am-

putation of the hand, of a singing-girl who abused the Prophet, see Ṭab., 3:341 [1:2014]. See Beeston, "The So-called Harlots of Ḥaḍramawt," 19. And cf. Balādhuri, *Ansāb* (al-Shaykhāni), 87 (Madā'ini: after the *ṣulḥ* of Nujayr, al-Muḥājir amputated the hand of a singing-girl who had abused Abū Bakr).

⁹⁹ *Muḥabbar*, 188.

¹⁰⁰ The *ridda* of 'Umān provides another example of the same apologetic approach: contrast the mild tribal/local tradition with the violent "mainstream" tradition (represented by Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*) in Nūr al-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-a'yān bi-sirat ahl 'Umān*, ed. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Iṭfīsh al-Mizābī (Cairo: Maṭābi' Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabi bi-Miṣr, 1380/1961), 69f. (*dhikr waq'at Dabd*).

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- Ibn A'tham, Aḥmad al-Kūfī. *Furūḥ* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1406/1986).
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*Kinda on the Eve of Islam and during the Ridda**

Evidence about the *ridda* of Kinda is as mottled as it is for other events which Islamic historiography includes under the title of *ridda*. Tendentious writing and apologetics, contradictions and a complete lack of dates make the historian's task very hard indeed. Yet there is much that can be established (with varying degrees of probability) about those sanguinary events. Since no meaningful study of the short though eventful period of the *ridda* alone is possible, several related topics are also discussed below.

The protagonist in this article is al-Ash'ath (henceforth: Ash'ath) b. Qays whose rise to the leadership of Kinda was an outcome of the *ridda*.¹ This is above all a study of tribal history: Ash'ath was a tribal leader operating in a tribal setting. It is, therefore, vital to have precise genealogical information, as tribal genealogies are the essence and cannot be cursorily referred to in a footnote.

Two auxiliary tools were prepared to accompany this study: a map and a genealogical chart, based on a book by Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Ma'add wa-l-yaman al-kabīr*, which was made available for research in a printed edition just a few years ago.² Over and again it will be demonstrated that the combination of genealogy and history, in this case the genealogy of Kinda and events in the *ridda*, is imperative. Fortunately, to investigate the early Islamic period is not only our main quest but also that of the Islamic genealogists, which makes their writings particularly valuable.

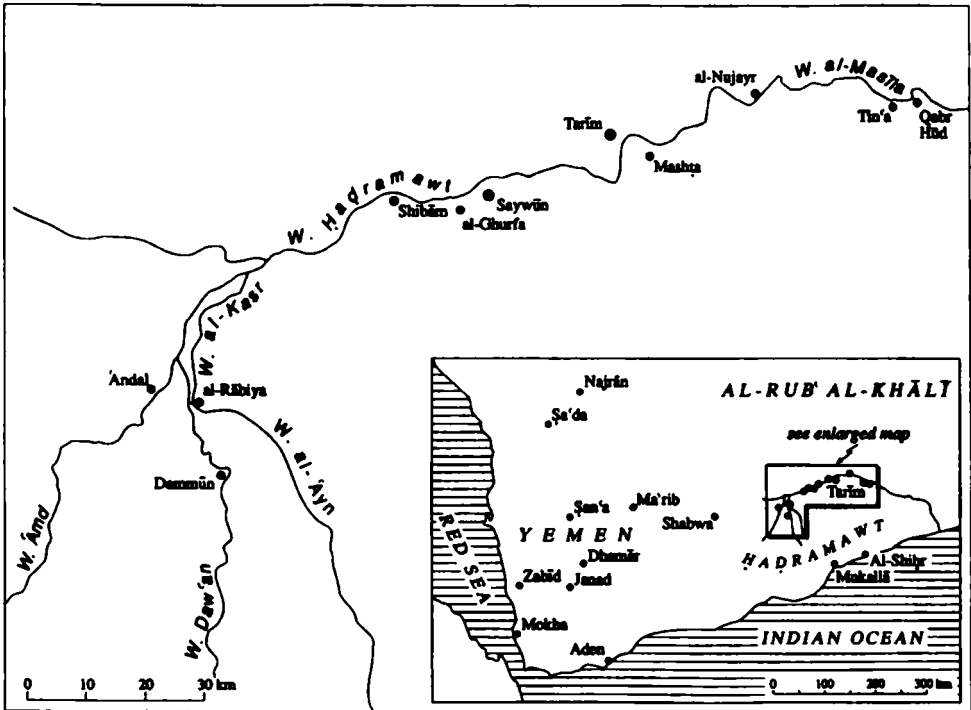
As usual much time and effort had to be dedicated to the comparison and reconstruction of texts simply because so many of them are in an unsatisfactory condition. The tools at our disposal are those of Arabic philology, without which no serious work on early Islamic

* I wish to thank Prof. Griaznevitch of St Petersburg for generously sharing with me some of his vast repository of information on South Arabia; also Dr E. Rezvan of St Petersburg for establishing the contact with Prof. Griaznevitch and for translating the communications from the Russian. The map on p. 334 was drawn by Mrs Tamar Soffer at the Cartography Laboratory, Geography Department, the Hebrew University.

¹ On Ash'ath's Jewish origin see M. Lecker, "Judaism among Kinda and the *ridda* of Kinda" (forthcoming, JAOS). The famous philosopher al-Kindī was his descendant; see Ibn al-Qūfī, *Ta'rikh al-hukama'*, pp. 366; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Cairo, A.H. 1347), p. 357.

² Ed. Najī Ḥasan (Beirut, 1408/1988), pp. 136f. The reader of this book should be warned, though, that the edition contains hundreds of errors. (I have also consulted Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 425f.) Much poorer than the *Nasab Ma'add* is the recent "edition" of a genealogical book by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ash'arī al-Qurṭubī entitled *al-Ta'rif fi l-ansāb wa-l-tanwīh li-dhawī l-aḥsāb*, prepared by Dr Sa'd 'Abd al-Maqṣūd Zālām, *'amid kulliyati l-lughati l-'arabiyya* in al-Azhar (Cairo, 1407/1986). The number of errors renders this edition unusable, which is lamentable because the book includes evidence not found elsewhere.

history can be carried out. At the present stage of our knowledge working with Arabic texts means establishing correct names (e.g. the Khamar Kindite clan is not to be called Ḥimyar or any of the other variants found such as J. M. R, Khumr, Ḥumr or Aḥmaz), discovering lacunae and so on.



I. Kinda on the eve of Islam

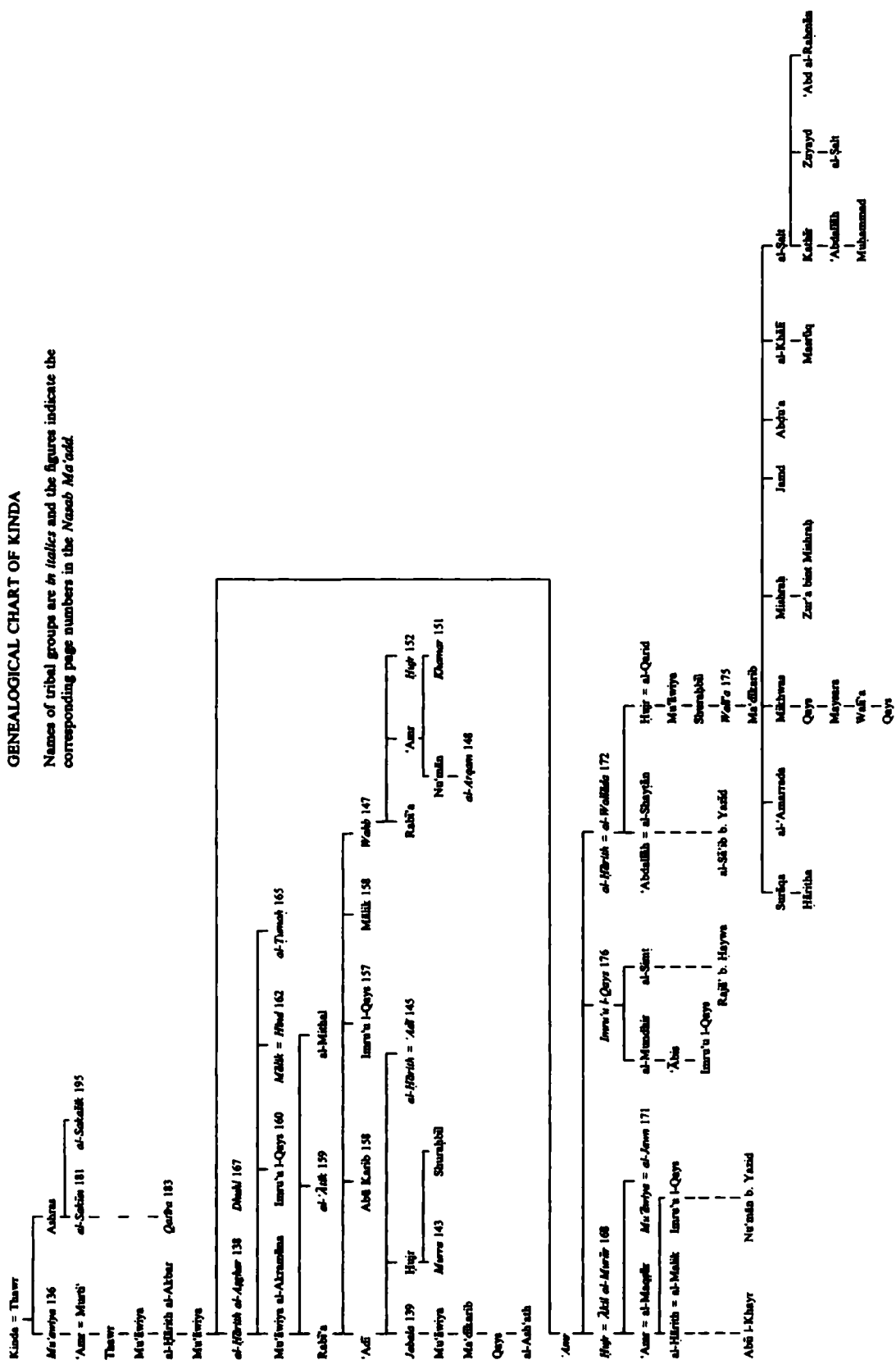
(a) *The 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya and al-Ḥārith al-Aṣghar b. Mu'āwiya*

The Kinda were divided into three branches (see genealogical chart) made up of the Mu'āwiya and the brother-related Sakūn and Sakāsik. This study is mainly concerned with the Mu'āwiya who, prior to Islam, played a far more important role compared to the other two Kinda branches, Ash'ath in turn originated from a subdivision of the Mu'āwiya branch called al-Ḥārith (al-Aṣghar) b. Mu'āwiya (the latter being a different Mu'āwiya; see the chart). A second subdivision of the Mu'āwiya branch was the 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya. The fundamental division of Kinda into the Banū 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya and the Banū al-Ḥārith (al-Aṣghar) b. Mu'āwiya clearly emerges in the reports about the *rida*.³ Not surprisingly, the existence of two separate subdivisions is also reflected in the geographical evidence (see map). Thus in a passage on the fortresses of Ḥaḍramawt we find that al-Nujayr belonged to the Banū Ma'dīkarib (Ma'dīkarib being presumably Ash'ath's grandfather),

³ Ṭabarī, iii, pp. 334f. [i, pp. 2004f.].

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF KINDA

Names of tribal groups are in *italics>* and the figures indicate the corresponding page numbers in the *Nasab Mo'add*.



while Tarīm was the "site of the kings of Banū 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya"; one of these kings, Abū l-Khayr b. 'Amr, a descendant of Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār, is specifically mentioned.⁴

(b) *Banū al-Hārith al-Wallāda supersede Banū Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār*

The Banū Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār were Kinda's royal family during the heyday of Kindite power in Arabia which lasted for almost a century, beginning sometime in the second half of the fifth century,⁵ while the Banū Walī'a of the Banū al-Hārith al-Wallāda obtained the ascendancy on the eve of Islam. The shift in power occurred after Kinda's return to Ḥaḍramawt which Olinder, dating it to the end of the sixth century, plausibly links with the Persian conquest of South Arabia. He adds:

The Kindites in Ḥaḡar and al-Muṣaqqar must absolutely have been dependent on the Persians, who during the second half of the sixth century developed a strong disposition for political expansion exactly on the Persian bay. And when this expansion was extended to South Arabia, the Kindites, after their adversities in Naḡd and al-Yamāma, ought to have greeted with delight the possibility of returning as the confederates of the Persians to their old country and of entering into their old connections with their tribesmen in this neighbourhood.⁶

The Kinda were led back from northern Arabia to Ḥaḍramawt by a member of the Banū Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār.⁷ In Ḥaḍramawt, however, the Banū Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār's supremacy was challenged by their brothers, the Banū al-Hārith al-Wallāda, who gained control before the advent of Islam, possibly with the tacit agreement of the Persian court. Precious evidence concerning this matter is linked with the above-mentioned descendant of Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār, namely Abū l-Khayr b. 'Amr. He came to Khusro as an envoy to ask for military assistance against the Banū al-Hārith al-Wallāda but was poisoned by the Persians (probably during his journey).⁸ His deputation, which must have been sent after Kinda's

⁴ Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, viii, pp. 157f. (the title of this section is *huṣūn Ḥaḍramawt wa-mahāfiduhā*; cf. Beeston *et al.*, *Sabaic Dictionary*, s.v. *mḥfd* ("tower"); Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic*, s.v. ("tower, fortification"). Another locality linked with this Abū l-Khayr is Yatrib; Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, ii, p. 46 (*Yatrib bi-l-lā' madīna bi-Ḥaḍramawt nazalathā Kinda kāna bihā Abū l-Khayr b. 'Amr al-Kindī wa-Tarīm (sic)*; cf. Yāqūṭ, s.v. Yatrib. See also below, the end of n. 8. ⁵ *Et*, s.v. Kinda (I. Shāhid), p. 118.

⁶ Olinder, "Āl al-Ḡaun of the family of Ākil al-Murār", p. 228f.

⁷ A place called Ghamr Dhī Kinda in Najd is specifically recorded: *adkhala Kindata Ḥaḍramawta mina l-Ghamr* (the Ghamr is two days' journey from Mecca on the Baṣra pilgrim road; cf. M. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, pp. 40, 225n). See *Nasab Ma'add*, p. 170 ('Amr/Aqhal); Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 370 (after the downfall of their kingdom, he told them to return to their fellow tribesmen, viz. those who remained in Ḥaḍramawt: ...*fa-lḥaqū bi-qawmikum, fa-rahalū fa-lahiqū bi-Ḥaḍramawt fa-hum bihā ilā l-yawm*). This major move, which included over thirty thousand Kindites returning from Ghamr Dhī Kinda, as well as from Hajar and al-Mushaqqar, took place after the killing of Ibn al-Jawn, a descendant of Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār, in the battle of Shī'b Jabala; see e.g. Hamdānī, *Sifa*, pp. 168 [ed. D. H. Müller, p. 85:6], 175 [88:1].

⁸ Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, viii, pp. 157f. (*wa-Tarīm mawḍi'u l-mulūk min Banī 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya minhum Abū l-Khayr b. 'Amr l-wāfid 'alā kisrā li-yastamidā minhu 'alā banī l-Hārith b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya*; Bakrī, *Mu'jam ma'sta'jama*, ed. Muṣṭafā l-Saqqā (Cairo, 1364/1945-1371/1951), s.v. Tarīm (...*yastamiduhu 'alā qawmihi*); *Nasab Ma'add*, i, p. 170 (...*yastajshuhu 'alā Banī Mu'āwiya*; read: ...*'alā Banī al-Hārith b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya*); cf. D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens* (Wien, 1879), p. 90 (...*yastamidū minhu 'alā 'bni l-Hārith b. Mu'āwiya*). See a German translation *op. cit.*, p. 44; see an English translation in N. A. Fāris, *The Antiquities of South Arabia* (Princeton, 1938), p. 58. Incidentally, Fāris refers to Ṭabarī, iii, pp. 334-5 [i, pp. 2004-6] "for the struggle

return to Ḥaḍramawt and the conquest of the Yemen by a Persian expedition force, reflects the involvement of the Persian court in Kinda's internal politics.

The Banū Walī'a; presumably Kinda's leading family on the eve of Islam and during the *ridda*, were the descendants of Ḥujr al-Qarid b. Al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda.⁹ The sources mention four Walī'a kings: Mikhwas, Mishraḥ, Abḍu'a and Jamd. Reportedly they had visited the Prophet in Medina and then apostatized and were killed. The four had a sister, al-'Amarrada,¹⁰ and we also know of a nephew of the kings called Ḥāritha b. Surāqa (i.e. the kings also had a brother called Surāqa).

Surāqa is the protagonist of an often-quoted incident during the *ridda* involving a young she-camel of the Banū 'Amr taken by the Islamic governor. Only one source, a modern history of Ḥaḍramawt (probably on the basis of a local Ḥaḍramite tradition) has a pedigree of Ḥāritha which is detailed enough to link him to the Banū Walī'a (see chart): Ḥāritha b. Surāqa b. Ma'dīkarib b. Walī'a b. Sharāḥīl b. Mu'āwiya.¹¹

These were no longer the days of Kindite greatness in northern and eastern Arabia: the kingship of the Banū Walī'a meant the possession of a Wādī including all that was in it (*wa-innamā summū mulūkan liannahū kāna li-kulli wāḥid minhum wādīn yamlikuhu bimā fihī*).¹²

between the banū-'Amr and the banū-al-Ḥārith". But the text in Ṭabarī, which relates to the *ridda*, is irrelevant here.

Caskel calls this envoy Abū l-Ḡabr (ii, s.v.; i, no. 238: Abū l-Ḡabr b. 'Amr b. Yazīd b. Shurāḥīl b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr al-Maqṣūr b. Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār). Caskel plausibly assumes that the Khusro in question was Khusro I (Anūshīrwān, 531-79). He also assumes that the Kindite envoy asked for help against the Banū Mu'āwiya (al-Jawn), but the latter assumption is wrong. As we have just seen, according to the *Iktif*, Abū l-Khayr's enemies were the Banū al-Ḥārith (al-Wallāda) b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya.

While the text just quoted implies that Abū l-Khayr lived in Tarīm, elsewhere he is specifically said to have lived in Yatrib; Hamdānī, *Ṣiḡa*, p. 173 [ed. Müller, i, p. 87:13]: *wa-Yatrib madīna bi-Ḥaḍramawt nazalathā Kinda wa-kāna bihā Abū l-Khayr b. 'Amr*.

⁹ *Al-qarid* means "in their language": "the generous". His father was nick-named al-Wallāda because he had many children (*li-kathrati wuldihī*); Ibn Sa'd, v, p. 13.

¹⁰ But according to Hamdānī, *Iktif*, viii, p. 211, Abḍu'a was the sister of Jamd, Mishraḥ and Miḥwas(!). Ḥamza, *Ta'rikh*, p. 101, records "the four kings and their sister Abḍu'a", placing them at the time of Hurmuz b. Shāpūr (Hurmuz I, 272-3!). A dubious report specifies that there were seven kings: the above four, in addition to Ash'ath, Wādī'a and Walī'a; Ibn Ḥubaysh, i, p. 134. Caskel, ii, s.v. Miḥraḥ b. Ma'dīkarib vocalizes: Ḡamad(!) and Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 367, does the same; but see al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, ed. 'Abdallāh 'Umar al-Bārūdī (Beirut, 1408/1988), s.v. al-Jamḍī, ii, p. 86. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iḍāba*, i, 553, s.v. Jamd al-Kindī. On Mishraḥ's daughter Zur'a see Lecker, "Judaism among Kinda", n. 63.

¹¹ 'Alawī, *Ta'rikh Ḥaḍramawt*, i, p. 151. Cf. Ibn Ḥubaysh, i, p. 133 (Ḥāritha b. Surāqa b. Ma'dīkarib); Ṭabarī, iii, p. 332 [i, p. 2002] (Abū al-Sumayr Ḥāritha b. Surāqa b. Ma'dīkarib). In 'Askarī, *Awā'il*, p. 309, this man is called Masrūq b. Ma'dīkarib (which may represent another, independent, version concerning his identity). Another nephew of the kings called Masrūq b. al-Khāḥīl (cf. Caskel, i, no. 239 and ii, s.v. al-Ḥālī b. Ma'dīkarib) was killed "on the day of Nujayr"; *Nasab Ma'add*, i, p. 177. Note that Ibn al-Kalbī mentions a poet called Abū Hunayy Masrūq b. Ma'dīkarib among the descendants of 'Abdallāh/al-Shayṭān b. al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda b. 'Amr, ascribing to him a typically defiant verse in connection with the *ridda*; *Nasab Ma'add*, i, p. 173. But being a descendant of 'Abdallāh/al-Shayṭān, he could not have been of the Banū Walī'a (see chart).

¹² Ibn Sa'd, v, p. 13. We have evidence of palm-trees belonging to the Banū Walī'a: it is reported that the Kindite Yazīd b. Farwa b. Zurāra b. al-Arqam (see the Banū al-Arqam in the chart) granted protection to Khālid b. al-Walīd when he cut the palm-trees of the Banū Walī'a (*ajāra Khālid b. al-Walīd yawma qaṭa'a nakhlā Banī Walī'a*); *Nasab Ma'add*, i, 149. Cf. perhaps Ṭabarī, iii, p. 336 [i, p. 2007] (Khālid b. *fulān* [= so-and-so] al-Makhzūmī takes part in a raid to the Sāḥīl of Ḥaḍramawt ordered by 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl [of the Makhzūm]); Abū l-Ḥasan al-Khazrajī, *al-Kifāya wa-l-i'lām fiman waliya l-Yaman wa-sakanahā min mulūk al-islām*, partial edition by Rāḍī Daḡhūs, *Les cahiers de Tunisie*, xxvii (1979), (entitled: *al-Yaman fi 'ahdi l-wulāt*), p. 37 (Khālid b. al-Walīd is listed among the governors sent by the Prophet to the Yemen), pp. 38, 44f. The above-mentioned Wādīs are presumably identical with the *maḥājir* (sing. *maḥjar*) which are associated elsewhere with the tribal leaders of Kinda. Thus Wādī al-Zurqān (pseudo-)Wāqīdī, *Ridda*, p. 110; the text is garbled) is no doubt identical with

II. Notes on the *ridda* of Kinda

(a) The "assigned portion" (*ṣu'ma*) promised by the Prophet to the Banū Walī'a

Islamic historiography about the *ridda* has no grey colours: one can always tell the "good" from the "bad". It is surprising therefore to find claims of misconduct directed not against the rebels but against the Islamic state itself and its governor in Ḥaḍramawt. The latter were usually protected through the process of sifting, selecting and censoring the huge amount of source material on the *ridda*, which reduced it to the scanty and incomplete reports which we now have. In the case discussed below this "safety net" failed and a report which ran contrary to the dominant tone survived.

The matter at issue was that a *ṣu'ma* (an "assigned portion") from the taxes of Ḥaḍramawt promised by Muḥammad to the Banū Walī'a was later denied them by the governor of Ḥaḍramawt. The less problematic part of the story, namely the part concerning the Prophet's promise, was included in the report about Kinda's deputation to Muḥammad found in Ibn Ḥubaysh's *Ghazawāt*, where it is quoted from Wāqidī, from 'Abdallāh b. Kathīr, from 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. [Muḥammad b. 'Amr b.] Ḥazm al-Anṣārī (d. 130/747 or 135/752).¹³

When the deputation of Kinda came intending to embrace Islam, Muḥammad granted the Banū Walī'a of Kinda a *ṣu'ma* from the fruit (*thimār*) of Ḥaḍramawt [i.e. presumably from taxes levied in kind]. The Prophet also made it incumbent upon the Ahl Ḥaḍramawt to carry it to them and wrote for the Banū Walī'a a letter to this effect.¹⁴

It is also reported that Muḥammad appointed Ziyād b. Labīd al-Bayādī al-Anṣārī as the governor of Ḥaḍramawt in compliance with the Kindites' request that he put at their head "one of them" (*an yab'atha 'glayhim rajulan minhum*). Ziyād certainly was not of Kinda; however, being of the Azd, he was a "southern" Arab.

The fact that 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr's report about the *ridda* of Kinda begins with the visit of their deputation and the *ṣu'ma* granted to them by the Prophet clearly indicates that this Anṣārī informant sought to provide some broader historical context. However, at this point his report is truncated, before we can find out exactly how the *ṣu'ma* is related to the

Mahjar al-Zurqān (Ṭabarī, iii, p. 335 [i, p. 2006]). Cf. Yāqūt, s.v. Zurqān: *mahjar al-Zurqān, wa-l-mahjar ka-l-nāhiya li-l-qawm. Mahjar/mahjir* is "The tract surrounding a town or village"; the *mahjir* of the kings (*aqyāl*) of the Yemen were "places of pasturage, whereof each of them had one, in which no other person pastured his beasts"; Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. However, as owners of *mahjir* we find not only the kings of Walī'a but also two leaders of the Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiya subdivision: *thumma inna Banī 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya... kharajū ilā l-mahjir, ilā ahmā hamawhā* ("... to places of pasturage declared as *himās* or 'places of pasture prohibited to the people other than their owner'"). This is followed by the names of the four kings and their sister al-'Amarrada, each having a *mahjar* of his/her own, who were the leaders of the Banū 'Amr: *wa-kānat Banū 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya 'alā hā'ulā'i l-ru'asā'*. The Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiya had their own *mahjir*: *wa-nazalat Banū l-Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiya mahjirahā*; two leaders of the Ḥārith are specifically recorded: *fa-nazala l-Ash'ath b. Qays mahjaran wa-l-Simj b. al-Aswad Mahjaran*; Ṭabarī, iii, p. 334 [i, p. 2004]. Cf. Beeston et al., *Sabaic Dictionary*, s.v. *mhgr* ("land reserved for s.o.'s exclusive use"); Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic: Sabaean Dialect*, s.v. ("enclosed [pasture] land").

¹³ See on him F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, i (Leiden, 1967), p. 284; J. Horowitz, "The earliest biographies of the Prophet and their authors", *Islamic Culture*, II (1928), pp. 22f. As to 'Abdallāh b. Kathīr, his son Muḥammad was the governor of Medina during the caliphate of al-Mahdī; see below, n. 101.

¹⁴ Ibn Ḥubaysh, i, p. 131 (*aṣ'ama rasūlu 'llāhi [s] Banī Walī'a min Kinda ṣu'ma min thimār Ḥaḍramawt wa-ja'ala 'alā ahl Ḥaḍramawt naqlahā ilayhim*).

ridda. What Ibn Ḥubaysh excluded we can learn from another source, a book on *awā'il* preserving a passage from Madā'inī:¹⁶

... the deputation of Kinda which included the Banū Walī'a and Ash'ath came to him [i.e. to the Prophet]. The Prophet granted the Banū Walī'a a *ṣu'ma* from the *ṣadaqāt* [this term replaces here the term *thimār*] of Ḥaḍramawt. The Prophet appointed as the governor of Ḥaḍramawt Ziyād b. Labīd who made it [viz. the *ṣu'ma*] regular for them [i.e. in principle]. [But] then something [i.e. an emergency] happened which called for their relinquishment of it for one year. They refused, and Ziyād declined giving it to them, so they both disagreed and the Banū Walī'a apostatized (*fa-af'ama rasūlu 'llāhi Banī Walī'a ṣu'ma min ṣadaqāt Ḥaḍramawt wa-'sta'mala 'alā Ḥaḍramawī Ziyād b. Labīd al-Bayāḍī wa-ajrāhā lahum, thumma ḥadatha amr awjaba an yatajāfaw 'anhā sanatahum, fa-abaw wa-abā Ziyād an yu'ṣiyahum iyyāhā, wa-'khtalafū fa-'rtaddat Banū Walī'a*).¹⁶

This rare report about holding back the *ṣu'ma* untypically puts some of the blame for the Banū Walī'a rebellion on the governor of Ḥaḍramawt. By so doing it provides some "mitigating circumstances" for the rebels. (Many Islamic historians must have considered this report inconvenient or we would have found it in other sources as well.) Could holding back the *ṣu'ma* be an apologetic Kindite invention? Presumably not: as the wording suggests, the source is not hostile to the governor, whose conduct it defends. He did not abolish the *ṣu'ma* high-handedly and in principle left the rights of the Kindites intact. It was an emergency measure which called for the temporary relinquishment of the allowance. His conduct is justified, while the Kindites are depicted as arrogant.¹⁷

It can be said that we owe the survival of this rare report to the fact that Islamic historical tradition is so diverse.

(b) *The righteous Kindite Imru'u l-Qays b. 'Ābis*

This section deals with a recurrent theme in the historiography about the *ridda*, namely the role (or rather the alleged role) of "the righteous, non-rebelling man".¹⁸

Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār and al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda, the respective eponymous fathers of the two leading families of Kinda before Islam, had a brother called Imru'u l-Qays, one of whose descendants, the Prophet's Companion Imru'u l-Qays b. 'Ābis, concerns us here (see chart). During the *ridda* he held steadfastly to Islam and was severe with those who apostatized (*wa-kāna shadīdan 'alā mani 'rtadda*). Because of his role in the *ridda* he is described as *al-rajul al-ṣāliḥ*, "the righteous man". Reportedly he even killed his paternal

¹⁶ Possibly taken from Madā'inī's *Kitāb al-ridda*, recorded in Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist* (Cairo, A.H. 1347), p. 149.

¹⁶ Askarī, *Awā'il*, p. 309 (under the title *awwal man mashati l-rijāl ma'ahu wa-huwa rāḥib al-Ash'ath b. Qays*). All this, as we are told later in the same report, took place during the lifetime of Muḥammad. See also Balādhurī, *Fuṣūḥ*, p. 141 (*irtadda Banū Walī'a qabla waṣṣati l-nabi [s]*).

¹⁷ Elsewhere the "safety net" provided for the conduct of the Islamic state and its governor in Ḥaḍramawt is thicker. Cf. Sayf b. 'Umar's report in Ṭabarī, iii, p. 331 [i, p. 2000]. Also Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, i, p. 97 (Ziyād b. Labīd gave the Banū Walī'a the *ṣu'ma* [*fa-dafa'ahā Ziyād ilayhim*]), but they demanded that Ziyād transport it to their land on his camels because they had no camels of their own).

¹⁸ See also Lecker, "Judaism among Kinda", Appendix, n. 97.

uncle.¹⁹ The ideological background of this slaying is borne out by the following short conversation between the uncle and Imru'u l-Qays:

The uncle [when he saw the sword in his nephew's hand and realized that he was about to be slaughtered]: "Are you going to kill your uncle?"

Imru'u l-Qays [answering with an incontrovertible truth and stabbing him at the same time]: "You are my uncle, and Allāh is my God".²⁰

For the circumstances (or alleged circumstances) of this purported dialogue we turn to another source: this episode occurred when the Kindite rebels were being taken out of the Nujayr fortress to be executed. "Imru'u l-Qays", it is explicitly stated, "took part in the siege".²¹ The dialogue between Imru'u l-Qays and his uncle reflects tension between old and new loyalties. By executing a close relative the new convert is initiated into the new faith, proving that his new loyalty is stronger than the old one.²²

In another typical *ridda* scene the "good" (Imru'u l-Qays) meets the "bad" (Ash'ath) and admonishes him. The latter, laughing, haughtily dismisses the cogent arguments of the former and offers to grant Ziyād the governor protection (*a-wa-lā yarqā Ziyād an nujīrahū* [misprinted *an yukhbirahu*] *fa-yakūna bayna azhurinā?*). This story teaches not only that treachery and haughtiness were punishable but also that the Kinda had several righteous people who remained loyal to Islam.²³ One would expect the establishment of the latter point to be among the most important goals of apologetic tribal tradition concerning the *ridda*.

¹⁹ On Imru'u l-Qays see al-Āmidī, *al-Mu'talif wa-l-mukhtalif*, ed. 'Abd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrāj (Cairo, 1381/1961), p. 5 (read *wa-kāna lahu ghana' fi l-ridda* instead of ... 'ana' ...). Āmidī (p. 6) refers to *akhhār* on Imru'u l-Qays in the chapter about Kinda's poets in his book, now lost, *Kitāb al-shu'arā' al-mashhūrīna*; cf. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, I. Supplementband (Leiden, 1937), p. 172. Rajā' b. Ḥaywa, whom 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz owed his nomination as caliph, was also said to have been a descendant of this Imru'u l-Qays. It is of course no accident that Rajā' transmitted a Hadīth dealing with Imru'u l-Qays b. 'Ābis; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, i, p. 112. Others said that Rajā' was a *mawlā* or client of Kinda; see C. E. Bosworth, "Rajā' ibn Ḥaywa al-Kindī and the Umayyad caliphs", *Islamic Quarterly*, XVI (1972), p. 37; reprinted in C. E. Bosworth, *Medieval Arabic Culture and Administration* (London, 1982), iii; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṣ, *Kitāb al-ṣabaqāt*, ed. Akram Diyā' al-'Umarī (Riyāḍ, 1402/1982; reprint of the 1387/1967 edition), p. 310. The rarity of the statement that Rajā' was a *mawlā* paradoxically enhances its reliability (one assumes that it was effectively suppressed elsewhere). In addition, in matters of descent one is inclined to opt for the less favourable possibility. However, in this specific case there is some difficulty: not only do we have a full pedigree of Rajā', showing him to be a full-fledged member of Kinda, but it is also claimed that his grandfather (whose name is disputed) was a Companion of the Prophet; see e.g. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, iv, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arnāwūṣ and Ma'mūn al-Ṣāghirī (Beirut, 1401/1981), p. 557; Ibn 'Asākir, *TMD, Mukht.*, viii, p. 312; Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fi asmā' al-rijāl*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf (Beirut, 1405/1985f.), ix, 151. While the claim for Companion status may be dubious, it presumably indicates the Arab origin of this family. Beside the genealogical link, Imru'u l-Qays b. 'Ābis and Rajā' b. Ḥaywa (who lived two generations after him) had something else in common: both lived in Baysān (in the latter's case, only until his move to Filastīn); see e.g. Ibn 'Asākir, *TMD, Mukht.*, v, p. 41; viii, p. 312. ("Maysān" in Bosworth, *loc. cit.* is erroneous, as has already been pointed out by M. Gil, *A History of Palestine, 634-1099*, translated by Ethel Broido [Cambridge, 1992], p. 121n.)

²⁰ Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 428f.

²¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, i, p. 112, from Marzubānī (*kāna mimman ḥadara ḥiṣāra ḥiṣī l-Nujayr fa-lammā ukhrijā l-muraddāna li-yaqtalū wathaba 'alā 'ammihī li-yaqtulahu* etc.).

²² Note that in the battle of Yarmūk this Imru'u l-Qays (and not a member of the two more prestigious families, Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār and al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda) was in command of a squadron of cavalry (*kurḍūs*); Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, i, p. 112, from Sayf b. 'Umar's *Futūḥ*.

²³ Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, i, p. 47 (*wa-'staraqa l-qawmu fariqayni* etc.).

A statement that many Kindites "did not apostatize" is equivalent to one that "they cooperated militarily with the Islamic state against their fellow Kindites" (see below). However, the impression that might be created by the above story, namely that Imru'u l-Qays's clan was among the loyal, appears deceptive. First, if indeed he was among the besiegers of Nujayr while his paternal uncle was one of the besieged, then we have a clue that even his own family did not support him. Second, a woman of Imru'u l-Qays b. 'Ābis's clan (i.e. the Imru'u l-Qays b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya) was taken captive at Nujayr.²⁴

(c) *The clans who fought with the forces of the Islamic State*

All the Banū Qatira, a subdivision of the Sakūn, "stood steadfastly" and did not apostatize. In other words, they fought against the Kindite rebels and participated in the siege of Nujayr.²⁵

Significantly, when, on the eve of the *ridda*, Ziyād b. Labīd arrived to levy the taxes of the Banū 'Amr, he was accompanied by young men (i.e. tribal troops) of the Ḥaḍramawt and the Sakūn.²⁶ Before the surprise attack on the Banū 'Amr (below, Section II (e)), the rebels were joined by fellow Kindites of the Sakāsik and Sakūn branches.²⁷ It was only after the surprise attack that the Sakāsik and Sakūn joined the government's forces led by Ziyād b. Labīd because they "guarded themselves exceedingly" (*'ittaḡaw 'alā anfusihim*). In Ziyād's army there were reportedly 4,000 Muhājirūn and Anṣār (an unrealistic figure) and 500 Sakāsik and Sakūn.²⁸ Here it should be observed that there is a certain element of inaccuracy in the reference to the Sakūn and Sakāsik as if they formed unified, homogeneous, bodies adopting common policies. In fact these were large tribal groups loosely connected through their common descent (or a notion thereof) and dispersed over large territories. In other words, in different reports "Sakūn" and "Sakāsik" may well mean different combinations of tribal groups belonging to these two branches of Kinda.

The pattern of playing off one branch of Kinda against the other is self-evident. In employing this strategy the Islamic state could always rely on old rivalries.²⁹

²⁴ She was Māwiyya bint Qays b. Ma'dīkarib b. Abī l-Kaysam b. al-Simṭ b. Imri'i l-Qays b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya; Ibn Sa'd, iii, p. 137; v, p. 168 (read Māwiyya instead of Māriya). Note that the combination "al-Simṭ b. Imri'i l-Qays" appears also in Rajā' b. Ḥaywa's pedigree; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 429; see chart.

²⁵ In some sources (*Nasab Ma'add*, i, pp. 183, 184; Ibn Durayd, *Ishṭiqāq*, pp. 369, 371; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 429) the clan's name is vocalized: Qutayra. See a most explicit statement on the role of the Qatira in Abū l-Baqā', *Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, p. 77 (Abū Bakr sent against the rebellious kings of Kinda al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayya and Ziyād b. Labīd, *wa-ma'ahumā Banū Qatira, wa-hum qaum min Kinda aqāmū 'alā l-islām fa-lam yartaddū*). See also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 140 (all the Kinda apostatized except the Sakūn); Ibn Ḥubaysh, i, p. 136 (*wa-kānat Qatira min Kinda qad thabatat 'alā l-islām lam yarji' minhā rajul wāhid*). On the Banū Qatira's role see also Ibn Ḥubaysh, i, p. 136 (one of them carried a fictitious letter from Abū Bakr, in fact written by Ziyād b. Labīd), p. 138 (eight men of the Qatira escorted the captives from Nujayr to Medina), p. 141 (Qatira's share in the spoils of Nujayr). Also Ṭabarī, iii, p. 336 [i, p. 2007] (one of the besieged at Nujayr curses the besieging Banū Qatira and their commander who was of the Banū al-Mughīra, viz. 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl who was of Makhzūm's Banū al-Mughīra).

²⁶ Ṭabarī, iii, pp. 332 [i, pp. 2002f.]; see also p. 333 [p. 2003] (*wa-ghaḍibat al-Sakūn li-Ziyād wa-ghaḍibat lahu Ḥaḍramawt*). Incidentally, this shows that while part of the Ḥaḍramawt tribe was on the rebels' side (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 143: *wa-kānat Ḥaḍramawt atat Kinda munjidatan lahā*), another part fought with the forces of the Islamic state.

²⁷ Ṭabarī, iii, p. 334 [i, p. 2005].

²⁸ Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, i, pp. 53, 54.

²⁹ For fighting in the Jāhiliyya between the Sakūn and Mu'āwiya branches of Kinda (the former were led by a man of the Qatira) see *Nasab Ma'add*, i, p. 184.

(d) Kindite clans in the battles preceding the siege of Nujayr

In order to write a narrative history of Kinda's *ridda* it will be essential to employ local, hitherto unpublished, historiographical treatises from Ḥaḍramawt which undoubtedly include evidence left out of mainstream Islamic historiography. This can be demonstrated by details, unknown in the major works, found in a history of Ḥaḍramawt written in modern times by the Ḥaḍramite historian al-Yāfi'i.³⁰ For example, al-Yāfi'i (who unfortunately provides no references whatsoever) knows that the sister of the four kings of Banū Walī'a, al-'Amarrada,³¹ was more influential than her four brothers. He also says that these five members of the Walī'a family, whose power was unlimited, exchanged letters with the kings of the Yemen and Byzantium to whom they sent precious gifts, the best of which were horses. The five had wineries in the capital city of their kingdom, Dammūn³² in the middle part of Ḥaḍramawt.³³

³⁰ Ṣalāḥ 'Abd al-Qādir al-Bakrī al-Yāfi'i, *Ta'rikh Ḥaḍramawt al-siyāsī*, I (Cairo, A.H. 1354), pp. 71f.

³¹ Ṭabarī, iii, p. 334 [i, p. 2004].

³² Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'ibar* (Beirut, 1956f.), ii, 576: *Kinda... wa-madīnat mulkihim Dammūn*. According to Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, p. 170 [ed. D. H. Müller, p. 86: 5], Dammūn was inhabited by the offspring of al-Ḥārith al-Malik b. 'Amr al-Maḡṣūr b. Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār (*wa-sākin Dammūn banū al-Ḥārith...*). Prof. Griaznevitch wrote to me: "In the medieval Arabic historical and geographical literature this toponym became famous because it was mentioned in two verses of Imru'u l-Qays (d. in the first half of the VIth century). According to the context of the verses mentioned above, this was the settlement in Ḥaḍramawt in which the poet was living for some time. One of the informants of al-Hamdānī (Xth century) told him that Dammūn... is one of the two settlements (*hajarāni*) which are situated on the opposite sides (north and south)... of the huge rock situated in the middle of Wādī Daw'an. The settlement on the south side of the rock is said to be named Khawdūn or Khaydūn (probably this is the modern village Munayzara), the one on the north side is Dammūn. Here I had the possibility to investigate the poorly preserved ruins of ancient settlement which could be a castle of a medium size. The modern big settlement al-Hajarayn ('two towns') is situated on the western slope of the rock.... Some 20-25 km from the modern al-Hajarayn in Wādī 'Amd the ruins of the city of 'Andal are situated. It is the place which is mentioned in one of the verses of Imru'u l-Qays as the aim of several raids in which the poet took part. This could confirm the location of Dammūn - a place in western Ḥaḍramawt where the legendary poet was living.... The polemic about the true location of Dammūn is still going on mainly among the local historians/local patriots. It is connected with the fact that in Ḥaḍramawt there is another place with the same name, the northwestern suburb of Tarīm... Al-Hamdānī also indicates the existence of another Dammūn in central Ḥaḍramawt, in the region situated east of the modern Katn-Shibām up to Tarīm and its environs and called al-Sarīr in antiquity".

³³ Pp. 74f. Yāfi'i's account of the *ridda* is problematic, though: it is hard to distinguish between his own analysis and his evidence. Yāfi'i is obscure concerning the identity of the aforementioned Ḥāritha b. Surāqa (see above, p. 337): while his description of the events suggests (p. 76) that Ḥāritha b. Surāqa b. Ma'dikarib b. al-Ḥārith (read: b. Walī'a) was not of the Walī'a, we later find (p. 77) that the Banū Walī'a joined him and fought under his command. Two of Yāfi'i's comments are of special interest. First, a few place-names are incorporated into the description of the event: at the first stages of the *ridda*, Ziyād, rather than resorting to quiet diplomacy, remained silent (*l'azama l-sukūn wa-l-ṣamī*) and contented himself with the *bay'a* of the inhabitants of Shibām, al-Ghurfa, Saywūn, Tarīm, Maryama and Dammūn (p. 76). Second, there is an important comment about the lack of solidarity between Kinda's different divisions. Yāfi'i (pp. 78f.) says that contrary to what one could expect, the kings of Kinda in western Ḥaḍramawt, in Daw'an, did not gather their forces in order to seek revenge from Ziyād and reinstate in power their brothers, the kings of the East, although Ash'ath had sent his envoys to them shortly before the war. They provided no assistance to Ash'ath, were involved in no hostilities against Ziyād and his men and did not obstruct al-Muḥājir b. Abī Umayya's passage through their territory at al-Kasr (see map) on his way from the Yemen and back. Had they fought against him, Yāfi'i adds, they would have annihilated his army. For the *bay'a* given to Ziyād by the people of Tarīm see also 'Alawī, *Ta'rikh Ḥaḍramawt*, i, p. 151, citing the following local historical work: Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Sulaymān al-Khaṣīb, *Bard al-na'im fi manāḡib khusūbā' Tarīm*. Cf. on this book R. B. Serjeant, "Materials for South Arabian history: notes on new MSS from Ḥaḍramawt", *BSOAS*, XIII (1949-51), p. 305 (under the title *Burd [!] al-na'im fi nasab al-Anṣār khusūbā' Tarīm*).

In this section an attempt is made to identify the tribal groups of Kinda which were involved in the battles preceding the siege of Nujayr.³⁴ (The genealogical chart is particularly useful here.)

Between the surprise attack on the Banū 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya (see below) and the siege of Nujayr there were a few small skirmishes and one major battle, which took place in Wādī Zurqān near Tarīm. Ziyād b. Labīd, whose forces were far superior to those of any one Kinda clan, attacked and destroyed one after the other the Banū Hind, Banū al-'Ātik, Banū Ḥujr and Banū Khamar. In the first three cases it is explicitly reported that these were all surprise attacks. The Ḥujr were singled out as "the most excellent warriors of Kinda and their best horsemen" (*wa-hum yawma'idhin jamarāt Kinda wa-fursānuhum*). Male captives were only mentioned in connection with the Banū Ḥujr.³⁵

Following these attacks Ash'ath gathered around him an army of "his cousins" the Banū Murra, Banū 'Adī and Banū Jabala (his own clan). He defeated the Muslims near Tarīm, won back the booty and captives and besieged Tarīm, where the Muslims took refuge. When reinforcements led by al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayya arrived, Ash'ath temporarily lifted the siege on Tarīm but renewed it later with the reinforcements inside the town's walls. On Ash'ath's side were the Banū al-Arqam under Jabr b. Qash'am, Banū Ḥujr under Abū Qurra, Banū Khamar under Abū Shamir, and Banū Hind under al-Jafshīsh b. 'Amr.³⁶ A reported conciliatory move by the caliph Abū Bakr, who suggested replacing Ziyād with a governor acceptable to the Kindites, was rejected by Ash'ath, and when a young Kindite killed Ziyād's messenger, Ash'ath praised him. The murder alienated Abū Qurra, Abū Shamir and Jabr b. Qash'am, who withdrew with their clans. However, even with reduced troop numbers Ash'ath managed to defeat the Muslim forces of the Muhājirūn and Anṣār, who were joined by the Sakāsik and Ṣakūn, in Wādī Zurqān.³⁷

³⁴ On the siege see also Lecker, "Judaism among Kinda", Section II. Prof. Griaznevitch informed me (written communication) that according to the historical sources, al-Nujayr was east of Tarīm. He continued: "The field research organized by the Soviet-Yemeni Joint Expedition in 30.4 and 4.5 1983 demonstrated that previous locations were wrong and gave the possibility to locate the Nujayr castle at the place of the ancient site al-Hajar ('town'). It is situated close to the left side of Wādī Masila on the high rocky hill 28 km east of Tarīm. It is really possible that this site is connected also with the castle 'Urr Kulayb ('r klybm) captured and destroyed by Sabaic troops at the beginning of the IVth century Field inspection revealed the traces of buildings. Among them were found traces of walls and gates built on the remnants of the ancient structures and of the materials of the ancient edifices. These facts are in conformity with the sources which report that the Kindites 'restored and strengthened' here the ruins of the old castle and constructed and fortified here the new castle called al-Nujayr".

³⁵ [Pseudo-]Wāqidī, *Ridda*, pp. 105f; Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, i, pp. 53f. (al-'Ātik is misprinted as al-'Āqil; Khamar is misprinted as Ḥimyar). Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, *Majmū'at al-wathā'iq al-siyāsiyya*⁸ (Beirut, 1405/1985), p. 353, who quotes the MS of [pseudo-]Wāqidī's *Ridda*, has al-'Ātik (correctly), but J. M. R. instead of Khamar. The term *jamarāt* denotes their capability to defend themselves without aid from others (a *jamra* is "a body of men that congregate by themselves, because of their strength and their great valour"; Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v.). [Pseudo-]Wāqidī's *Ridda* is in fact a fragment of Ibn A'tham's *Futūḥ*; M. Muranyi, "Ein neuer Bericht über die Wahl des ersten Kalifen Abū Bakr", *Arabica*, XXV (1978), pp. 233ff.

³⁶ [Pseudo-]Wāqidī, *Ridda*, p. 107; Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, i, p. 54f. (in Ibn A'tham, Ḥimyar is printed instead of Khamar; al-Jafshīsh is misprinted as al-Khanfashīsh and al-Khanfashī, respectively).

³⁷ Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, i, pp. 55f. The passage on Zurqān (p. 57) is garbled and [pseudo-]Wāqidī, *Ridda*, p. 110, should be consulted. Prof. Griaznevitch (written communication) suggests, on the basis of the *ridda* accounts, to locate *Mahjar* al-Zurqān (cf. above, n. 12) between Tarīm and Nujayr. According to him it is now impossible to locate it more accurately.

When Ash'ath found out about the imminent arrival of new reinforcements under 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl, he brought the women and children to the fort of Nujayr and prepared it for a siege. In the meanwhile he won another victory against Ziyād. As well as al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayya, the prominent figures in Ziyād's army included Ibn Qatfira al-Sakūnī (possibly a symbolic figure standing for the Banū Qatfira in general) and, more importantly (since we already know that the Sakūn and Sakāsik fought with the Muslims), Wā'il b. Ḥujr al-Ḥaḍramī: in other words, Wā'il led members of the Ḥaḍramawt tribe who were on the Muslim side.

In Ash'ath's camp we find Jafshīsh b. 'Amr, mentioned above, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥriz al-Ṭumaḥī and Murra b. Imri'i l-Qays al-Dhuhlī.³⁸ 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl's arrival with fresh reinforcements compelled Ash'ath to retreat to his main stronghold (*ḥiṣn a' zam*) at Nujayr and the siege began. During the first stage of the siege, the three leaders who had earlier withdrawn (Jabr b. Qash'am, Abū Qurra and Abū Shamir) tried to come to Ash'ath's aid, but were blocked by 'Ikrima. They finally gave up when they found out that Ash'ath was negotiating a guarantee of security.³⁹

The following paragraphs include further discussion of the clans mentioned above. We are told that Ash'ath gathered "his cousins", the Banū Murra, Banū 'Adī and Banū Jabala (his own clan, on whom see below). After the conquests, the Banū Murra b. Ḥujr b. 'Adī, genealogically defined as a *baṭn*, owned a mosque of their own in Kūfa.⁴⁰ It can be shown that Ash'ath's connection with them continued into the Islamic era: it was one of the Banū Murra, Shuraḥbīl b. Murra, whom Ash'ath left as his deputy in Adharbījān when he was governor there.⁴¹

The Banū 'Adī were in fact the Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Adī and were also à *baṭn*. They too had a mosque of their own (probably in Kūfa).⁴²

As we have seen, the Banū Hind, led by al-Jafshīsh b. 'Amr, supported Ash'ath in his siege on Tarīm. The Banū Hind (presumably called so after their mother) were also known as the Banū Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Aṣghar b. Mu'āwiya.⁴³

As to the Banū Ṭumaḥ b. al-Ḥārith, 'Abd al-Raḥmān [b. al-Ḥārith] b. Muḥriz al-Ṭumaḥī, who fought with Ash'ath, probably cooperated with Ash'ath more than two decades later: both fought at Ṣiffīn on 'Alī's side and 'Abd al-Raḥmān was in charge of the *shurfa* of Kūfa (during that battle?).⁴⁴

Murra b. Imri'i l-Qays al-Dhuhlī who fought with Ash'ath was a member of the Banū Dhuhl b. Mu'āwiya b. al-Ḥārith al-Akbar.⁴⁵

³⁸ Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, i, pp. 61f. (al-Ṭumaḥī is misprinted as al-Ḥaṭhamī!). Caskel, i, no. 234, vocalizes: aṭ-Ṭumḥ, but the reading Ṭumaḥ is confirmed by Ibn Durayd, *Ishṭiqāq*, p. 363.

³⁹ Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, i, pp. 63f.

⁴⁰ Through their mother the Banū Murra were linked to the Banū Wahb b. Rab'ā (on whom see below): Murra's mother (and his brother Shuraḥbīl's mother) was Hind bint Wahb b. Rab'ā.

⁴¹ *Nasab Ma'add*, i, pp. 143f.

⁴² Through their mother they were linked to the Dhuhl b. Mu'āwiya (on whom see below): al-Ḥārith b. 'Adī's mother was granddaughter of Dhuhl; *Nasab Ma'add*, i, p. 139. ⁴³ *Nasab Ma'add*, i, pp. 162f., 165.

⁴⁴ *Nasab Ma'add*, i, p. 165. Cf. M. Hinds, "The banners and battle cries of the Arabs at Ṣiffīn (657 AD)", *al-Abḥath*, XXIV (1971), p. 23, no. 29 (at Ṣiffīn, Ash'ath carried the banner of the Kinda of Kūfa who were on 'Alī's side), p. 26, no. 43 (Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṣ carried the banner of the Kinda of Ḥimṣ who were on Mu'āwiya's side). Cf. Ash'ath's alleged role in the murder of 'Alī, *El'*, s.v. Ibn Muldjim, 888b (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

⁴⁵ *Nasab Ma'add*, i, pp. 167f. Elsewhere two other members of this clan are recorded, namely 'Arfaja b. 'Abdallāh (Ibn A'tham, *Futūḥ*, i, p. 64) and al-Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiya ([pseudo-]Wāqidī, *Ridda*, pp. 98f.).

As we have seen, the Banū al-Ātik b. Mu'āwiya were among those attacked by Ziyād b. Labīd. In addition, two of their men were killed at Nujayr.⁴⁶

In verses ascribed to 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl about him blocking the three clans on their way to Nujayr, the Banū al-Arqam under Jabr b. Qash'am, Banū Ḥujr led by Abū Qurra, and Banū Khamar under Abū Shamir, 'Ikrima allegedly boasts of having repelled the Banū Wahb.⁴⁷ This conforms precisely to the genealogical data: indeed all three clans (see chart) were of the Banū Wahb b. Rabī'a.

The genealogical literature provides further information about these three clans. It can be shown that the Banū al-Arqam b. Nu'mān b. 'Amr b. Wahb already cooperated with Ash'ath before Islam: Qash'am b. Yazīd b. al-Arqam (Jabr's father) was killed fighting with Ash'ath against the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka'b.⁴⁸ After the conquests, the Banū al-Arqam formed a *baṭn*, having a mosque of their own in Kūfa. Jabr b. Qash'am himself is said to have been the first *qādī* of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in Iraq (i.e. in Kūfa).

The violent politics during the late thirties of the first Islamic century led to the division of the Banū al-Arqam from Ash'ath: the former were among the Kindites who left Kūfa and went to Ruhā in the Jazīra when 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib came there. They reportedly could not bear abiding in a place where 'Uthmān b. 'Affān was being cursed. At Ṣiffīn they fought with Mu'āwiya.⁴⁹

Attention should be drawn in this context to the political role of the clan's "maternal origin". When the Banū al-Arqam left Kūfa after 'Alī's arrival, it is reported that they departed together with "the Kindites who were born by them" (*wa-kharaja ma'ahum man waladū min Kinda*),⁵⁰ which presumably means "members of other Kindite clans born by women of the Banū al-Arqam".

In his passage on the Banū Ḥujr b. Wahb, Ibn al-Kalbī lists the above-mentioned Abū Qurra Salama b. Mu'āwiya b. Wahb whose son 'Amr officiated as *qādī* in Kūfa after Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith.⁵¹ The passage creates a clear sense of continuity because it includes indications that these "most excellent warriors of Kinda and their best horsemen" (see above, p. 343) preserved their power in the Islamic era. They included the following prominent figures: a warrior whose annual '*afā*' was 2,500 dīnārs, the governor of the Sawād for Ziyād (b. Abīhi), the governor of Fārs for Khālīd al-Qasrī (who later officiated as governor of Kūfa for Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī), and the governor of Qinnasrīn for al-Saffāḥ (who went on to become governor of Armenia for al-Manṣūr).⁵²

⁴⁶ At least one, but probably two, of the so-called "harlots of Ḥaḍramawt" were of the Banū al-Ātik b. Mu'āwiya; see Lecker, "Judaism among Kinda", Appendix, n. 86; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, pp. 184f.; cf. A. F. L. Beeston, "The so-called harlots of Ḥaḍramawt", *Oriens*, V (1952), pp. 16-22.

⁴⁷ [Pseudo-]Wāqidī, *Ridda*, pp. 118f.

⁴⁸ *Nasab Ma'add*, i, pp. 145f., 149 (Zurāra, Sa'd and Yazīd, sons of Fazāra b. Zurāra b. al-Arqam, were also killed in the same battle). ⁴⁹ *Nasab Ma'add*, i, pp. 149f. They were 'Uthmānīs; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 426.

⁵⁰ *Nasab Ma'add*, i, p. 149.

⁵¹ *Nasab Ma'add*, i, pp. 152f.; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, vii, p. 332; Ibn Sa'd, vi, p. 148 (the text is garbled).

⁵² Incidentally, one of the so-called "harlots of Ḥaḍramawt" was of the Banū Ḥujr; Lecker, "Judaism among Kinda", Appendix, n. 85.

Abū Shamir b. Qays b. Khamar appears in Ibn al-Kalbī's passage on the Banū Khamar b. 'Amr b. Wahb. We know that one of them was a *sharīf* in Ruḥā. Indeed, they, like the Banū al-Arqam, left Kūfa upon 'Alī's arrival.⁶³

It seems that the Kinda faced an enormous military challenge during the later stages of the *ridda* because of the size of the tribal units mobilized by the Islamic state. The unifying strength of the emergent state changed the balance of power in Arabia. The leaders of Kinda failed to grasp the situation, and did not realize the extent of the risk they were taking by antagonizing the new power. The *ridda* of Kinda is indeed the story of the high price paid by the Kindites for gross miscalculations by their leaders.

(e) *The demise of Banū Walī'a and the rise of Ash'ath*

The supremacy of the Banū Walī'a (... b. al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda) of the 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya subdivision came to an end during the *ridda*. This presumably made Ash'ath, a member of the less prestigious Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiya subdivision, the most powerful leader of Kinda.

It is reported that the Banū 'Amr, or more precisely their royal family the Banū Walī'a, made Ash'ath their king and crowned him (*mallaḳūhu 'alayhim wa-tawwajūhu*).⁶⁴ This probably followed a surprise night attack launched against the Banū 'Amr, the main target being the Banū Walī'a. The four Banū Walī'a kings and their sister al-'Amarrada were killed in this attack.⁶⁵ The Banū 'Amr were caught unawares and most of them were slain, killing some of their own in the tumult.⁶⁶ Following the many casualties inflicted on them and the enslavement of their women and children, the Banū Walī'a crowned a man who was neither from their family nor even from the 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya subdivision. Ash'ath reportedly did not hesitate to take advantage of the Banū Walī'a's wretched state and pressed them, as a precondition for providing help, into making him their king.⁶⁷ Thus the demise of the Banū Walī'a and the severe blow inflicted on the Banū 'Amr made Ash'ath, who was already an important leader before these events, the most important chieftain of Kinda.⁶⁸

⁶³ *Nasab Ma'add*, i, p. 151 (vocalized: Khumr!); cf. p. 148 (Ḥumr!), p. 149 (Aḥmaz!). For the correct vocalization, Khamar, see 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb fī taḥdīb al-ansāb* (Beirut, n.d.), s.v., i, p. 460; also Caskel, i, no. 237.

⁶⁴ 'Askarī, *Awā'il*, p. 309. Cf. Abū l-Baqā', *Manāqib Mazydiyya*, p. 75 (a verse refers to Ash'ath as *al-mu'assab bi-l-tāji ghulāman ḥattā 'alāhu l-qatru*, "one whose head was encircled with a crown from young manhood to the appearance of hoariness"). It is noteworthy that when the Walī'a crowned him, he was no longer a *ghulām*, but a young man in his early thirties. I could not trace Yazīd b. Ma'dīkarib, the *jadd* of Ash'ath whose crown Ash'ath is said to have worn during the *ridda*; [pseudo-]Wāqidī, *Ridda*, p. 115.

⁶⁵ Ṭabarī, iii, p. 334 [i, p. 2005]. See also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 140 (she was killed by mistake, the one who killed her took her for a man).

⁶⁶ Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 143. Elsewhere the four kings are said inaccurately to have been killed at Nujayr; e.g. in Ibn Sa'd, v, p. 13.

⁶⁷ 'Askarī, *Awā'il*, p. 310 (*lā anṣurukum ḥattā tumallikūnt 'alaykum, fa-mallaḳūhu wa-tawwajūhu*). His crowning was done "in the manner in which a king of Qaḥṣān used to be crowned"; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, p. 98:13 (*fa-mallaḳūhu wa-tawwajūhu kamā yutawwaju l-maliku min Qaḥṣān*). Cf. the tribal kings of the Sulaym, Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, Appendix A.

⁶⁸ It should be remarked that according to some, Ash'ath's father was already the most important leader of Kinda, but this presumably unreliable statement is contradicted by the reports about the *ridda*. For example, Kalbī speaks of a direct shift of the leadership, after Kinda's return to Ḥaḍramawt, from the Banū Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār to the Ḥārith subdivision (omitting the Banū al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda altogether; cf. above, Section I(b)). The first who reigned (*sāda*), he says, was Ash'ath's father, followed by Ash'ath himself, who embraced Islam "wearing a crown"; Ch. Lyall, "Ibn al-Kalbī's account of the First Day of al-Kulāb", in C. Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische*

Ash'ath's clan within the Hārith b. Mu'āwiya subdivision was called Banū Jabala b. 'Adī; Jabala was the great-great-grandfather of Ash'ath. Ibn al-Kalbī says that the descendants of Jabala formed a *batn* and had a mosque of their own in Kūfa.⁵⁹

Other famous members of the Banū Jabala were Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṭ, for many years Mu'āwiya's governor in Ḥimṣ, and Ḥujr b. 'Adī, one of the closest supporters of 'Alī, who was executed by Mu'āwiya.⁶⁰ During the civil war between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, Ash'ath and Ḥujr sided with 'Alī, while Shuraḥbīl supported Mu'āwiya (see above, n. 44). It is noteworthy that an old rivalry existed between Ash'ath and Shuraḥbīl: when still in Kūfa, and before joining his father al-Simṭ in Ḥimṣ (at the time of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb), Shuraḥbīl had unsuccessfully vied with Ash'ath for the leadership of Kinda.⁶¹ The rivalry between their two families did not in fact originate in Kūfa but back in Ḥaḍramawt: from the reports on the *ridda* we learn that Ash'ath and Shuraḥbīl's father, al-Simṭ, led two separate groups.⁶²

Studien Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern (Gießen, 1906), p. 153; *The Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Ch. Lyall (Oxford, 1921), i, p. 441 (*wa-dakhalū Ḥaḍramawt fa-kharaja l-mulk min Banī Ākili l-Murār wa-sāda Banū al-Hārith b. Mu'āwiya, fa-awwalu man sāda minhum Qays b. Ma'dīkarib abū l-Ash'ath thumma l-Ash'ath b. Qays, fa-aslama l-Ash'ath wa-huwa mutawwaj*; cf. above, n. 54); G. Olinde, *The Kings of Kinda of the Family of Ākil al-Murār* (Lund, 1927), p. 92. Elsewhere Ibn al-Kalbī, quoting his father, reports about an expedition to release a king of the Sakūn captured by the Banū 'Uqayl of the Qays 'Aylān, in which Ash'ath's father led, for the first time, the joint forces of the Sakūn and [the rest of] Kinda and which gave him the status of *sharaf*; Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Būlāq (A.H. 1285), xi, p. 131: 5 from the bottom (*fa-huwa awal yawm 'jama'at fihī l-Sakūn wa-Kinda li-Qays wa-bihī adraka l-sharaf*). Cf. Ḥamza, *Ta'rikh*, p. 112, where a brief account of the Banū Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār's downfall is concluded with this passage: "When the kingship (*mulk*) of Kinda came to an end, their leadership (*ri'āsa*) shifted to Banū [the word seems to be superfluous] Jabala b. 'Adī b. Rab'ā b. Mu'āwiya l-Akrāmīna, then to Ma'dīkarib b. Jabala, then to Qays, [add: then to Ash'ath], who was the one who came to the Prophet with seventy Kindite notables (*ashraf*), who then embraced Islam". Note that this text is careful to distinguish between the *mulk* of Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār and the *ri'āsa* of Ash'ath and his forefathers. The crucial problem in connection with the status of Ash'ath's father is of course his alleged authority over the 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya subdivision. This problem is addressed by a valuable passage recorded by Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'*, 367, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *'Uyūn al-anbā' fi ṣabaqāt al-aṣībbā'*, ed. Nizār Riḍā (Beirut, 1965), 285f., in their entries about the philosopher al-Kindī who, as has already been said, was a descendant of Ash'ath. Ash'ath and his father were both kings of all Kinda, 'alā jamī' Kinda. Ash'ath's grandfather and his great-grandfather, Ma'dīkarib and Mu'āwiya, were, in Ḥaḍramawt, the kings of the Banū l-Hārith al-Aṣghar b. Mu'āwiya (see chart). Then this passage takes us beyond the Banū l-Hārith al-Aṣghar and back to the days of Kindite greatness in northern Arabia: Mu'āwiya, son of al-Hārith al-Akbar, his father al-Hārith al-Akbar, his grandfather Mu'āwiya and his great-grandfather Thawr were kings on Ma'add in al-Mushaqqr, al-Yamāma and al-Baḥrayn. (Incidentally, the philosopher's father, Ḥāḥiq b. al-Ṣabbāḥ, was the governor of Kūfa for al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a adds a remark about the philosopher's high position (he was 'azīm al-manzila) in the courts of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim and with regard to the latter's son Aḥmad). Concerning Ash'ath's participation in Kinda's deputation to the Prophet, note his admission that the members of the deputation "did not consider him their best" (*ataytu...fi wafī lā yarawna annī aḥḍaluhum*); Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. *Musnad*, v, p. 211: 23. Consequently, the statement (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, i, p. 133) that he was the *ra'īs* of the deputation is suspicious. It is not correct that he led a deputation of the Banū al-Hārith b. Mu'āwiya; cf. Caskel, ii, p. 381.

⁵⁹ *Nasab Ma'add*, i, pp. 138f.

⁶⁰ *Nasab Ma'add*, i, pp. 141, 142. The pedigrees of the three leaders reveal that they belonged to different genealogical lines of the Banū Jabala (Ash'ath:...Mu'āwiya b. Jabala; Shuraḥbīl:...al-Aswad b. Jabala; Ḥujr:... 'Adī b. Jabala).

⁶¹ Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 189 (*wa-kāna...bi-l-Kūfa muqāwiman li-l-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī fi l-ri'āsa*); Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 101.

⁶² Ṭabarī, iii, p. 334 [i, p. 2004]. (The claim that Shuraḥbīl and his father [the text has erroneously: his son], al-Simṭ, did not participate in the *ridda* and joined the Muslims, appears apologetic and false.)

(f) Family links between Ash'ath and the 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya subdivision

Ash'ath had family links with the Banū 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya which presumably made him more acceptable to them: Ash'ath's mother was of the Banū Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār, while he himself was married to a woman of the Banū al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda. In other words, he was related to the two main sections of the 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya subdivision.

Ash'ath's mother was Kabsha bint Yazīd b. Shurahbīl b. Yazīd b. Imrī'i l-Qays b. 'Amr al-Maqṣūr b. Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār.⁶³ His maternal uncle was al-Nu'mān b. Yazīd (see chart).⁶⁴ A reflection of this family link can be found in the reports about the *rida*: when, at a certain stage in the fighting, women of the Banū 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya who had been taken captive called upon the Banū l-Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiya, and on Ash'ath himself, to rescue them, they cried: *ya Ash'athu, ya Ash'athu, khālātuka, khālātuka*.⁶⁵

An episode which was said to have taken place during the visit of Kinda's deputation to the Prophet should presumably be related to the fact that Ash'ath's mother was of the Banū Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār. Ash'ath said to Muḥammad: *nahnu Banū Ākili l-Murār wa-anta 'bnu Ākili l-Murār*. The Prophet supposedly did not take this statement too seriously: he smiled and replied that the Kindites should share this relationship with (his uncle) 'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and (his cousin) Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith (b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib). Both of them were merchants and during their journeys in Arabia claimed to be of the Banū Ākil al-Murār so as to strengthen their position (*yata'azzazni bi-dhālīka*), since the Kinda were kings.⁶⁶

Before discussing Ash'ath's marriage to a woman of the Banū Wallā'a, we shall digress a little to look at the evidence concerning the pre-Islamic links between Quraysh and

⁶³ Ibn 'Asākir, *TMD MS*, iii, p. 34. Cf. Abū 'Alī al-Qāṣi, *Dhayl al-amāli wa-l-nawādir* (Cairo, 1344/1926), p. 149 (Ibn Kabsha is Ash'ath's brother al-Ṣabāh whose mother was Kabsha bint Sharāḥūl b. Ākil al-Murār).

⁶⁴ *Nasab Ma'add*, i, pp. 171, 168f. According to some, Ash'ath's mother was the daughter of al-Ḥārith (al-Malik) b. 'Amr (al-Maqṣūr) b. Ḥujr (Ākil al-Murār); Ibn 'Asākir, *TMD MS*, iii, p. 36; cf. pp. 34, 35. But the former version seems to be confirmed by the identity of the above-mentioned maternal uncle. Cf. Abū l-Baqā', *Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, p. 75 (Ash'ath is addressed in a verse: *yā 'bna Āli l-Murāri min qibali l-ummī*).

⁶⁵ Ṭabarī, iii, p. 335 [i, p. 2005]. It is not clear to me how al-Jawn, "one of the kings of Kinda", could be the paternal cousin of Ash'ath's father Qays, as is claimed in Ibn al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ qaṣā'id*, p. 498.

⁶⁶ Ibn Hishām, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saqqā, al-Abyārī and Shalabī (Beirut, 1391/1971), iv, p. 232; Ṭabarī, iii, p. 139 [i, p. 1739]. According to other reports referring to this topic, the Kindites stated that the Banū 'Abd Manāf were descendants of Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār or, as we find in yet another report, that the Banū Ḥāshim were of Kinda. In some versions the Prophet mentioned, in addition to 'Abbās, Abū Sufyān; see Ibn Sa'd, i, pp. 22f. (p. 23): 'Abbās and Abū Sufyān claimed Kindite descent (*li-ya'manā bi-l-Yaman*); M. J. Kister and M. Plessner, "Notes on Caskel's *Ġamharat an-Nasab*", *Oriens*, XXV-XXXVI (1976), pp. 58f.; reprinted in M. J. Kister, *Society and Religion from Jāhiliyya to Islam* (London, 1990), iii. In another version of the above exchange with Muḥammad, the speaker is al-Jafshīsh al-Kindī who was reportedly rebuked by Ash'ath for raising the matter with the Prophet (provoking the latter's denial, which was considered detrimental to Kindite interests); Ṭabarī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, ii, pp. 285f. (al-Jafshīsh al-Kindī); Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, i, p. 491f. (Ibn al-Kalbī: al-Jafshīsh is Ma'dān b. al-Aswad [there are other versions concerning his name]; he presented the question to Muḥammad three times). Al-Jafshīsh was not of the Banū Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār but of their brother clan, the Banū al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda. We infer this from his pedigree, reported by Ibn al-Kalbī (in the *Iṣāba*); Ma'dān b. Aswad b. Ma'dīkarib b. Thumāma b. al-Aswad. While this pedigree is admittedly too short to link him to al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda, it is almost identical to the pedigree of Masrūq b. Ma'dīkarib b. Thumāma b. al-Aswad b. Ma'dīkarib (read: b. 'Abdallāh/al-Shayṭān; *Nasab Ma'add*, i, p. 173) who was, as his pedigree shows, Ma'dān's paternal uncle. See also Qurṭubī, *Ta'rif fi l-ansāb* (above, n. 2), pp. 260f. Incidentally, the verse ascribed to al-Jafshīsh in Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, i, p. 492, is ascribed in *Nasab Ma'add*, i, p. 173 (with one difference) to his paternal uncle Masrūq. This could be a case of disputed ascription, but it seems more likely that a passage mentioning al-Jafshīsh was omitted from *Nasab Ma'add*. See on Masrūq b. Ma'dīkarib, above, n. 11.

southern Arabia. It is reported about the market of al-Rābiya in Ḥaḍramawt⁶⁷ that to reach it one needed protection (*khaṣāra*), because no state controlled it (*liannahā lam takun arḍ mamlaka*) and, when there, "he who overcame took the spoil" of his companion (*wa-kāna man 'azza fthā bazza ṣāhibahu*). Quraysh (alone) had recourse to the protection of the Banū Ākil al-Murār, while the rest of the people were protected by Āl Masrūq b. Wā'il al-Ḥaḍramī. This, the report continues, was considered a noble action (*makruma*) on the part of both families.⁶⁸

'Abbās's pre-Islamic business connections with Ḥaḍramawt are at the background of allegedly autobiographical reports beginning with a paternal uncle of Ash'ath nicknamed 'Ufayyif (Shuraḥbīl b. Ma'dīkarib).⁶⁹ One of these reports, which exists in several versions, speaks of 'Ufayyif's visit to Mecca. Its main theme is 'Ufayyif's later frustration about his failure to embrace Islam when there were only three Muslims in the whole world (the Prophet, Khadīja and 'Alī).⁷⁰ The report, which in its early stages of transmission was handed down in 'Ufayyif's family, is certainly fictitious and tendentious. Yet the role given in it to Muḥammad's uncle 'Abbās is of interest to us: when he reached Mecca, 'Ufayyif said here to have been a merchant, alighted with 'Abbās. Another version of the same report (similarly transmitted by 'Ufayyif's family) adduces the following details as an introduction: 'Abbās, who was 'Ufayyif's friend, used to frequent the Yemen (and, one assumes, Ḥaḍramawt as well) in order to buy perfume (*ifr*), which he later sold in Mecca during the time of the pilgrimage.⁷¹ In sum, Kinda's protection of the Qurashī trade at al-Rābiya and 'Abbās's trade in the Yemen are two mutually independent indications of Qurashī activities in the southern part of Arabia.

When the deputation referred to the Prophet's Kindite origin, they reportedly had in mind a Kindite ancestress of his, namely the mother of Quṣayy's father Kilāb b. Murra.⁷²

⁶⁷ Prof. Griaznevitch wrote to me about al-Rābiya: "... During the field research of the Soviet-Yemeni Joint Expedition in 1983-84, not far from the exit of the big Wādī 'Ayn to the valley Kasr in the centre of Kinda possessions, the archaeological site al-Rābiya, situated near the right side of the Wādī between the settlements Safila and Adab, was studied. According to local tradition, this was the place of a big market during the Middle Ages".

⁶⁸ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, pp. 266f. (where it is erroneously said that Masrūq b. Wā'il was of Kinda); cf. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marzūqī, *Kitāb al-azmina wa-l-amkina* (Hyderabad, 1332), ii, p. 165. Both sources are quoted in Crone, *Meccan Trade*, p. 152, n. 24. (Crone remarks that she knows of "no concrete illustration of Qurashīs there"; yet 'Abbās's business links in Ḥaḍramawt [see below] bring us close enough.) The text in *Muḥabbar* is garbled and Marzūqī's text is better concerning the prestige gained by the Hujr Ākil al-Murār family as a result of the protection they provided for Qurashī trade. *Muḥabbar*: *wa-kānat makruma li-āli l-baytayni jamī'an wa-sāda banū Ākili l-Murār bi-faḍli Quraysh 'alā sā'iri l-nās. Marzūqī: fa-kānat makruma li-ahli l-baytayni wa-faḍlu aḥadhimā 'alā l-ākhar ka-faḍli Quraysh 'alā sā'iri l-nās*; "... and the advantage of one (i.e. the family of Hujr Ākil al-Murār) over the other (i.e. the family of Masrūq b. Wā'il) is like the advantage of Quraysh over the rest of the people". This statement may stem from intertribal polemics but it is true nonetheless. The cooperation of the Kinda and Ḥaḍramawt tribes in guaranteeing the safe arrival of traders at al-Rābiya is noteworthy as is the special link between Kinda and Quraysh. On Masrūq b. Wā'il al-Ḥaḍramī see e.g. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, vi, p. 92; Ḥamdānī, *Iklīl*, ii, pp. 329, 331.

⁶⁹ 'Ufayyif "the small abstinent/chaste one", prohibited (before Islam) the drinking of wine and avoided illicit sexual intercourse; *Nasab Ma'add*, i, p. 140; *Muḥabbar*, pp. 237, 239. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, iv, pp. 515, 517. On 'Ufayyif's alleged role in the *ridda* see Ibn A'tham, *Futūh*, i, p. 52.

⁷⁰ In other words, he allegedly forfeited the chance of becoming *rub'u l-islām*.

⁷¹ Ṭabarī, ii, pp. 311f. [i, pp. 1160f.] (another version, p. 312 [1162], inaccurately makes 'Ufayyif a half-brother of Ash'ath from his mother's side and his paternal cousin); Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, iv, pp. 515f. See the report about the perfume in P. Crone, *Meccan Trade*, p. 120, n. 67; see also *op. cit.*, pp. 95f.

⁷² Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Aḥdālī, *Nathr al-durr al-maknūn min faḍā'il al-Yaman al-maymūn* (Beirut, 1407/1987), pp. 159, 160f. The Ḥimyarite vassal king of the Yemen after the defeat of the Ethiopians, Ma'dīkarib b. Sayf b.

Obviously such claims merit little confidence.⁷³ But in this context attention should be drawn to the 'Awātik, the plural form of the female name 'Ātika, who are known from the Prophet's maternal pedigree as well as from Kinda. In pre-Islamic Arabia the latter 'Awātik, *nisā' min Kinda mina l-mulūk*, were of course better-known than the former.⁷⁴ As to the former 'Awātik, Muḥammad reportedly declared himself to be the son of the 'Awātik (or, in another version, of the 'Awātik of the Sulaym).⁷⁵ An assumption that the genealogical tradition concerning the Prophet's 'Awātik was modelled on the Kindite 'Awātik may not be far-fetched because the memory of Kinda's glory persisted for a long time in northern Arabia after the disappearance of their kingdom.

We turn now to Ash'ath's marriage to a woman of the Banū al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda.⁷⁶ It took place before the *ridda*: when Ash'ath came to Medina with Kinda's deputation, he reportedly told the Prophet that his wife, the daughter of Jamd, had just given birth to his firstborn son. Ash'ath's father-in-law Jamd was one of the above-mentioned kings of Wālī'a slain during the *ridda*.⁷⁷

In sum, Ash'ath, a member of the Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiya subdivision, was related through his mother and his wife to the two leading lines of the 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya subdivision, namely the Banū Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār and the Banū al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda. When, following the events of the *ridda*, the royal family of Wālī'a was crushed, Ash'ath's family links with the 'Amr subdivision made his leadership more acceptable to them.

III. Epilogue

(a) *The Prophet's unconsummated marriage to Ash'ath's sister Qutayla*

Following his capture during the *ridda* Ash'ath married Abū Bakr's sister Umm Farwa (see below). This marriage could perhaps be associated with the Prophet's unconsummated marriage to Ash'ath's sister Qutayla, but this is not certain. The latter marriage had been agreed upon with Ash'ath in A.H. 10 when he came with Kinda's deputation, but Muḥammad had died before Qutayla even left the Yemen.⁷⁸

Dhī Yazan, allegedly called Muḥammad's grandfather 'Abd al-Muṣṭalib "the son of our sister"; e.g. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murāj al-dhahab*, ed. Ch. Pellat (Beirut, 1966f.), ii, p. 207. But this was not connected to his alleged Kindite "mother": Suhaylī (*al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, ed. Ṭihā 'Abd al-Rī'āf Sa'd [Cairo, 1391/1971], i, p. 161) explains that 'Abd al-Muṣṭalib's mother was of the Khazraj, who were (like the Ḥimyarite king himself) Yemenites.

⁷³ Unsurprisingly, there was no unanimity about the identity of Kilāb's mother; cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Ummahāt al-nabī*, ed. Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūz (Baghdād, 1372/1952), p. 2b (Kilāb's mother was of the Kināna).

⁷⁴ Ibn al-Anabārī, *Sharḥ qasā'id*, p. 494 (the sons of the 'Awātik fought with Ash'ath's father Qays b. Ma'dīkarib who, together with warriors of the Shaybān, attacked camels belonging to the king of Ḥīra, 'Amr b. Hind); cf. Ch. J. Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalliyāt: An Anthology of Ancient Arabian Odes* (Oxford, 1921f.), ii, p. 184.

⁷⁵ Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, p. 114.

⁷⁶ Note that there was a link on the eponymous level between Ash'ath's clan, the Banū Jabala (of the Ḥārith b. Mu'āwiya subdivision) and the Banū al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda (of the 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya subdivision); *Nasab Ma'add*, i, p. 139 (the mother of Jabala and of his brother Ḥujr was Lamīs bint Imrī'ī l-Qays b. al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda); cf. *op. cit.*, p. 173 (Lamīs was the daughter of al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda).

⁷⁷ Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id wa-manba' al-fawā'id* (Beirut, 1967), viii, p. 155 (*mini 'bnati H.M.D[!]*); Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, p. 211:27 (correctly, *mini 'bnati Jamd*); Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, i, p. 336 (*min binti Jamd b. Wālī'a l-Kindī*; read: ...Jamd b. Ma'dīkarib b. Wālī'a). Ash'ath's child, whose name was al-Nu'mān, died in his infancy; 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Umar al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Ḥārūn (Cairo, 1967f.), iii, p. 239.

⁷⁸ Ibn Hajar, *Isāba*, viii, pp. 88f (she is called here Qayla; she married Muḥammad in A.H. 10, some said: two months before his death); Ibn al-Athār, *Usd al-ghāba*, v, p. 532; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, iv, pp. 1903f. (the version

Although her marriage to the Prophet Muḥammad was not consummated, Qutayla's subsequent marriage to 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl⁷⁹ was for Muslim scholars a thorny problem, because the remarriage of the Prophet's wives had been prohibited. The marriage to 'Ikrima was considered evil enough, still, did they produce a child? The majority of Islamic scholars believe not: 'Ikrima died childless.⁸⁰ It is explicitly reported about Qutayla: *wa-lam talid li-'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl*,⁸¹ but the more complete version of this statement has two additional words: *wa-lam talid li-'Ikrima illā mukhabbalan*, "she bore 'Ikrima only a feeble-minded son".⁸² The latter version is more trustworthy. There is no doubt that most Muslim scholars found the temptation to omit the last two words (*illā mukhabbalan*) irresistible. In early Islamic literature self-censorship must have been widespread and in certain sensitive areas the limitations which most scholars (but fortunately not all of them) voluntarily imposed upon themselves were particularly strict.

It could have been argued that the story of Qutayla's marriage to Muḥammad was invented by Kindite *faḍā'il*-mongers. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr (in a reply to a question from the caliph al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik), and Zuhri (probably not independently of 'Urwa), denied that Muḥammad ever married Qutayla or any other Kindite woman beside "the sister of Banū al-Jawn" (about whom see below), whose marriage was not consummated.⁸³ But it appears that the shock expressed in the sources over Qutayla's scandalous marriage to 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl confirms that her marriage to Muḥammad had indeed been agreed upon shortly beforehand.

(b) Qutayla and Asmā' al-Jawniyya

In this section some of the evidence concerning two Kindite women is examined: Ash'ath's above-mentioned sister Qutayla, who was of the Hārith b. Mu'āwiya subdivision, and Asmā' al-Jawniyya, who was of the 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya subdivision. The Prophet married both but the marriages were not consummated. Naturally we have more details about Asmā', who met the Prophet, than we have about Qutayla, who did not.

Qayla is nonsense; her brother gave her in marriage to Muḥammad; Ibn Sa'd, viii, p. 148 (she was one of those who "gave themselves" to Muḥammad).

⁷⁹ Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, ii, p. 85 (*qubīḍa rasūlu 'llāhi qabla khurūjihā ilayhi mina l-Yaman, fa-khalafa 'alayhā 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl*). The wording in Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 95, may suggest that Ash'ath gave her to 'Ikrima immediately after Muḥammad's death: Ash'ath himself carried his sister to Muḥammad, *ḥattā idhā fajala mina l-Yaman, balaghathu wafātu l-nabi (s), fa-raddahā fa-zawwajahā 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl*.

⁸⁰ Muḥ'ab b. 'Abdallāh al-Zubayrī, *Kitāb Nasab Quraysh*, ed. E. Levi-Provençal (Cairo, 1953), p. 311:2 from the bottom (*wa-lam yatrak waladan*); cf. Ibn Sa'd, vii, p. 404 (*wa-laysa lahu 'aqib*); Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, iv, p. 539 (*wa-lam yu'qib 'Ikrima*). When Mecca was conquered, 'Ikrima was married to his cousin Umm Ḥakīm bint al-Hārith b. Hishām and he was still married to her when he died in Shām several years later; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, iv, p. 5:13; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, viii, pp. 193f. There is evidence that when 'Ikrima was killed during the conquest of Shām (at Yarmūk or at Ajnādayni), a son of his named 'Umar died with him; Ibn 'Asākir, *TMD MS*, xiii, p. 341, s.v. 'Umar b. 'Ikrima. See also Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, p. 145:5, where there is a lacuna in the text. 'Umar b. 'Ikrima could not of course have been born by Qutayla.

⁸¹ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, iv, p. 1904.
⁸² Abū 'Ubayda, *Azawāj al-nabi wa-awladuhu*, ed. Yūsuf 'Alī Badīwī (Beirut, 1410/1990), p. 80; al-Ṣāliḥī, *Azawāj al-nabi*, p. 258. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, ed. 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī Qal'ajī (Beirut, 1405/1985), vii, p. 288:5 from the bottom, quoting Abū 'Ubayda, has a corrupt text: *fa-lam talid li-'Ikrima illā waladan wāhidan*; *wāhidan* appears to be a *lectio facilior* for *mukhabbalan* and *waladan* was added later. Cf. *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. *kh.b.l.*, p. 198: *makhbāl*, *mukhabbal* is "someone who has no heart", *lā fu'āda ma'ahu*, a *majnūn*.

⁸³ Ibn Sa'd, viii, pp. 145, 148.

When the beautiful and young Asmā' married the Prophet, she was a widow.⁶⁴ This unconsummated marriage of the Prophet may have had a political background: after all, she was a descendant of the legendary Hujr Ākil al-Murār.⁶⁵ It is not clear exactly how the marriage was agreed upon: some say that the Prophet asked to marry Asmā' during the visit of Kinda's deputation (*wa-kāna khaṭabahā [ʃ] hīna wafadat 'alayhi Kinda*).⁶⁶ However, in another report, which mentions no deputation, we are told that her father proposed this marriage to Muḥammad.⁶⁷

Reportedly Ash'ath's proposal to the Prophet that he should marry his sister Qutayla came immediately after Muḥammad's first meeting with Asmā' had failed.⁶⁸ This of course assumes that Ash'ath was in Medina at the time. It is said that Ash'ath described his sister to Muḥammad as one who was not inferior to the rejected Asmā' in terms of beauty and nobility (*a-lā uzawwijuka man laysat bi-dūnihā fi l-jamāl wa-l-ḥasab*). But people often exaggerate on such occasions and Ash'ath's testimony is no exception.⁶⁹

Undoubtedly, in the tribal society of pre-Islamic Arabia, the nobility and prestige of Asmā' al-Jawniyya could not be matched, not even by Ash'ath's sister Qutayla. Therefore the kind of legendary anecdotes which were woven around the theme "Asmā' and Muḥammad" could not have been told about Qutayla (that is, had she met Muḥammad). For example, when Asmā' was brought to Muḥammad, he called her but she refused to

⁶⁴ Ibn Sa'd, viii, p. 143 (Asmā' bint al-Nu'mān b. Abī l-Jawn b. al-Aswad b. al-Ḥārith b. Sharāḥīl b. al-Jawn b. Ākil al-Murār). There are different versions concerning the precise pedigree of Asmā'; *Nasab Ma'add*, i, p. 172 (Asmā' bint 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Sharāḥīl); al-Ṣāliḥī, *Azwaḡ al-nabī*, p. 242 (Asmā' bint Ka'b); cf. Ibn al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ qaṣā'id*, p. 498 (Bint 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Jawn).

⁶⁵ It is not clear why the first meeting with Asmā' was a failure: there are several contradictory and mutually exclusive explanations. In addition to Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 94, see e.g. al-Ṣāliḥī, *Azwaḡ al-nabī*, pp. 242f. It is not true that the Prophet had another wife who descended from al-Jawn, as suggested in Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 95, where an unnamed Jawniyya is said to have been brought to Medina by an Anṣārī: elsewhere the same Anṣārī, Abū Usayd of the Banū Sā'ida, is said to have brought the aforementioned Asmā'; Ibn Sa'd, viii, pp. 143f. Ibn Ḥabīb's erroneous assumption that there were two wives of the Banū al-Jawn is rather strange because the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd, which should have been available to Ibn Ḥabīb, has a more complete text of the same report (its source is Ibn al-Kalbī) which includes Asmā's name; Ibn Sa'd, viii, p. 145. For the vocalization of the name Usayd see Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl*, ed. al-Yamānī (Hyderabad, 1381/1962), i, p. 70.

⁶⁶ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, p. 94. This report is from Ibn al-Kalbī, from his father, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn 'Abbās; see Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, vii, p. 497 (*wa-kāna khaṭabahā hīna wafada abūhā 'alayhi fi waḡd Kinda*). Cf. similarly in Ibn Sa'd, viii, p. 145 (*wa-kāna khaṭabahā hīna wafadat Kinda 'alayhi ilā abīhā*).

⁶⁷ Ibn Sa'd, viii, p. 143 (*qadima l-Nu'mān b. Abī l-Jawn l-Kindī... musliman*). Significantly, Asmā's father lived with his brothers near al-Sharaba in Najd; Ibn Sa'd, viii, p. 143 (also p. 144: *wa-kāna yakūnūna bi-nāhiyati Najd*). On al-Sharaba ("between al-Sāliya and al-Rabadha") see Yāqūt, s.v. This fact is consequential: we realize that part of Kinda remained in Najd even after most of them had returned to Ḥaḍramawt (above, Section I(b)). Had Asmā's father been a member in Kinda's deputation, this would have indicated that the Kindites who lived in Najd were not cut off from Kinda's main body. However, this is problematic for chronological considerations: the deputation came in A.H. 10 (e.g. Ṭabarī, iii, p. 138 [i, p. 1739]), whereas the marriage to Asmā' is dated to Rabī' al-Awwal, A.H. 9; Ibn Sa'd, viii, p. 145. A.H. 10 is also given as the date of Muḥammad's marriage to Qutayla, which was agreed upon with Ash'ath when he came with Kinda's deputation (some said that the Prophet had married Qutayla two months before he died; above, n. 78).

⁶⁸ Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, pp. 94f. ("Qayla"); Ibn Sa'd, viii, p. 147 (from Ibn al-Kalbī, from his father, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn 'Abbās).

⁶⁹ Cf. Ash'ath's words to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib when he suggested marrying his daughter Ja'da to 'Alī's son al-Ḥasan; Ibn 'Asākir, *TMD MS*, iii, p. 46:1 (he explained Ja'da's advantages over the daughter of another Yemenite leader: *fa-hal laka fi ashrafā minhā baytan wa-akrama minhā ḥasaban wa-atamma jamālan wa-akthara mālan?*). Cf. *EP*, iii, 242b, s.v. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (L. Veccia Vaglieri). Incidentally, Ash'ath married off two daughters, Ḥabbāna and Qarība, to sons of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān; see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, p. 110 = Caskel, ii, s.vv. Ḥabbāna bt. Ma'dikarib (who married 'Amr b. 'Uthmān) and Qarība bint Ma'dikarib (who married Khālid b. 'Uthmān).

come, saying: "You come to me" (*ta'āla anta*). Or, even worse, Muḥammad is said to have told her to give herself to him. Asmā' replied: "Does a queen give herself to a subject?" (*hal tahabu l-malika nafsahā li-l-sūqa?*).⁹⁰ Many Muslim scholars must have abhorred the recording of such imaginary exchanges even though their aim was to show how vain Asmā' was. That they were recorded by some of them again demonstrates that no uniform standards were applied by these scholars even when "protecting the Prophet".

(c) *Ash'ath's marriage to Abū Bakr's sister*

Once he arrived at Medina in chains, Ash'ath's fortunes took a surprising turn: he was given in marriage to the caliph's sister Umm Farwa who consequently bore him Muḥammad, Ismā'īl and Ishāq.⁹¹ However, there seems to be a more plausible account of this marriage: the father of both Abū Bakr and Umm Farwa, Abū Quḥāfa, had given her to Ash'ath in marriage, but it was only to be consummated upon Ash'ath's return to Medina.⁹² According to this account, Abū Bakr (whose father was still alive at that time⁹³) merely allowed the implementation of a marriage link agreed upon with his father.

(d) *The Banū 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya in the Islamic period*

In the Islamic period the 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya subdivision never regained its pre-Islamic ascendancy. This is reflected in the genealogical literature in which we find records of tribal notables in early Islam. According to the genealogists, a governor was a notable (which makes the genealogical literature an essential source of information on early Islamic administration). The chapters on Kinda in the books of genealogy mirror the insignificant role played by the 'Amr subdivision in Islam compared to the role of the Ḥārith subdivision: the Ḥārith produced important governors, but almost nobody of rank was to

⁹⁰ Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, vii, pp. 494, 496. The *ta'āla anta* story is from Qatāda; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, v, p. 397: 5; al-Ṣāliḥī, *Azawāj al-nabī*, p. 243. Cf. also the complaint of Asmā's father about the size of Muḥammad's bridal money (*mahr*); Ibn Sa'd, viii, p. 143.

⁹¹ She was reportedly blind (*wa-kānat makfūfa*); 'Askarī, *Awā'il*, p. 311; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, p. 98: 21 (*wa-kānat 'amyā*). (The handicap probably made her less desirable for other potential husbands.) Cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, p. 141 (who omits Ismā'īl and adds three daughters: Qurayba, Ḥubāba and Ja'da). In this source Abū Bakr's sister is called Qurayba. Cf. Ibn Qutayba, *Mā'arīf*, p. 168: beside Umm Farwa, Abū Bakr also had a sister named Qurayba. Umm Farwa had two former husbands: a man of the Azd, and Tamīm al-Dārī. In Abū l-Baqā', *Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, p. 78, the order is reversed. On Ash'ath's display of generosity on the occasion of his marriage see al-Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb fī l-muḥāf wa-l-mansūb*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1384/1965), pp. 88f. (*walimatū l-Ash'ath*); Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī l-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1374/1955), ii, p. 379 (*awlamū minā l-Ash'ath*).

⁹² The text in Ṭabarī, iii, p. 339 [i, p. 2011] creates the misleading impression that the Prophet gave her in marriage to Ash'ath: *wa-qad kāna khaṭaba Umm Farwa bint Abī Quḥāfa maqdamahu 'alā rasūli 'llāhi (ḥ) fa-zawwajahu wa-akhkharahā ilā an yaqdamā l-thāniya*. See also the slightly obscure text in Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, i, p. 98: 6: *wa-lammā aslama khaṭaba Umm Farwa... fa-ujjba ilā dhālika wa-'ada ilā l-Yaman*. An important variant is included in the parallel text found in Ibn 'Asākir, *TMD MS*, iii, p. 42 (the report is from Sayf b. 'Umar): *wa-kāna qad khaṭaba Umm Farwa bint Abī Quḥāfa ilā Abī Quḥāfa maqdamahu* etc.; the omission in Ṭabarī, through a scribal error, occurred because of the repetition of the name Abū Quḥāfa. See also *op. cit.*, p. 43 (from Sayf again: *tazawwaja l-Ash'ath maqdamahu 'alā rasūli 'llāhi (ḥ) ilā Abī Quḥāfa Umm Farwa* etc.). In short, it was Abū Quḥāfa, not the Prophet, who gave her in marriage to Ash'ath.

⁹³ Abū Bakr was survived by his father; al-Balādhurī, *al-Shaykhāni Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq wa-'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb wa-wulduhumā bi-riwāyat al-Balādhurī fī ansāb al-ashraf*, ed. Iḥsān Ṣidqī l-'Amad (Kuwayt, 1989), p. 43.

be found among the 'Amr.⁸⁴ Put differently, there was discontinuity from Jāhiliyya to Islam and the pre-Islamic nobility of Kinda did not become an Islamic one. The *ridda* physically eliminated Kinda's old leadership and created a gap filled by other, less prestigious, members of the tribe. During the conquests and after them Ash'ath and other members of the Ḥārith subdivision became the governors of such provinces as Adharbījān (Ash'ath, under 'Uthmān and 'Alī), Ḥimṣ (Shuraḥbīl b. al-Simṣ, under Mu'āwiya), Armenia (Ḥujr b. Yazīd, under Mu'āwiya) and the Jazīra, Armenia and Adharbījān ('Adī b. 'Adī, under Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz).⁸⁵ The Banū 'Amr in general and the Banū Walī'a in particular (see below) had nothing comparable to boast of.

(e) *The Banū al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda in the Islamic period*

One or two descendants of al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda's son 'Abdallāh/al-Shayṣān became famous in the Islamic period. Al-Sā'ib b. Yazīd, known also as Ibn Ukht al-Namir, was put by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in charge of the market of Medina. But it must be added that his Kindite affiliation is rather dubious because there are at least three additional versions concerning his origin.⁸⁶ The one-eyed Khārijite rebel 'Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā (*Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq*) was also a descendant of the same 'Abdallāh/al-Shayṣān.

Of a little more importance was the role played in early Islam by the descendants of al-Ḥārith al-Wallāda's other son, Ḥujr al-Qarid, who included the royal family Banū Walī'a. The four kings and their sister who were killed during the *ridda* had a brother called al-Ṣalt whose sons Kathīr, Zuyayd (diminutive form of Zayd) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān (see chart), all *ḥalīfs* (clients) of Quraysh, reportedly "emigrated" (*hājara*) after the battle of Nujayr.⁸⁷ However, considering the circumstances, the verb *hājara* is more than slightly euphemistic. Zuyayd and Kathīr were born at the time of the Prophet⁸⁸ and the same must have been true for their brother 'Abd al-Raḥmān. This means that they were children during the *ridda*.⁸⁹ One may assume that when their uncles and aunt, the four kings of Walī'a and their sister, were killed during the *ridda*, these children were captured and

⁸⁴ See the section on the 'Amr subdivision in Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 427f.; far more detailed is the section in *Nasab Ma'add*, i, pp. 168–78 (*qāḍīs* in Ḥimṣ and Kūfa belonging to the Banū al-Jawn b. Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār, of the 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya, are recorded on pp. 171f.; Rajā' b. Ḥaywa is mentioned on p. 177).

⁸⁵ See e.g. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, pp. 425f. Note the curious link between Kinda and Armenia/Adharbījān which emerges clearly from the above information; obviously, the genealogical literature is a good source for tracing such links.

⁸⁶ Ibn Hajar, *Isāba*, iii, pp. 26f.; Ibn 'Asākir, *TMD, Mukht.*, ix, pp. 201f.; *Nasab Ma'add*, i, p. 174. Cf. on him R. P. Buckley, "The Muḥtasib", *Arabica*, XXXIX (1992), pp. 60f.

⁸⁷ Ibn Hajar, *Isāba*, v, pp. 632f. (The relevant passage in *Nasab Ma'add* [i, p. 176] is garbled. In Caskel, i, no. 239, Zubaid[!] and 'Abd al-Raḥmān are incorrectly presented as the brothers of the Walī'a kings; in fact they were the kings' nephews.) Their father al-Ṣalt (who is not reported to have emigrated with his sons) is said to have been appointed by Muḥammad in charge of the *khars*, i.e. as an evaluator, for the purpose of taxation, of the fruit upon the palm-trees (in Ḥaḍramawt?); Ibn Hajar, *Isāba*, iii, p. 444. The source of this report is his grandson, al-Ṣalt b. Zuyayd b. al-Ṣalt, a *ḥalīf* of the Qurashī Banū Jumāh who officiated as the *qāḍī* of Medina until 114/732; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā, al-ḡism al-mutammim li-tābī'ī ahl al-Madīna wa-man ba'dahum*, ed. Ziyād Muḥammad Maṣṣūr (Medina, 1408/1987), pp. 279f. (printed: Zubayd); Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Damascus, 1968), ii, p. 544.

⁸⁸ Ibn Hajar, *Isāba*, ii, p. 629 (Zuyayd); *Isāba*, v, p. 632 (Kathīr).

⁸⁹ Cf. M. Hinds, "Sayf b. 'Umar's sources on Arabia", in Abdelgadir M. Abdalla, Sami Al-Sakkar and Richard T. Mortel (eds.), *Studies in the History of Arabia*, i: *Sources for the History of Arabia*, part ii (Riyāḍ, 1399/1979), p. 8 (concerning Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt's reports on the *ridda*, Hinds correctly suggests that he may have been an eyewitness or contemporary of those events).

brought to Medina as prisoners of war. Because of their abilities and their family's prestige the captives rose to prominence, their *half* (client) status notwithstanding. Already at the time of 'Uthmān, the young Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt functioned as an arbiter (*wa-kāna 'Uthmān aq' adahu li-l-naẓar bayna l-nās*).¹⁰⁰

During the reign of the Abbasid caliph Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, a grandson of Kathīr b. al-Ṣalt, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Kathīr, was the *qāḍī* of Medina. When al-Mahdī ascended the throne, Muḥammad became the governor of Medina.¹⁰¹ It may be added that the great-great-grandson of one of the Walī'a kings, Qays b. Walī'a b. Maysara b. Qays b. Mikhwas, was of the *ṣahāba* of al-Manṣūr.¹⁰²

In short, several members of the Banū Walī'a managed to achieve some distinction in spite of their humble starting point as slaves of war. Still, the Banū Walī'a were almost uprooted as a result of the *ridda*, and their role became marginal.

After the *ridda*, Ash'ath, then in his early thirties, lived for some time in Medina with his new wife. Later he played a major role in the conquests, but we do not follow him there.¹⁰³ The vicissitudes of Ash'ath's life during the next three decades, when explored, will provide further stimulating evidence about the history of Islam in its greatest days.

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 al-'Alawī, Ṣāliḥ b. Hāmid, *Ta'rikh Ḥaḍramawt* (Judda, 1388/1968).
 al-'Askarī, Abū Hilāl al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdallāh, *Awā'il*², ed. Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Wakīl (Ṭanṭā, 1408/1987).
 al-Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. Jābir, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. 'Abdallāh Anīs al-Ṭabbā' and 'Umar Anīs al-Ṭabbā' (Beirut, 1407/1987).
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 Caskel, W., *Ġamharat an-Nasab, das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī* (Leiden, 1966).

¹⁰⁰ Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, v, p. 633 = Muḥammad b. Sallām al-Jumahlī, *Ṭabaqāt fuḥūl al-shu'arā'*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo, 1394/1974), i, p. 134; cf. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, p. 86, n. 111. On the *qāḍī* of Medina who was Kathīr's nephew see above, n. 97.

¹⁰¹ *Nasab Ma'add*, i, p. 176. Qays b. Mikhwas must have been spared during the *ridda* because he was still a small boy. Note the reemergence of the name Walī'a which could indicate that the glory associated with it was stronger than the painful memory of the calamitous *ridda*. Note in connection with this family's status in the Abbasid period that a daughter of one of the four kings brought to Medina as a slavegirl bore 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās almost all his children, including his youngest son 'Alī who was the father of the Abbasid caliphs; Lecker, "Judaism among Kinda", Section II(a).

¹⁰² Suffice it to mention here that he lost an eye at Yarmūk (Caskel, ii, p. 381, denies that he partook in this battle) and participated in the battles of Qādisiyya, Madā'in, Jalūlā' and Nihāwand. He was the last on the list of witnesses in the document of arbitration between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. He died aged sixty-three in A.H. 40, forty days after the murder of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ma'rifat al-ṣahāba*, ed. Muḥammad Rāfi b. Ḥājī 'Uthmān (Medina and Riyāḍ, 1408/1988), ii, p. 307; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, p. 586 and Ibn 'Asākir, *TMD MS*, iii, p. 34 (Yarmūk); Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, i, p. 134 (the *ṭahkīm*; another version dates his death to A.H. 42). Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, i, p. 98: 19 (*wa-kāna mimman alzama 'Aliyyan bi-l-ṭahkīm wa-shahida l-ḥakamayni bi-Dāmāti l-Jandal*). Cf. Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, pp. 110f., who discusses Ash'ath and some of his descendants.

- Crone, P., *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (Princeton, 1987).
- Crone, P., *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge, 1980).
- al-Hamdānī, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, *al-Iktīl*, i, ii, viii, ed. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Akwa' (Beirut, 1407/1986).
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- Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'riḫh sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa-l-ambiyā'* (Beirut, n.d.).
- Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Yūsuf b. 'Abdallāh al-Namarī, *al-Isṭi'āb fī ma'rifat al-aṣḥāb*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī (Cairo, n.d.).
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- Ibn al-Anbārī, Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, *Sharḥ al-qaṣā'id al-sab' al-ḥawāl al-jāhiliyyā*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Cairo, 1400/1980).
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- Ibn 'Asākir, *TMD, Mukht.* – Ibn Manẓūr, *Makhtaṣar ta'riḫh Dimashq li-'bn 'Asākir*, ed. Rūḥiyya al-Naḥḥās *et al.* (Damascus, 1404/1984f.).
- Ibn A'tham, Aḥmad al-Kūfī, *al-Futūḥ* (Beirut, 1406/1986).
- Ibn al-Athīr, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, *Usd al-ghāba fī ma'rifat al-ṣaḥāba* (Cairo, A.H. 1280).
- Ibn Durayd, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, *al-Ishtiqāq*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo, 1378/1958).
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Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muslim b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Shihāb b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhrah b. Kilāb,¹ better known as Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri (d. 124/742), was one of the founders of Islamic tradition in the widest sense of the word.² After a life rich in pioneering scientific achievements, he died at his estate where he retired in his later years. Details of al-Zuhri's biography are discussed in the first three sections of the present study, while the last three deal with geographical aspects of his estate. The emphasis on the geographical

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¹ Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisi, *al-Tabayīn fī ansāb al-Qurashiyīn*, ed. M.N. al-Dulaymi (Beirut 1408/1988), 303; Dhababī, *Nubalā'*, V, 326.

² Cf. on him G.H.A. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition: Studies in Chronology, Provenance and Authorship of Early Ḥadīth* (Cambridge 1983), 146f (al-Zuhri, 'perhaps of all *ḥadīth* transmitters occurs most frequently in *isnāds*'). Juynboll argues (149) that 'many of those who had the *nisba* Zuhri ... may often have been addressed by that name or may have asked to be called by it, in so doing creating confusion with the one great transmitter who was alternatively called Zuhri or Ibn Shihāb'. It seems to me that such a phenomenon (if it existed at all) could only have had a marginal effect.

Al-Zuhri's legal activity and its transmission have recently been studied – in my mind convincingly and with much common sense – by H. Motzki, 'Der Fiqh des Zuhri: die Quellenproblematik', *Der Islam* 68 (1991), 1-44. Elsewhere Motzki remarks that Ibn Jurayj always refers to him as Ibn Shihāb, while others, such as Ma'mar b. Rāshid, refer to him by the *nisba* al-Zuhri. Motzki plausibly ascribes this to regional preferences; see his *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz. Ihre Entwicklung in Mekka bis zur Mitte des 2.18. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1991), 194f. With regard to the sobriquet Ibn Shihāb, note that a poet called him, in a verse, Muḥammad b. Shihāb; Maqrīzi, *Muqaffā'*, VII, 251. Why was Shihāb used in this sobriquet, rather than an ancestor closer to al-Zuhri? Because compared with the name Muslim and the other names in al-Zuhri's pedigree, the name Shihāb was rare.

data is methodologically important, as it stems from my conviction that the history of Arabia should be studied with constant reference to the abundant geographical information at our disposal.

1. Al-Zuhri and the Umayyads

The sources now available to us for al-Zuhri's biography³ are far more numerous than those which I. Goldziher had access to when writing, a century ago, about al-Zuhri's relationship with the Umayyads.⁴ But although we are in a position to have more details about al-Zuhri, Goldziher's brilliant analysis of his links with the ruling family still holds. If anything, like good wine it improves with time.⁵ Yet as we shall see, there were attempts to replace Goldziher's realistic (and not at all unsympathetic) approach with a romantic and apologetic view of al-Zuhri's links with the Umayyads. The relationship between the Umayyad rulers and the religious scholars of their time is an important factor in the study of both Islamic history and the emergence of Islamic literature.

With regard to the much-quoted passage from al-Ya'qūbī concerning 'Abd al-Malik's wish to replace the pilgrimage to Mecca, then under Ibn al-Zubayr's control, with pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Goldziher remarks that al-Zuhri 'was given the task of justifying this politically motivated reform of religious life by making up⁶ and spreading a saying traced back to the Prophet, according to which there are three mosques to which people may make pilgrimages: those in Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem'.⁷ Basing himself on a passage from al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Goldziher then adds several paragraphs about al-Zuhri:

How the Umayyads made it their business to put into circulation *hadīths* which seemed to them desirable, and how people of the type of the pious al-Zuhri acquiesced in being their tools — though they certainly were not guided by selfish motives⁸ but merely by reasons of

³ I am particularly indebted to Ibn 'Asākir's *History of Damascus*.

⁴ Goldziher regretted having had no access to Ibn 'Asākir; *Muslim Studies*, ed. S.M. Stern, tr. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern (London 1967-71), II, 46, n. 1. The most detailed *tarjama* of al-Zuhri used by Juynboll a decade ago (*Muslim Tradition*, 169) was the one found in al-Fasawī's *al-Ma'rifa wa-al-ta'rikh*, I, 620-43.

⁵ *Muslim Studies*, II, 43f.

⁶ This is doubtful. Cf. A. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship* (Leiden, 1995), 156-7; below, nn. 36, 88.

⁷ *Muslim Studies*, II, 44f. See now in great detail Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 147-63.

⁸ In a footnote Goldziher refers here to al-Zuhri's selflessness, quoting an utterance of 'Amr b. Dīnār; see on it below, n. 63.

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state expediency — is to be seen from evidence preserved by al-Khaṭīb al-Baġhdādī.⁹ Here we find an account ... from 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211), a disciple of Ma'mar b. Rāshid (d. 153), in the name of the latter; Ma'mar himself belonged to the group of the disciples of al-Zuhri. This account tells us that the Umayyad Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd ... came to al-Zuhri with *a notebook he had written* [my italics; M.L.], and asked his permission to spread the sayings contained in it as *hadīths* communicated by al-Zuhri. The latter gave his permission easily: 'Who else could have told you the *hadīths*?' Thus the Umayyad was enabled to circulate the contents of his manuscript as texts taught him by al-Zuhri. This account fully confirms the willingness of al-Zuhri ... to promote the interests of the dynasty by religious means. His piety probably caused his conscience to be troubled occasionally but he could not forever resist the pressure of the governing circles. ... Al-Zuhri did not belong to the circle of the irreconcilable but to those who thought a *modus vivendi* with the government was desirable. He did not avoid the court but moved unhesitatingly in the ruler's entourage, and we even see him, during a pilgrimage of al-Ḥajjāj, among the followers of this bogey of the pious. He was employed by Hishām as tutor to the prince and under Yazīd II he even consented to accept the office of judge Al-Zuhri did not have to consider scruples about accepting public office under the Umayyads since he had always shown himself willing to co-operate with the ruling powers.¹⁰

Goldziher's forceful analysis of al-Zuhri's relations with the Umayyads has been strongly attacked in recent years by some contemporary scholars.¹¹ Before studying the details of this onslaught it would be useful to remind ourselves that a student specializing in a particular religion, any religion, sometimes arrives at conclusions which are incompatible with the beliefs held by the adherents of that religion.

⁹ *Kifāyah*, 266. We shall have to return to this evidence later.

¹⁰ *Muslim Studies*, II, 46f. J. Horowitz, 'The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and their Authors', II, *Islamic Culture* 2 (1928), 22-50, at 40, says more accurately that al-Zuhri educated Hishām's children (not just one of them).

¹¹ Cf. however, Kh. 'Athāmina, 'The 'Ulamā' in the Opposition: the "Stick and Carrot" Policy in Early Islam', *The Islamic Quarterly* 36 (1992), 153-78, at 166, who, with reference to Goldziher, speaks of scholars who 'were used by the regime as a vehicle of propaganda to counteract the voices of those who opposed the regime. They were an effective means of propagating traditions which favoured the ruler and defamed his adversaries. In other words, they practised *wad' al-ḥadīth* ("forging of *hadīth*") or were used to disseminate false traditions.' See also 168f. Also O. Livne-Kafri, 'On Jerusalem in Early Islam', *Cathedra* 51 (1989), 35-66 [in Hebrew], at 52f, who correctly remarks that while a few pious persons fought against the Umayyads and refused to accept government offices, many of them were willing to serve them.

Sensitive issues will inevitably cause a rift between non-Islamic scholarship and orthodox Islamic values. Whilst it is true that in many fields of Islamic studies non-Muslim and Muslim scholars work together towards achieving the same scientific goals, a restatement of the fundamental difference in outlook is necessary, because when that is blurred, hypocrisy and lies emerge.¹²

In recent decades we have been witnessing a conscious attempt to detract from the importance of al-Zuhri's Umayyad connection and to present him as an independent scholar.¹³ But before we turn to the revision of al-Zuhri's relations with the Umayyads, let us look at two points of detail on which Goldziher is said to have misunderstood the Arabic text. It is no accident that both relate to al-Zuhri's relationship with the Umayyads.

First, F. Sezgin challenged Goldziher's interpretation of al-Zuhri's famous statement about the writing down of *ḥadīth*, *akraha-nā 'alay-hi ḥā'ulā'i al-umarā'*, which according to Goldziher 'can only be understood on the assumption of al-Zuhri's willingness to lend his name, which was in general esteemed by the Muslim community, to the government's wishes'.¹⁴ Using unambiguous terms G. Schoeler recently reinstated Goldziher's interpretation of this phrase, correctly rejecting Sezgin's translation.¹⁵ Further evidence supports the interpretation of

¹² See also the section entitled *Arabists versus Historians*, in P. Crone, 'Serjeant and Meccan Trade', *Arabica* 39 (1992), 216-40, at 237f.

¹³ This approach is not new; cf. Juynboll, *The Authenticity of the Tradition Literature: Discussions in Modern Egypt* (Leiden 1969), 109.

¹⁴ *Muslim Studies* II, 47; see F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (= GAS; Leiden, 1967f), I, 281. Juynboll (*Authenticity*, 112) assumes that 'Goldziher's interpretation is not tenable'. Juynboll (*Muslim Tradition*, 169, n. 32) argues that the version found in *al-Ma'rifah wa-al-ta'rikh*, I, 633 (*kunnā lā narā l-kitāb shay'an*, [*fa-akrahas-nā 'alay-hi al-umarā'*, *fa-ahbabnā an nuwāsiya bayn al-nās*]), 'seems to support Sezgin's interpretation'. Dūri's translation (*The Rise of Historical Writing among the Arabs*, ed. and tr. L.I. Conrad (Princeton 1983), 119, is not different from Goldziher's: 'We disliked writing (*al-kitāb*) until the authorities (*al-umarā'*) compelled us to do so; then I decided not to prevent any Muslim from doing likewise.' However, Dūri qualifies this by adding, 'but this appears to echo the view of *ḥadīth* scholars of later times'.

¹⁵ Schoeler, 'Mündliche Thora und Ḥadīth: Überlieferung, Schreibverbot, Redaktion', *Der Islam* 66 (1989), 213-51, at 228f: 'Wir hatten eine Abneigung dagegen, das Wissen (sc. die Tradition) niederzuschreiben, bis diese Herrscher uns dazu gezwungen haben. Nun sind wir der Meinung, daß wir es (sc. das Niederschreiben der Tradition) keinem Muslim mehr verwehren sollten.' M.J. Kister calls Sezgin's interpretation of the phrase 'far-fetched'; see Kister, "*Lā taqrā'ū al-qur'āna 'alā al-muḥafiyīn wa-lā tahmilū al-'ilma 'an al-ṣahāfiyyīn ...*": Some Notes on the Transmission of *Ḥadīth*', paper presented at the Sixth Colloquium on 'From Jāhiliyya to Islam', *JSAI* (forthcoming), where the phrase is thoroughly analysed.

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this phrase as a reference to writing as opposed to memorizing. Two Umayyad caliphs are mentioned in this context, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (65-86/685-705) and Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (105-25/724-43). The traditionist al-Walīd b. Muslim implies (although he does not specifically mention the writing down of *ḥadīth*) that al-Zuhrī had already succumbed to Umayyad pressure at the time of 'Abd al-Malik.¹⁶

The evidence concerning Hishām is far stronger. According to one version of the report just quoted, it was Hishām who forced al-Zuhrī to abandon his former objection to the writing down of *ḥadīth*: al-Zuhrī then dictated it to Hishām's sons (whose mentor he was). Following this, al-Zuhrī allowed ordinary Muslims to write down his *ḥadīth*.¹⁷ This and other similar records relating to the writing down of *ḥadīth* should not be read as straightforward historical records. Rather, they are apologetic statements made in connection with the heated debate over the techniques of transmitting *ḥadīth*. They seek to make value judgements about the practice of writing down *ḥadīth* by pointing out the alleged circumstances in which the cherished ideal of memorizing was abandoned in favour of writing.

Further important proof is included in a report from Wāqidi < Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Muslim, better known as Ibn Akhī

¹⁶ *Kharaja al-Zuhrī min al-Khadrā' min 'ind 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān fa-jalasa 'inda dhāka al-'amūd* [al-Walīd was of course pointing to a specific column in the mosque of Damascus] *fa-qāla: yā ayyuhā al-nās, innā kunnā qad mana'nā-kum shay'an qad badhalnā-hu li-hā'ulā'i* [i.e., the permission to write down *ḥadīth*] *fa-ta'ālaw ḥastā uḥadditha-kum* [viz. while you write down my *ḥadīth*]; Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 243f. On 'Abd al-Malik's purchasing of al-Khadrā' from Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah see M. 'Abd al-Qādir Khresat, '*al-Qaṣṣa*' *fi al-'aṣr al-umawī*, *Dirāsāt* ('Ammān) 16,iii (1989), 30-62, at 48 (where the reference given is incorrect).

¹⁷ *Kāna al-Zuhrī lā yatrūku aḥadan yaktubu bayna yaday-hi, fa-akrahā-hu Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik fa-amā 'alā banī-hi. Fa-lammā kharaja min 'indi-hi dakhala al-masjid fa-istanada ilā 'amūd min 'umudi-hi, thumma nādā: yā ṣalabata al-ḥadīth. Fa-lammā ijtama'ū ilay-hi qāla: innī kunsu mana'ru-kum amran badhaltsu-hu li-amīr al-mu'minīna ānifan, ḥalumma fa-uktubū, fa-kataba 'an-hu al-nās min yawma'idhin;* *TMD, Zuhri*, 91. Kister, "*Lā taqrā'ū al-gur'ān 'alā al-muḥafsiyyin*", suggests that 'the *ḥadīths* which al-Zuhrī was bidden to write down for the sons of the Caliph were of an official character. They may have touched upon events which affected people's opinions, such as those connected with the role of some Qurashī enemies of the Prophet who later embraced Islam and became virtuous believers.' Having added further categories of material, Kister concludes: 'These kinds of traditions seem to be the reason why al-Zuhrī was vexed and decided to change his manner of transmission, permitting every Muslim to write down *ḥadīth*.'

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al-Zuhri ('al-Zuhri's nephew' [mentioned later in this study]).¹⁸ Wāqidī once queried al-Zuhri's nephew about the circumstances in which he had heard a certain *ḥadīth* from his uncle. The nephew answered:

I was with him when Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik ordered him to write down [or rather, to dictate] for him his *ḥadīth*, and he seated before him secretaries (*kustāb*) to whom al-Zuhri dictated while they recorded. I used to attend this. Sometimes I had to relieve myself and I would stand up. My uncle used to stop dictating until I returned to my seat.¹⁹

Paradoxically, the detail concerning the nephew's going to the lavatory is the most important component in this report: al-Zuhri's nephew seeks to establish that he was present throughout the sessions during which his uncle dictated his *ḥadīth* to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik's secretaries or, in other words, that he was a trustworthy transmitter of his uncle's *ḥadīth*. The reliability of the nephew's claims does not concern us here. However, al-Zuhri's dictation of his *ḥadīth* to Hishām's secretaries is relevant for us and appears to be authentic, since it forms the background to the account; it is something taken for granted. This is yet another report on this subject, totally independent of the aforementioned one in which we were told of how Hishām forced al-Zuhri to dictate *ḥadīth* to his (Hishām's) sons. It is important to emphasize that the secretaries (*kustāb*) were of course government officials, as is made clear by the frequent references to *sulṭān* and *wulāt* in the context of al-Zuhri's dictation (see below).

Reportedly, the envoy who brought al-Zuhri Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik's request that he dictate (*ḥadīth*) to him (i.e., to Hishām) was 'Uqayl b. Khālid al-Ayli. Al-Zuhri complied.²⁰ 'Uqayl, a *mawlā* of the Umayyads, more precisely of the family (*āl*) of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, is known to have worked for the Umayyad state. Al-Mājishūn

¹⁸ For an entry on Ibn Akhī al-Zuhri see *TMD*, *Mukht.*, XXII, 328f. Muḥammad's father, who was al-Zuhri's elder brother, was a *ḥadīth* transmitter; *Tahdh.*, VI, 29.

¹⁹ Ibn Sa'd, *Qism mutammim*, 453 (*kuntu ma'a-hu haythu amara-hu Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik an yaktuba la-hu ḥadītha-hu wa-ajlasa la-hu kustāban yumli 'alay-him al-Zuhri wa-yaktubūna. Fa-kuntu abḍuru dhālika fa-rubbamā 'aradās li al-ḥajjah fa-aqūmu fi-hā fa-yumsiku 'ammī 'an al-implā' ḥastā a'ūda ilā makān-i*). See the same report in *TMD*, *MS*, XV, 559f; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, XXV, 558.

²⁰ Ibn Khalfūn al-Andalusī, *Asmā' shuyūkh al-imām Mālik b. Anas*, ed. M.Z.M. 'Azb (Cairo n.d.), 110: *wa-yuqālu inna-hu kāna rasūla Hishām ilā al-Zuhri fi an yumliya 'alay-hi, fa-amlā 'alay-hi al-Zuhri*.

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(= Ya'qūb b. Abī Salamah) said, "Uqayl was a *shurṭī* here ('*inda-nā*) in Medina, and he died in Egypt in 141' (758-9).²¹

One of Hishām's secretaries who wrote down al-Zuhri's *hadīth* can probably be identified as Shu'ayb b. Abī Ḥamzah/b. Dīnār al-Ḥimṣī (d. 162/779), a *mawlā* of the Banū Umayyah. He was a secretary of Hishām in al-Ruṣāfah, where he received *hadīth* from al-Zuhri. He also accompanied al-Zuhri on a pilgrimage to Mecca.²² Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn reported that Shu'ayb was one of the secretaries (*kuttāb*) who recorded al-Zuhri's *hadīth*: 'Shu'ayb b. Abī Ḥamza wrote down al-Zuhri's *hadīth* when he dictated it for the rulers, being a secretary' (*kataba 'an al-Zuhri imlā'an li-l-sultān, kāna kātiban*).²³ There are indications that Shu'ayb was (at some point) the secretary (*kātib*) of al-Zuhri himself.²⁴ This *kātib*-office may have been connected to al-Zuhri's role as *qādī* (on which see below).

Shu'ayb, then, is a specific example of an official who wrote down al-Zuhri's *hadīth* in al-Ruṣāfah, on Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik's orders. In other words, the general statement about the secretaries who were ordered to write down al-Zuhri's *hadīth* matches the evidence about one of them. This confirms the involvement of the Umayyad state in recording al-Zuhri's *hadīth*.²⁵

We know of yet another person who participated in 'al-Zuhri's dictation (*imlā'*) for the rulers': Yūnus b. Yazīd (al-Ayli, a *mawlā* of

²¹ Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, VI, 302. This remark has more to do with 'Uqayl's reputation as a *hadīth* transmitter than with a genuine interest in his biography.

²² *TMD, MS*, VIII, 76. Shu'ayb was the *mawlā* of Ziyād (viz. Ziyād b. Abīhi); *TMD, MS*, VIII, 76:-1. He was the official in charge of Hishām's *nafaqāt* (*wa-kāna min kuttāb Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik 'alā nafaqāti-hi wa-kāna al-Zuhri ma'a-hum bi-al-Ruṣāfah*); *TMD, MS*, VIII, 80:25; Abū Zur'a, *Ta'rikh*, I, 433; II, 715.

²³ *TMD, MS*, VIII, 78:13. Dhahabī explains (*Nubalā'*, VII, 188) that by *sultān*, Yaḥyā means Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. Cf. the slightly different wording of Yaḥyā in *TMD, MS*, VIII, 79:4 (*shahida al-implā min al-Zuhri li-al-sultān*); also 80:10 (*wa-kāna samā'u-hu min al-Zuhri ma' al-wulāh implā min al-Zuhri 'alay-him*). See also Abū Ḥātim's remark (79:7): *ḥadara Shu'ayb b. Abī Ḥamzah al-Ruṣāfah ḥaythu amlā al-Zuhri, fa-samā'u-hu min al-Zuhri implā*. Another expert remarks (79:18): *wa-kāna samā'u-hu min al-Zuhri ma'a al-sultān*. 'Alī b. al-Madīnī (79:21) adds another aspect when he refers to the form of Shu'ayb's 'notebooks': *kurub Shu'ayb b. Abī Ḥamzah tushbihu kurub al-dīwān*, which Ibn 'Asākir interprets as an expression of disapproval (*yuridu 'Alī b. al-Madīnī bi-dhālika mā ḥakā-hu Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn anna-hu samā'u-hu ma'a al-wulāh*). For a positive appraisal of Shu'ayb's transmission from al-Zuhri see Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, *Ma'rifat al-rijāl*, I, 120f.

²⁴ Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, quoted in *Tahdh.*, IV, 351, says: *Shu'ayb min atthbat al-nās fi al-Zuhri, kāna kātiban la-hu*. Another expert, al-Khalīlī, quoted in *Tahdh.*, IV, 352, says: *kāna kātib al-Zuhri*.

²⁵ Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn is also quoted in *Su'ālāt Ibn al-Junayd*, 394.

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Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān). Yaḥyā b. Ma'in referred in this context both to him and to the abovementioned Shu'ayb.²⁶

It is not clear to what extent our *ḥadīth* collections reflect the government's significant role in the earliest stages of the writing down of *ḥadīth* but at any rate it is a major factor to be reckoned with when studying the emergence of early Islamic literature.

The second point of detail on which Goldziher is said to have misunderstood the Arabic text concerns his interpretation of the story about the Umayyad prince who, in Goldziher's words, 'came to al-Zuhri with a notebook he had written, and asked his permission to spread the sayings contained in it as *ḥadīths* communicated by al-Zuhri'. The exact wording is crucial for our discussion: 'Abd al-Razzāq < Ma'mar: *ra'aytu rajulan min Banī Umayyah yuqālu la-hu Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd jā'a ilā al-Zuhri bi-kitāb fa-'arada-hu 'alay-hi thumma qāla: uḥaddithu bi-hādhā 'an-ka yā Abā Bakr? qāla: la-'amrī fa-man yuhaddithu-kumūhu ghayrī?* In the source just quoted this is immediately followed by a variant version in which the passage *jā'a ilā al-Zuhri bi-kitāb fa-'arada-hu 'alay-hi*, is replaced by *wa-'arada 'alay-hi kitāban min 'ilmi-hi*.²⁷ This variant is important because of its explicit statement, perhaps overlooked by Goldziher, that the notebook included, or was supposed to have included, al-Zuhri's own *'ilm*.²⁸ Ibn Sa'd, in a volume recently published,²⁹ has a less precise version: *wa-'arada 'alay-hi kitāban min 'ilm*, instead of ... *min 'ilmi-hi*. The editor of this volume of Ibn Sa'd, Ziyād Muḥammad Maṣṣūr, challenges Goldziher's interpretation. He criticizes Goldziher for overlooking the reference to the technique of *ḥadīth* transmission called *'ard* which many, including al-Zuhri, considered to be legitimate.³⁰ According to Maṣṣūr, al-Zuhri's words *fa-man yuhaddithu-kumūhu ghayrī* mean 'Who but me knows these *ḥadīths* and can transmit them to you and give you permission to transmit them further?' Maṣṣūr has in mind the ninety *ḥadīths* transmitted only by al-Zuhri and no one else (*ay man ya'lamu bi-hādhīhi al-aḥādīth ghayrī hattā yuhadditha-kum wa-yujīza-kum bi-hā, idh shabata anna al-Zuhri infarada bi-tis'ina ḥadīthan lā yarwī-hā ghayru-hu*). This,

²⁶ *Su'ālāt Ibn al-Junayd*, 307 (Yūnus b. Yazīd shahīda al-implā'a min al-Zuhri li-l-sulṭān wa-Shu'ayb b. Abī Ḥamza shahīda al-implā'a). On Yūnus see below, n. 105/05. (The above-mentioned 'Uqayl b. Khālīd was also a *mawla* of the Umayyads who lived in Aylah.)

²⁷ Al-Khaṣīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāyah*, 266.

²⁸ Goldziher certainly knew the term *'ard*; see *Muslim Studies*, II, 205n.

²⁹ *Qism mutammim*, 172.

³⁰ Cf. Juynboll, *Authenticity*, 112.

Maṣṣūr adds, is the meaning of the text, not what the Jew Goldziher claimed (*lā kamā za'ama al-yahūdī Goldziher*), namely that Ibrāhīm wrote a *ṣahīfah*, brought it to al-Zuhri, and asked for his permission to disseminate the *ḥadīths* included in it as though he had heard them from him. Maṣṣūr concludes by saying that the text explicitly states that Ibrāhīm presented the *ḥadīths* to his teacher al-Zuhri using the technique known as *'arḍ* (*'arada 'alā shaykhi-hi 'ardan*), which many *Muḥaddithūn* consider to be on the same level as *samā'*.³¹

While Maṣṣūr's criticism about the technical term *'arḍ* may be justified to some extent, on the whole he misinterprets the report while Goldziher understands it correctly. It is true that the *kitāb min 'ilmi-hi*, which the prince 'presented' to al-Zuhri (*'arada*)³² was supposed to include al-Zuhri's own *'ilm* which he transmitted or dictated to the prince, who in his turn wrote it down in a notebook. In other words, the wording does not suggest that the *ḥadīths* in the notebook were invented by the prince. But this point of detail does not affect Goldziher's overall interpretation of the text. The crux of the matter is not al-Zuhri's approval of the *'arḍ* technique but his allegedly sloppy and irresponsible application of it. Maṣṣūr is wrong in assuming that the text does not indicate reprehensible conduct on al-Zuhri's part in connection with the transmission of *ḥadīth*. Al-Zuhri's alleged answer to the prince, 'Who else could have told you the *ḥadīth*?' is adduced by al-Zuhri's student, Ma'mar b. Rāshid, in order to convey to us that al-Zuhri had no intention of checking the contents of the *kitāb* presented to him for inspection. (This is not the only criticism made by Ma'mar about al-Zuhri's practices in transmitting *ḥadīth*. Ma'mar accused al-Zuhri of employing the same method as al-Ḥakam b. 'Uṭaybah: both used to ascribe the *ḥadīth* of one informant to another.³³)

³¹ Ibn Sa'd, *Qism mutammim*, 172n. Cf. E. Kohlberg, '*al-Uṣūl al-Arba'umi'a*', *JSAI* 10 (1987), 128-66, at 139; reprinted in idem, *Belief and Law in Imāmi Shī'ism* (London 1991), no. VII.

³² Goldziher rendered this 'a notebook he had written'; the German original has here: 'mit einem fertigen Hefte kam'.

³³ *TMD, Zuhri*, 129 (*kāna al-Zuhri fī aṣḥābi-hi mithl al-Ḥakam b. 'Uṭaybah fī aṣḥābi-hi, yanqulu ḥadītha ba'di-him ilā ba'd*). A variant version (*loc. cit.*) has: *kāna... yarwī 'an 'Urwah wa-Sālim al-shay'a ka-dhālika*. The *naql* of which Wāqidi was accused is the same as the one ascribed to al-Zuhri; Dhahabi, *Nubalā'*, IX, 463 (*kāna yanqulu al-ḥadītha*). Interestingly, as a specific example of Wāqidi's practice of *naql*, *ḥadīths* which he claimed to have been from al-Zuhri are mentioned (*rawā... aḥādītha 'an al-Zuhri laysat min ḥadīthi-hi*). It is perhaps no accident that al-Ḥakam b. 'Uṭaybah al-'Ijlī was a member of the Umayyad administration at the time of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, more precisely he was *qāḍī* in Kufa during the governorship of Khālid al-Qasrī; *Wakī'*, III, 22f.

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That a flaw in al-Zuhri's practice as *hadīth* transmitter is meant here can be shown by another, similar, report. It records the criticism of the great-great-grandson of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar (147/764), who, like Ma'mar b. Rāshid, was al-Zuhri's student:³⁴

I have seen Ibn Shihāb when one of his 'books' [*kitāb min kutubi-hi*, i.e., a written collection or notebook including *hadīths* transmitted from al-Zuhri] was brought to him. And he was asked [by his student who brought him the 'book']: 'O Abū Bakr, this is your book and your *hadīth*, shall we transmit it on your authority?' He said: 'Yes.' He did not read it out and it was not read out to him.³⁵

The same criticism was levelled at al-Zuhri in connection with the Umayyad prince. J. Horovitz interprets 'Ubaydallāh's words correctly when he says that al-Zuhri 'was blamed for having allowed a volume containing Hadīth reported by him, which was submitted to him for approval, to be passed on to posterity, without first looking through it'. Horovitz continues, plausibly linking this to the aforementioned story of the Umayyad prince: 'According to one version it was Ibrāhīm ibn Al-Walīd to whom he gave such a permission.' Horovitz adds that 'it was possible in that way to adduce in the name of Al-Zuhri reports which he himself never knew'.³⁶

Two other versions of the above-mentioned report about 'Ubaydallāh provide further elucidation: 'Ubaydallāh testifies that it was he himself, not an anonymous person, who brought a 'book' to al-Zuhri and received immediate permission to transmit it. In one version al-Zuhri (briefly) looked at the 'book' (*dafa'tu ilā bni Shihāb kitāban nazara fi-hi fa-qāla: rwi-hi 'anni*). The other version emphasizes that al-Zuhri did not even look at the book: it was given to him folded.³⁷

³⁴ GAS, I, 89.

³⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *Qism mutammim*, 173. In Duri, *Rise*, 120, quoting Dhahabī, *Tarājim rijāl*, 69, the translation is wrong: "Ubayd Allāh ibn 'Umar reported, "I used to see al-Zuhri give [someone] a book which he neither recited [to the students] nor had recited to him [by the students]." In 'Ubaydallāh's report, al-Zuhri receives a notebook (*yu'tā al-kitābah*, i.e., for inspection) and does not give it. In Duri, *Rise*, n. 296, instead of: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, I, 266, read: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kifāyah*, 266. Cf. Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, 155, n. 57 (who, I believe, provides the wrong context).

³⁶ Horovitz, 'Earliest Biographies', II, 48. Horovitz's concluding sentence reveals an important area of disagreement between him and Goldziher: 'That he invented Hadīth in order to promote the interests of the Umayyads is, however, unacceptable.'

³⁷ TMD, *Zuhri*, 151 (*awaytu al-Zuhri bi-kitāb mudraj fa-quṭru: arwi hādihā 'an-ka? qāla: na'am*). See also *al-Ma'rifah wa-al-ta'rikh*, II, 823 (where the same 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar says: *ashhadu 'alā Ibn Shihāb anna-hu kāna yu'tā bi-al-kitāb min*

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As we have seen, it was Ma'mar b. Rāshid who criticized al-Zuhri for his conduct with the Umayyad prince, Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid. It is important to note that according to Ma'mar's testimony, the knowledge (or *ḥadīth*) which he himself received from al-Zuhri was transmitted to him impeccably, namely he read it out to al-Zuhri, who in turn authorized him to transmit it on his (al-Zuhri's) authority (viz. he considered the student's reading to the teacher to be on a par with the teacher's reading to the student).³⁸

So much for the allegations made concerning Goldziher's command of Arabic with regard to al-Zuhri's association with the Umayyads. Far subtler is the revision of the evidence with the aim of blunting its message. This is done by focusing on some marginal pieces of evidence at the expense of the central ones. As we shall soon find out, al-Zuhri's contemporaries (and later medieval Muslim scholars as well) were more critical of his relations with the Umayyads than some of our contemporaries.³⁹

M.M. Azami writes about al-Zuhri, quite oblivious to the aversion of the pious to entering government service, so intelligently analysed by Goldziher a century ago:⁴⁰

The gravest charge against him is his co-operation with the ruling family. There were many great scholars who co-operated with the government and held offices. ... Therefore, it cannot be a charge against someone that he accepted an office in the government, provided that his conduct was right.⁴¹

The Indian scholar N.A. Faruqi writes about al-Zuhri: 'He was closely associated with the Umayyad court. But ... in matters of

kusubi-hi fa-yataṣaffahu-hu wa-yanzuru fi-hi ṣrumma yaqūlu: ḥādḥā ḥadīthī a'rifu-hu khudh-hu minnī); Yahyā b. Ma'in, *Ma'rifat al-rijāl*, II, 149 ('Ubaydallāh: *kuntu arā al-Zuhri yu'tā bi-al-daftar mā qara'a-hu wa-lā 'urida 'alay-hi, fa-yuqālu la-hu: narwī ḥādḥā 'an-ka? fa-yaqūlu: na'am*).

³⁸ *Al-Ma'rifah wa-al-ta'rīkh*, II, 827 (*qara'ru al-'ibn 'alā al-Zuhri fa-lammā faraghtu min-hu qalsu: uḥaddithu bi-ḥādḥā 'an-ka? qālu: wa-man ḥaddatha-ka bi-ḥādḥā ḡhayrī?*).

³⁹ See also Kister, 'The *Sīrah* Literature', in A.F.L. Beeston et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (Cambridge 1983; = *CHALUP*), 352-67, at 365: 'The favours bestowed on al-Zuhri by the Umayyads and the close relations between him and the rulers aroused the suspicions of independent *ḥadīth* scholars as to his integrity.'

⁴⁰ *Muslim Studies*, II, 47f. For rich documentation, accompanied by a balanced analysis, of the two types of religious scholars, namely those who were willing to co-operate with the rulers and take up government offices, and those who opposed it, see 'Athāmina, 'The 'Ulamā' in the Opposition'.

⁴¹ M.M. Azami, *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature* (Indianapolis 1978), 288.

historical and religious significance, he observed accuracy and impartiality and did not yield to timely political pressures.⁴²

'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī, who has written extensively on al-Zuhri, makes a remarkable effort at establishing al-Zuhri's independence of the Umayyad court. He says that 'there is an account reported from al-Zuhri which indicates that he was critical of 'Abd al-Malik during the period of the struggle with Ibn al-Zubayr'.⁴³ The same line of thought was adopted, probably independently, by Azami (who does not list Dūrī in his bibliography): 'Undoubtedly he was attached to the Caliph's court from the time of 'Abd al-Malik to Hishām's. It is also true that he had been heavily in debt several times, that was paid off by Caliphs, yet his relation with the Caliphs was not always smooth.' Azami also argues that 'it would be unfair to history, to deduce from al-Zuhri's relation with the Umayyad dynasty, that he was a tool in their hands, and that they exploited his name, fame and knowledge to circulate false traditions in their favour'.⁴⁴

Returning to Dūrī, we notice an attempt to distance al-Zuhri from the court:

Though he did make occasional and intermittent visits to the Umayyad court, al-Zuhri's studies probably kept him in Medina most of the time. Later he moved to Adāma, in southern Palestine near the boundary of the Hijaz, and from there made trips to the Hijaz and to Damascus (the Umayyad court) 'for academic purposes' (*li-'ilmi-hi*).⁴⁵

However, a traditionist from al-Ruṣāfah reports that al-Zuhri stayed in al-Ruṣāfah throughout the caliphate of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik

⁴² N.A. Faruqi, *Early Muslim Historiography* (Delhi 1979), 237, n. 1.

⁴³ Dūrī, *Rise*, 118; Dūrī, 'al-Zuhri', *BSOAS* 19 (1957), 1-12, at 11, citing Balādhuri, *Anṣāb*, XI, 163, read probably: 167. The dating of the utterance attributed to al-Zuhri to the struggle with Ibn al-Zubayr does not belong to the text but to Dūrī's interpretation; in fact, the wording seems to suggest that it was made *after* the time of 'Abd al-Malik. Cf. *TMD*, *Mukhr.*, XV, 224. According to Dūrī (*Rise*, 117n), Goldziher's remarks concerning al-Zuhri's relations with the Umayyads 'are not very critical'; see also Dūrī, 'al-Zuhri', 10n (they are 'hardly critical').

⁴⁴ Azami, *Studies in Early Hadith Literature*, 288f.

⁴⁵ Dūrī, *Rise*, 118f. Cf. Dūrī, 'al-Zuhri', 11 (where *li-'ilmi-hi* is rendered 'as a scholar'). Dūrī suggests that it is more likely that al-Zuhri settled in Damascus at the time of Yazīd II and Hishām (but there is evidence that he had settled there already at the time of 'Abd al-Malik; see Section 2 below). The meaning of *li-'ilmi-hi* is obscure to me. The wording of the passage in question is: *wafada al-Zuhri 'alā 'Abd l-Malik wa-istawṭana al-Shām wa-kāna yataraddadu ilā al-Hijāz wa-yahruju wa-yafiqu* [read: *wa-yafidu*] 'alā Banī Umayyah li-'ilmi-hi; Dhahabī, *Tarājim rijāl*, 70. Concerning Adāma, note that it was only when al-Zuhri grew old that he retired to his estate there; see below, n. 160.

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(*khilāfata Hishām kulla-hā*), namely for nineteen years and eight months.⁴⁶ Dūrī does mention that al-Zuhri officiated as *qādi* for Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and was the tutor of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik's children,⁴⁷ but he then quotes in detail a dispute between al-Zuhri and Hishām:

... from a fierce argument which transpired between him and Hishām, we can see that al-Zuhri had not fallen under the influence of the Umayyads. Hishām asked him who was meant in the Qur'anic verse, 'whichever of them takes upon himself the greater part of it'⁴⁸ and al-Zuhri replied, 'It was 'Abd Allāh ibn Ubayy'. 'You lie', Hishām cried, 'It was 'Alī!'. Al-Zuhri replied, 'I lie?! May you have no father! By God, even if a herald were to cry out from heaven that God had permitted lying, still I would not lie'. Such was al-Zuhri the scholar.⁴⁹

This revision of al-Zuhri's links with the Umayyads lacks a sense of proportion. Even if we accept as historical al-Zuhri's critical comment concerning 'Abd al-Malik and his reported dispute with Hishām, they do not establish him as an independent intellectual. Al-Zuhri himself appears to have taken pride in his long relationship with the Umayyads, or at least this is what we read in an allegedly autobiographical tradition going back to him.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *Al-Ma'rifah wa-al-ta'rikh*, I, 636. On this Ruṣāfi, Ḥajjāj b. Abī Manī', see *Tahdh.*, II, 207f; Ibn Sa'd, VII, 474. Another Ruṣāfi testifies that he stayed with al-Zuhri in al-Ruṣāfah for ten years; Yāqūt, the end of s.v. Ruṣāfat al-Shām; Abū Zur'ah, *Ta'rikh*, I, 432; cf. *Tahdh.*, s.v. Muḥammad b. al-Walid, IX, 502f. When Mālik b. Anas criticized him for leaving Medina after having exhausted its knowledge (*ṣalabta al-'ilm ḥastā idhā kunta wi'ā'an min aw'iya-hi tarakta al-Madīnah wa-kharajta 'an-hā*), al-Zuhri answered: *innamā kuntū anzilū al-Madīnah wa-al-nās idh dhāka nās; al-Ma'rifah wa-al-ta'rikh*, I, 621.

⁴⁷ See also N. Abbott, 'Collection and Transmission of Hadīth', in *CHALUP*, 289-98, at 294. In 123/741, shortly before his death, al-Zuhri made the pilgrimage with Hishām's son Yazīd; Ibn Sa'd, *Qism mutammim*, 165. This confirms the report that going to the pilgrimage with Hishām's children was part of al-Zuhri's role as their mentor and that he did not depart from them until his death; Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 233 (*wa-ḥajja Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik sanata sitt wa-mi'a wa-ma'a-hu al-Zuhri, ḥasara-hu ma'a wuldi-hi yuṣāqqu-hum wa-yu'allimu-hum wa-yahjju ma'a-hum fa-lam yuṣāriq-hum ḥastā māta*).

⁴⁸ Qur'an 24:11.

⁴⁹ Dūrī, *Rise*, 118, 119. See Horowitz, 'Earliest Biographies', II, 40f: 'The intercourse between the Khalīfah and his learned court-theologian, as Al-Zuhri has been called, did not always run so smoothly.' It was Goldziher who called al-Zuhri 'court-theologian', and Horowitz meant this as a mild criticism. Cf. Kister, 'The *Sīrah* Literature', 364 (the context of the story is 'the attempts made by the Umayyads and their governors to denigrate 'Alī in the *Sīrah* ... Al-Zuhri courageously refuses to transfer the guilt of slandering of 'Ā'ishah from 'Abdullāh b. Ubayy to 'Alī).

⁵⁰ Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, V, 331 (...*wa-suṣuffiya 'Abd al-Malik fa-laximtu bna-hu al-Walid, thumma Sulaymān, thumma 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, thumma Yazīd ... thumma laximtu Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik* ...).

Al-Zuhri's contemporaries and later medieval Muslim scholars had another perception altogether of al-Zuhri's links with the Umayyads. For example, Makhūl said, 'What a [great] man he could have been, had he not ruined himself by associating with the kings.'⁵¹ Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn (233/847) said of al-Zuhri *kāna sulṭāniyyan*.⁵² Because of this, Yaḥyā preferred the transmission of another scholar to al-Zuhri's. The famous Mu'tazilite, 'Amr b. 'Ubayd (d. 144/761),⁵³ once reprimanded a man whom he had seen in al-Zuhri's company, asking, 'What business do you have with the napkin of the rulers?'⁵⁴ The abovementioned Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn would not allow a comparison between al-Zuhri and al-A'mash. The former considered the *'ard* and *ijāza* techniques to be lawful and served in the administration of the Umayyads (*wa-kāna ya'malu li-Banī Umayyah*), whereas the latter (who was obviously opposed to these techniques) was poor and patient and avoided the rulers.⁵⁵

The ascetic Abū Ḥāzim Salamah b. Dīnār is reported to have admonished an Umayyad governor in the presence of al-Zuhri and other scholars, saying, 'The best of rulers (*umarā*) is one who loves the scholars (*'ulamā*'), and the worst of scholars is one who loves the rulers.'⁵⁶

⁵¹ Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, V, 339 (*ayyu rajul huwa lawlā annahu afsada nafsahu bi-suhbat al-mulūk*). This passage was quoted by Horowitz, *EI*¹, s.v. al-Zuhri; Horowitz, 'Earliest Biographies', II, 45.

⁵² *Su'ālāt Ibn al-Junayd*, 355.

⁵³ *GAS*, I, 597; *EI*², s.v. (W.M. Watt).

⁵⁴ *TMD, Zuhri*, 162 (*mā laka wa-li-mindīl al-umarā*).

⁵⁵ Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Ma'rifat 'ulūm al-ḥadīth*, ed. M. Ḥusayn (Hyderabad; reprint Medina 1397/1977), 54. See also Sufyān b. 'Uyayna's comment concerning the reliability of Ibn Jurayj's transmission from al-Zuhri: *kāna bn Jurayj yajī'u ilā al-Zuhri wa-mā'a-hu kitāb fa-yaqūlu: arwī ḥādthā 'an-ka?*; Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *al-Ishrāf fī manāzil al-ashrāf*, ed. N. 'A. Khalaf (Riyadh 1411/1990), 198. Al-Zuhri's answer, needless to say, was positive.

⁵⁶ Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, VI, 101; *TMD, Mukht.*, X, 67. Having been informed by Salamah about the difference between the *'ulamā*' of yore and the contemporary *'ulamā*', the caliph Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik allegedly promised to reduce his contacts with al-Zuhri, who was present at the meeting, to the minimum; *TMD, Mukht.*, X, 68f (*wa-la-azhadanna fī al-Zuhri min ba'd al-yawm*). See also Kister, 'The *Sināh* Literature', 365 (Salamah wrote to al-Zuhri that the oppressive rulers 'have turned him into the axle of the wheel of their falsehood and into a bridge for their deceit and error'); 'The *'Ulamā*' in the Opposition', 159 quotes another passage from the same letter; see also 163. The statement that Salamah officiated as *qādī* in Medina (see *GAS*, I, 634) is based on a corrupt text: instead of: *kāna yaqḍī fī masjid al-Madīnah* (*Tahdh.*, IV, 144), and *wa-kāna yaqḍī bayn al-fajr wa-al-'aṣr fī masjid al-Madīnah* (*TMD, Tahdh.*, VI, 219), read: *wa-kāna yaqḍu ba'd al-fajr wa-ba'd al-'aṣr fī masjid al-Madīnah*; Ibn Sa'd, *Qism mutammim*, 332; Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, VI, 101; *TMD, Mukht.*, X, 66.

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We clearly have two stereotyped figures here: on the one hand, the rich scholar who associates with the rulers without any scruples, and on the other, the ascetic or *zāhid*. Islamic literature is fond of such contrasts, but the literary stereotypes do not lack a factual basis. Even Mālik b. Anas is reported to have admonished al-Zuhri for using his knowledge in order to achieve worldly gains.⁵⁷

Of course, the criticism directed at al-Zuhri did not prevent Mālik or the other critics from transmitting his *ḥadīth*: al-Zuhri's imprint on the nascent Islamic literature was so formidable, that he could not be ignored. Another traditionist spoke of al-Zuhri admiringly, without, however, omitting to mention his association with the government.⁵⁸ Inevitably, this approach finally prevailed: al-Zuhri's enormous collection of *ḥadīth* was indispensable.⁵⁹ The same dilemma can be witnessed in the case of Wāqidī, whose large collection of material had to be used in spite of the doubts expressed about his indiscriminate techniques.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ TMD, *Zuhri*, 154: *amā balagha-ka anna rasūl Allāhi (ṣ) qāla: man ṣalaba shay'an min ḥādihā al-'ilm alladhī yurādu bi-hi wajh Allāh [the words yaṣlubu bi-hi here are superfluous] shay'an min gharad al-dunyā [read: min 'arad al-dunyā, 'the frail goods of the present world'] dakhala al-nāra? A fuller version of this anecdote (Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, 169f) includes the background to this critical comment: 'Mālik b. Anas... once visited al-Zuhri with a couple of other people to hear traditions with him. Al-Zuhri appeared hesitant until a eunuch sent by the Umayyads came to him and likewise asked him about traditions. Then al-Zuhri opened up.' Juynboll remarks correctly that the report 'points to the controversial issue about al-Zuhri having, or not having, been under Umayyad pressure regarding the promulgation of *ḥadīths*, and that this was taken as a blemish on his character.'*

⁵⁸ TMD, *Zuhri*, 161 (*law kuntu kātiban al-ḥadīth 'an aḥad kuntu kātibah-u 'an al-Zuhri, min [sic] rajul ahyā 'ilm tilka al-bald, min rajul yaṣhabu al-sultān*).

⁵⁹ 'Athāmina, 'The 'Ulamā' in the Opposition', 166, writes: 'The excommunication of collaborators centred mainly upon the academic field; *muhaddithūn* banned the traditions of this group and refrained from attending their study circles. Among the most prominent of those banned was Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, who was so severely banned that his study group disintegrated completely.' But 'Athāmina reads too much into his evidence, which consists of Ma'mar b. Rāshid's testimony that when he came to al-Zuhri in al-Ruṣāfah, nobody used to ask the latter about the *ḥadīth*, so he would bestow (his knowledge) on him (i.e. abundantly) (*fa-lam yakun aḥad yas'alu-hu 'an al-ḥadīth, fa-kāna yulqī 'alay-ya*); Abū Nu'aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* (Cairo n.d.; reprint Beirut 1387/1967), III, 363. Ma'mar's statement should not be taken at face value (cf. the testimony of a traditionist quoted in Abū Zur'ah, *Ta'rikh*, I, 432: *kuntu agra'u bi-al-Ruṣāfah 'alā Ibn Shihāb* etc.). Ma'mar merely states that as long as he stayed in al-Ruṣāfah, he had al-Zuhri all for himself.

⁶⁰ This is clearly reflected in Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, IX, 454f (*wa-jama'a fa-aw'ā wa-khalāṣa al-ghathth bi-al-samīn wa-al-kharazah bi-al-durr al-thamīn fa-iṣṣarāhū-hu ['they cast him away'] li-dhālika, wa-ma'a ḥādihā fa-lā yustaghna 'an-hu fi al-maghāzī wa-ayyām al-ṣahābah wa-akhbāri-him*). See also Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, IX, 469 (*wa-qad*

Al-Zuhri's problematic link with the court also colours remarks made about him by two prominent *hadīth* scholars, 'Amr b. Dīnār and al-Awzā'i. 'Amr b. Dīnār said, 'I have not seen a man more skilled in tracing up [or ascribing, or attributing] a tradition to its author than al-Zuhri, and I have never seen anyone who had less respect for the *dirham* than him. The *dirhams* were in his eyes nothing more than dung.'⁶¹ Goldziher adduces the second part of 'Amr's utterance as evidence of al-Zuhri's selflessness.⁶² But while this conclusion may well have been correct,⁶³ it is the first part of the utterance which provides its context. 'Amr is aware of the fact that al-Zuhri could be accused of receiving bribes from the Umayyads in return for forging *hadīth*. He therefore states that this was impossible. A man with such little respect for money simply could not

taqarrara anna al-Wāqidiyya da'if yuhitaju ilay-hi fi al-ghazawāt wa-al-ta'rikh... ammā fi al-farā'id ['concerning the things made obligatory on a person by God', viz. the religious law] *fa-lā yanbaghi an yudhkhara*). It should be noted that Wāqidi, exactly like al-Zuhri one century earlier, was in financial hardship when he came to the capital Baghdad (*qadīma Baghdād fi dayn lahīqa-hu*) and, again like al-Zuhri, Wāqidi officiated as *qādī* (under al-Ma'mūn); Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, IX, 457. Note Wāqidi's autobiographical report, comparable to al-Zuhri's autobiographical report, about his arrival in Baghdad and his first meeting with the *wazīr* Yahyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī; Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, IX, 459.

At some stage, probably late in his life, al-Zuhri abandoned *hadīth* altogether, possibly motivated by the criticism directed at him. *TMD, Zuhri*, 156, records a story of al-Hasan b. 'Umāra, who was the *qādī* of Baghdad at the time of al-Manṣūr, in which this detail appears as a matter of common knowledge: *ataytu al-Zuhri ba'da an taraka al-hadīth* etc. On al-Hasan see *Tahdh.*, II, 304f.

⁶¹ *TMD, Zuhri*, 96 (*mā ra'aytu aḥadan anaṣṣa li-l-hadīth min al-Zuhri, wa-mā ra'aytu aḥadan al-dirham aḥwanu 'alay-hi min-hu, in kānat al-darāhim 'inda-hu illā bi-manzilat al-ba'r*). As is usually the case with Ibn 'Asākir's *Ta'rikh Dimashq*, we find several other versions of this saying. See also E.W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London 1863-93), s.vv. *nassa*, *anaṣṣu*: *nassa al-hadīth* means 'he traced up, or ascribed, or attributed, the tradition to the author thereof, resting it on his authority, by mentioning him, or mentioning, uninterruptedly, in ascending order, the persons by whom it had been handed down, up to the author'. Cf. *TMD, Zuhri*, 98 ('Amr b. Dīnār: ... *fa-lam ara aḥadan asnada li-l-hadīth min al-Zuhri*).

⁶² *Muslim Studies*, II, 46n, quoting al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Būlāq 1292/1875), I, 104. Cf. Horovitz, 'Earliest Biographies', II, 40 (where the name of 'Amr b. Dīnār is garbled).

⁶³ See the version of this utterance in Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, VII, 245: *mā ra'aytu anaṣṣa li-l-hadīth min Ibn Shihāb wa-lā ra'aytu aḥwada min-hu, mā kānat al-danānir wa-al-darāhim 'inda-hu illā bi-manzilat al-ba'r*. But cf. *TMD, Zuhri*, 97: *mā ra'aytu shaykhan anaṣṣa li-l-hadīth al-jayyid min hādihā al-shaykh*. Also Ibn Hanbal's utterance, quoted in Ibn Rajab al-Hanbalī, *Sharḥ 'ilal al-Tirmidhī*, ed. Ṣ. al-Sāmarrā'i (reprint Beirut 1405/1985), 118: *al-Zuhri aḥsanu hadīthan wa-ajwadu al-nāsi isnādan*.

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have been bribed. In other words, there was no motive, therefore there was no crime.

As for Awzā'ī, in his appraisal of al-Zuhri he strikes a respectable compromise: 'Al-Zuhri never endeavoured to conciliate a ruler whom he visited [or 'he never acted with dishonesty towards him'], and of the *tābi'ūn* who lived to the caliphate of Hishām none was a greater expert on *fiqh*.'⁶⁴ In other words, al-Zuhri was indeed a frequent visitor at court, but he did not hesitate in expressing his opinion even if it was unpopular, and did not lose his integrity. Awzā'ī's statement is not implausible: after decades of close association with the Umayyad court, al-Zuhri may well have enjoyed freedom of speech. In any case, Awzā'ī's sober approach to al-Zuhri, motivated by both respect for his scholarly achievement and the indispensability of his work, is far more plausible than the attempt to 'distance' al-Zuhri from the Umayyads.⁶⁵

The worst accusation which the pious could make against al-Zuhri concerned his service in the state administration. Al-Zuhri's work as *qāḍī* for Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik was mentioned by Goldziher.⁶⁶ Horowitz pointed out that al-Zuhri served as *qāḍī* under 'Umar II as well.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ TMD, Zuhri, 161: *mā adhana Ibn Shihāb qaṣṣu li-malik dakhala 'alay-hi walā adrakas khilāfas Hishām ahadan min al-ūbi'in afqaha min-hu*; var.: *mā dāhana Ibn Shihāb malikan min al-mulūk qaṣṣu idhā dakhala 'alay-hi*; Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, VII, 243. Incidentally, 'Abd al-Malik is said to have referred to Mu'āwiya as *al-khalīfa al-mudāhin*; Khalīfa, *Ta'rikh*, I, 349.

⁶⁵ Cf. N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri, I: Historical Texts* (Chicago 1957), 16, who refers to 'Abd al-Malik's 'patronage of the traditionist-historians 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr and al-Zuhri'. Also Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri, II: Qur'anic Commentary and Tradition* (Chicago 1967), 22, where she speaks of al-Zuhri's 'more than forty years of service under Umayyad patronage'; 23: al-Zuhri was 'well established' in Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik's court; 33: 'al-Zuhri's new patrons, first Yazīd II (101-5/720-24) and then Hishām (105-25/724-42), made special demands on his time and knowledge'. However, Abbott emphasizes in a footnote: 'The hasty assumption by Sprenger and Muir, followed by Guillaume ... and others, that Umayyad pressure forced al-Zuhri to large-scale forgery of *hadith* should be definitely and finally abandoned'; Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, II, 33, n. 8.

⁶⁶ We also know that Yazīd summoned al-Zuhri together with a scholar of the Anṣār, 'Abdallāh b. Mughith al-Zafarī; Ibn Mākūlā, *al-Ikmāl*, VII, ed. N. al-'Abbās (Cairo n.d.), 278:12: *'Abdallāh ... kāna 'āliman, ḥamala-hu Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik ilay-hi ma'a al-Zuhri fa-lam yazal muqīman 'inda-hu bi-al-Shām*. Also TMD, *Mukht.*, XIV, 79: *'Abdallāh ... isaqadama-hu Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik fa-kāna 'inda-hu ma'a al-Zuhri*.

⁶⁷ Horowitz, 'Earliest Biographies', II, 38: 'Under 'Umar II (99-101/717-20) Al-Zuhri decided legal questions', quoting Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Furūḥ Miṣr wa-akhbāru-hā*, ed. Ch. Torrey (New Haven 1922), 104 (a case was brought before 'Umar II, *wa-Ibn Shihāb qāḍī-hi yawma'idhin*). Horowitz's somewhat vague phrasing

We can now add a third term in office attested to in a passage which (if it is not garbled) shows that he was already 'Abd al-Malik's *qāḍī*.⁶⁸

We have further evidence concerning al-Zuhri's work in state administration. We know that he was a tax collector, an office which must have been far worse than that of judge in the eyes of the pious. In an evaluation of al-Zuhri as a transmitter of *ḥadīth* it was commented *wa-kāna ya'malu li-Banī Umayya*. This is no doubt meant to point out a flaw in his record.⁶⁹ Exactly what kind of 'amal is meant we find out elsewhere: 'Al-Zuhri went out to collect taxes', *kharaja al-Zuhri fi si'ayah*. The term *si'ayah* is glossed as the levying of the *ṣadaqah* tax.⁷⁰ In the report just quoted, al-Zuhri's role as tax collector forms the background to the main theme, namely his unintentional shedding of a man's blood (*fa-aṣāba rajulan bi-shay'*) while carrying out his official duty. Another report on the same incident (in which there is no mention of the *si'ayah*) explicitly refers to bloodwit to be paid to the relatives of the deceased.⁷¹ Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah spelt out the circumstances in which al-Zuhri caused the man's death: 'He was made a tax collector, then he flogged a man and the man died.'⁷²

The report that al-Zuhri was a tax collector is confirmed by another, going back to al-Zuhri himself:

I have never written down anything [i.e., of the *ḥadīth* transmitted to me]. Having been put in charge of the levying of taxes (*wa-la-qad waliru al-ṣadaqah*), I came to Sālim b. 'Abdallāh [i.e. Sālim b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb]. He took out for me the *kitāb al-ṣadaqah* [i.e.,

may indicate that he felt that the single piece of evidence he had to support al-Zuhri's judgeship under 'Umar II was insufficient. But the only Ibn Shihāb mentioned in *Tahdh.*, XII, 299, is our Ibn Shihāb and the report seems to be sound. Incidentally, the plaintiff could not have been 'Umar's elder brother al-Aṣbagh (*Furūḥ Miṣr*, 104:12) who died in 86/705, thirteen years before 'Umar ascended the throne; *TMD, MS*, III, 63; read instead: Banū l-Aṣbagh (as in *Furūḥ Miṣr*, 104:15).

⁶⁸ *TMD, Zuhri*, 109; *TMD, MS*, XV, 1027 (... *wa-kāna qāḍīyan bayna yaday 'Abd al-Malik*).

⁶⁹ *TMD, Tahdh.*, VI, 54.

⁷⁰ *Al-si'ayah huwa al-muṣaddiq* (sic; read probably [*ṣahib*] *al-si'ayah huwa al-muṣaddiq*); Abū Zur'ah, *Ta'rikh*, I, 536. This should perhaps be linked to the following report about al-Zuhri (*al-Ma'rifah wa-al-ta'rikh*, I, 632): *kāna yashtarī tamr al-ṣadaqah thumma yad'ū ilay-hi al-a'rāb fa-yaqsimu-hu bayna-hum*.

⁷¹ Ibn Sa'd, V, 214 (*aṣāba al-Zuhri daman khaṭa'an fa-kharaja wa-taraka ahlu-hu wa-daraba fustāṭan* etc.); Horowitz, 'Earliest Biographies', II, 34.

⁷² Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *al-Naḥḥ al-shadhī fi sharḥ Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī*, ed. A.M. 'Abd al-Karīm (Riyadh 1409/1988), 544: *tawallā al-si'ayah fa-'azzara rajulan fa-māta*. For the source used by Ibn Sayyid al-Nās see *GAS*, I, 623, no. 2. The editor of *al-Naḥḥ al-shadhī* reproaches Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (on p. 541n) for adducing this report. In general, his comments are an interesting portrayal of some contemporary Islamic attitudes.

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a document about the levying of the *ṣadaqah* tax], read it out to me and I memorized it. Then I went to [Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b.] 'Amr b. Ḥazm. He read out to me the *kitāb al-'uqūl* [viz. a document on bloodwit] and I memorized it.⁷³

Al-Zuhri's appointment as a tax collector is the backdrop to this autobiographical report, while its central concern is his boasting that he could commit to his memory a complete, and complex, document read out to him once. The context of this account suggests that the two documents, on the *ṣadaqah* and the *'uqūl* respectively, were relevant to the duties of a tax collector. The preservation of these documents in the Umayyad period is of paramount importance. The *kitāb al-ṣadaqah* in question related to the taxing of livestock, namely camels and sheep.⁷⁴ The *kitāb al-'uqūl* is probably the document known in Islamicist jargon as the *'Ahd al-Ummah* or 'The Constitution of Medina'.⁷⁵ When was al-Zuhri a tax collector? Sālim b. 'Abdallāh's death in 106/724 is our *terminus ante quem*. (Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad died more than ten years later.)

At some point al-Zuhri was the chief of the *shurṭah* for one of the Umayyad caliphs. An autobiographical report by the traditionist Khārijah b. Muṣ'ab (d. 168/784) nicely demonstrates the traditionists' dilemma about al-Zuhri, and includes this rare piece of information about the latter:

⁷³ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Tamhīd*, VI, 108f; cf. Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, VII, 244. On 'Amr b. Ḥazm see Lecker, "Amr b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī and Qur'ān 2, 256: "No compulsion is there in religion", *Oriens* (forthcoming). See also Kister, "*Lā taqra'ū l-qur'āna 'alā l-muṣhafiyīn*" = Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Ihkām fī uṣūl al-ahkām*, ed. M.A. 'Abd al-'Azīz (Cairo 1398/1978), I, 289-300. On the preservation of documents from the time of the Prophet, cf. Lecker, 'On the Preservation of the Letters of the Prophet Muḥammad', in L.I. Conrad (ed.), *History and Historiography in Early Islamic Times: Studies and Perspectives* (forthcoming).

⁷⁴ Cf. Ibn Zanjawayh, *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, ed. Sh. Dh. Fayyād (Riyadh 1406/1986), II, 803: ... 'an Ibn Shihāb fī al-ṣadaqās, qāla: hādhihi nuskhat kitāb rasūl Allāh (ﷺ) fī al-ṣadaqah, wa-hiya 'inda āl 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, qāla Ibn Shihāb: aqra'a-nī-hā Sālim b. 'Abdallāh fa-wa'aytu-hā 'alā wajhi-hā wa-hādhihā kitāb tafsiṣi-hā: lā yu'khadhru 'alā shay' min al-ibīl al-ṣadaqah hattā tabluḡha etc.; see also 807 (camels and sheep), 853f (sheep).

⁷⁵ A *ḥadīth* of 'Alī has that the Prophet wrote for each *baṭn* or tribal group its *'uqūl*, glossed as provisions concerning the duties of the *'āqilah*, or the group of relations on the father's side responsible for the payment of bloodwit. The amounts of money to be paid as compensation in the case of specific injuries were prescribed; *Lisān al-'arab* (Beirut 1968), s.v. *b.ṣ.n.*, 54: *wa-fī ḥadīth 'Alī 'alay-hi al-salām: karaba 'alā kull baṭn 'uqūla-hu ... ay karaba 'alay-him mā taḡhramu-hu al-'āqilah min al-diyās fa-bayyana mā 'alā kull qawm min-hā.*

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I came to al-Zuhri when he was the chief of the *shurṭah* for one of the [caliphs of the] Banū Marwān. I saw him riding [i.e., in a state procession], holding a *ḥarbah* [javelin] in his hand, and before him [in the procession] were the people [i.e., the members of the *shurṭah* force under his command], holding *kāfir-kūbāt* [cudgels, or whips]. I said [to myself]: 'May God render this scholar ugly' (*qabbaha Allāhu dhā min 'ālim*). I left without hearing [*ḥadīth*] from him. Then [i.e., years later] I regretted [it], I came to Yūnus [i.e., Yūnus b. Yazid al-Ayli] and heard from him the *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri (*fa-sami'tu min-hu 'an al-Zuhri*).⁷⁶

In this report Khārijah's regret at not having transmitted from the despised chief of the *shurṭah* forms the main theme.

Finally, in the context of al-Zuhri's role in the *shurṭah* reference should be made here to the statement made by one of Bukhāri's teachers, Muḥammad b. Ishkāb al-Baghdādī (d. 261/874),⁷⁷ that al-Zuhri was a *jundī*. Al-Dhahabī, who quotes this statement, adds that he had the rank of *amīr*: *kāna fī rusbati amīr*. Elsewhere, al-Dhahabī gives this description of al-Zuhri: *kāna ... muḥtashiman jalīlan bi-ziyy al-ajnad lahu ṣūrah kabīrah fī dawlati Banī Umayya*, 'He had many dependents and servants, was a man of eminence, was dressed in the outfit of the *ajnad*, and enjoyed high rank in the state of the Banū Umayyah.'⁷⁸ Al-Dhahabī remarks that the fact that al-Zuhri dyed his hair, wore the outfit of the *jund* and served (*khadama*) Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik drew criticism from people of little understanding.⁷⁹

Another despised symbol of association with the worldly rulers was the existence of a doorkeeper (*bawwāh*, or *ādhin*). Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah once heard al-Zuhri complain to Muḥammad b. Ishāq that he had not seen him for some time. 'This *ādhin* of yours prevented

⁷⁶ *TMD, MS*, V, 407; *TMD, Mukht.*, VII, 324; *TMD, Tahdh.*, V, 29. Concerning the *kāfir-kūbāt* see al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān wa-al-tabyīn*, ed. 'A. al-S. Hārūn (Cairo 1395/1975), I, 142; al-Jāhiz, *Rasā'il*, ed. 'A. al-S. Hārūn (Cairo 1384/1964), I, 20.

'Athāmina, 'The 'Ulamā' in the Opposition', 166 (where I first found this passage) infers from this that al-Zuhri was 'banned'; cf. above, n. 59. On processions (under the 'Abbāsids and the Fāṭimids) cf. *EI²*, s.v. *Mawḳib*, section I (P. Sanders).

⁷⁷ *Tahdh.*, IX, 121f.

⁷⁸ Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, V, 341, 337. Cf. the accusation directed at the traditionist Shahr b. Ḥawshab al-Shāmi (d. ca. 111/729), a *mawlā* who was at some point in charge of the treasury (*bays al-māl*), that he wore the outfit of a *jundī* (... *min tazayyihī bi-ziyy al-jund*); *Tahdh.*, IV, 372. Shahr was of the people of Damascus, or, according to some, of the people of Ḥimṣ; *TMD, Mukht.*, XI, 5.

⁷⁹ Al-Dhahabī, *al-Ruwāt al-shiqāt al-mutakallam fī-him bi-mā lā yajibu raddahum*, ed. M.I. al-Mawṣilī (Beirut, 1412/1992), 26: *wa-kadhā rakallama man lā yafthamu fī al-Zuhri li-kawmi-hi khadaba bi-al-sawād wa-labisa ziyy al-jund wa-khadama Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik*.

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me from entering,' replied Ibn Ishāq. So al-Zuhri told his *bawwāb* to let him in whenever he came.⁸⁰

One or more of al-Zuhri's offices may be linked with his stay in Egypt at the time of 'Abd al-Malik. From an autobiographical report of al-Zuhri we learn that 'Abd al-Malik sent him to his brother, 'Abd al-'Azīz, then governor of Egypt.⁸¹ This had to take place before 'Abd al-'Azīz's death in 86/705.⁸²

Al-Zuhri was reportedly in financial hardship and debt when, as a young man in his twenties or early thirties, he arrived in Damascus.⁸³ Later in his life different people are supposed to have reminded him of those difficult times. Mālik b. Anas reportedly spoke of a *mawlā* of the open-handed al-Zuhri who reminded his master of his former monetary problems advising him, after he had become rich, to keep his money for himself.⁸⁴ In addition, Rajā' b. Ḥaywah is said to have told al-Zuhri to stop spending so lavishly. 'I am not sure,' Rajā' said, 'that "these people" will not withhold from you what they have' (*lā āmanu an yahbisa hā'ulā'i al-qawm mā bi-aydi-him 'an-ka*).⁸⁵ In other words, Rajā' feared that the Umayyads would stop remunerating al-Zuhri. Typically, 'these people' is a euphemistic designation of the Umayyads, and no explicit mention is made of money.

2. Al-Zuhri's First Meeting with 'Abd al-Malik and 'the *Ḥadīth* of the Three Mosques'

The precise date of al-Zuhri's meeting with 'Abd al-Malik is important in connection with his role in promoting the Islamic sanctity of

⁸⁰ Ibn Shāhīn, *Ta'rikh asmā' al-thiqāt mimman nuqila 'an-hum al-'ilm*, ed. 'A. al-M.A. Qal'ajī (Beirut 1406/1986), 280f. See also Abū Zur'ah, *Ta'rikh*, I, 537.

⁸¹ Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, VII, 247.

⁸² Al-Kindī, *Kitāb wulāt Miṣr* (Beirut 1407/1987), 49. The statement (*Muqaffā*, VII, 247) that before he was sent to Egypt, al-Zuhri had been attached to Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab for eight years, until Sa'īd died (*ḥastā tuwuffiya*) must be an error because Sa'īd died in 94/713; *GAS*, I, 276.

⁸³ *TMD*, *Zuhri*, 12 (Ibn Abi Dhi'b: *kāna bn Shihāb qad dāqat ḥālu-hu wa-raḥiqa-hu daym*). See Horowitz, 'Earliest Biographies', II, 37: 'Like so many before him, he had gone to Damascus in the hope to free himself from harsh financial circumstances.' Admittedly, the details on al-Zuhri's troubles serve a literary aim, too: they seek to create a sharp contrast between his state before his crucial meeting with the caliph and after it. In the Islamic literature there are many similar stories about the humble beginnings of the rich and famous.

⁸⁴ Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, V, 338 (*kāna bn Shihāb min askhā al-nās, fa-lammā aṣāba silka al-amwāl, qāla la-hu mawlan la-hu wa-huwa ya'izu-hu: qad ra'ayta mā marra 'alay-ka min al-ḥiḡ, fa-'nṣur kayfa takūnu, amsik 'alay-ka mālaka*).

⁸⁵ Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 343:-2.

Jerusalem. Al-Zuhri is the key figure in al-Ya'qūbī's famous report about 'Abd al-Malik's wish to provide the Muslims of Shām with a substitute for the Ka'bah: when the people complained to 'Abd al-Malik about his prohibiting the pilgrimage to Mecca, al-Ya'qūbī says, the caliph replied: *hādhā bn Shihāb al-Zuhri yuhaddithu-kum anna rasūl Allāhi qāla: lā tushaddu al-rihāl illā ilā thalāthati masājid: al-masjid al-harām wa-masjidī wa-masjid bayt al-maqdis*. 'Here is Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri who transmits to you the Prophet's saying: "The saddles of the camels shall only be fastened for a journey to three mosques, namely the Ka'bah, my own mosque [i.e., in Medina] and the mosque of Jerusalem."⁸⁶ The caliph allegedly sought support from the young al-Zuhri who helped him repel his critics.⁸⁷ According to al-Ya'qūbī, 'Abd al-Malik intended to provide a substitute for the Ka'bah against the background of his conflict with Ibn al-Zubayr. There may well have been other motives behind 'Abd al-Malik's project, but it is not to be expected that al-Ya'qūbī (or for that matter any other medieval historian) would furnish us with a detailed and balanced account of these motives.

A discussion on whether or not the scene described by al-Ya'qūbī really took place, or whether al-Zuhri invented the *hadīth* or merely transmitted it, seems futile to me. Suffice it to say that the *hadīth* was transmitted in the Umayyad period and that its transmission was expedient to Umayyad objectives.⁸⁸ The fact that al-Zuhri is mentioned in some of the *isnāds* of this *hadīth* indicates that he was one of its transmitters, though he was certainly not the only one.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* (Beirut 1379/1960), II, 261 [ed. M. Houtsma (Leiden 1883), II, 311].

⁸⁷ 'The *hadīth* of the three mosques', < (...) 'Abd al-Razzāq < Ma'mar < al-Zuhri < Sa'id b. al-Musayyab < Abū Hurayrah, appears at the very beginning of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Wāsiṭī, *Faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, ed. I. Hasson (Jerusalem 1979), 3f; the same is true for Diyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Maqdisī, *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis*, ed. M.M. al-Hāfiẓ (Damascus 1405/1985), 39f, who quotes different variants of this *hadīth* equipped with different *isnāds*, including this one: ... Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah < al-Zuhri < Sa'id b. al-Musayyab < Abū Hurayrah.

⁸⁸ Horowitz, 'Earliest Biographies', II, 35, disputes Goldziher's assumption that al-Zuhri invented this *hadīth*: 'If the report of Ya'qūbī deserves any credence at all, then we must take it that Al-Zuhri rushed to 'Abdul Malik from Madīnah to communicate to him a Hadīth heard from the authorities in Madīnah, of which he could hope that it would help the Khalīfah in his political projects. That he himself invented it, as some have implied, is unbelievable Whatever one may think about the authenticity of the Hadīth, there is no ground whatever to doubt but that Al-Zuhri really had heard the Hadīth from the mouth of Sa'id ibn Al-Musayyab.'

⁸⁹ Goldziher mentioned that in Abū Dāwūd 'the *hadīth* of the three mosques' is equipped with the *isnād*: al-Zuhri < Sa'id b. al-Musayyib [or al-Musayyab] < Abū

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In a section of his book on the *hadīth* literature entitled 'Did al-Zuhri Provide a Substitute for the Pilgrimage? Refutation of al-Ya'qūbī and Goldziher', Azami argues that

al-Zuhri's meeting with 'Abd al-Malik ... did not take place earlier than 81 A.H. ... As he began to build the Dome of the Rock in 69 A.H., he might have announced his decree on the substitute for *al-Ḥajj* on the authority of al-Zuhri in the beginning of the year 69 A.H.⁹⁰ At this time al-Zuhri was somewhere between ten and eighteen years of age. It is inconceivable that a mere child of ten or a boy of eighteen had already achieved such a great fame and respect — not in his native land al-Madīnah, but far away in the anti al-Madīnah region, Syria — that he was able to cancel the divine obligatory order of *al-Ḥajj* and was in a position to command a substitute.⁹¹

Azami's information on the date of al-Zuhri's arrival in Damascus is incomplete; as we shall see there is sufficient evidence linking al-Zuhri's arrival with the war between the Umayyads and Ibn al-Zubayr. Obviously, this date is closely connected to al-Zuhri's year of birth. It was al-Zuhri himself who attempted to establish that he

Hurayrah < the Prophet; *Muslim Studies*, II, 45, n. 7; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, ed. A.S. 'Alī (Cairo 1371/1952), I, 469. Horovitz noticed that in the canonical collections of *hadīth* this alleged saying of the Prophet is sometimes quoted with the *isnād*: al-Zuhri < Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab < Abū Hurayrah, and sometimes the *hadīth* is provided with another *isnād* which does not mention al-Zuhri at all; Horovitz, *EF*¹, s.v. al-Zuhri; Horovitz, 'Earliest Biographies', II, 35. On this *hadīth* see Kister, 'You Shall Only Set out for Three Mosques': A Study of an Early Tradition', *Le Muséon* 82 (1969), 173-96; reprinted, with additional notes, in idem, *Studies in Jahiliyya and Early Islam* (London 1980), no. XIII; Elad, 'Why did 'Abd al-Malik Build the Dome of the Rock? A Re-examination of the Muslim Sources', in J. Raby and J. Johns (eds.), *Bays al-Maqdis: 'Abd al-Malik's Jerusalem*, I (Oxford 1992), 33-58, at 43f. On whether the Prophet uttered these words, F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*², trans. H. Schaeder (reprint Heidelberg 1955), 373n, writes: 'Daß der Prophet dies nie gesagt haben kann, bedarf für jemanden, der auch nur eine flüchtige Kenntnis von seiner Geschichte hat, keines näheren Beweises.'

⁹⁰ A more plausible date would be the year in which the Dome was completed, namely 72/691-2 or 73/692-3; Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 44-45, 53, 153; idem, 'The History and Topography of Jerusalem during the Early Islamic Period', *JSAI* 14 (1991), 41-70, at 58. The beginning of 'Abd al-Malik's Temple Mount project should possibly be linked with his victory, at Ajnādayn in Filastīn, over forces loyal to Ibn al-Zubayr under Nātil b. Qays (on this battle see al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. Ch. Pellat [Beirut 1966-74], III, 299). This (second) battle of Ajnādayn appears to have been the turning point in 'Abd al-Malik's struggle against Ibn al-Zubayr. See also G. Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692)* (Wiesbaden 1982), 183 ('Mit diesem Sieg gewann 'Abd al-Malik die Offensive gegenüber dem Ḥiǧāz zurück').

⁹¹ Azami, *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature*, 290f.

first came to Damascus during the struggle against Ibn al-Zubayr. In another relevant report originating with al-Zuhri (see below) it is stated that he came to visit the caliph Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (who reigned in 64-5/683-4) after having reached the age of puberty (*wafadtu 'alā Marwān wa-anā muḥtalim*). The mention of puberty points to 50/670 (or 51/671) as the year of al-Zuhri's birth.⁹² Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ⁹³ stated that when the battle of the Ḥarraḥ took place (63/683), al-Zuhri was already mature, old enough to apprehend it or to take part in it.⁹⁴

Why did al-Zuhri attempt to establish a date of birth which was as early as possible? Because the earlier the year of his birth, the more Companions of the Prophet he could meet and learn from.⁹⁵ But the

⁹² Beside these two dates, his birth is also dated to 56 AH and 58 AH; *TMD, Zuhri*, 36f, 42. According to Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharās*, I, 162, al-Zuhri died in Ramadan 124 aged 74. This dates his birth to 50 AH. However, others said that he died aged 66 (which brings us to 58 AH) or 72 (which brings us to 52 AH); Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, VII, 250. Horowitz (*EP*, s.v. al-Zuhri) suggested that he was probably born in 50 or 51 AH, and his view is accepted by Azami, *Studies in Early Ḥadīth Literature*, 278n. But later in his book Azami is less committed to this statement: on p. 288, Azami rejects the claim that al-Zuhri, who 'was then between seven and fifteen years of age', visited Marwān b. al-Ḥakam; on p. 290 he states, as we have just seen, that in 69 AH al-Zuhri 'was somewhere between ten and eighteen years of age'. Dūri, 'al-Zuhri', 1, dates his birth to 51-2/671. If indeed al-Zuhri was seventy-two when he died in 124/742 (Dūri, *Rise*, 41), then he was born in 52 AH.

The 56 AH and later versions seem to rule out any role of al-Zuhri during the conflict with Ibn al-Zubayr, who was defeated and killed in 73 AH. Yahyā b. Bukayr said, quoting al-Layth b. Sa'd, that al-Zuhri came to 'Abd al-Malik in 82 AH. According to Yahyā, al-Zuhri was born in 56 AH, and when al-Zuhri's claim that he had visited Marwān was mentioned to him, he rejected it, stating that he came to 'Abd al-Malik in 82 AH; *Tahdh.*, VIII, 154; *al-Ma'rifa wa-al-ta'rikh*, III, 333. Yahyā b. Ma'in denied that al-Zuhri transmitted from Ibn 'Umar who died in 74/693, and Juynboll (*Muslim Tradition*, 169, quoting *Tahdh.*, IX, 450) infers that he is thereby 'establishing a *terminus post quem* for al-Zuhri to have started his tradition collection'. However, if indeed al-Zuhri had come to Damascus before the fighting against Ibn al-Zubayr was over (see below), then the *terminus post quem* was a few years earlier.

⁹³ Al-Miṣrī; see *Tahdh.*, I, 39f. See also Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 247 (*qad jama'a Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ al-Miṣrī 'ilm al-Zuhri*).

⁹⁴ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Tamhīd*, X, 8: *qad adraka al-Zuhri al-Ḥarraḥ wa-huwa bāliḡ wa-'aqala-hā—azunnu-hu qāla: wa-shahida-hā*. (The transmitter was not certain about the precise wording of Aḥmad's statement.) According to Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Dhuhli (ibid; see on him *GAS*, I, 134), al-Zuhri was born in, or about, 50 AH.

⁹⁵ Cf. Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-islām*, 227: al-Zuhri was born in 50 AH *wa-ṣalaba al-'ilm fi awākhir 'aṣr al-ṣahāba wa-la-hu nayyif wa-'ishrūna sana*. Also Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharās*, I, 162: he met ten Companions. See the list of these Companions in Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, VII, 240.

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existence of a motive does not automatically lead to the conclusion that al-Zuhri's claims were false: indeed it could be argued that in al-Ya'qūbi's famous report 'Abd al-Malik referred to al-Zuhri as someone who was at hand, ready to confirm that a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was an acceptable practice (*hādihā bn Shihāb al-Zuhri yuhaddithu-kum* etc.). In any case, al-Zuhri's first meeting with 'Abd al-Malik, which could probably have taken place in 72/691-2 or 71/690-91, should be separated from his permanent settlement in Damascus several years later.⁹⁶

According to one autobiographical report (which is traced back to al-Zuhri himself), al-Zuhri first arrived in Damascus and met 'Abd al-Malik a decade or more after the extinguishing of Ibn al-Zubayr's rebellion. The date is indicated by the mention of 'Abd al-Malik's governor in Medina at that time, namely Hishām b. Ismā'il al-Makhzūmī.⁹⁷ Hishām was appointed governor of Medina in 83/702.⁹⁸ He was replaced in Rabī' al-Awwal of 87 AH, having been in office for about three years and eleven months.⁹⁹ But the chronological indication included in this report is problematic. When we take a closer look at it, we discover two contradictory statements. In the opening passage al-Zuhri mentions a general state of destitution in Medina, following the *fitnah* of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, as the immediate cause of his travel to Damascus (*aṣāba ahla l-Madīna ḥāja zamāna fitnati 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān fa-'ammat ahla l-balad*). The mention of the *fitnah* or civil war and the general state of affairs are attributable to the conflict with Ibn al-Zubayr and are therefore incongruous with the reference to Hishām b. Ismā'il's governorship, which began some ten years after the *fitnah*. The internal contradiction indicates that the report is made up of two separate accounts ascribed to al-Zuhri, which include conflicting statements about the time of his arrival in Damascus. The opening passage of this

⁹⁶ Horovitz (*EF*, s.v. al-Zuhri) suggested, relying on al-Ya'qūbi's report, that al-Zuhri visited 'Abd al-Malik's court before Ibn al-Zubayr's fall in 73/692: 'If Ya'qūbi's story is worthy of belief, al-Zuhri must have brought the *ḥadīth* to Damascus at latest in 73 (692), the year in which the anti-caliph fell, and could not have been more than 23 then. This stay of al-Zuhri's in Damascus, if it is historical at all, could only have been a temporary one; his permanent settlement in Damascus only took place at a considerably later date.'

⁹⁷ *TMD, Zuhri*, 17f, 23f.

⁹⁸ *Tab.*, VI, 384 [II, 1127] (citing Wāqidī).

⁹⁹ *Tab.*, VI, 427 [II, 1182]. For 82/701 as the date in which al-Zuhri and 'Abd al-Malik 'established their relationship of scholar and royal patron', see Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, II, 21f.

problematic report conforms to al-Zuhri's claim (on which see more below) that he arrived in Damascus towards the end of the struggle against Ibn al-Zubayr. The mention of Hishām b. Ismā'il also contradicts the indication (see Section 3 below) that al-Zuhri was already with 'Abd al-Malik in Jerusalem before the plague of 79/698 or 80/699.

It could be argued that the mention of Hishām b. Ismā'il roughly conforms to the report, again an autobiographical one, according to which al-Zuhri arrived in Damascus during Ibn al-Ash'ath's revolt (82/701). However, this is not the case. The precise wording is important: *qadimtu Dimashqa zamāna taharruki bn al-ash'ath, wa-'Abd al-Malik mashghūl yawma'idhin bi-sha'ni-hi*.¹⁰⁰ Fortunately, a variant text is found in the *Ta'rikh* of Abū Zur'ah al-Dimashqī:¹⁰¹ *wa-kāna maqdamu bn Shihāb Dimashqa zamana Muṣ'ab, wa-'Abd al-Malik yawma'idhin mashghūl bi-sha'ni-hi*. In other words, we have here Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, not Ibn al-Ash'ath.¹⁰² Obviously, 'Muṣ'ab' is the correct reading: Abū Zur'ah infers from this report that al-Zuhri had arrived in Damascus before 'Abd al-Malik marched against Muṣ'ab and that this includes an indication concerning his birth year: *fa-dallanā hadīthu bni Shihāb hādihā anna maqdama-hu Dimashqa qabla raḥīl 'Abd al-Malik ilā Muṣ'ab, wa-hādihā dalīl 'alā sinni-hi*, 'This *hadīth* of Ibn Shihāb proves that he had come to Damascus before 'Abd al-Malik's departure to [the expedition against] Muṣ'ab, and this is a proof concerning his age.'¹⁰³ This report (in both the 'Ibn al-Ash'ath' and 'Muṣ'ab' versions) is quoted by Abū Zur'a < Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ < 'Anbasah b. Khālid¹⁰⁴ < Yūnus¹⁰⁵ < al-Zuhri.¹⁰⁶ By replacing Ibn al-Ash'ath with Muṣ'ab we go back one decade in time. Hence this is yet another statement that al-Zuhri came to Damascus during the struggle against Ibn al-Zubayr. The sources do not link al-Zuhri's arrival in Damascus with the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath.

¹⁰⁰ *TMD, Zuhri*, 34.

¹⁰¹ Cf. on him G. Rotter, 'Abū Zur'a al-Dimaṣqī (st. 281/894) und das Problem der frühen arabischen Geschichtsschreibung in Syrien', *Die Welt des Orients* 6 (1970-71), 80-104.

¹⁰² Abū Zur'ah, *Ta'rikh*, I, 583f. Cf. I, 408 (Ibn al-Ash'ath).

¹⁰³ Abū Zur'ah, *Ta'rikh*, I, 584.

¹⁰⁴ b. Yazīd al-Aylī, a *mawla* of the Umayyads; *Tahdh.*, VIII, 154.

¹⁰⁵ I.e. Yūnus b. Yazīd al-Aylī, who was also a *mawla* of the Umayyads and 'Anbasah's uncle; *Tahdh.*, XI, 450f. On Yūnus see M. Muranyi, 'Abd Allāh b. Wabb: *Leben und Werk; al-Muwatta'*: *Kitāb al-muhāraba* (Wiesbaden 1992), 206f.

¹⁰⁶ How did 'Muṣ'ab' become 'Ibn al-Ash'ath'? It is plausible that Muṣ'ab was first corrupted to Ash'ath, and at a later stage the 'Ibn' was added in order to 'adapt' the report to historical fact.

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Abū Zur'ah relates al-Zuhri's first arrival in Damascus to the dispute about al-Zuhri's birth year and quotes from two informants the account that al-Zuhri was born in 50 AH.¹⁰⁷ However, one of his informants also told him, having reported the 50 AH birth date: 'I have not heard a reliable statement concerning al-Zuhri's age' (*innī lam asma' li-l-Zuhri bi-sinn a'rifu-hā*). Answering his question about his source for dating al-Zuhri's birth to 50 AH, the second informant said that his source was one of the Banū Zuhrah (*ba'd al-Zuhriyyīna*).¹⁰⁸

The battle against Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr in Iraq and Muṣ'ab's death had taken place before al-Ḥajjāj was sent by 'Abd al-Malik to fight Ibn al-Zubayr in Arabia.¹⁰⁹ Al-Zuhri's role in transmitting 'the *ḥadīth* of the three mosques' should not be related to 69/688, as Azami suggested, but to 72/691 or 71/690.

On the basis of the available evidence it can be argued that al-Zuhri first came to Damascus before the end of the struggle against Ibn al-Zubayr, in time to play a role in the promulgation of 'the *ḥadīth* of the three mosques'. But the young al-Zuhri's support for 'Abd al-Malik precisely at that point was more meaningful than it at first seems. We realize this when we consider an important historical fact, namely the role played by other members of al-Zuhri's clan, the Banū Zuhrah of Quraysh, in supporting Ibn al-Zubayr. Al-Zuhri's father was a partisan of Ibn al-Zubayr.¹¹⁰ More importantly, Ibn al-Zubayr's last two governors in Medina, Jābir b. al-Aswad b. 'Awf and Ṭalḥah b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Awf, who were cousins, were of the Banū Zuhrah.¹¹¹ This indicates widespread support for Ibn al-Zubayr among the Banū Zuhrah who lived in Medina. Jābir officiated as the governor of Medina between 68/687-8 and 71/690-91.¹¹² In 71/690 he was replaced by Ṭalḥah, who was Ibn al-Zubayr's last governor in Medina. Ṭalḥah fled when an expedition force dispatched

¹⁰⁷ Abū Zur'ah, *Ta'rikh*, I, 584.

¹⁰⁸ Abū Zur'ah, *Ta'rikh*, I, 613; paragraph no. 1744 on p. 613 belongs immediately after paragraph 1645 on p. 584.

¹⁰⁹ Abū Zur'ah, *Ta'rikh*, I, 583. The battle against Muṣ'ab was in 72/691; Yāqūt, s.v. Maskin; *EP*, s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (H.A.R. Gibb); Rotter, *Die Umayyaden*, 230 (the expeditions took place in the first half of 72/summer-autumn 691 and the decisive battle was fought in October 691).

¹¹⁰ Horowitz, *EP*, s.v. al-Zuhri. Moreover, the father belonged to Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr's troop; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. I. 'Abbās (Beirut 1968-72), IV, 178.

¹¹¹ Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 131.

¹¹² *Waki'*, I, 124.

by 'Abd al-Malik under Ṭāriq b. 'Amr arrived in Medina.¹¹³ Ṭāriq captured Medina in 72 AH.¹¹⁴ These are the presumed circumstances of al-Zuhri's first arrival at 'Abd al-Malik's court. Al-Zuhri did not flee; on the contrary, he joined the victorious party to which he could offer a sharp intellect and great ambition.

3. The Caliph 'Abd al-Malik and al-Zuhri in ʿIlīyā' (Aelia Capitolina)

There is yet another piece of evidence linking al-Zuhri, 'Abd al-Malik, and Jerusalem. This is contained in an utterance by al-Zuhri himself reported by the abovementioned Shu'ayb b. Abī Ḥamzah al-Himṣī:¹¹⁵

I heard 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān in ʿIlīyā' exhorting the people [i.e. from the pulpit, in a *khutbah*], before the outbreak of the plague (*waja'*) which caused him to leave for al-Muwaqqar, with these words: 'The knowledge will soon pass away, so let anyone having knowledge reveal it without exceeding with regard to it the due limit [or without zealotry] and without ignoring [or neglecting] it.'¹¹⁶

We are not concerned here with the alleged official endorsement of the collection of 'knowledge', obviously in the form of *ḥadīth*, but with the setting of the scene. Firstly, concerning al-Muwaqqar: it is true that elsewhere it is associated with 'Abd al-Malik's son, Yazīd,¹¹⁷ which is

¹¹³ Tab., VI, 166 [II, 818]. According to Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 37, Ṭalḥah replaced Jābir in Ṣafar, 70 AH (= August 689); Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg*, 184. For an earlier term of Jābir in this office see Rotter, *loc. cit.*, 186n=Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 189 (<Madā'inī).

¹¹⁴ Khalīfah, *Ta'rikh*, I, 341. *TMD, MS*, VIII, 488, quotes Khalīfah, who says that Ṭāriq captured Medina at the end of 72 AH. Wāqidi (*TMD, MS*, VIII, 488) says that 'Abd al-Malik appointed Ṭāriq as the governor of Medina in 73/692 and that he remained in office for five months.

¹¹⁵ See above, n. 22.

¹¹⁶ Abū Zur'ah, *Ta'rikh*, I, 409 (*sami'tu 'Abd al-Malik bi-'Ilīyā', qabla an yaqa'a al-waja' alladhi kharaja min-hu ilā al-Muwaqqar, khaṣīban, yaqūlu: inna al-'ilma sa-yuqbadu qabdan sarī'an, fa-man kāna 'inda-hu 'ilm fa-l-yuḥir-hu ghayra ghālin fi-hi wa-lā jāfin 'an-hu*). See this passage also in *TMD, MS*, X, 516; *TMD, Mukhr.*, XV, 228. On the Umayyad attempts to write down the *ḥadīth* cf. now Schoeler, 'Mündliche Thora', 227f.

¹¹⁷ Yāqūt, s.v.; Jarīr, *Dīwān*, ed. N.M. Amin Ṭahā (Cairo [1969]), I, 480 (*al-Muwaqqar... wa-bi-hā kāna yanzilu Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik*).

Al-Zuhri's student al-Walid b. Muḥammad al-Muwaqqarī al-Balqāwī was the *mawlā* of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik; *Tabdh.*, XI, 148f. Cf. A. Rippin, 'al-Zuhri, *Naskh al-Qur'an* and the problem of early *Tafsir* texts', *BSOAS* 47 (1984), 22-43, at 29:7.

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presumably due to the fact that the latter often stayed there. However, al-Muwaqqar may well have belonged to the Umayyads beforehand.¹¹⁸

Secondly, the report suggests (without explicitly saying so) that 'Abd al-Malik fled to al-Muwaqqar from Jerusalem.¹¹⁹ The relative dating of 'Abd al-Malik's alleged *khutbah*, a marginal point in this report, looks particularly reliable. It is also important: the caliph flees from the plague to safety¹²⁰ when it strikes his permanent place of residence, or the place where he lives over an extended period of time.¹²¹ In other words, the report may suggest that 'Abd al-Malik stayed in Jerusalem for a length of time.¹²²

¹¹⁸ See also Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 156n. Cf. al-Hamdānī, *Sifat jazīrat al-'arab*, ed. M. b. 'A. al-Akwa' (Riyadh 1394/1974), 334 [ed. D.H. Müller (Leiden 1884f), 182], who lists al-Muwaqqar among the places inhabited by the tribe of Salīh (*masākin Salīh*).

That the passage from Abū Zur'ah which is discussed here deals with 'Abd al-Malik, not with his son Yazīd, is shown by an abridged version of it found elsewhere. This version, while omitting the background details important for us here, confirms that the protagonist is 'Abd al-Malik; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 64:-7 (al-Zuhri: *sami' tu 'Abd al-Malik yaqūlu fi khutbatihī*) etc.

¹¹⁹ On a visit of al-Zuhri to Jerusalem see also Elad, 'The History and Topography of Jerusalem', 55. We also find a reference to 'Abd al-Malik's presence in Jerusalem in connection with his Temple Mount project; *Uns jalīl*, I, 272, 273: 'When 'Abd al-Malik came to Jerusalem and ordered the Dome to be built on the venerable Rock, he sent out letters' etc.; 'Abd al-Malik described to the engineers what he desired with regard to the building of the Dome and its structure, and they made for him while he was in Jerusalem (*wa-huwa bi-Bāyt al-Maqdis*) the small dome east of the Dome of the Rock which is called the Dome of the Chain.' M. Rosen-Ayalon, *The Early Islamic Monuments of al-Haram al-Sharif: An Iconographic Study* (Jerusalem 1989), 26, believes the claim that the Dome of the Chain was a model to be Mujir al-Dīn's own invention. But it is doubtful that he invents anything; plausibly, he quotes earlier sources. On 'Abd al-Malik's arrival in Jerusalem on the occasion of the project cf. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 156.

¹²⁰ A humorous conversation between Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik and an anonymous person, who advised him not to leave Damascus for al-Ruṣāfah, includes the remark that no caliph had ever been infected by the plague; Tab., VII, 207 [II, 1737f], quoting Madā'inī (*lā takhruj, fa-inna l-khulafā' lā yuṣ'anūna wa-lam nara khalīfa ṣu'ina*). Hishām refused to experiment on himself (*a-turidūna an tujarrībū bī?*). But cf. *Uns jalīl*, I, 271: Marwān b. al-Hakam died in the *ṭā'ūn* (Damascus, Ramadan 65 AH). For other versions concerning the cause of Marwān's death see al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rikh al-khamīs* (Cairo 1283/1866), II, 307.

¹²¹ Cf. the section entitled 'The Question of Plague and Agricultural Expansion' in Conrad, 'Historical Evidence and the Archaeology of Early Islam', in S. Seikaly et al. (eds.), *Quest for Understanding: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Memory of Malcolm H. Kerr* (Beirut 1991), 263-82, at 269f, and in particular Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik's stay in al-Ruṣāfah whenever plague broke out in Damascus; Conrad, 'Arabic Plague Chronologies and Treatises', *Studia Islamica* 54 (1981), 51-93, at 75.

¹²² Cf. Rosen-Ayalon, *The Early Islamic Monuments*, 1.

Thirdly, the chronological aspect is of particular interest to us here. It is suggested that this plague was the one which broke out in Shām in 79/698 or 80/699. The source reporting the latter date states that the plague prevented the people of Shām from taking part that year in the *ghazw*, i.e., the annual expedition against Byzantium.¹²³ The source giving the former date also mentions the absence of the people of Shām from the expedition.¹²⁴

Admittedly, these are not the only possible dates, as we know of another plague which according to some took place during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, who died in Damascus in Shawwāl, 86 AH.¹²⁵ According to Aşma'ī, 'Abd al-Malik died during the plague known as 'The Plague of the Maidens' (*al-fatayāt*) or 'The Plague of the Notables' (*ashhrāf*), or shortly thereafter.¹²⁶ However, because 'Abd al-Malik died in Damascus, it seems impossible to connect the 86/705 plague with that which caused him to flee Jerusalem for al-Muwaqqar. Moreover, the year of 'The Plague of the Maidens/Notables' is uncertain: while Aşma'ī dates it during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, Madā'inī dates it to Shawwāl 87/September-October 706,¹²⁷ that is one year after 'Abd al-Malik's death.

In view of all this it is argued that the 79/80 AH plague is more probable and that 'Abd al-Malik's stay in Jerusalem took place before its outbreak.

4. Al-Zuhri's Estate in the Region of Shaghb wa-Badā

Al-Zuhri was a loyal and trustworthy supporter of the Umayyads and for this he was rewarded generously. The sources on al-Zuhri's biography abound with stories about the Umayyad caliphs paying his debts. The context of the reports on these debts is invariably

¹²³ Khalifah, *Tā'rikh*, I, 360 (*wa-fi-hā* [80 A.H.] *aşāba ahl al-Shām ṭā'ūn shadīd fa-lam yakun la-hum dhālika al-'āma ghazw*).

¹²⁴ Ibn al-Jawzi, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 203 (*wuqū'u al-ṭā'ūn bi-l-Shām ḥastā kāda al-nās yafnauna min shiddati-hi, wa-lam yughza tilka al-sanah*). The text in Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 27, is clearer: *fa-fi-hā* [79 AH] *waqa'a ṭā'ūn 'azīm bi-al-Shām ḥastā kādū yafnauna min shiddati-hi wa-lam yaghzu fi-hā ahad min ahl al-Shām li-ḍu'fi-him wa-qillati-him*.

¹²⁵ Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 68.

¹²⁶ Conrad, 'Plague Chronologies', 55f, quoting Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 601 (*wamāta fi-hi 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān aw ba'da-hu bi-qatīl*). Among the notables who died in this plague Asma'ī includes 'Alī b. Aşma', who was no other than his great-grandfather; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishraqāq*, ed. 'A. al-S. Hārūn (Cairo 1378/1958), 272.

¹²⁷ Conrad, 'Plague Chronologies', 62, 68f, 83f. See also Ibn al-Jawzi, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 267, who adduces both versions.

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favourable to al-Zuhri, because they serve to emphasize his generosity. Al-Zuhri was no ascetic, he was fond of perfume, the use of which symbolized a high standard of living. Al-Zuhri's nephew (Ibn Akhī al-Zuhri) was once asked whether his uncle used perfume. He replied: 'I could smell the musk from the whip of his riding-beast.'¹²⁸ The granting of estates to family members and loyal supporters was common among the Umayyad caliphs.¹²⁹

The stories about al-Zuhri's generosity have already been mentioned (obviously, the extravagant cases were more readily recorded). It is told that al-Zuhri could afford to be in debt because of the large revenues he received from his estates: *wa-kāna fi 'uqadi-hi wafā'un li-dayni-hi*, 'his [revenues from his] estates were enough to cover his debts'.¹³⁰ *'Uqdah* is 'an estate consisting of land, or of land and a house, or of a house or land yielding a revenue'.¹³¹ Having been blamed for being in debt, al-Zuhri reportedly said that the debt only amounted to twenty thousand dinars while each of his five springs (or underground canals, *a'yun*) yielded (annually) forty thousand dinars. He added that his only heir was his grandson, to whom he would not mind bequeathing nothing. The informant explains that the said grandson was an immoral person.¹³² In this context it is important to note that al-Zuhri is said to have 'planted' the palm trees in his estate when he became old,¹³³ an indication that al-Zuhri's

¹²⁸ Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 347.

¹²⁹ In addition to the estate discussed below, al-Zuhri had a court in Medina: in an allegedly autobiographical report going back to al-Zuhri himself, it is claimed that upon his first meeting with 'Abd al-Malik the caliph ordered a court in Medina to be bought for the young scholar; *TMD, Zuhri*, 29 (*wa-shirā' dār qaṣī'a bi-al-Madīnah*). Perhaps the meeting did not proceed exactly as described in this report; however, al-Zuhri's ownership of a court in Medina must be a historical fact.

¹³⁰ *TMD, Zuhri*, 167 (where both versions of this sentence are slightly garbled). Cf. *al-Ma'rifah wa-al-ṭarīkh*, I, 632 (*fa-kāna fi diyā'i-hi mā qaḍā dayna-hu*).

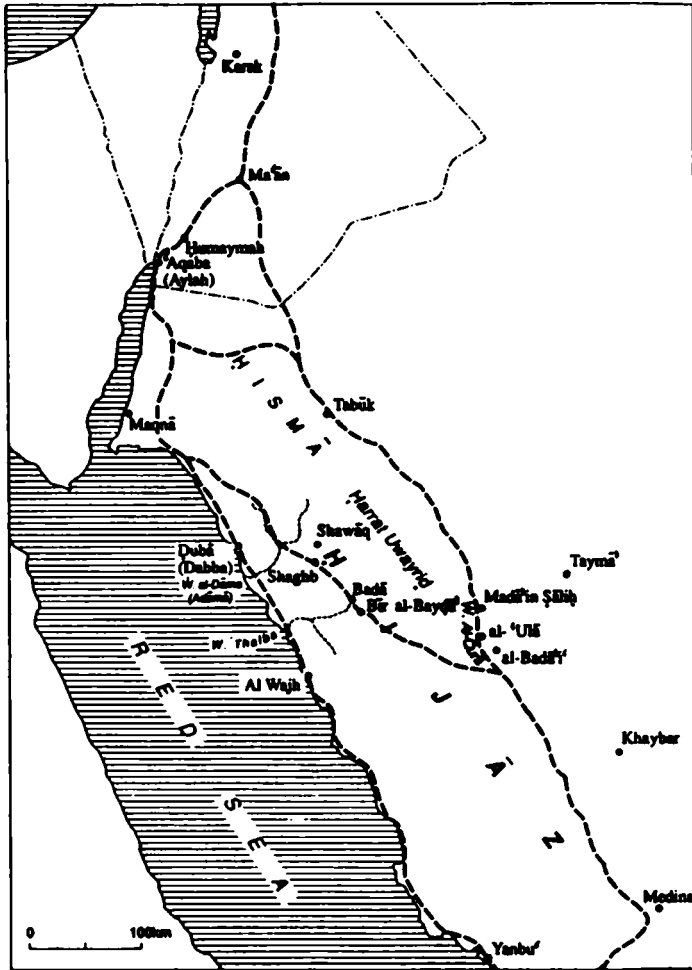
¹³¹ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v.

¹³² *Lī khamsatu a'yun kullu 'ayn min-hā thamanu(!) arba'ina alfa dīnār wa-laysa yarishunī illā bnu bnī hādihā, wa-mā ubālī an lā yarisha 'anni shay'an... wa-kāna bnu bnī-hi fāsiqan; TMD, Zuhri*, 172. Instead of: *thaman*, read: *tamunnu*, 'they bestow', as in Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, VII, 250. The water from the spring ('*ayn*) may have been brought to the cultivated land by means of an 'underground canal' (*qanāt* or *faqīr*); cf. 'Arrām b. al-Aṣbagh al-Sulamī, *Asmā' jibāl Tihāmah*, in *Nawādir al-makhrūṭāt*, ed. 'A. al-S. Hārūn, II (Cairo 1393/1973), 413, where it is said concerning a certain village: *wa-miyāhu-hā 'uyūn tajrī taht al-ard, fuqur kulluhā, wa-al-fuqur wa-al-qanā wāhid, wa-wāhid al-fuqur — faqīr*.

Al-Zuhri may have bequeathed his property (or part of it) to his nephew, the well-known Ibn Akhī al-Zuhri; see above, n. 18.

¹³³ See below, n. 160.

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Location map of Zuhri's estates

property or part of it was developed by al-Zuhri himself. Agricultural work was carried out by slaves and indeed we find, in another context, evidence that al-Zuhri owned slaves ('*abīd*): he used to give away everything he had, and when his own money was exhausted, he would borrow from his friends, and then from his slaves.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Naturally our informant is aware of the legal point at issue ('is it lawful for someone to borrow money from his slaves?'). See e.g. *TMD, Zuhri*, 170 (*wa-lā yarā bi-dhālika ba'san*). Al-Zuhri's *mawlā* Zakariyyā b. 'Isā al-Shaghbi (on Shaghbi see below), who transmitted from him, might have been a manumitted slave; Sam'āni, s.v. al-Shaghbi; al-Dhahabi, *al-Muḥṭabih fi al-rijāl, asmā'i-him wa-ansābi-him*, ed. 'A.M. al-Bijāwī (Cairo 1962), II, 397.

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Far more important in the context of al-Zuhri's estate is the report about a merchant who, on his way to the pilgrimage, bought wheat (*burr*) from al-Zuhri, who was then in his *qaryah*, for a total of four hundred dinars which he was to pay on his way back from the pilgrimage.¹³⁵ We not only learn from this report that al-Zuhri grew wheat on his estate, but also that the estate was located on the pilgrim road, well placed to sell its products to the pilgrims. In fact, this may have been its *raison d'être*. Indeed, the estate, situated between the pilgrim roads of Syria and Egypt, was most favourably located for this purpose: Shaghb wa-Badā (after which the whole region was called) are two wadis which belonged (at some unspecified period) to the jurisdiction of Aylah. 'On them' (*wa-'alay-himā*) there was an estate where al-Zuhri used to stay, between the (pilgrim) roads of Egypt and Syria.¹³⁶ Shaghb (or Shaghbā) and Badā are also names of villages located near these wadis. The inland route between Aylah and Medina passed through Shaghb, then Badā (see map).¹³⁷ Two stations south of Badā, at al-Suqyā south of Wadi al-Qurā, the Syrian road and the Egyptian inland road converge.¹³⁸ Al-Zuhri asked to be buried in the middle of the road (see below); the road in question is the inland Egyptian pilgrim road.

It is noteworthy that the small village Badā had a *fadā'il*-tradition of its own which (perhaps not surprisingly) linked it to Egypt. Yāqūt describes Ḍabbah (which appears in the modern maps as Ḍuba) as a village in Tihāmah on the shore near Shām (*mimmā yalī al-Shām*). He adds that opposite it (*bi-ḥidhā'i-hā*, i.e., inland) there is a village

¹³⁵ TMD, *Zuhri*, 175f (citing al-Shāfi'i). The variant *bazz* (e.g. in Dhahabī, *Tarājim rijāl*, 73; Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, 246f) is erroneous: in the context of al-Zuhri's *qaryah*, *burr* is preferable.

¹³⁶ Sam'ānī, s.v. al-Shaghbi: *Badā wa-Shaghb, wa-humā wādīyān min Aylah wa-'alay-himā day'ah kāna yanzilu-hā al-Zuhri... bayna farīq Miṣr wa-al-Shām*. The preposition *wa-'alay-himā* may suggest that the estate was irrigated by water from the two wadis. Cf. Jāsir's remark (*Manāsik*, 650, n. 5), that the Shaghb and Badā wadis converge. Badā and Shaghb are mentioned in the description of a place called Julayya: it is near Wadi al-Qurā, behind Badā and Shaghb; *Maghānim*, 89; Naṣr, *Amkina*, 56b. On Wadi al-Qurā see A.A. Nasif, 'The Identification of the Wādī 'l-Qurā and the Ancient Islamic Site of al-Mibyāt', *Arabian Studies* 5 (1979), 1-19 (on p. 8 he states that it 'extends over an area of about 50 km. from Madā'in Ṣāliḥ in the north to al-Badāyi', a railway station in the south'; see map).

¹³⁷ *Manāsik*, 650. Jāsir reports (n. 4) that Badā still exists as a village of 300 inhabitants.

¹³⁸ *Manāsik*, 650, 653; al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdallāh al-Iṣfahānī (Lughda), *Bilād al-'Arab*, ed. Ḥ. al-Jāsir and Ṣ.A. al-'Alī (Riyadh 1968), 396. On this Suqyā (Suqyā al-Jazl) see al-Fākihī, *Akhhār Makkah*, ed. 'A. b. 'A. b. Duhaysh (Mecca 1407/1987), II, 368; Yāqūt, the end of s.v. Suqyā.

called Badā¹³⁹ which is the village of the prophet Ya'qūb. Badā, located seventy miles from Ḍabbah, has an irrigation canal (*nahr jārin*). From Badā, Yāqūt concludes, Ya'qūb went on to his son Yūsuf in Egypt.¹⁴⁰ Because of its association with Ya'qūb, Badā was also called Badā Ya'qūb.¹⁴¹

At some point during the caliphate of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik the crown prince, al-Walīd b. Yazīd, ordered the cutting down of the trees on al-Zuhri's estate in Shaghb wa-Badā (written Badan wa-Shaghb). In the background was al-Zuhri's attempt to convince Hishām that he should depose al-Walīd. Since the legal status of the land was at issue, we are told in this context that al-Zuhri bought the estate from people who received it from the Prophet as a grant. The Prophet's letter was held by al-Zuhri.¹⁴²

Beside Shaghb and Badā, a place called Th.l.bah/Th.l.yah is also associated with al-Zuhri's estate. The correct name is Thalba. It is preserved in the name of Wadi Thalbah which can still be found on the modern maps of Saudi Arabia south of Shaghb. In 124/742, it is reported, al-Zuhri arrived at his estates (*amwāl*) in Thiluyah(!), in [the region of] Shaghb wa-Badā, where he stayed for some time. Then he became ill and died. He determined in his will that he be buried in the middle of the road (*fa-awṣā an yudfana 'alā qāri'at al-ṭariq*).¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Written Badan, with a *tanwīn*.

¹⁴⁰ Yāqūt, s.v. Ḍabba. Musil, *The Northern Hejaz* (New York 1926), 135n, approximately confirms the distance between Ḍabbah and Badā as given by Yāqūt: in fact, Badā is 130 km., or over seventy miles, south-east (misprinted south-west in Musil) of Ḍabbah. Musil also remarks (135n, 313) that Badais mentioned by Ptolemy in the middle of the second century CE, to the south of Soaka (= Shawāq), is our Badā. For Soaka see the map in H.I. MacAdam, 'Ptolemy's *Geography* and the Wadi Sirhan', in P.-L. Gatier *et al.* (eds.), *Géographie historique au proche-orient* (Paris 1988), at 66. In al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fi ṣinā'at al-inshā*, ed. M.H. Shams al-Dīn (Beirut 1407/1987), III, 445, instead of: *kūras Badā Ya'qūb wa-Shru'ayb*, read: ... *wa-Shaghb*. Cf. correctly in Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-mawā'iz wa-al-i'tibār fi dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-al-akhbār*, ed. G. Wiet (Cairo 1911f), I, i, 311 (*kūras Badā wa-Shaghb*). Cf. Musil, *The Northern Hejaz*, 256.

¹⁴¹ Yāqūt, s.v. Shaghbā.

¹⁴² *TMD, Mukht.*, XXVI, 366-67; *TMD, MS*, XVII, 947:17 (... *ishtarā-hu min qawm kāna al-nabī [s] aqṭa'a la-hum, fa-akhraja kitāba-hu*). In both sources, read 'Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik' instead of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz'. For a grant of the Prophet in the same area see Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym: A Contribution to the Study of Early Islam* (Jerusalem 1989), 185f, 194f: Qālis on the inland pilgrim route between Aylah and Medina. It is one station before Shaghb; al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, ed. de Goeje (Leiden 1892), 341:-4; Musil, *The Northern Hejaz*, 322.

¹⁴³ Ibn Sa'd, *Qism musammim*, 185 (< Wāqidi); *TMD, Zuhri*, 42. (Cf. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. *qāri'at al-ṭariq*: 'The higher, or highest, part of the road; the part that is trodden by the passengers'.) Wāqidi's information creates for us an

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His wish was fulfilled and he was buried in the middle of the road so that passers-by would pray for him.¹⁴⁴

Thalbah is also mentioned in connection with Ibn Akhī al-Zuhri, 'al-Zuhri's nephew' (= Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh) who was murdered by his slaves on his estate in Thalbah. They were acting on orders from his son, who wanted the bequest. Years later the son was himself murdered by the slaves.¹⁴⁵ We know that al-Zuhri declared his lands *ṣadaqah* (charitable endowment). According to the testimony of his nephew, upon doing so al-Zuhri appointed a *mawla* of his to supervise the endowment because his nephew was too young. When the *mawla* died, during al-Zuhri's lifetime, his nephew was put in charge.¹⁴⁶

arithmetical problem: if indeed al-Zuhri was born in 58 AH, he could not have been seventy-five when he died in 124! Cf. above, n. 92. It seems unlikely that Wāqidi, in his *Ta'rikh* (cited in *TMD*, *Zuhri*, 47), claimed that al-Zuhri died aged ninety; probably *sab'ina* should be read, instead of: *tis'ina*; see also Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem*, 154, n. 35. Cf. *TMD*, *Zuhri*, 41 (where the place is called Thalaba). Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah*, IX, 344:7, has two corrupt variants of the name.

¹⁴⁴ *TMD*, *Zuhri*, 188f (citing al-Zubayr b. Bakkār). In Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'ārif*, 472, we find an explicit statement that he was buried on his estate: *wa-dufina bi-māli-hi 'alā qāri'at al-ṭariq... wa-al-mawḍi' alladhī dufina bi-hi ākhiru 'amal al-Hijāz wa-awwalu 'amal Filastīn, wa-bi-hi ḍay'asu-hu*. See also Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Tamhīd*, VI, 113 (*wa-kānat wafātu-hu bi-ḍay'ah la-hu bi-nāhiyat Shaghḥ wa-Badā, mariḍa hunālika wa-awṣā an yudfana 'alā qāri'at al-ṭariq fa-dufina bi-mawḍi' yuqālu la-hu Adāmā wa-hiya khalf Shaghḥ wa-Badā wa-hiya awwal 'amal Filastīn wa-ākhir 'amal al-Hijāz*); al-Iṣṭakhri, *Masālik al-mamālik*², ed. de Goeje (Leiden 1927), 27:3 (... *'alā Badan wa-Shaghḥ qaryah bi-al-bādiyāh kānū banū Marwān aqṣa'ū-hā al-Zuhriyyah al-muḥaddith wa-bi-hā qabru-hu*).

¹⁴⁵ Ibn Sa'd, *Qism mutammim*, 453 (*qatala-hu ghilmānu-hu bi-amri bni-hi fī amwāli-hi bi-Thalba[!] bi-nāhiyati Shaghḥ wa-Badā. Wa-kāna bnu-hu saḥīhan shāḥīran qatala-hu li-l-mirāth, wa-dhālika fī ākhiri khilāfati Abi Ja'far, thumma washaba ghilmānu-hu 'alay-hi fa-qatalū-hu ba'da sinīna aydan*). See also *TMD*, *MS*, XV, 558:-5, 560:2 (*qatala-hu ghilmānu-hu bi-amri bni-hi fī amwāli-hi bi-Thalba* [this is the correct place-name] *bi-nāhiyat Shaghḥ wa-Badā*); *TMD*, *Mukhr.*, XXII, 330 (he was murdered *fī amwāli-hi bi-nāhiyati Shaghḥ wa-Badā*; the murder took place in 152/769). According to another report, the nephew's murder took place in 157/774; E. Sachau, 'Studien zur ältesten Geschichtsüberlieferung der Araber', *Mitteilungen des Seminars f. orientalische Sprachen* (Berlin), 2. Abt. 7 (1904), 154-96, at 165 = al-Dhahabī, *Tadhīb al-sahāb*; al-Mizzī, *Tadhīb al-kamāl*, XXV, 559.

¹⁴⁶ The nephew reported: *habasa al-Zuhri amwālan la-hu wa-dafa'a-hā ilā mawlan la-hu fa-māta al-mawla fī ḥayāti-hi fa-ja'alani makāna-hu wa-kunsu yawma tasaddaqa bi-hā wa-dafa'a-hā ilā al-mawla lam ablugh thumma adraktu ba'da-hu* (read: *ba'du?*); al-Khaṣṣāf, *Ahkām al-awqāf* (Cairo 1322/1904), 17f. Note that elsewhere we find that upon al-Zuhri's death, 'Shaghḥ' (i.e., probably al-Zuhri's estate in the Shaghḥ wa-Badā region) was sold in order to cover his debts; Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, V, 342. Perhaps only part of it was sold. For the identity of the man who managed al-Zuhri's estate (*wakīl al-Zuhri bi-ḍay'asi-hi [bi-]Shaghḥ wa-Badā*), see al-Mizzī, *Tadhīb al-kamāl*, XVIII, 491-2.

Regarding the reliability of the *hadīths* which a traditionist from Aylah (the above mentioned 'Uqayl b. Khālid al-Aylī) transmitted from al-Zuhri, it is reported that al-Zuhri used to stay in Aylah and that he had an estate there.¹⁴⁷ In actual fact, the estate was far from Aylah (although at some point the region of Shaghb wa-Badā belonged to the jurisdiction of Aylah).¹⁴⁸

5. Other Estates Owned by Qurashīs in the Same Region

At this point we digress a little to discuss the information about two Qurashī notables who owned estates in the region of Shaghb wa-Badā. They were attracted to the area by its favourable agricultural conditions and its location near the pilgrim roads. The two Qurashīs were the fourth caliph, 'Alī, and the father of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās.

Ibn Shabbah provides rich evidence about the estates of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. However, we are only concerned here with those located in the rugged tract called Ḥarrat al-Rajlā'. These included two wadis, al-Aḥmar and al-Bayḍā', and a few wells.¹⁴⁹ About al-Aḥmar we are told: *wa-la-hu bi-Ḥarrat al-Rajlā' min nāḥiyat Sh.'b Z.y.d. wādīn yud'ā al-Aḥmar.*¹⁵⁰ Instead of Sh.'b. Z.y.d., read Shaghb wa-Badā. This reading can be corroborated by the following identification of the other wadi owned by 'Alī in Ḥarrat al-Rajlā', namely al-Bayḍā'. Some 60 km. south-east of Shaghb as the crow flies we find on the modern maps of Saudi Arabia Bi'r al-Bayḍā', near a wadi of the same name (see map). This is presumably 'Alī's estate, and wadi al-Aḥmar should be looked for in the same vicinity.

We now turn to 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās. At the end of his extensive history of Medina, Samhūdī (d. 911/1505) includes a geographical dictionary of place-names in Medina and its vicinity. Under Badā he says that 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās and his children lived there (*Badā: mawḍi' qurb Wādī al-Qurā kāna bi-hi manzil 'Alī*

¹⁴⁷ *Wa-kāna al-Zuhri yakūnu bi-Ayla wa-li-l-Zuhri hunāka ḍay'a wa-kāna yak-rubu 'an-hu hunāka; Tahdh., VII, 256.* On 'Uqayl see above, n. 21.

¹⁴⁸ See above, n. 136.

¹⁴⁹ Ibn Shabbah, *Madīnah*, I, 219f, especially 224f.

¹⁵⁰ See also Samhūdī, II, 1186. Jāsir, who adduces the same text, has, instead of Sh.'b Z.y.d.: *Sh.'b. R.b.dā;* Jāsir, *Fī Shimāl gharb al-jazīrah* (Riyadh 1401/1981), 306 (the second *bā'* is without a diacritical point), 513. Cf. S. A. el-Ali, 'Muslim Estates in Hijaz in the First Century A.H.', *JESHO* 2 (1959), 247-61, at 257 (Shi'b Zayd).

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b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās wa-awlādi-hi).¹⁵¹ A passage in the *Lisān al-'arab*, which was compiled some two centuries before Samhūdī's history, and in Ibn al-Athīr's *hadīth* dictionary, compiled about three centuries before Samhūdī's history,¹⁵² takes us a little further: *wa-fi hadīth al-Zuhri annahu kāna la-hu māl bi-Shaghb wa-Badā, humā mawḍi'āni bi-al-Shām, wa-bi-hi* [presumably, in the region of Shaghb wa-Badā] *kāna muqāmu 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās wa-awlādi-hi ilā an waṣalat ilay-himi al-khilāfah*. This information is of course problematic: the well-known place associated with 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās and his sons is al-Ḥumaymah, situated south-west of Ma'ān (see map).¹⁵³ These texts, though not completely clear, are very interesting. They appear to reflect a variant version concerning the place inhabited by the 'Abbāsids prior to their revolution.

The aforementioned information about 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's estates leads to the following identification of Ḥarrat al-Rajlā': since wadi al-Aḥmar was in Ḥarrat al-Rajlā', in the vicinity (*min nāhiyat*) of Shaghb wa-Badā, Ḥarrat al-Rajlā' must be identical to the Ḥarrāh known today as Ḥarrat 'Uwayriḍ (see map). The same conclusion is reached if we assume that wadi al-Bayḍā' is identical, as has just been argued, with its namesake found on the modern map of Saudi Arabia.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ Samhūdī, s.v., II, 1145. Among the owners of estates in the nearby Wadi al-Qurā we find the third caliph 'Uthmān, who declared his estate a charitable endowment (*sadaqah*); cf. al-'Alī, 'Muslim Estates', 256; Ibn Sa'd, III, 77. Also 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib owned a *sadaqah* in Wadi al-Qurā; 'Abd al-Razzāq, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. H. al-R. al-A'zamī (Beirut 1390/1970-1392/1972), X, 375 (written once, erroneously: Wadi Umm al-Qurā).

¹⁵² *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. *sh.gh.b.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fi gharīb al-hadīth wa-al-athar*, ed. Ṭ. A. al-Zāwī and M. M. al-Tanāhī (Cairo 1385/1965), s.v. *sh.gh.b.*

¹⁵³ See e.g. Bakrī, s.v. Adhrūh, 130; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, III, 79f ('Alī died at al-Ḥumaymah in 117/735), 87 (Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh, who died in 124/742, had in al-Ḥumaymah 500 trees, and [every day] he used to pray under each of them two *rak'ats*); cf. *Akhbār al-dawlah al-'Abbāsiyyah*, ed. 'A. al-'A. al-Dūrī and 'A. al-J. al-Muṭṭalibī (Beirut 1971), 108 ('Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās bought a *qaryah* called al-Ḥumaymah in a *rustāq* located between Shām and Medina); *EP*, s.v. al-Ḥumayma (D. Sourdel).

¹⁵⁴ The identification of Ḥarrat al-Rajlā' with Ḥarrat 'Uwayriḍ appears to conform to Aṣma'ī's identification of Ḥarrat al-Rajlā' as a Ḥarrāh in the territory (*diyār*) of the Banū al-Qayn b. Jasr (a subdivision of the Quḍā'ah) located between Medina and Shām; Yāqūt, s.v. al-Ḥarrāh al-Rajlā'. The Banū al-Qayn lived (viz. in the early days of Islam) *fi aknāf al-Shām*, 'on the sides (or edges) of Shām'; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 454. Elsewhere we find that Ḥarrat [al-]Rajlā' is in the territory of Judhām; Bakrī, s.v. Ḥarrat al-Rajlā', 436. See also Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyyah*, ed. al-Saqqa, al-Abyārī and Shalabī (Beirut 1391/1971), IV, 243. The Judhām were the neighbours of the Banū al-Qayn. An estate of 'Alī called al-Quṣaybah was (in) *nāhiyat Fadak... bi-a'lā Ḥarrat al-Rajlā'*; Ibn Shabbah, *Madīnah*, I, 225. See also Samhūdī, II,

6. The Boundary between Palestine and the Ḥijāz. in the Early Islamic Period

The modern maps of Saudi Arabia are an indispensable tool in the study of the history of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia. The place-names associated with al-Zuhri's estate, namely Shaghb, Badā, Thalbah and Adāmā, can all be found within a small area of north-western Saudi Arabia (see map). This merits special emphasis. I believe that a growing tendency, among Arabists and Islamicists, to relate the literary evidence to the geographical one is an inevitable development in the study of Arabia. We now have better maps than ever before, as well as new editions of medieval Arabic texts on the geography of Arabia, and specialized surveys of certain areas prepared by local scholars. All these research devices make it easier for us to locate, within obvious limitations, many of the places mentioned in the primary sources.

The evidence concerning al-Zuhri's estate often refers to the boundary between Shām, more precisely the Filasṭīn district, and the Ḥijāz.¹⁵⁵ For instance, it is said that al-Zuhri's tomb is in Adāmā 'behind' Shaghb wa-Badā, which is the boundary between Filasṭīn and the Ḥijāz. In it (i.e., in Adāmā), the report continues, there was an estate belonging to al-Zuhri, where he lived. The source of this account is al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mutawakkil al-'Asqalānī (Ibn Abī al-Sarī,

1186; Jāsir, *Fī shimāl gharb al-jazīrah*, 306, 513, 580f. Cf. Jāsir, *op. cit.*, 512 (Harrat 'Uwayriḍ used to be called of old Harrat al-Kurayṭīm); Hamad al-Jāsir, *Abū 'Alī al-Hajārī wa-abhāthuhū fī taḥdīd al-mawāḍi'* (Riyadh 1968), 231.

¹⁵⁵ Shaghb, Badā and Adāmā were already mentioned in connection with the northern Ḥijāzī border by Abdullah al-Wohaibi, *The Northern Hijaz in the Writings of the Arab Geographers 800-1150* (Beirut 1973), 251-2, who employed the entry on al-Zuhri in Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-a'yān* (= ed. I. 'Abbās [Beirut 1968-72], IV, 177-9), as well as the geographical works of Yāqūt, al-Bakrī and Naṣr al-Iskandarānī. See also H. Lammens, 'L'ancienne frontière entre la Syrie et le Ḥijāz: Notes de géographie historique', in *l'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire* (Beirut 1928), 295-331, especially 315-16, 325, 330.

Ibn Khallikān (178) has two forms of the last-mentioned place-name: Adāmā and Adamā; see also *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ed. M.M. al-D. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo 1948), III, 318. Ibn Khallikān adds a new place-name to those already mentioned above in connection with al-Zuhri. He quotes a passage from [Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's] *al-Tamhīd* according to which al-Zuhri died in his house in Na'f, defined as a *qaryah 'ind al-qurā al-madhkūrah*, i.e., Shaghb, Badā and Adāmā/Adamā. Surprisingly, there is no mention of Na'f in Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Tamhīd*, VI, 113. 'Na'f' (if it is not a corruption of 'Shaghb') might have been identical with the village called al-Na'f on the road to al-Ḥijr, between al-'Ulā and Tabūk; for its mention see Jāsir, *Fī Shimāl gharb al-jazīrah*, 586.

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d. 240/854).¹⁵⁶ He said about al-Zuhri's grave, which he had seen, that it was elevated, plastered with gypsum, and white.¹⁵⁷ The place-name Adāmā is probably preserved in Wadi al-Dāmāh (see map) and Adāmā should be looked for along this wadi.¹⁵⁸

There are contradictory statements, possibly referring to different periods, concerning the administrative district to which Adāmā belonged. On the one hand, we are told that Adāmā, while being close to the Hijāz, was outside it (i.e., in Filastīn).¹⁵⁹ On the other hand, we find that al-Adāmā' (*sic*) was one of the regions (*a'rād*) of Medina (i.e., it was included in the Hijāz). The source of the latter statement also reports that al-Zuhri had palm trees there which he planted when he became old (*asanna*). We are told that al-Adāmā', which some call al-Udāmā' (these are variants of the name Adāmā), is a place in the lands of the Quḍā'ah in Shām.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, the 'Udhrah, a subdivision of the Quḍā'ah, were the dominant ingredient in the population of this area: Shaghba (= Shaghb), 'the village of al-Zuhri', was in the land of the 'Udhrah.¹⁶¹

The statement that the northern border of the Hijāz was at Shaghb wa-Badā¹⁶² presumably includes the Shaghb wa-Badā region

¹⁵⁶ Not to be confused with his brother Muḥammad, who was also called Ibn Abī al-Sarī. Yahyā b. Ma'īn referred to Muḥammad as *muḥaddith Filastīn*; Dhahabī, *Nubalā'*, XI, 161.

¹⁵⁷ *TMD, Zuhri*, 181 (*ra'aytu qabr al-Zuhri bi-Adāmā, wa-hiya khalfā Shaghb wa-Badā, wa-hiya awwalu 'amal Filastīn wa-ākhiru 'amal al-Hijāz, wa-bi-hā day'aru al-Zuhri allatī kāna fi-hā, wa-ra'aytu qabra-hu musannaman, mujassasan, abyada*). Also Ya'qūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī (d. 277/890) saw the grave; see his *al-Ma'rifa wa-al-ra'rikh*, III, 348. He reports that al-Zuhri was buried in an elevated piece of ground, *fi nashz/nashaz min al-ard* (erroneously printed *nashar*). Cf. the expression *qāri' as al-sariq* above, n. 143. Sam'ānī (d. 562/1167, in s.v. al-Zuhri) still reports that al-Zuhri's grave is well known and that it is a place of pilgrimage (*mashhūr yuzāru*), but he may be quoting an earlier text.

¹⁵⁸ Upon the Arabization of this place-name, the 'A' became an article.

¹⁵⁹ *TMD, Zuhri*, 46 (al-Zuhri died in Adāmā, *qarīb min arḍi l-Hijāz wa-hiya min a'māl Filastīn*) Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntazam*, VII, 235.

¹⁶⁰ Naṣr, *Amkinah*, 17a; Yāqūt, s.v. Adāmā (citing Naṣr).

¹⁶¹ Yāqūt, s.v. Shaghba. Also Yāqūt, s.v. Badan: 'a valley near Aylah on the shore, and some said: in Wadi al-Qurā, and some said: in Wadi 'Udhrah near Shām'. The three definitions refer to one and the same place. The Banū 'Udhrah are known to have inhabited the nearby Wadi al-Qurā as well. See also *Maghānim*, 206: Shaghba/Shaghb is the village of al-Zuhri. Also Yāqūt, s.v. Shaghb: it is an estate 'behind' (viz. to the north-west of) Wadi al-Qurā which belonged to al-Zuhri, and his tomb is in it. As we have seen (above, n. 154), the Banū al-Qayn b. Jasn of the Quḍā'ah were associated with the adjacent Harrat al-Rajlā' (identified above with the modern Harrat 'Uwayrid).

¹⁶² Bakrī, 10f. Cf. the incomplete quotation of this text in Samhūdī, II, 1182; *Maghānim*, 102; Yāqūt, s.v. al-Hijāz, 219 (who specifies that the text is from Aṣma'īs *Kisāb jazīras al-'arab*).

in the Ḥijāz.¹⁶³ The same state of affairs is roughly reflected in the accounts about the expulsion of the Jews from the Ḥijāz by the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He expelled the Jews of Khaybar and Fadak, but not those of Taymā' and Wadi al-Qurā, because the latter were included in *ard al-Shām*. He considered the area 'beneath' (*dūna*, i.e., south of) Wadi al-Qurā part of the Ḥijāz, and the area 'beyond' it (*warā'a dhālika*, i.e., Wadi al-Qurā itself and the area north of it) part of Shām.¹⁶⁴

There are further indications, derived from the reports about the conflict between the Umayyads and Ibn al-Zubayr, that the border between the Ḥijāz and Shām (more precisely, Filasṭīn) was in the vicinity of Wadi al-Qurā. The northern Ḥijāz was an important venue during this conflict, hence the relative wealth of evidence.¹⁶⁵ At some point — Ibn al-Zubayr's governor in Medina was then al-Ḥārith b. Ḥāṭib al-Jumahī — we hear of Khaybar and Fadak being included in al-Ḥārith's jurisdiction: he was ordered by Ibn al-Zubayr to appoint a certain Anṣārī as the governor of these two agricultural settlements.¹⁶⁶ With regard to an attack on this governor we hear of a boundary between Shām and Ibn al-Zubayr's territory (i.e., the Ḥijāz): when an expedition force sent by 'Abd al-Malik reached the northern edge of Ibn al-Zubayr's area of jurisdiction, Ibn al-Zubayr's tax collectors fled. Then 'Abd al-Malik advanced and encamped at Wadi al-Qurā, from where he sent his cavalry to attack Khaybar and Fadak.¹⁶⁷ The reference to the evacuation of Ibn al-Zubayr's

¹⁶³ Muqaddasī explicitly includes Badā Ya'qūb in the Ḥijāz; *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, ed. de Goeje (Leiden 1906), 69, 84 (Badā Ya'qūb is on *jāddas Miṣr*).

¹⁶⁴ Al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. M. Jones (London 1966), II, 711. Note that one medieval scholar argued that Tabūk and Filasṭīn(!) were part of the Ḥijāz; Samhūdī, s.v. Ḥijāz, II, 1184:1. The scholar in question is not al-Ḥuraqī(!) but Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī; see Bakrī, 12 and Yāqūt, s.v. al-Ḥijāz, 219.

Incidentally, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz instructed his governor in Egypt, Ḥayyān b. Shurayh, to expel Coptic criminals to Shaghb wa-Badā; Muranyi, *Abd Allāh b. Wahb*, 313.

¹⁶⁵ The information given below refers to different stages in the conflict.

¹⁶⁶ On these events see the section entitled 'Der Zugang zum Ḥijāz' in Rotter, *Die Umayyaden*, 182f.

¹⁶⁷ Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 35 (*fa-lammā nazala awwala 'amal bn al-Zubayr mimma yalī al-Shām haraba 'ummālu-hu wa-ṣāra 'Abdu l-Malik hasā' nazala Wādīya al-Qurā wa-wajjaha min-hā [sic] khaylan* etc.). In connection with Ibn al-Zubayr's governor in Wadi al-Qurā we come across a valuable detail, namely that Ibn al-Zubayr was storing there a large quantity of dates received as taxes (i.e., in kind); see Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 49; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 363 (*wa-kāna li-bn al-Zubayr bi-hā tamr kathīr min tamr al-sadaqa*). A governor of Ibn al-Zubayr in Wadi al-Qurā is mentioned in the account of the battle of al-Rabadhah (65/684-5), which took place

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northern border by his tax collectors is important. After their flight (no doubt together with their garrisons), 'Abd al-Malik could come to Wadi al-Qurā, formerly under Ibn al-Zubayr's control, and send his cavalry deep into Ibn al-Zubayr's territory. In sum, the boundary between the two parties, which was at the same time the boundary between the Hijāz and Shām, was in the vicinity of Wadi al-Qurā.

At a later stage in the conflict the name of Ṭāriq b. 'Amr, a *mawla* of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, emerges.¹⁶⁸ Again we find a reference to Ibn al-Zubayr's fiscal administration: 'Abd al-Malik instructed Ṭāriq 'to camp at [i.e., to patrol] the area between Aylah and Wadi al-Qurā, prevent Ibn al-Zubayr's tax collectors from spreading, defend the area between him [i.e., Ibn al-Zubayr] and Shām, and close up a gap should he discover one'.¹⁶⁹ Wadi al-Qurā was the base of Ṭāriq b. 'Amr's operations against Ibn al-Zubayr: it is reported that after the attack on Ibn al-Zubayr's men at Khaybar, Ṭāriq returned to Wadi al-Qurā, and his patrols¹⁷⁰ remained active in the area between Medina, Wadi al-Qurā and Aylah.¹⁷¹

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when the caliph Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was still alive: a troop under Ḥubaysh b. Duljah al-Qaynī sent by Marwān arrived at Wadi al-Qurā, and Ibn al-Zubayr's governor there fled; Rotter, *Die Umayyaden*, 158f; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, V, 150f.

¹⁶⁸ See an entry about him in *TMD, MS*, VIII, 488f; *Tahdh.*, V, 5f. For the date see Rotter, *Die Umayyaden*, 186. See above, nn. 113, 114.

¹⁶⁹ Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 36 (*wa-amara-hu an yanzila bayna Aylah wa-Wādī al-Qurā fa-yamna'a 'ummāla bn al-Zubayr mina li-'ntishār wa-yahfaza mā bayna-hu wa-bayna al-Shām wa-yasudda khalalan in zahana la-hu*). A slightly different version of these instructions (*TMD, MS*, VIII, 488; *TMD, Tahdh.*, VII, 43) refers to 'Abd al-Malik's tax collectors in this border area between the dominions of 'Abd al-Malik and Ibn al-Zubayr: *wa-amara-hu an yakūna fimā bayna Aylah ilā Wādī al-Qurā madadan li-man yahtāju ilay-hi min 'ummāl 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān aw man kāna yurīdu qitāla-hu min aṣḥābi bn al-Zubayr*.

¹⁷⁰ Presumably, this is the meaning of the term *sayyārah*.

¹⁷¹ Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, XI, 36f.

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Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī. *Mu'jam al-buldān* (Beirut 1957).

The death of the Prophet Muḥammad's father: did Wāqidī invent some of the evidence?*

The theory of "continuing growth" in early Islamic historiography, especially during the 2nd/8th century, is common among contemporary scholars studying the history of early Islam.¹ Most common is the comparison between our two best-known sources for the life of the Prophet, Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767) and Wāqidī (d. 207/823).² This article looks at what early Islamic historiography has to say about the death of the Prophet's father, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, in order to arrive at some general observations on the emergence of Islamic historiography.

Prof. MICHAEL COOK analysed the divergent reports on 'Abdallāh's death and compared Wāqidī to his predecessors. His findings were as follows:³

* I am indebted to Prof. MICHAEL COOK and Prof. ETAN KOHLBERG for their comments on an earlier draft of this article.

¹ Cf. for example G. HAWTING: *al-Ḥudaybiyya and the conquest of Mecca: a reconsideration of the tradition about the Muslim takeover of the sanctuary*. In: *Jerusalem studies in Arabic and Islam (JSAI)* 8 (1986), 14ff. ("sanctuary material" in the accounts of the conquest of Mecca seems to increase in our sources the later they are), 17.

² P. CRONE: *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam*. Princeton 1987, 223, who ascribes "the steady growth of the information" to the storytellers, says: "It is obvious that if one storyteller should happen to mention a raid, the next storyteller would know the date of this raid, while the third would know everything that an audience might wish to hear about it"; *op. cit.*, 224: "Wāqidī ... will always give precise dates, locations, names, where Ibn Ishāq has none ... But given that this information was all unknown to Ibn Ishāq, its value is doubtful in the extreme. And if spurious information accumulated at this rate in the two generations between Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidī, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that even more must have accumulated in the three generations between the Prophet and Ibn Ishāq." But cf. IDEM: *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity*. Cambridge 1980, 13 ("... the Muslim tradition was the outcome, not of a slow crystallization, but of an explosion; the first compilers were not redactors, but collectors of debris whose works are strikingly devoid of overall unity").

³ M. COOK: *Muḥammad*. Oxford 1983, 63ff.

Ibn Ishāq reported that ‘Abdallāh died while his wife was pregnant with Muḥammad – though in one line of transmission a statement has been added to the effect that he may rather have died when Muḥammad was twenty-eight months old, and that God knows best which is right. Ma‘mar [b. Rāshid, d. 154/770] likewise (if we take the account he transmits to be essentially his own) has ‘Abdallāh die while Muḥammad is still in the womb, and is able to give a short account of the circumstances: ‘Abdallāh had been sent by his own father, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, to lay in stores of dates in Yathrib, and died there. Two further scholars of this generation are quoted by a ninth-century compiler for the view that ‘Abdallāh died when Muḥammad was twenty-eight months old, or perhaps it was seven. The conclusion to be drawn from this range of opinions is obvious: the scholars of the first half of the eighth century agreed that ‘Abdallāh had died early enough to leave Muḥammad an orphan; but as to the details, God knew best.

By the later eighth century times had changed, and it was Wāqidī who knew best. Wāqidī knew that ‘Abdallāh had gone to Gaza on business, had fallen ill on the way back, and died in Yathrib after leaving the caravan he was with to be nursed by relations there. Wāqidī was further able to specify ‘Abdallāh’s age at death and the exact place of his burial. Naturally he also knew when the event took place, namely while Muḥammad was still in the womb. He was aware that this was not the only account of the matter, but pronounced it the best. This evolution in the course of half a century from uncertainty to profusion of precise detail is an instructive one. It suggests that a fair amount of what Wāqidī knew was not knowledge. Similar effects have been demonstrated in Wāqidī’s treatment of the course and chronology of much later events in the biography of Muḥammad.⁴

An alternative hypothesis to the one of “continuing growth” is put forward in this article. The linear approach to the development of Islamic historiography is, I submit, based on the miscon-

⁴ Wāqidī’s “superior knowledge” reflects the continuing evolution of story-telling; COOK: *Muḥammad*, 66. Also 67: “We have seen what half a century of story-telling could achieve between Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidī”, etc.

ception of its earliest, formative, phases. There was an initial phase of rapid expansion in the 1st/7th century. In this first phase, which preceded the appearance of systematic compilations, Islamic historiography came into existence in the form of an enormous body of historiographical records preserved (both in written form and as oral tradition⁵) by people mainly interested in the history of their families and clans. Thanks to these early experts whose scope and ambition were rather limited, Islamic historiography made a stormy appearance, gaining immense proportions within several decades of the 1st/7th century. The huge bulk of historiographical material was the outcome of the fact that several, perhaps many, historiographical traditions, which were sometimes competing and at other times in agreement with each other, were simultaneously produced.⁶ Following this sprouting of historiographical materials, a large body of evidence came to be scattered among many experts. To the extent that these experts arranged their materials, they must have followed the obvious chronological order. However, they did not endeavour to prepare a complete, systematic biography of Muḥammad.

The next phase, which began in the latter half of the 1st/7th century and continued into the 2nd/8th, saw the appearance of compilers such as Zuhri (d. 124/742), Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767),

⁵ Note in this context the important observations of G. WIDENGREN: *Oral tradition and written literature among the Hebrews in the light of Arabic evidence with special regard to prose narratives*. In: AO 23 (1954), 201–62, at 212. “[I]t is wrong to contrast oral and written tradition too much in an ancient Semitic culture ... Writing down is codified oral tradition, and as such primarily intended to be read aloud, to be recited.” WIDENGREN continues, with reference to his study (which is not available to me) *Literary and Psychological Aspects of the Hebrew Prophets*. Uppsala 1948, 56, 63 ff., 121 ff.: “I further distinguished between various forms of literature, stressing the fact that one form, the *ayyām*-literature, for a long time circulated only in oral transmission whereas other forms – *sīrah*- and *ḥadīṭ*-literature, the learned literature – were written down from the outset. The case of written or oral transmission is thus dependent also upon the special category of literature.” Contrast R. S. HUMPHREYS: *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*². Princeton 1991, 69: “The Arabic narrative sources represent a rather late crystallization of a fluid oral tradition.”

⁶ Cf. G. WIDENGREN's observation concerning the *ayyām* literature (*Oral tradition*, 237): “All parallel traditions in the *ayyām*-literature ... are not to be understood as reflexions of one and the same basic narrative or as developments of a more simple tradition. We are also entitled to say that from the outset two or more relations of the same event were circulating, for sometimes two such traditions are entirely irreconcilable.”

Wāqidī (d. 207/823) and several others. These scholars sifted the enormous and amorphous body of evidence which was made available to them by their predecessors. Each selected records which he considered, in accordance with his own criteria, to be relevant and reliable. The scholars of the second phase, who were in fact compilers, did not invent anything. Their compilations diverged because they used different sources, or selected differently from the evidence recorded by their predecessors. In other words, rather than growing, the bulk of historiographical material shrank. Zuhri, Ibn Ishāq, Wāqidī and the other compilers added nothing (or almost nothing) of their own to the materials they transmitted and redacted.

Having sifted the evidence available to them, the compilers sometimes edited the records they chose to include in their histories,⁷ often creating a new story. It was new in the sense that it had not existed in this redacted form in any earlier source. However, they did not invent new details. It is true, their editorial practices seriously impair the reliability of their compilations, but they did not concoct evidence. Indeed, the compilers were liberal in their arrangement of the discrete reports they had selected.⁸ They also provided the phrases necessary to bridge these reports,⁹ and at times introduced slight changes in the transmitted material.

At the end of this general, hypothetical presentation, it should be observed that underlying the theory of "continuing growth" is our rather deficient knowledge of early Islamic historiography, much of which is lost or known only through quotations in later sources. Because of this handicap it is difficult, no, impossible to work with a small selection of primary sources. A comparison between Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidī gives one a rather limited view of early Islamic historiography.

To find out what the sources report about 'Abdallāh's death we have to turn not only to texts with titles such as *Sīra*, *Maghāzī* and *Ta'rikh*, but also to a variety of other texts because the evi-

⁷ Cf. WIDENGREN: *Oral tradition*, 258: "[A]n author deserves the name of an 'author' only with the utmost reserve. He is much more of a collector and redactor whose chief task is to sift and arrange his material."

⁸ Cf. M. LECKER: *Wāqidī's account on the status of the Jews of Medina: a study of a combined report*. In: JNES (forthcoming).

⁹ Cf. A. NOTH: *Quellenkritische Studien zu Themen, Formen und Tendenzen frühislamischer Geschichtsüberlieferung*. Bonn 1973, 54 ff., 155 ff.

dence we are looking for could have wandered about everywhere in the Islamic literature. There are different versions competing for recognition as historical fact, but their claim is weakened by their disagreements. So, in this specific case, the quest for precise historical evidence looks hopeless. However, our understanding of the history of Islamic historiography can be furthered by the analysis of the texts available to us. More specifically, it can be shown that Wāqidī's presumed "superior knowledge" came from one of his sources and belonged to the major historiographical movement of the 1st/7th century.

Ibn Ishāq, in the recension of Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833), links 'Abdallāh's death to his wife's pregnancy by stating that 'Abdallāh died shortly after his wife had become pregnant.¹⁰ But our best source on 'Abdallāh's death is Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/845; I, 99 ff.), most of whose evidence comes from Wāqidī. After quoting Wāqidī, Ibn Sa'd adds another source who made a different claim on this matter. In other words, differences, a salient feature of early Islamic historiography, are not buried away; the opposing view is quoted and disputed.

Let us start with Wāqidī as quoted by Ibn Sa'd. We find out that the most detailed evidence about the death of the Prophet's father reached Wāqidī from two informants: Mūsā b. 'Ubayda al-Rabadhī (d. 153/770) < Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazī (d. 118/736); and Sa'īd b. Abī Zayd < Ayyūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ṣa'ṣa'a.¹¹ The terminology employed here by Wāqidī typi-

¹⁰ *Thumma lam yalbath 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-Muḥallib abū rasūli llāhi (ṣ) an halaka wa-umm rasūli llāhi (ṣ) ḥāmil bihi*; Ibn Hishām, I, 167. Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, I, 187, has an *isnād* going back to Yūnus b. Bukayr < Ibn Ishāq: *wa-qad halaka abūhu 'Abdullāh wa-hiya ḥublā, qāla: wa-yuqālu inna 'Abdallāh halaka wa-l-nabī (ṣ) bn thamāniya wa-'ishrīna shahran, wa-'llāhu a'lamu ayyu dhālika kāna*.

¹¹ Mūsā: Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī. *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*. Hyderabad 1325 A. H., X, 359. For Ibn Ḥanbal's physical reaction when a *ḥadīth* from Mūsā b. 'Ubayda < Muḥammad b. Ka'b < Ibn 'Abbās, was brought to him, see *op. cit.*, 358: 3. On Mūsā see also Ibn Sa'd. *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubra, al-qism al-mutammim li-tābi'ī ahli l-Madīna wa-man ba'dahum*. Ed. ZIYĀD MUḤAMMAD MAṢŪR. Medina 1408/1987, 407 ff. Muḥammad: F. SEZGIN: *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (GAS). Leiden 1967 ff., I, 32. Sa'īd b. Abī Zayd al-Zuraqī is quoted by Wāqidī several times: see Wāqidī, I, 272 (Uḥud), II, 438 (*al-Ifk*), 528 (Qurayza), 572 (Ḥudaybiyya) and 633 (Khaybar). In the last-mentioned place we find the name of Sa'īd's grandfather: al-Mu'allā. Ayyūb: Abū l-Hajjāj Yūsuf al Mizzi. *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fi asmā' al-rijāl*. Ed. BASHSHĀR 'AWWĀD MA'RŪF. Beirut 1405/1985 ff., III, 482 ff. (Ayyūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣa'ṣa'a; some called him Ayyūb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān

cally belongs to the realm of *ḥadīth* transmission: he introduces the report with the verb *qālā*, “both of them said”, an indication that he received from these two informants, Mūsā and Sa‘īd, identical texts.¹² Moreover, in the manner common among transmitters of *ḥadīth*, Wāqidī¹³ differentiates between the modes in which he received the report from Mūsā and Sa‘īd. For the former, Wāqidī uses the term *akhbaranā*, whereas concerning the latter he says *haddathanā*.¹⁴ Ibn Sa‘d preserves the terms used by his teacher Wāqidī.¹⁵

The detailed report which Wāqidī received from the two above-mentioned authorities is our starting point, called the “Gaza version”. It relates that ‘Abdallāh went to Gaza in a Quraysh caravan. On the way back (i.e. some time before the caravan arrived at Medina) he became ill and consequently asked to stay in Medina with his maternal uncles (*akhwāl*), the Banū ‘Adī b. al-Najjār of the Khazraj. (As is well known, the mother of the Prophet’s grandfather, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, was of the ‘Adī b. al-Najjār, hence the reference to them as ‘Abdallāh’s maternal uncles.) He sojourned with them for one month. Meanwhile, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib sent to his ailing son his first-born son al-Ḥārith, but by the time he came to Medina, ‘Abdallāh had died and was buried in the court (*dār*) of al-Nābigha, who was a member of the above-mentioned ‘Adī b. al-Najjār.¹⁶ We are also told that

b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Ṣa‘sa‘a [see this name below]. Wāqidī quotes Ayyūb b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Ṣa‘sa‘a through one intermediary: I, 149 (Badr), 345 (the expedition of Abū Salama to Qaṭan), II, 498 (Qurayza), 520 (Qurayza).

¹² Cf. Wāqidī, II, 761, where Wāqidī specifies that his two sources provided unequal reports: *haddathanī ... wa-haddathanī ... , zāda aḥaduhumā ‘alā ṣāhibihi fī l-ḥadīth, qālā*.

¹³ Whose transmission techniques, it should be added, were not always acceptable to certain *muḥaddithūn*; see LECKER: *Wāqidī’s account on the status of the Jews of Medina*.

¹⁴ Cf. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ. *Ulūm al-ḥadīth*. Ed. NŪR AL-DĪN ‘ITR. Medina 1972, 119 ff. Concerning his own transmission from Wāqidī, Ibn Sa‘d uses the term *akhbaranā*: *akhbaranā Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Wāqid al-Aslamī*.

¹⁵ I believe that Wāqidī could not have claimed falsely that Mūsā b. ‘Ubayda al-Rabdhī and Sa‘īd b. Abī Zayd had transmitted to him an identical *ḥadīth* which they had not, because their *ḥadīth* was available to other *ḥadīth* scholars of Wāqidī’s generation, who could scrutinize his transmission.

¹⁶ The court of al-Nābigha was in the territory of the ‘Adī b. al-Najjār west of the Prophet’s mosque; ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Samhūdī. *Wafā’ al-wafā bi-akhbār dār al-muṣṭafā* Ed. MUḤAMMAD MUḤYĪ L-DĪN ‘ABD AL-ḤAMĪD. Cairo 1374/1955 (re-print Beirut), I, 213.

Muḥammad's mother was then pregnant and that 'Abdallāh died aged twenty-five.

We shall return to Wāqidī shortly, but first we have to examine some variants, Balādhurī (d. 279/892) adduces an abridged form of the Gaza version. In this source, as well as in Ibn Sa'd, this version is concluded with a reference to 'Abdallāh's age at the time of his death, i.e. twenty-five. At this point Balādhurī adds:

And some said that he [= 'Abdallāh] was twenty-eight [i.e. when he died] and that his father [i.e. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib] sent to him [i.e. when he was ill in Medina] his brother al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who was present at his death. He was buried in the court of al-Nābigha.¹⁷

This new version presumably mentions Gaza as well (to some extent this is suggested by the context in which Balādhurī adduces it), and hence it can be considered a sub-version of the Gaza version,¹⁸ and can be dubbed the "Zubayr version". It differs in certain aspects from the Gaza version: 'Abdallāh's age, the identity of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's envoy and his presence at 'Abdallāh's death.¹⁹

Another sub-version of the Gaza version came from an unspecified source and survived, as far as I could check, only in a very late collection of biographies of famous women written by an inhabitant of Mosul some two centuries ago:

When Āmina was two-months pregnant with the Messenger of God, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib instructed his son, 'Abdallāh, to travel to Gaza in Syria (Shām) in order to procure for them [i.e. for the members of his family] what they needed in clothing, food and other items. He went with the merchants and bought for them [i.e. for his family members] food, clothing and other items. When the merchants returned, 'Abdallāh returned with them. 'Abdallāh fell ill on the way, and when

¹⁷ Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, I, 92.

¹⁸ The possibility that it was created by contamination cannot of course be ruled out.

¹⁹ In Abū I-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Athīr. *Uṣd al-ghāba fī ma'rifa al-ṣaḥāba*. Cairo 1280 A. H., I, 13ff., this remark follows: 'Abdallāh, al-Zubayr and Abū Ṭālib were born by the same mother. It is presumably an integral part of the Zubayr version. Now the mention of Abū Ṭālib might indicate a Shī'ite provenance of the Zubayr version. 'Abdallāh's age according to this version, twenty-eight, may serve as this version's hallmark.

they arrived at Medina, his illness became serious. So he stayed behind in it [i. e. in Medina] with his maternal uncles, the Banū al-Najjār. He remained in Medina for several days, and then he died and was buried there. He was thirty years old. When news of his death reached ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, he was overwhelmed with grief and cried. The Messenger of God was then a foetus in his mother’s womb and this was after two months (*wa-kāna ... ḥamlan fī baṭni ummihi wa-dhālika ba‘da shahraynī*).²⁰

There are obvious similarities between this report, which we can classify as Gaza version^b, and the former one, Gaza version^a, but its independence (which, I argue, goes back to the first phase of Islamic historiography), is of course determined by the differences in it and not the similarities. For example, ‘Abdallāh did not simply set out for Gaza (as in Gaza version^a), he was sent there by his father; ‘Abdallāh did not die one month after his arrival at Medina (Gaza version^a), he died several days after his arrival; most importantly, when he died, ‘Abdallāh was thirty (not twenty-five as in Gaza version^a, or twenty-eight, as in the Zubayr version); and, finally, when he set out, his son Muḥammad was a two-month old foetus (in the Gaza version^a the foetus’s age is not specified).

Why are these numbers important? Because now that we have Gaza version^b it may be realized that when thirty is given as an alternative version for ‘Abdallāh’s age at the time of his death, or when Muḥammad is said to have been a two-month old foetus,

²⁰ Yāsīn b. Khayr Allāh al-‘Umarī (d. after 1232/1817). *al-Rawḍa al-fayḥā’ fī tawārīkh al-nisā’*. Ed. ‘IMĀD ‘ALĪ ḤAMZA. Beirut (?) 1407/1987, 140. There is some ambiguity concerning the two-month period mentioned twice in this report. The following remarks of Yāsīn al-‘Umarī show that according to him, Muḥammad was a foetus of two months when his father died: the marriage took place in Rajab, so ‘Abdallāh died in Ramaḍān (the seventh and ninth month of the Islamic year, respectively). It should of course be added that the Prophet is traditionally said to have been born in Rabī’ al-Awwal, the third month of the Islamic year; Ibn Hishām, I, 167. See also below, n. 22. A variant of a version mentioned later in this article (the dates version), which includes the statement that upon his father’s death the Prophet was a foetus of six months, is found in the Qur’ān commentary of Maḥmūd Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ālūsī (d. 1270/1854; *ET*², s.v. al-Ālūsī). *Rūḥ al-ma‘ānī*. Cairo 1345 A. H., XXX, 161: *ruwiya anna ‘Abda l-Muṭṭalib ba‘atha bnahu ‘Abdallāh abā rasūli llāhi (s) yamtāru tamran min Yathrib fa-tuwuffiya wa-rasūtu llāhi [s] janīn qad atat ‘alayhi sittatu ashhur.*

these are actually faint signals from Gaza version^b which for some unknown reason was pushed aside in Islamic historiography. The date in which this version came into being is unknown, but if the hypothesis concerning early Islamic historiography submitted in this article is correct, it should be dated to the beginnings of Islamic historiography. After a long hiatus, which in this extreme case lasted eleven centuries, it reappeared in the aforementioned collection of biographies of prominent women. If this is correct, then there can hardly be a better demonstration of the relative insignificance of the designations "early" and "late" in Islamic historiography.²¹

An example of a faint signal of the type just mentioned can be quoted from the *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, compiled in the 11th/17th century: it adduces, without further details, the two-month pregnancy of the Prophet's mother alongside other versions (which are similarly vestiges of independent stories).²²

Having reviewed the presumed sub-versions of the Gaza version, we return to Wāqidī (as quoted by Ibn Sa'd). Wāqidī knew

²¹ Cf. WIDENGREN: *Oral tradition*, 253 ("... a source of a considerably later date than other texts ... may in certain cases contain traditions in a more original form which in older sources have been exposed to abridgements"). And see the observation of M. J. KISTER (*The Sirah Literature*. In: *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad period*. Ed. A. F. L. BEESTON et alii. Cambridge 1983 [CHALUP], 367) concerning the importance of the late *sīra* compilations: "The late compilations ... contain an immense wealth of material derived from early sources. Some of these traditions, stories, reports and narratives are derived from lost or hitherto unpublished sources. Some traditions, including early ones, were apparently omitted in the generally accepted *Sirah* compilations, faded into oblivion, but reappeared in these late compilations." Cf. IDEM: *On the papyrus of Wahb b. Munabbih*. In: BSOAS 37 (1974), 562-71, where KISTER traces a report found in the *sīra* of Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 110/728) in later, mainly Shī'ite, literature. Of particular interest for us, in connection with the emergence of Islamic historiography, are KISTER's conclusions which present Wahb's *sirā* as a composite (and hence elaborate) work (p. 571): "The report of the papyrus is thus a version combining Shī'ite traditions with the Sunnī ones. If it is accepted as a fact that the papyrus records the tradition as transmitted by Wahb, it can be seen to shed new light on the tradition of the Shī'a at the end of the first century A. H. and to mirror the first extant attempt at combining the contradictory Shī'ite and Sunnī versions of the story of the Hijra." (For a specific case of a version bridging Shī'ite and Sunnī tradition see *op. cit.*, p. 569.)

²² I, 49:6 from the bottom: *qīla: wa-inna mawta wālidihī (s) kāna ba'da an tamma lahā min ḥamlihā shahrāni, wa-qīla [= another version] qabla wilādatihī bi-shahrayni, wa-qīla [= yet another version] kāna fi l-mahd hīna tuwuffiya abūhu, bna shahrayni.*

of other versions on this matter which he regarded as less reliable than Gaza version^a: “This”, he stated, “we consider to be the most reliable version concerning ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s death and his age when he died” (*hādhā huwa athbatu l-aqāwīl wa-l-riwāya fī wafāti ‘Abdillāh b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib wa-sinnihi ‘indanā*). *Athbat* (sometimes Wāqidī uses *thabt*) is a technical term reflecting the existence of differences among his sources. Of the rival versions (*aqāwīl*) on this matter Wāqidī quotes only one, from Ma‘mar < Zuhri (d. 124/742):

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib sent ‘Abdallāh to Medina in order to procure for him provisions of dates (*yamtāru lahu tamran*), and he died.

Zuhri’s report is called the “dates version”. The Gaza component is missing from Zuhri’s report altogether, but we cannot tell from this small fragment whether or not Zuhri had other details in common with the two informants from whom Wāqidī quoted Gaza version^a (i.e. Mūsā b. ‘Ubayda al-Rabadhī and Sa‘īd b. Abī Zayd), such as the Prophet’s mother being pregnant and ‘Abdallāh’s burial place. Later in the article it will be shown that he had.

Was this really Zuhri’s report, dating back to roughly one century before Wāqidī’s time, or did Wāqidī or someone else make it up? At this point we can benefit from the spread of Zuhri’s materials in the Islamic literature and trace his report in other sources. The *Muṣannaf* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211/827), for example, has, at the beginning of the chapter titled *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, a long report where the birth of the Prophet is placed after his father’s death (‘Abd al-Razzāq < Ma‘mar < Zuhri).²³ This means that, according to this report, when ‘Abdallāh died, the Prophet’s mother was pregnant. If we juxtapose Zuhri’s report as quoted in the two sources consulted above, it can be shown that it remains the same (slight variations notwithstanding):

- Ibn Sa‘d: *ba‘atha ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib ‘Abdallāh ilā l-Madīna yamtāru lahu tamran fa-māta.*
- ‘Abd al-Razzāq: *thumma ba‘atha ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib yamtāru lahu tamran min Yathrib fa-tuwuffiya ‘Abdullāh bihā.*

²³ ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Ṣan‘ānī. *al-Muṣannaf*. Ed. ḤABĪB AL-RAḤMĀN AL-A‘ZAMĪ. Beirut 1390/1970–1392/1972, V, 317.

'Abd al-Razzāq continues: *wa-waladat Āmina rasūla llāhi (ṣ) fa-kāna fī ḥajri 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib*, "then Āmina gave birth to the Messenger of God and he was in the protection of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib". It can now be stated that according to Zuhri, 'Abdallāh died when his wife was still carrying the future Prophet in her womb (cf. above, n.10).

That the report coming from Wāqidī < Ma'mar < Zuhri is the same as that from 'Abd al-Razzāq < Ma'mar < Zuhri speaks in favour of the reliability of these transmitters, and so we can reconstruct Zuhri's report on this matter.²⁴ Significantly, if we can trust quotations from earlier sources, we can also date the disputes long before Wāqidī's own time; indeed, I submit, we can date them to the earliest phase of Islamic historiography in the 1st/7th century.

More support for the assumption that texts were reliably transmitted can be drawn from another copy of the passage just quoted (again allowing for slight changes). Its *isnād* goes back to ['Abdallāh] b. Wahb < Yūnus [b. Yazīd al-Aylī] < Zuhri:²⁵

- *ba'atha 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib yamtāru lahu tamran min Yathrib, fa-tuwuffiya 'Abdullāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, wa-waladat Āmina rasūla llāhi (ṣ) b. 'Abdillāh fa-kāna fī ḥajri jaddihi 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.*

Zuhri's passage remains unchanged when it is quoted with an *isnād* including the above-mentioned 'Abdallāh b. Wahb and Yūnus b. Yazīd: al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256/870)²⁶ < Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan = Ibn Zabāla (d. towards the end of the second century A. H.)²⁷ < Ibn Wahb < Yūnus < Zuhri:

- *Ba'atha 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib yamtāru lahu tamran min Yathrib fa-tuwuffiya bihā.*²⁸

²⁴ It must again be emphasized that the reliability of the transmitters does not bring us any closer to the historical facts some of which, as we have just seen, are disputed.

²⁵ Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il*, I, 187.

²⁶ It is probably from his lost book *Akhbār al-Madīna*, on which see *GAS*, I, 318.

²⁷ *GAS*, I, 343 ff. For a quotation from Ibn Zabāla in al-Zubayr b. Bakkār's *Akhbār al-Madīna* see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, VI, 57.

²⁸ Ibn 'Asākir, *TMD*, *Sīra*, I, 64 ff.

We again meet the same passage from Zuhri (slight changes notwithstanding) as a component in a report about the circumstances of Āmina's marriage to 'Abdallāh. Ṭabarī quotes it (< one transmitter) < Ibn Sa'd < Wāqidī < Ma'mar "and other transmitters" (*wa-ghayrihi*) < Zuhri. The following is the passage which concerns us:

- *wa-ba'athahu abūhu ilā l-Madīna fī mīra yahmilu lahum tamran fa-māta bi-l-Madīna fa-ba'atha 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib bnahu l-Ḥārith fī ṭalabihi ḥīna abṭa'a fa-wajadahū qad māta.*²⁹

It seems to me that the invention of evidence was not on the agenda of these scholars; as far as preserving their predecessors' reports was concerned, they were on the whole reliable transmitters. This observation may apply to some transmitters and not to others, but I argue that within the obvious limits, viz. where the sources allow us to do so, the earliest stratum of Islamic historiography can be reconstructed on the basis of the assumption that the transmitters, or some of them, reliably reproduced the reports of their predecessors. In other words, if a report said to be from Zuhri is found in different sources with two or more independent chains of transmitters, then, rather than thinking of these transmitters as having a plot to invent a report and ascribe it to Zuhri, we should regard this as a report originating with Zuhri.³⁰ The focus on Zuhri and his contemporaries has a clear advantage for the study of early Islamic historiography: later scholars such as Ibn Ishāq and his contemporaries, not to mention Wāqidī and other still later scholars, will no longer be our point of departure. Reconstructing the materials of Zuhri and his contemporaries from later sources means tracing the roots of early Islamic historiography to the 1st/7th century.

A few more passages based on a text found in Ṭabarī³¹ about the reconstruction of Zuhri's report are in place here. Wāqidī (in Ibn Sa'd) only quotes Zuhri's report in order to dispute its statements on both the circumstances of 'Abdallāh's marriage³² and the background of 'Abdallāh's arrival at Medina (which is the

²⁹ Ṭabarī, II, 246 [I, 1081 ff.].

³⁰ Zuhri's materials are ubiquitous and their reconstruction is not an implausible project. The reconstruction of Zuhri's sources is of course a more intricate matter.

³¹ II, 246 [I, 1081 ff.].

³² Cf. Ibn Sa'd, I, 94 ff.

point concerning us here).³³ If we compare Ṭabarī's text to the parallel text in Ibn Sa'd, we find, besides other differences, a point of particular interest: the mention of al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib as his father's envoy. This is not because the detail is itself new – al-Ḥārith, as we saw above, was his father's envoy according to Gaza version^a, from Wāqidī < Mūsā b. 'Ubayda and Sa'īd b. Abī Zayd – but because we do not yet have it from Zuhri, of whose report Ibn Sa'd quotes, via Wāqidī, only a small fragment.³⁴ The mention of al-Ḥārith by Zuhri (in Ṭabarī) is important for us because it suggests that Zuhri's report originally included details about 'Abdallāh's illness and death among the Banū al-Najjār. The short fragment which Wāqidī (in Ibn Sa'd) quotes from Zuhri³⁵ does not include this presumed section of Zuhri's report. Following as it does after the detailed Gaza version^a, this fragment could create the misleading impression that this was all that Zuhri had to say on the matter. This impression is wrong, as we learn from Ṭabarī and 'Abd al-Razzāq beforehand. According to the text found in 'Abd al-Razzāq (above, p.18 f., Zuhri dated 'Abdallāh's death before the Prophet's birth. This is also said in Gaza version^a. According to the text found in Ṭabarī, Zuhri said that al-Ḥārith was 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's envoy, which again is in agreement with Gaza version^a. The passages referred to in 'Abd al-Razzāq and Ṭabarī indicate that the passage quoted in Ibn Sa'd from Wāqidī is but a small fragment of Zuhri's report; more precisely, it probably only reflects the points of disagreement between Gaza version^a and Zuhri's dates version. Zuhri, omitting Gaza, had 'Abdallāh sent directly to Medina, but the rest of his report was in agreement with Gaza version^a. Confirmation (or

³³ In Ṭabarī < one transmitter < Ibn Sa'd, Wāqidī's negation of Zuhri's report is more strongly phrased compared with the one found in Ibn Sa'd's *Ṭabaqāt*. The former text reads as follows: *wa-l-thabī 'indanā, laysa bayna aṣḥābinā fīhi khtilāf, anna 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib aqbala mina l-Shām ...*, and he concludes: *laysa bayna aṣḥābinā fī hādihā khtilāf*.

³⁴ Something may be said here about the historicity of al-Ḥārith's mission. While Wāqidī's informants Mūsā and Sa'īd differ with Zuhri over the circumstances of 'Abdallāh's arrival at Medina (the Gaza version vs. the dates version, respectively), they agree with Zuhri that it was al-Ḥārith who was sent to the ailing 'Abdallāh by his father 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The agreement of two otherwise divergent reports is important; al-Ḥārith's mission may have a stronger claim for historicity compared to the Zubayr version (above, p.13).

³⁵ *Ba'atha 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib 'Abdallāh ilā l-Madīna yamītaru lahu tamran famāta.*

refutation) of this reconstruction will only be possible when we find a fuller version of Zuhri's account on the death of the Prophet's father.³⁶

The Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār play a significant role in the story of 'Abdallāh's death. One of the *isnāds* mentioned by Wāqidī is: Sa'īd b. Abī Zayd < Ayyūb b. Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Ṣa'ṣa'a. It is the latter transmitter who concerns us here. From a report in Ṭabarī we learn that his full name was Ayyūb b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ṣa'ṣa'a and that he was of the Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār (*akhī banī 'Adī b. al-Najjār*). Elsewhere we find him as Ibn Ishāq's source for a story involving a woman of the Banū 'Adī, Umm al-Mundhir Salmā bint Qays, whom Ayyūb calls "one of the maternal aunts of the Messenger of God",³⁷ obviously with reference to the family links between the Prophet and the Banū 'Adī b. al-Najjār.³⁸ When Ayyūb, a member of the Banū 'Adī, gives a report about his fellow 'Adawiyya Salmā bint Qays to Ibn Ishāq, he in fact transmits an item from the tribal history of the Banū 'Adī. When he reports to Wāqidī's informant Sa'īd b. Abī Zayd about 'Abdallāh's death among his maternal uncles, the Banū 'Adī, he is doing the same thing. The "maternal uncleship" is mentioned in his report (Gaza version^a) three times and, as we have seen, a specific member of the Banū 'Adī, al-Nābigha, in

³⁶ For the time being we may turn to a fragment which Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, I, 92: 10) quotes from an unspecified source: *wa-kāna 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ba'athahu ilā l-Madīna yamītaru lahu tamran, fa-nazala 'alā akhwālihi min banī l-Najjār fa-māta 'indahum*. Of course we already know about the role played by the Banū 'Adī (see more on it below), but we do not yet know it from Zuhri.

Incidentally, this is followed in Balādhurī by a third version concerning 'Abdallāh's stay in Medina: he came to visit his maternal uncles, fell ill and died (*wa-yuqālu: bal atāhum zā'iran lahum fa-mariḍa 'indahum wa-māta*). We can call this the visit version. A slightly longer fragment of a text including this version appears to suggest that 'Abdallāh brought Muḥammad to Medina when he was seven months old: *wa-qīla: bal kharaja bihi ilā akhwālihi zā'iran wa-huwa bnu sab'ati ashhur*; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās. *'Uyūn al-athar*. Cairo 1956, I, 25.

³⁷ Ṭabarī, II, 591 [I, 1496 ff.]. The story is about a man of the Jewish Qurayza whom she saved from the fate of his fellow tribesmen. Elsewhere (Ṭabarī, Leiden edition, III, 2474 [*al-Muntakhab min kitāb dhayl al-mudhayyal*]) we find Ayyūb b. 'Abd al-Rahmān quoting, through one informant, another story about the same woman, in this case told in first person. Being a member of the 'Adī b. al-Najjār, Ayyūb's great-grandfather was not identical to Abī Ṣa'ṣa'a/'Amr of the Māzin b. al-Najjār, on whom see e. g. Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī, *al-Istibṣār fī nasab al-ṣahāba min al-anṣār*. Ed. 'ALĪ NUWAYHID. Beirut 1392/1972, 83 ff.

³⁸ Above p. 14.

whose court ʿAbdallāh was buried, is also mentioned in it. Having identified Ayyūb as a member of the Banū ʿAdī, we realize that the version concerning ʿAbdallāh's death which Wāqidī supports, i.e., Gaza version^a, belongs to the tribal history of the ʿAdī b. al-Najjār and it is only natural that it brings them to the fore. With regard to the history of Islamic historiography it is noteworthy that both Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidī made use of material from Ayyūb: the former did it directly, while the latter, who died half a century later, did it through one intermediary.

On what grounds did Wāqidī prefer Gaza version^a to the dates version? For the time being the question cannot be answered because it must be discussed on the basis of more information. As an example of the kind of information needed, another case can be mentioned where Wāqidī disputes a claim made by Zuhri. At the end of a report detailing the tribal military units that took part in the Battle of the Khandaq (5 A. H.) and their leaders, Wāqidī adduces evidence relating to the participation of the Banū Murra (a subdivision of the Ghatafan). According to Zuhri, and the Banū Murra themselves, none of them participated in the battle: their leader, al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf, convinced that Muḥammad would finally have the upper hand, advised them in an eloquent speech to disperse in their land rather than join the forces besieging Medina. Wāqidī adduces this obviously apologetic report only in order to refute it: he quotes two important *sīra* authorities who testified that the Banū Murra, under the command of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwf, did participate in the battle. Here, too, Wāqidī resorts to the term *athbat* (see above, p. 18) to indicate his preference for the latter version.³⁹

Having analysed the different versions quoted by Wāqidī, we return to a matter briefly mentioned above in order to show that one of the claims made is of Shīʿite provenance. After quoting Wāqidī, Ibn Saʿd adduces two different statements about Muḥammad's condition upon his father's death. His source is Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), who in turn cites two earlier authorities, his father al-Kalbī (146/763) and ʿAwāna b. al-Ḥakam (147/764): when ʿAbdallāh died, the Messenger of God was twenty-eight months old, and some said: seven months old. Ibn Saʿd rejects

³⁹ Wāqidī, II, 443 ff. (... *fa-kāna hādihā athbata ʿindanā, annahu shahida l-Khandaq fī qawmihi*, etc.).

these claims: the report that Muḥammad was then in the womb is more reliable.⁴⁰

Of special significance is the claim that when ‘Abdallāh died, Muḥammad was a two-month old baby.⁴¹ The Shī‘ite provenance of the version with the two-month old baby is attested to in Ya‘qūbī (d. 284/897): according to Ja‘far b. Muḥammad (viz. the sixth *imām* of the Imāmī Shī‘ites Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq or “the Veracious”, d. 148/765),⁴² ‘Abdallāh died two months after the Prophet’s birth. In another claim, which Ya‘qūbī quotes and rejects, ‘Abdallāh died before the Prophet’s birth.⁴³ (As we have seen, Zuhri, Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidī held this rejected view.) Ya‘qūbī also says that according to some, when his father died, the Prophet was one year old. He adds that ‘Abdallāh died aged

⁴⁰ Ibn Sa‘d, I, 100. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb. *al-Muḥabbar*. Ed. I. LICHTENSTAEDTER. Hyderabad 1361/1942, 9: 1, said that when ‘Abdallāh died, Muḥammad was twenty-eight months old (and when his mother died, he was eight years old). Cf. IDEM. *al-Munammaq fī akhbār Quraysh*. Ed. KHURSHĪD AḤMAD FĀRIQ. Beirut 1405/1985, 431, where we find, at the very end of the book, a version of the report about the Quraysh delegation to Sayf b. Dhī Yazan which is not from Ibn Ḥabīb. According to this version, both of Muḥammad’s parent had died before he became two years old. Cf. al-Mas‘ūdī. *Murūj al-dhahab*. Ed. CH. PELLAT. Beirut 1966 ff., III, 13 (when his father died, the Prophet was a foetus but this is disputed: some say that he was one month old then, while others say that it occurred in his second year).

⁴¹ The *isnād* goes back to (...) al-Zubayr b. Bakkār < Ibn Zabāla (above, n. 27) < a certain ‘Abd al-Salām (b. ‘Abdallāh) < (Ma‘rūf) b. Kharrabūdh; Ibn ‘Asākir, *TMD*, *Sīra*, 64. (Concerning the *isnād* cf. *op cit.*, 57.) Other details provided by Ma‘rūf b. Kharrabūdh are: when his mother died, the Prophet was four years old, and when his grandfather ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib died, he was eight; (on his deathbed) ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib appointed (Muḥammad’s uncle) Abū Ṭālib as his guardian (*fa-awṣā bihi ilā Abī Ṭālib*).

⁴² *EJ*², s. v. Dja‘far al-Ṣādiq (M. G. S. HODGSON).

⁴³ Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, II, 10 (*wa-qāla ba’dhum innahu tuwuffiya qabla an yūlada, wa-hādihā qawl ghayr ṣaḥīḥ lianna l-ijmā’a ‘alā annahu tuwuffiya ba’da mawlidihī*). W. G. MILLWARD: *al-Ya‘qūbī’s sources and the question of Shī’a partiality*. In: *Abr Nahrain* 12 (1971–72), 52, adduces Ya‘qūbī’s text in order to demonstrate that al-Ya‘qūbī “relies heavily on Ja‘far as the safest authority on contentious points. Where differences of opinion or conflict of evidence exist between two or more traditions on the same point, he gives precedence to Ja‘far’s version”; see also *op. cit.*, 70. Cf. CRONE: *Slaves on Horses*, 11 (“Ya‘qūbī gives us nothing like the Shī‘ite experience of Islamic history, merely the same body of tradition as the Sunni Ṭabarī with curses in appropriate places”). The two-month version was also reported by Ibn Abī Khaythama (probably in his *Ta’rikh*); see Zurqānī, I, 109.

twenty-five among his father's maternal uncles, the Banū al-Najjār, in the court known as Dār al-Nābigha.

Thanks to Ya'qūbī we know that the claim that Muḥammad was born two months before his father's death is Shī'ite. This suggests a Shī'ite provenance of Ibn al-Kalbī's claims that at that time Muḥammad was twenty-eight or, alternatively, seven months old.⁴⁴

Conclusions

Admittedly, we have made little progress as far as the historical facts linked to the death of the Prophet's father are concerned, but we have established that there are good reasons for reconstructing the rival versions, dating back, I argue, to the 1st/7th century. Every detail, no matter how trivial, is important in the description of the rich fabric of early Islamic historiography, our knowledge of which is still rather inadequate.

⁴⁴ It is noteworthy that the modern Shī'ite commentator of the Qur'ān MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN AL-ṬABĀṬABĀ'Ī says that when his father died, the Prophet was in his mother's womb; see his *al-Mizān fī tafsīr al-qur'ān*. Beirut 1394/1974, XX, 310. Al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī. *Majma' al-Bayān fī tafsīr al-qur'ān*. Beirut 1374/1954–1377/1957, XXX, 137, adduces two versions: the Prophet was then in his mother's womb, and, according to some, his father died a short time (*mudda qalīla*) after his birth. The Shī'ite claim that Muḥammad was a baby when his father died is also attested in *rajaz* verses attributed to the dying 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who made 'Alī's father, Abū Ṭālib, Muḥammad's guardian; Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 13 (*ṣāraqahu wa-hwa dajī'u l-mahdī fa-kunta ka-l-ummi lahu fī l-wajdī*). Presumably, the image of "Muḥammad in the cradle" is part of a larger Shī'ite scheme concerning the role played by 'Alī's father in raising Muḥammad. Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī (d. 456/1064). *Jamharat ansāb al-'arab*. Ed. 'ABD AL-SALĀM HĀRŪN. Cairo 1382/1962, 17, states that when his parents died, the Prophet was a child (*fī ḥaddi l-ṭufūliyya*). Elsewhere he specifies that when his father died, Muḥammad was not yet three, and when his mother died, he was not yet seven; Ibn Ḥazm. *Jawāmi' al-sīra*. Cairo n.d., 6. Surprisingly, in a short treatise by Ibn Ḥazm, entitled *Jumal mina l-ta'rīkh*, we find that when his father died, Muḥammad was in his mother's womb; see *Khulāsa fī uṣūl al-islām wa-ta'rīkhihi: risālatāni jadīdatāni li-'bn Ḥazm al-Andalusī*. Ed. Abū 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-ZĀHIRI and 'ABD AL-ḤALĪM 'UWAYS. Cairo 1397 A. H., 11. According to al-Suhaylī (d. 581/1185). *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*. Ed. ṬĀHĀ 'ABD AL-RĀ'UF SA'D. Cairo 1391/1971, I, 184, most scholars agree that when his father died, the Prophet was in the cradle. See also Zurqānī, I, 109. The references to the Andalusians Ibn Ḥazm and Suhaylī may suggest that the Shī'ite version was widespread in al-Andalus.

The complexity of early Islamic historiography, demonstrated by the evidence analysed above, goes beyond Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidī. A comparison between these two compilers gives a rather limited idea of the historiographical movement of early Islam.

On the whole, the suspicion sometimes implied in modern research that Wāqidī fabricated some of his evidence, is unfounded. Wāqidī did not invent Zuhri's dates version precisely as he did not invent the Gaza version. When Wāqidī mentions something Ibn Ishāq does not,⁴⁵ this probably means that the former chose, for whatever reason, to include a point which the latter chose to discard.⁴⁶

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- al-Bayhaqī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn: *Dalā'il al-nubuwwa*. Ed. 'ABD AL-MU'ṬĪ QAL'AJĪ. Beirut 1405/1985.
- Ibn 'Asākir, Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan: *Ta'riḫ madīnat Dimashq, al-Sīra al-nabawiyya, al-qism al-awwal*. Ed. NASHĀT GHAZZĀWĪ. Damascus 1404/1984.

⁴⁵ Assuming that it is not mentioned in Ibn Ishāq's lost book *al-Sīra al-kubrā*; for a passage from this book which is not found in Ibn Hishām, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, V, 500.

⁴⁶ See already J. M. B. JONES: *The Maghāzī Literature*. In: *CHALUP*, 349, who observes, in connection with the charge that Wāqidī plagiarized Ibn Ishāq: "The similarities in the two texts are to be explained by the fact that both writers were drawing on a common corpus of material." Cf. IDEM: *Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī: the dream of 'Ātika and the raid to Nakhla in relation to the charge of plagiarism*. In: *BSOAS* 22 (1959), 46, 47, 51. In the latter article (which preceded the former by more than twenty years), JONES argues that Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidī "draw freely upon *qāṣṣ* material" and that the similarities between them should be ascribed to their use of "a common repertoire, rather than plagiarism on al-Wāqidī's part"; "they were drawing upon a common reservoir of *qāṣṣ* material"; "the greater part of the *sīra* was already formalized by the second century A. H. and ... later writers shared a common corpus of *qāṣṣ* and traditional material, which they arranged according to their own concepts and to which they added their own researches". While on the whole this formulation seems to be accurate, the presumed role of the *qāṣṣ* in the formation of the *sīra* still awaits a thorough study; cf. on the storytellers CRONE: *Meccan Trade*, 215ff.; above, nn. 2, 4).

- Ibn Ḥajar, Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAsqalānī: *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*. Ed. ʿALĪ MUḤAMMAD AL-BUĀWĪ. Cairo 1392/1972.
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- Ibn Saʿd, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad: *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*. Beirut 1380/1960–1388/1968.
- *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*: ʿAlī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī: *Insān al-ʿuyūn fī sīrat al-amīn al-maʿmūn*. Cairo 1320 A. H.
- al-Ṭabarī, Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Jarīr: *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*. Ed. MUḤAMMAD ABŪ L-FADL IBRĀHĪM. Cairo 1380/1960–1387/1967. References to the Leiden edition are added between square brackets.
- al-Wāqidī, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar: *Kitāb al-maghāzī*. Ed. MARSDEN JONES. London 1966.
- al-Yaʿqūbī, Aḥmad b. Abī Yaʿqūb: *Taʾrīkh*. Beirut 1379/1960.
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Biographical notes on Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna*

Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna (henceforth: A'U) was one of the major contributors to Arab and Islamic civilization in the 2nd/8th century. Though he was probably not an attractive figure, it was his character and presumably his Jewish origin which made him extremely unpopular among many of his Baṣran contemporaries. The sources abound with anecdotes about this unusual intellectual who devoted his life to scholarship and aroused both feelings of admiration and rancour. There is much that remains obscure due to insufficient biographical evidence on him but occasionally one gets a glimpse of "the real A'U".

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A'U was a *mawla*. He thrived thanks to the open-minded approach of the Islamic society at its inceptive stages towards non-Arab converts, for all the prejudice against them, and the Muslims' preparedness to acknowledge their contributions and talents. Conversion to Islam was, of course, a fundamental requirement. Together with his new religion, the convert adopted the emerging civilization which accompanied it. Through the vehicle of Arabic the convert who possessed the necessary intellectual gifts and the right disposition could compete with other *mawālī*, and with the Arabs in the field of historical and linguistic studies.

A'U, who died ca. 210/825, was one of the most prolific compilers in the golden age of classical Arabic literature. H.A.R. Gibb assumes that almost half the information on pre-Islamic Arabia transmitted by later authors comes from A'U. Gibb convincingly refutes Goldziher's assump-

* I am grateful to Professor M.J. Kister, Professor Sh. Shaked and Professor W. Madelung for commenting on an earlier draft of this study.

tion that A'U was a Shu'ubi and argues, against Goldziher, that he was a Kharijite. In a recent study W. Madelung agrees with Gibb that he was not a Shu'ubi but argues that he was not a Kharijite either. It will be argued below that since the testimonies about A'U's Kharijism come from his students and admirers, they should be trusted even in the absence, for the time being, of positive evidence concerning A'U's adherence to specific Kharijite doctrines ⁽¹⁾.

1. Abu 'Ubayda : Subbukht (Sibbukht/Sibukht)

Goldziher writes :

According to one account (which is, however, rather curious) he owed his by-name, Abu 'Ubayda, to the fact that his grandfather had been a Jew. "Abu 'Ubayda was a nickname given to Jews and the famous philologist is said to have become very angry when addressed by this nickname" ⁽²⁾.

Goldziher misread the passage. The Arabic text says : *wa-Nissakht laqab Abi 'Ubayda wa-buwa sm min asma'i l-yahūd luqqiba bihi ta'riḍan bi-anna jaddahu kana yahūdiyyan wa-kana Abū 'Ubayda wasikhan ṣawila l-azfar abadan wa-l-sha'r, wa-kana yagbdabu min badha l-laqab*, "And Nissakht (!) is the nickname of A'U, and it is a [typical] name of Jews which was given to him as a nickname with reference to

(1) On A'U see C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Leiden 1943-1949 (GAL), I, 102f; GAL, *Supplementband*, I, 162 (in both places there is reference to his Jewish descent); F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden 1967f (GAS), VIII, 67f (where there is no reference to the Jewish descent); I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. S.M. Stern, trans. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, London 1967-71, I, 179f; *EP*, s.v. Abu 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna (H.A.R. Gibb); idem, "The social significance of the Shu'ubiyya", in *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, ed. by S.J. Shaw and W.R. Polk, Princeton 1962, 62f, esp. 67f; idem, *Arabic Literature: An Introduction*, Oxford 1963, 54f ("His exhaustive fund of detailed information on the histories of the tribes, both before and after the rise of Islam, was the main source from which later historians drew their materials"; cf. Tha'lab's words: *man arāda akbbāra l-jāhiliyya fa-'alaybi bi-kutub Abi 'Ubayda wa-man arāda akbbāra l-islām fa-'alaybi bi-kutubi l-Madā'ini*; *Nūr al-qabas*, 109); W. Madelung, "Abu 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna as a historian", in *Journal of Islamic Studies* 3 (1992), 47-56, at 48 ("the claim of al-Jāhiz that Abu 'Ubayda was a Kharijite, and more specifically a Šufri, does not inspire confidence"), 53f. On the Shu'ubiyya see also R. Motahedeh, "The Shu'ubiyah controversy and the social history of early Islamic Iran", in *IJMES* 7 (1976), 161-82, at 161f.

(2) *Muslim Studies*, I, 186f. See also *Mubammedanische Studien*, I, 203: "Nach einer, übrigens recht sonderbar klingenden Nachricht, hätte er den Beinamen Abu 'Ubejda eben dem Umstande zu verdanken, daß sein Großvater Jude war" etc. The passage referred to is in *Agbani*, XVII, 19. I have dealt with A'U's Jewish descent briefly in a Hebrew article which is to appear in a Festschrift dedicated to Professor Moshe Gil.

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the fact that his grandfather had been Jewish. A'U was dirty, his nails and hair were always long. He was annoyed by this nickname" (3).

The passage is an interpretation of a satirical verse by the Baṣran poet, Ibn Munādhir (d. 198/813), who was a contemporary of A'U. The long nails of "Nissakht", i.e. of A'U (rather, a powder prepared by grinding the nails) should be made an ingredient in a medicine for the person who is the target of Ibn Munādhir's verses. Ibn Munādhir kills two birds with one stone: he injures his adversary and at the same time insults A'U by referring to his long nails and Jewish origin (4).

The correct form of "the typically Jewish name" given to A'U was Subbukht (or Sibbukht, an Arabized form of Sibukht, Sibukht) (5). 'Allān al-Shu'ūbi, who was a contemporary of A'U and died at the beginning of the third century A.H., says: *A'U yulaqqabu b.s.h.b. (read: bi-Subbukht), min abl Fāris, a'jamī l-aṣl. Abl Fāris, "the people of Fāris" are presumably "the Persians" in general, not the inhabitants of the Fars province east of the Persian Gulf* (6).

2. Further discussion on Abū 'Ubayda's Jewish descent

Goldziher is somewhat equivocal on the claims that A'U was of Jewish descent and finally rejects them as unsound. The section about A'U in his *Muslim Studies* begins (180) with the following definition: "By descent he was an 'Ajami, but by affiliation he belonged to the Arab tribe of Taym". There is no reference here to the claims about the Jewish descent. Later in the same section (186f) Goldziher gives the impression that he accepts as factual A'U's admission of his Jewish descent: "A'U did not avoid – as did most of his contemporaries in his position – pointing

(3) Perhaps Goldziher read the first word as *wa-nasakhtu*. In the Dar al-Kutub edition of the *Agbanī*, XVIII, 189, it is vocalised: wa-Nissakht, variants: S.n.kh.t., Sh.b.kh.t.

(4) On Ibn Munādhir see *EP*, s.v. (Ch. Pellat). For more details on his relationship with A'U see Zubaydi, *Tabaqat al-nabwīyyina*, 177f.

(5) The Marzuban of Hajar at the time of the Prophet was not Usaybukht but Asbukht (with a prosthetic *alif*); cf. Muḥammad Ḥamidullāh, *Majmū'at al-watba'iq al-siyāsiyya*³, Beirut 1405/1985, 153f (his father's name was certainly not 'Abdallāh); *Isāba*, I, 199f. In Yaḳūt, *Buldan*, s.v. al-Baḥrayn, we find the correct name: *Sibukht marzuban Hajar*.

(6) *Fibrīst*, 79f; ed. Flügel, 53; B. Dodge, *The Fibrīst of al-Nadīm*, New York & London 1970, I, 115. 'Allān's words are probably taken from his *K. al-matbalīb*; *GAS*, I, 271; II, 61. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāb al-ruwāt*, III, 285, quoting 'Allān, has: Subbukht. See also *Taj al-'arūs*, IV, ed. 'Abd al-'Alīm al-Ṭaḥāwī, Kuwait 1378/1968, s.v. *s.b.kh.t.*: Subbukht, "the nickname of A'U"; it also adduces a variant: Sabbukht, and mentions a 4th/10th century traditionist called Subbukht. See also Jaḥīz, *Bayān*, II, 214 (Subbukht); Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Tabaqat al-sbu'ara*, ed. 'Abd al-Sattār Ahmad Farraj, Cairo 1375/1956, 120 (Niskhatt!). See more about this name in Lecker, "Judaism among Kinda and the *ridda* of Kinda", in *JAOS* (forthcoming), section 1.2, entitled "al-Ash'ath b. Qays of Kinda, a Jewish convert to Islam".

to his own origin. He boasts that he, the genealogist of the Arab tribes who criticises their descent, heard from his own father that the latter's father had been a Persian Jew". But Goldziher does not believe these accounts: "He repaid in the same coin all those who held it against him that he was a non-Arab" (7). Goldziher sums up: "This, of course, does not mean much. Muslim genealogists were bent on proving the Jewish descent of anybody whom they disliked for any reason... [G]enealogists only had to follow existing patterns when using this motive for their genealogical taunts". Then, having mentioned other false claims of Jewish descent, Goldziher says (188): "These examples may serve to illustrate the genealogical accusation which A'U's enemies made against him. But we saw that he used the same trick himself when necessary".

Mistrust of the claim about A'U's Jewish descent is also expressed by Gibb and, more recently, by B. Lewis (8). Lewis discusses "the attribution of a Jewish origin or ancestry in order to discredit an individual, a group, a custom, or an idea". A'U's history was one such case in point: "A similar charge was made against the philologist Abū 'Ubayda by his enemies, and by Abū 'Ubayda himself against an Umayyad governor whom he wished to denigrate" (9).

Brockelmann (above, n. 1) and Madelung correctly accept the testimony concerning his Jewish descent (10). The Baṣrans of the 2nd/8th century were naturally divided into Arabs and non-Arab *mawālī*, claims and counter-claims were constantly in the air. There must have been many false allegations (11) but sometimes, as in this case, the evidence is overwhelming. It may be added that the genealogical literature and even

(7) These comments introduce an argument between A'U and the Baṣran poet, Abān b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Laḥiqī (d. ca. 200/815), who was to become the court poet of the Barmakids. When Abān, a *mawālī*, remarked that A'U, who faulted the genealogy of others, was himself without a proper Arab genealogy (*yaqḍabu fi l-ansab wa-la nasaba labu*), A'U responded by saying that the authorities were negligent when they did not levy the poll-tax from Abān al-Laḥiqī since he and his family were Jewish and in their homes there were the books of the Torah but no Qur'ans. The best proof of their Jewishness, A'U added, was the fact that most of them claimed to know the Torah by heart but did not keep in their memory even the little amount of the Qur'an necessary for praying. See e.g. Yaḳūt, *Uḍaba*, s.v. Ma'mar b. al-Muḥanna, XIX, 156; *Agḥani*, XX, 78. On Abān see *EP*, s.v. Abān b. 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Laḥiqī (S.M. Stern); *Agḥani*, XX, 73f.

(8) Gibb, in *EP*, s.v. Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muḥanna: (A'U's father or grandfather) "was said, on dubious authority, to have been Jewish"; B. Lewis, *The Jews of Islam*, Princeton 1984, 103.

(9) This is a reference to A'U's claim, quoted by Goldziher, that one of the ancestors of Khalid b. 'Abdallah al-Qasrī was a Jew from Taymā'. More recently it was claimed that the rector of al-Azhar when Goldziher visited Cairo was the son of a rabbi who converted to Islam; see L.I. Conrad, "The near east study tour diary of Ignaz Goldziher", in *JRAS* 1990, 105-26, at 123.

(10) "Abū 'Ubayda", 47.

(11) Contrast Madelung, "Abū 'Ubayda", 54f.

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the category dealing with "faults" (*mathalib*) are sometimes a source of sound evidence⁽¹²⁾.

In A'U's case, besides the remark that he was referred to by "the typical Jewish name" Subbukht, there are other indications that he was indeed of Jewish descent.

To begin with we have this entertaining dialogue between A'U and an anonymous person:

Anonymous [with malice in his voice]: "You have mentioned the people [unfavourably] and have faulted their genealogy. By God, you must tell me about your father and his origin!"

A'U [indifferently]: "My father informed me that his father was a Jew in Bajarwan" (13).

This report owes its preservation to its literary and theatrical appeal rather than to an interest in A'U's descent. The beginning of the dialogue could suggest that the terrible A'U was about to be humiliated, no doubt in public, on the grounds of his own faulty descent. This descent may well have been a matter of common knowledge in Baṣra; a public scene about it, however, was different. But the shrewd A'U does not cooperate with the anonymous attacker: he simply acknowledges his Jewish origin, and does so with grace, in the style of family-*isnads* which are common, for example, in accounts of one's exploits in the battles of early Islam. This charming dialogue is about malice defeated by faked innocence. It may well have been invented, but in order to be meaningful it had to stand on a factual foundation.

Ibn Khalikān, probably on the basis of earlier materials available to him, assumes that A'U's Bajarwan was in Armenia/Adharbījan (see map)⁽¹⁴⁾. There are further indications pointing to this Armenian Bajarwan. First, A'U was of Persian origin. This is borne out by the name Subbukht and by 'Allān's reference to him as being *min abl Fāris, a'jami*

(12) Cf. the use of genealogical information in M.J. Kister, "On the wife of the goldsmith from Fadak and her progeny", in *Le Muséon* 92 (1979), 321-30 and in Lecker, "A note on early marriage links between Qurashis and Jewish women", in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987), 17-39.

(13) *Fihrist*, 79. See also Yaḳūt, *Udaba'*, s.v. Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna, XIX, 156; Ibn Khalikān, V, 240 (the anonymous speaker was a dignitary, *ba'd al-ajilla*). Sezgin, in Abū 'Ubayda, *Majāz al-qur'an*, I, introduction, 9 assumes that A'U was joking about his origin.

(14) Ibn Khalikān, V, 243. Madelung ("Abū 'Ubayda", 47) and Gibb (*EP*, s.v. Abū 'Ubayda Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna; idem, *Arabic Literature: An Introduction*, 55) assume that Bajarwan in Mesopotamia, near Raqqa, is meant here; see also E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās: Eine Studie zur arabischen Literatur der frühen 'Abbāsidenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1965, 29.

The "northern" Bajarwan (see *EP*, s.v. [D.M. Dunlop]) is in Mūqan between Ardabil and Bardha'a; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 175f, 230. On its conquest see Yaḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Adharbījan; Baladh., *Futūb*, 455f (*biṣn Bajarwan*, 456; *qal'at Bajarwan*, 459). On the battles in this vicinity against the Khazars (in 112/730) see

l-aṣl (15). Second, A'U was interested in the Islamic conquest of Armenia as is shown by the fact that he compiled a book titled *Futūḥ Arminiya* (16). On the subject of *futūḥ*, A'U compiled two further monographs, *Futūḥ al-Abwāz* and *K. al-Sawād wa-fatḥibi*. However, the conquests of the *Sawād* and the neighbouring Ahwāz were a kind of local history for the Baṣran A'U.

A similar account of a frustrated attempt to humiliate an important figure in public is linked with 'Amr b. al-Āṣ. Someone asked him about the identity of his mother (in the hope that he would blunder or become angered). 'Amr allegedly replied without hesitation, that his mother was such and such a person, that she had been captured by the Bedouin and sold in the market of 'Ukāz, and that having been the slavegirl of two prominent Qurashis, she became the property of 'Amr's father, to whom she bore excellent sons (*fa-waladat labu fa-anjabat*). Then 'Amr added virulently: "And if a gift was promised to you [i.e. for posing the insulting question], go ahead and take it" (17).

Further indications of A'U's Jewish descent will be discussed below.

3. Abū 'Ubayda's *walā'*

We already know that A'U's grandfather was a Jew from Bājarwān. We also know that his father, al-Muthannā (an Arab name) (18), was already a Muslim and lived in Baṣra. An 8th/14th century source reports that A'U's *father* was Jewish (19), suggesting that it was A'U's father al-Muthannā who converted to Islam. But this statement is not to be believed (and probably results from an infelicitous abridgement of a text) because it clashes with what we are told elsewhere about A'U: "His origin was

D.M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Kibzars*, Princeton 1954, 72f. On Armenia in the Sassanian period see D.M. Lang, "Iran, Armenia and Georgia", in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, III, 1, 518f. Note in particular the deportation by Shapur II in 365 of a large number of Armenian Jews (521); also the fact that "Armenian personal names are very largely Iranian in origin, and predominantly Parthian" (526). For the deportation see also S.W. Baron, *Social and Religious History of the Jews*, New York 1952, II, 204, 404f.

(15) Note also that A'U knew some Persian; Madelung, "Abū 'Ubayda", 53=Tab., VII, 43f [II, 1492]. Madelung mentions correctly that this was "fairly common in Baṣra in his time".

(16) *Fibriṣt*, *loc. cit.* And cf. perhaps the extract from A'U's *K. al-tāj* (on this book cf. Madelung, *loc. cit.*) in Bakri, s.v. Balanjar, which reports, among other things, about the conquest by Salmān b. Rabi'a of the area between Adharbijān and Bāb al-Abwāb. Salmān died in Balanjar north of Bāb al-Abwāb.

(17) *Uṣd al-ghāba*, IV, 115f; see also al-Āḅī, *Natḥ al-durr*, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Qarna, Cairo 1980f, II, 82. Cf. Lecker, "The estates of 'Amr b. al-Āṣ in Palestine: notes on a new Negev Arabic inscription", in *BSOAS* 52 (1989), 24-37, at 28.

(18) Which does not exclude the possibility that he also had a Persian name.

(19) Yamāni, *Isbārat al-ta'yīn*, 350: *wa-yuqālu inna abābu kāna yabūdīyyan*.

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Jewish, his grandfather was converted to Islam by a kinsman of Abū Bakr, and he became the *mawla* of the Banū Taym" (i.e. the Taym b. Murra of Quraysh) (20).

Concerning A'U's *wala'*, Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkari (d. 275/888) makes a dubious statement. He says that A'U was a *mawla* of the Banū Sallāma who belonged to the Banū Taym b. Murra. This obscure Sallāma, we are told, was Umm 'Abd al-Rahmān (21). The identity of Sallāma is elucidated by a passage from the genealogy of the Banū Taym:

And 'Umayr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra begot 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Umayr whose mother is Sallāma, a slavegirl after whom they [viz. 'Abd al-Rahmān's children] are called. And Sallāma's children claimed that she had been a servant (*kanat tākhdumu*) of the Prophet (ṣ) (22).

It goes without saying that those who referred to the members of this family as Banū Sallāma instead of Banū 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Umayr, did so to tease them. Sallāma was probably a typical name of a slavegirl (23) and reference to descent from a slavegirl was perhaps the most common form of *matbālib*. The manner in which the genealogist quotes her children about her alleged service to the Prophet is noteworthy: while providing the information, he distances himself from it as if he were saying, 'this is a claim made by an interested party and it should be treated accordingly'. It is noteworthy that instead of denying Sallāma's identity or her social status, the descendants attempted to secure for her (and themselves) some distinction by claiming that she had served the Prophet. Few could be misled by this allegation.

Al-Sukkari's statement concerning A'U's *wala'* is not supported by further proof. There is much evidence, however, to support an alternative statement which refers to another family of the same Banū Taym b. Murra, viz. the Banū 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar.

To begin with, there was a family link between A'U and this family of the Banū Taym: the *qaḍī* of Baṣra 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (!) was A'U's maternal uncle (24). This family link with the *qaḍī* of Baṣra should be associated

(20) *Aslama jaddubū 'ala yaday ba'd al Abī Bakr fa-'ntama ila wala' Taym; Kbizana*, VI, 53-Bakri, *Simṣ al-la'āl*, 808. The use of *al* ("family") does not indicate that the Taymī in question was a direct descendant of Abū Bakr but that he was of the Banū 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra, the leading line of the Qurashi Banū Taym b. Murra; Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, 275 (*wa-būwa bayt bant Taym*).

(21) *Nūr al-qabas*, 109. The same source adds that those who vocalise the name Salāma, as if it were a man's name, are wrong. On al-Sukkari (Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn) see GAS, VIII, 97.

(22) Baladh., *Ansab*, 856b.

(23) Cf. Ibn Makula, *al-Ikmal*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Yahya al-Yamāni, Hyderabad 1381/1962, IV, 344.

(24) *Nūr al-qabas*, 109. True, a *kbal* is not always strictly a maternal uncle and by extension it may mean "a relation from the side of one's mother". Thus it can be said about the

with A'U's scholarly interests (see below): among the books he compiled there was a monograph entitled *K. qadāt al-Baṣra* (25).

As to the identity of the *qadī* in question, the name 'Uthmān b. 'Affān is of course garbled. The correct name is 'Umar b. 'Uthmān b. 'Umar b. Mūsā b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar. He was the *qadī* of Baṣra at the time of Ḥarūn al-Rashīd. Not only was he a *qadī* of Baṣra in the lifetime of A'U but, as his pedigree shows, he was of the very Taymī family to whom A'U's *walā'* belonged, i.e. the Banū 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar. Ḥarūn al-Rashīd appointed 'Umar as the *qadī* of Baṣra but later he stayed away from his office simply by not returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca and remaining in Medina. 'Umar's father, 'Uthmān, provides an interesting case of transition from the Umayyads to the 'Abbasīds, since he officiated as *qadī* both under the last Umayyad and the second 'Abbasīd caliph (26).

In his *K. al-mathalib* A'U explains why a member of "his" Taymī family, 'Umar b. Mūsā b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar, was "reminded" in a satirical verse that he had a paternal uncle called Ma'bad, whom he is said to have resembled: Ma'bad was a *mawla* and a half-brother of 'Umar's father on the mother's side (*wa-kāna Ma'bad mawlan wa-kāna akha abtīhi li-ummīhi*) (27).

A'U's *walā'* and the conversion of his grandfather to Islam are linked. His grandfather presumably embraced Islam at about the middle of the first Islamic century. The expression *aslama jaddubu 'ala yaday ba'd al Abī Bakr fa-'ntama ilā walā' Taym* (above n. 20) indicates a voluntary conversion of a freeborn man. In other words, the *walā'* link followed conversion to Islam, not manumission. There is no evidence that A'U's grandfather was taken captive in a military expedition or handed over to the Muslims in fulfillment of a capitulation treaty. We know that his Taymī patron, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar (see below), was involved in large-scale slave-trading but there is no indication that this is relevant for us here, in other words, that this was a *walā'*-by-manumission.

On the slave-trade it is reported that 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar bought captives (*raqtqan mina l-sabyi*) from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, together with 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir (b. Kurayz of the Banū Umayya, who later became the governor of Baṣra) (28). The total amount of money and the number of

members of a certain group that they are someone's "maternal uncles" if one of his ancestresses belonged to them. For such "maternal uncles" of the Prophet see Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym: A Contribution to the Study of Early Islam*, Jerusalem 1989, 115n, 116n, 117.

(25) Yaḳūt, *Udaba'*, s.v. Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna, XIX, 162:2 from below; *Fihrist*, 80. The passage from A'U in *Nūr al-qabas*, 123, although it concerns the first *qadī* of Medina, may belong to the introduction to this monograph.

(26) Muṣ'ab, *Nasab*, 290f; Baladh., *Ansab*, 856b (who describes 'Umar as being one of the eminent and eloquent people of Quraysh, *min wajīb Quraysh wa-bulaghā'iba*).

(27) Qālī, *Amālī*, II, 191f.

(28) Few non-Qurashis were presumably given a stake in this profitable business.

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slaves are not reported, but we know that when the two partners could not pay 80,000 dirhams, the remainder of the sum agreed upon with 'Umar, it was Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh who helped them settle the debt⁽²⁹⁾. As to the number of slaves involved, prices naturally fluctuated according to demand and the slave's condition. As slave prices we find mentioned 50, 100 and even 700 dirhams⁽³⁰⁾. If we assume, for example, that each slave cost 500 dirhams, it could be concluded that the remainder of the debt involved 160 slaves. The original transaction may well have included thousands of slaves.

The precise identity of the Taymī patron is important in order to establish the date of the conversion of A'U's grandfather. Whilst it is reported that A'U was a *mawla* of the Banū Taym b. Murra of Quraysh, in some sources (e.g. the *Fihrist*) we find that he was a *mawla* of the Banū 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar al-Taymī⁽³¹⁾. There is no contradiction between the two statements: the latter is simply more specific. We have a rich body of evidence on this Taymī family and some of it is relevant to A'U's family history.

Ma'mar b. 'Uthmān al-Taymī, the paternal uncle of the above-mentioned Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh, was a Companion of the Prophet⁽³²⁾ who embraced Islam when the Prophet conquered Mecca. According to some, his son 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar was also a Companion, while by other accounts he only saw the Prophet because when the latter died, the former was still a small boy. 'Ubaydallāh was probably killed in Iṣṭakhr (the dates given are 23, 29 and 30 A.H.). This, however, clashes with a report on a visit by 'Ubaydallāh to the caliph Mu'awiya which may suggest that he lived to at least 40 A.H. Or it might have been his son 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar (one of the two 'Ubaydallāhs may have been omitted)⁽³³⁾ who visited the caliph⁽³⁴⁾.

(29) See e.g. *Isāba*, V, 57.

(30) 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Ṣan'ānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-A'zamī, Beirut 1390/1970, VIII, 189, 163 (700 dirhams, at the time of 'Uthmān).

(31) Misprinted in Yamānī, *Isbārat al-ta'yīm*, 350: 'Abdallāh b. Ma'mar.

(32) He was a cupper, according to Ibn Rusta, *al-A'laq al-naftsa*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1892, 215; also according to Ibn al-Kalbi, *Maṭbalib*, MS Dār al-Kutub: *bāb al-sīna'at... wa-man kāna minhum baḥjāman... Ma'mar b. 'Uthmān... kāna baḥjāman wuldubu bi-l-Baṣra wa-l-Madīna*. The mention of Ma'mar's offspring in Baṣra and Medina shows that those responsible for the list of cuppers were aware of its implications for their Arab contemporaries. In Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'arīf*, 576 Ma'mar is listed among those who played the 'ūd.

(33) The omission of the name of one's father is common; moreover, when the two names are identical, as in this case, we may think of a kind of haplogly. For example, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar mentioned together with Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr in Tab., VI, 117 (II, 751) is no doubt 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar; 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Ubayd b. Ma'mar (*op. cit.*, 118) (II, 752) is an error: read... b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar.

(34) Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb fī ma'rīfat al-aṣḥāb*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijawī, Cairo n.d., III, 143 (erroneously printed 'Abdallāh instead of 'Ubaydallāh); *Isāba*, V, 55f. 'Ubaydallāh,

The history of 'Ubaydallah b. Ma'mar is of course closely related to that of A'U's family. Abū Bakr's kinsman who received the conversion of A'U's grandfather to Islam was presumably no other than 'Ubaydallah b. Ma'mar, because A'U was said to have been the *mawla* of the Banū 'Ubaydallah b. Ma'mar al-Taymī. The mention of 'Ubaydallah could date the conversion of A'U's grandfather to the twenties of the first Islamic century, but the forties or fifties of that century seem to be more plausible (i.e. assuming that 'Ubaydallah lived to the time of Mu'āwiyā, or that it was his son, 'Ubaydallah b. 'Ubaydallah, who accepted the conversion of A'U's grandfather).

The case of A'U's grandfather is comparable to that of another *mawla* of 'Ubaydallah b. Ma'mar called Abū l-'Ilj, who rebelled against Ḥajjāj in the early eighties of the first century A.H., during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik (in fact, he could have been A'U's grandfather). Abū l-'Ilj and a grandson of 'Ubaydallah, 'Umar b. Mūsā b. 'Ubaydallah, were among the staunchest supporters of Ibn al-Ash'ath. Having been captured in Khurāsān, they were executed by Ḥajjāj⁽³⁵⁾. Abū l-'Ilj who was still active in military exploits in the eighties of the first century could hardly have been the *mawla* of a man killed in the twenties. Again we must conclude that either 'Ubaydallah b. Ma'mar lived to the forties or fifties, or that his son, 'Ubaydallah b. 'Ubaydallah b. Ma'mar, is being referred to.

'Ubaydallah b. 'Ubaydallah, who was the son of a slavegirl, was given both his father's name and his *kunya*, Abū Mu'adh⁽³⁶⁾. At the time of Ibn al-Zubayr he played a role in the administration of Baṣra. According to some, Ibn al-Zubayr appointed him as the governor of Baṣra. Others say that Ibn al-Zubayr appointed 'Ubaydallah's brother, 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallah, who in turn appointed 'Ubaydallah as his deputy. 'Ubaydallah b. 'Ubaydallah fought with Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr in his last battle (72/691-2) and, following his defeat, fled and was later granted safety. 'Abd al-Malik appointed him governor of Sūs (in Ahwāz), "which fell short of what was due to him" (*taqṣṭran bibi*, i.e. he deserved a higher position)⁽³⁷⁾.

killed in Iṣṭakhr, was nicknamed *al-sbabtd*; Baladh., *Ansab*, 854a; Farazdaq refers to his son 'Umar as *ibn al-sbabtd*; *op. cit.*, 854b; *Diwan*, Beirut 1380/1960, I, 236; Tab., IV, 176f [I, 2697] (23 A.H.), 264 [2829] (in Mukran), 265 [2830] (sent to Fars and killed in Iṣṭakhr); *Nūr al-qabas*, 198 (killed at the time of 'Uthmān). Faced with the discrepancy between the two reports about 'Ubaydallah, Ibn Ḥajar suggests unconvincingly (*Usaba*, V, 57f) that there were two 'Ubaydallah b. Ma'mar.

(35) Tab., VI, 373 (wrongly: 'Amr instead of 'Umar) [II, 1109: 'Umar, correctly], 374 [1110] (82/701); Baladh., *Ansab*, 854a-b. On the attempt of 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallah to save the life of his nephew see below.

(36) This should possibly be related to the fact that his mother was a slavegirl. Curiously, 'Ubaydallah b. 'Ubaydallah had a son named 'Ubaydallah; Baladh., *Ansab*, 855b ('three 'Ubaydallah in a row', a genealogist would say).

(37) Baladh., *Ansab*, 854a; Tab., V, 528 [II, 465] (how 'Ubaydallah became his brother's deputy; cf. *Naqa'id*, 742:16; Baladh., *Ansab*, XI, 97). When Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr departed from

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It may be added that 'Abd al-Malik also pardoned 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallah for his service in Ibn al-Zubayr's administration. After 'Umar served as the governor of Baṣra for Ibn al-Zubayr and as the governor of Fārs under Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Malik made him the governor of Baḥrayn⁽³⁸⁾. 'Umar even married Muṣ'ab's widow, 'Ā'isha bint Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallah, who was 'Umar's relative. She was one of the most famous women of her time. The marriage took place when 'Abd al-Malik sent him from Damascus to fight the Khārijite Abū Fudayk, and it was consummated in Ḥira⁽³⁹⁾. 'Umar died near Damascus when on his way to 'Abd al-Malik to intercede for his nephew, 'Umar b. Mūsā b. 'Ubaydallah, who had rebelled against Ḥajjāj⁽⁴⁰⁾.

3.1. Abū 'Ubayda's walā' and his scholarly interests

Possible links between A'U's biography and his scholarly interests have already been pointed out with regard to his monographs about the conquest of Armenia and the judges of Baṣra. Other monographs by A'U demonstrate that part of his scholarly energy was directed to events in Baṣra and its vicinity, where his Taymī patrons, being an important element in the Qurashī elite, played a remarkable role. He presumably incorporated in his writings on these events the family history of his patrons⁽⁴¹⁾.

Presumably A'U's *walā'* was behind his interest in the battle which took place in 71/690 at Jufra near Baṣra between troops loyal to 'Abd al-Malik, under the command of Khalid b. 'Abdallah b. Khalid b. Asid, and the Zubayris, under 'Ubaydallah b. 'Ubaydallah b. Ma'mar al-Taymī,

Baṣra, he left 'Ubaydallah b. 'Ubaydallah as his deputy; Tab., VI, 152 [II, 798]. See two variant reports in Baladh., *Ansab*, IVi ('Abbas), 426 (A'U: the people of Baṣra appointed for the governorship 'Ubaydallah b. 'Ubaydallah b. Ma'mar); 427 (Ibn al-Kalbi: they appointed 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallah, who made his brother his deputy).

(38) Baladh., *Ansab*, 854b. Also Tab., VI, 119 [II, 753]; Baladh., *Ansab*, XI, 111 (governor of Fars for Muṣ'ab).

(39) Ibn 'Asakir, *Ta'rikh madinat Dimasq (Tarajim al-nisa')*, ed. Sukayna al-Shihabi, Damascus n.d., 212 (note the admiring comment concerning his virility).

(40) Ibn Qudāma, *Tabyin*, 333. A decade earlier, in 73 A.H., 'Umar b. Mūsā was severely injured while fighting under his uncle's command against the Khārijites; Tab., VI, 193 [II, 852].

(41) It is no accident that the first report in his *K. al-aqqa wa-l-barara* concerns a *mawla* of the Taym; see *Nawadir al-makbūrat*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Ḥarūn, II, Cairo 1393/1973, 352. A'U, quoting Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', reports about gifts sent by 'Abdallah b. Jud'an of the Taym to the king of Ḥira and to Khusro; Baladh., *Ansab*, 859b. A'U, quoted by Ibn Shabba, reports on how Ḥajjāj tricked Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallah of the Taym and made him fight the Khārijite Shabīb; Tab., VI, 248 [II, 928]. The last-mentioned report comes rather close to the Taymī family that concerns us here: Muḥammad was the son-in-law of 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallah b. Ma'mar (A'U was, as already mentioned, the *mawla* of the Banū

who was Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr's deputy in charge of Baṣra⁽⁴²⁾. The Jufra ("a round space in the ground") was originally called after Nafi' b. al-Ḥārith (b. Kalada), then it was named after the above-mentioned Khālid⁽⁴³⁾. A'U dedicated a monograph to this event which the *Fibrist* calls *Jufrat Kbalid* (misprinted: *Jafwat Kbalid*)⁽⁴⁴⁾.

A'U's interest in the history of his Taymī patrons is perhaps behind another monograph of his, entitled *Mas'ūd b. 'Amr wa-maqtaluhu*⁽⁴⁵⁾. Large extracts from this monograph can probably be found in Ṭabarī⁽⁴⁶⁾ and Balādhurī⁽⁴⁷⁾.

Balādhurī's extracts from this monograph are appropriately concluded (426f) with a report concerning A'U's Taymī patrons: when the plague called *al-Jarīf* ("the torrential or sweeping plague") hit al-Baṣra, its governor was 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar al-Taymī. His mother was among the dead but no one (of rank) could be found to carry her

'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar). The same can be said about the comment, from both A'U and Aṣma', that the estate near Mecca called by the common people (*al-'amma*) Bustān Ibn 'Amir, was in fact Bustān Ibn Ma'mar and belonged to 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar; Yaḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Bustān Ibn Ma'mar; cf. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, 16, 39f. This "Ibn Ma'mar" was in fact Ma'mar's grandson, not his son. Even a great-grandson of Ma'mar, 'Umar b. Mūsā b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar, is referred to (in verse) as Ibn Ma'mar; Qalī, *Amālī*, II, 191.

(42) Tab., VI, 152f [II, 798] ('Ubaydallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar who is also referred to as Ibn Ma'mar although he was Ma'mar's grandson); Yaḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v. al-Jufra (the Taymī is called here 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar!); Bakrī, s.v. ('Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Ma'mar!); *Naqa'id*, II, 749:5, quoting Madā'ini ('Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar; this variant is possible: we know that such man existed).

(43) Tab., VI, 152:2 from below [II, 799]. On the battle see also *Naqa'id*, II, 749f. On land in Baṣra granted to Nafi' see *Usd al-ḡbaba*, V, 8.

(44) I owe this keen emendation of the text to our undergraduate student Ṭariq Abū Rajab. Cf. Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāb al-riwāṭ*, III, 285: *Ḥiṣrat Kbalid* (!). This monograph of A'U is probably the source of A'U's report found in *Naqa'id*, II, 750:13 on the aftermath of the battle of Jufra. It is quoted from A'U by Abū 'Uthmān Sa'dān b. al-Mubārak (d. 220/835), on whom see *Naqa'id*, introduction, XI; also the index, III, 126; GAS, VIII, 125f; *Fibrist*, 105. See extracts from the same monograph in Baladh., *Ansab*, IVi ('Abbas), 464-67.

(45) *Fibrist*, 80.

(46) Tab., V, 508f [II, 439], 513f [II, 445] (*wa-amma A'U fa-innahu, fima ḥaddatbanī... [two transmitters] qaṣṣa min khabar Mas'ūd wa-'Ubaydillāh b. Ziyād wa-akbtbi* etc.). Among others, A'U quotes the descendants of the protagonists: members of *Al Ziyād* (b. Abīhi) and their *mawālī* (513 [445]), remarking, *wa-l-qawm a'lamu bi-ḥadīthibīm*), and a descendant of Mas'ūd (516 [449]).

(47) See Baladh., *Ansab*, IVi ('Abbas), 401-405, 406, 407-409 (note, in a report of Madā'ini on p. 407, the appointment by Ibn al-Zubayr of 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar as the governor of Baṣra and 'Umar's appointment of his brother, 'Ubaydallāh, as his deputy until his return from the extraseasonal pilgrimage), 411-16 (note on p. 413 A'U's denial of the claims that Mas'ūd b. 'Amr was killed by a Khārijite, or by a group of Khārijites who had fled from

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coffin. So, four Persians (*a'laj*) were hired to carry it. "And he was then the *amir*", our source concludes in obvious shock (48).

The aftermath of the Mas'ud b. 'Amr affair, in which A'U's Taymī patrons were deeply involved, may well have formed part of this monograph. After Mas'ud was killed, the companions of Nāfi' b. al-Azraq and Nāfi' himself went to Ahwaz. 'Ubaydallah b. 'Ubaydallah b. Ma'mar, who was the deputy of his brother 'Umar, sent a third brother, 'Uthmān, to fight the Khārijites. At the battle which ensued at Dolāb the Khārijites were victorious and 'Uthmān was killed, together with many of his troops (49).

The history of Baṣra in the mid-sixties of the first century, to which A'U dedicated his monographs *Jufrat Kbalid* and *Mas'ud b. 'Amr wa-maqtalubu*, was for A'U a kind of family history, both glorious and painful. In his Baṣran milieu his own family history could no longer be referred to.

jail; also on pp. 414f the role of 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallah b. Ma'mar in pacifying Baṣra in the aftermath of Mas'ud's murder), 417, 418-27. Note that on pp. 420, 421, 423 (also 465, 466) A'U sticks to the wording of his informants: when one of them gives the Khārijites the pejorative nickname Ḥarūriyya, A'U preserves it. Elsewhere in his texts one finds the terms Khārijī and Khawārij which presumably reflect the usage of A'U's informants. It appears that the designations used in A'U's texts cannot be employed as evidence concerning his own political and theological preferences; cf. Madelung, "Abū 'Ubayda", 49: "He [A'U] usually calls them *Khawārij* or *Harūriyya*, names of which they did not approve, and only exceptionally *sburāt*, a name which they themselves also used. He refers to their opponents as *abl al-qibla*, thus implying that the rebels were in fact outside the fold of the Muslim community".

As a kind of precursor for his recent study on A'U, Madelung wrote in 1981 about A'U's account of these events: "Abū 'Ubayda's account of the events in Baṣra until 'Ubayd Allah (b. Ziyād)'s departure is clearly much better informed than those of the other, mostly Kūfan, historians"; W. Madelung, "Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr and the Mahdī", in *JNES* 40 (1981), 291-305, at 301.

(48) In Tab., V, 612 [II, 580], the same report is quoted from Ibn Shabba in the events of 65 A.H. The historical context, i.e. the murder of Mas'ud b. 'Amr in 64/684, suggests that A'U had in mind the first wave of this plague which started in Baṣra in 64/684 (in which case Ṭabarī's inclusion of the report in the events of 65 A.H. is wrong); cf. G. Rotter, "Natural catastrophes and their impact on political and economic life during the second *fitna*", in T. Khalidi (ed.), *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, Beirut 1986, 230. But cf. the report in Baladh., *Ansab*, IVi ('Abbas), 464f, again quoted from A'U, which goes back to the same source (although on p. 427 he is called Sa'b b. Yazīd, while on p. 464 he is named Muṣ'ab b. Zayd!); the *ṣa'ūn al-jarīf* took place in Baṣra in 69 A.H.; its governor was then 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallah b. Ma'mar who had been appointed to this post by Muṣ'ab (b. al-Zubayr). For the numbers of the dead in the *ṣa'ūn* (first wave) see Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazam fī ta'rīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭa and Muṣṭafa 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭa, Beirut 1412/1992, VI, 25.

(49) Tab., V, 613 [II, 580] (from 'Umar b. Shabba); Baladh., *Ansab*, XI, 84; 97 ('Umar b.

4. Abū 'Ubayda: "son of a dyer", "son of a weaver"

Another indication of A'U's Jewish descent is probably the nickname given to him by his lifelong adversary, Ašma'ī, who was some thirteen years younger than him. Ašma'ī was an Arab of the Bahila tribe (not the most prestigious of tribes, one may observe)⁽⁵⁰⁾. We have evidence that A'U paid very close attention to the Bahila tribe. He compiled a book titled *Matbalib Babilā*⁽⁵¹⁾, which one could relate to his troubled relationship with the Bahili (or pseudo-Bahili) Ašma'ī. But then he also compiled another book entitled *Manāqib Babilā*, "The Merits of Bahila", which cannot be accounted for in the same way⁽⁵²⁾.

Ašma'ī disparagingly called the *mawla* A'U Ibn al-Šabbāgh, "the son of the dyer (of garments)". The background for this was A'U's ignorance of the habitat in Arabia of a certain tree⁽⁵³⁾.

Now, in this context any trade would point at non-Arab descent. But from Jaḥiẓ (d. 255/869), who was also a Baṣran and died some forty years after the two great rival philologists, we receive an indication that when Ašma'ī spoke of dyeing, he had in mind a specifically Jewish trade: it so

'Ubaydallah [the governor of Baṣra] sent his brother 'Uthman, and some said that ['Umar's brother and deputy] 'Ubaydallah sent him).

(50) See Ašma'ī's apologetic remark in Ibn al-Kalbi, *Jambarat al-nasab*, ed. Najī Hasan, Beirut 1407/1986, 460. Cf. the humorous story about a teacher of Ašma'ī who, envious of his student's success, introduced to Ašma'ī's students the scholar's father who was tending goats outside Baṣra. He explained that he did it so that the next day Ašma'ī would not claim to belong to the Qurashi Banū Hashim; Yaḥqūt, *Udaba'*, s.v. 'Aṭā' b. Muš'ab, XII, 169. That the affiliation of Ašma'ī's family to Bahila was doubted can be seen from the slanders allegedly hurled at Ašma'ī's grandfather, 'Alī b. Ašma', by Muš'ab b. al-Zubayr; Tab., VI, 154 [II, 802]: "Do you, the former slave of the Banū Tamīm, assert a descent from Bahila?" (*a-'abd li-Bant Tamīm marratan wa-'azyun min Babilā?*). In Balādh., *Ansab*, IVi ('Abbas), 471 we find: *anta 'abd li-Bant Tamīm marratan wa-'arabi min Babilā marratan* (see the same in *op. cit.*, IVb, ed. M. Schloessinger, Jerusalem 1938, 162f), but 'azyun is a *lectio difficilior*. See also Šrafi, *Akbbār al-nabwīyyina l-Baṣriyyina*, 46.

(51) Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 186.

(52) See *Fibris*, 80. The same *madb/dbamm* approach is reflected in the titles *K. ma'atbir al-'arab* and *K. matbalib al-'arab*; Yaḥqūt, *Udaba'*, s.v. Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna, XIX, 162. For extracts from *Matbalib Babilā* see probably *Nūr al-qabas*, 117, 125f. Rich documentation for *Matbalib Babilā* was made available to A'U through the satirical verses of Farazdaq.

(53) Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzbat al-alibba' fī tabaqāt al-udaba'*, Cairo 1294 A.H., 148. For his part A'U turned down magnanimously the suggestion that he mention that Ašma'ī made a false claim to be one of Bahila: "Let him be one of them" (*da'ūbu yakun minbum*), meaning that he gains no prestige through them because they made no impression in the Jāhiliyya and had no virtues" (*la atbara labum fī l-jābiliyya wa-lā manāqib*); *Nūr al-qabas*, 125. Alternatively, when A'U was told that Ašma'ī claimed a false genealogy (*da'ū*), he said: "Liar, no one claims a false descent to Ašma'ī"; R.A. Nicholson, "The *Risālatu'l-Ḡhufran*: by Abū'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri. Summarized and partially translated", in *JRAS* 1900, 652n. Cf. similarly Ibn Khalikān, IV, 90. A'U had a sharp tongue: *kāna A'U jabbāban* ("one who encounters people with speech in which there is roughness"); Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāb al-ruwat*, III, 284.

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happens that the first trade on Jahiz's list of trades typical to the Jews is the dyeing of garments⁽⁵⁴⁾.

It may be in place here to discuss one of the trades mentioned by Jahiz as typical to the Jews. He lists dyers, tanners, cuppers, butchers and *sba'abs*. Different explanations have been suggested for the last-mentioned trade. In fact, a *sba'ab* is a repairer of wooden bowls⁽⁵⁵⁾. A crack called *sba'b* which is repaired by the *sba'ab*⁽⁵⁶⁾ is one found in a wooden bowl (*al-qas'a al-khashabiyya*)⁽⁵⁷⁾.

(54) Jahiz, *Rasa'il*, III, 316 (*al-Radd 'ala l-našara*): *wa-la tajidu l-yabūdiyya illa šabbagban aw dabbagban aw bajjaman aw qaššaban, aw sba'aban*. On this text see J. Finkel, "A risala of al-Jahiz", in *JAOS* 47 (1927), 311-34, esp. 327f; A. Grossman, "The attitude of the caliph al-Ma'mun to the Jews", in *Zion* 44 (1979), 109, n. 39; idem, "Animosity to the Jews on economical and social background in the Islamic caliphate during the 9th and 10th centuries", in Sh. Almog (ed.), *Antisemitism Through the Ages*, Jerusalem 1980, 209, 196, n. 38 (both articles are in Hebrew). J. Sadan has recently studied Jahiz's text in depth, see his "Some literary problems concerning Judaism and Jewry in Medieval Arabic sources", in M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of David Ayalon*, 353-98, at 353f. Sadan (356, end of note; 362f) supports, against reservations expressed by Goitein, the validity of Jahiz's information concerning the typical Jewish trades in his time, quoting the testimony of an anonymous manuscript dated to the middle of the 4th/10th century. It speaks of the large number of Christian (and Muslim) physicians compared to the small number of Jewish physicians. But then we have the testimony of A'U's contemporary al-Shafi'i (d. 204/820) who laments that the Arabs lost the knowledge of medicine and entrusted the Jews and Christians with it; Dhahabi, *Nubala'*, X, 57.

(55) Finkel (328) renders the *sba'ab*: "cobbler" while Sadan, *op. cit.*, 355n renders "menders", following Ch. Pellat (*Le milieu basrien et la formation de Gabiz*, Paris 1953, 232: *raccomodeur*, "mender, repairer"; and idem, *The Life and Works of Jahiz*, trans. by D.M. Hawke, London 1969, 87: "tinkers").

(56) *Al-sad'u lladbi yash'abubu l-sba'ab wa-islāḥubu aydan al-sba'b*, from Ibn al-Sikkī; the *sba'ab* is the *mula'im* and his craft is called *sbi'aba*; *Taj al-'aris*, s.v.

(57) Sam'ani, s.v. *al-Sha'ab*, III, 430. The *sba'ab* mentioned by Sam'ani is especially relevant for us here because he lived in Baṣra in the second century A.H. His trade was also called *rammām* ("repairer, mender") and consisted of repairing wooden bowls (*qisā'*); see also the entry in Ibn Abi Ḥatim, *al-Jarḥ wa-l-ta'dil*, Hyderabad 1371/1952 - 1373/1953, VIII, 102. Elsewhere the verb *sba'aba* is related to wooden drinking-cups: *rajul mur'ab wa-ra'ab, idba kana yash'abu šudū'a l-qadab wa-yuslibu bayna l-qawm*; *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. *r.'b.*, 398b; also *al-riḍa, al-qis'a mina l-khashab yush'abu biba l-ina' wa-yusaddu biba ibulmanu l-jafna*, 399a. A *sba'ab* is *ṣāḥib aqdab wa-qisā'*, "the owner of wooden drinking-cups and

There is, however, another version about the nickname given A'U by Ašma'ī: he called him "the weaver's son" (*ibn al-ḥā'ik*)⁽⁵⁸⁾. This could of course be a reference to any non-Arab, be he Jewish, Christian or Zoroastrian. But in the present context it is probably a reference to A'U's Jewish origin. Similarly, when Farazdaq calls the rebel Ibn al-Ash'ath "the weaver of the Yemenites" and "the weaver who lives in a village", he alludes to his Jewish origin⁽⁵⁹⁾. There is another relevant example of a Jewish weaver: the Kūfan grammarian, nicknamed Ibn al-Ḥā'ik, was a man of Jewish origin (*wa-ašlubu yabūdi*) from Ḥira called Ḥarūn⁽⁶⁰⁾.

5. Abū 'Ubayda's origin and his role in the compilation of the *mathalib*

A'U's Jewish origin is also related to the emergence of the *mathalib* literature in what may be dubbed "the legendary history of the genre". It is recounted that A'U's predecessors in this field were Ziyād b. Abīhi (d. 53/673) and A'U's contemporary, al-Haytham b. 'Adī. Each of them reportedly had his own personal reason for entering the field of *mathalib*. When Ziyād claimed to be the son of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, he knew that the Arabs, aware of his real descent, would not acknowledge this for him, so he compiled this book, attaching to the Arabs every vice and disgrace. He was followed by al-Haytham b. 'Adī who was a *da'i*, "one who claims as his father a person who is not his father". A'U started afresh and added new materials. The reason was that he was of Jewish descent (*liannabu kāna yabūdiyyan*)⁽⁶¹⁾. In other words, when A'U's enemies made use of his descent, he defended himself with the argument that "no one was perfect". This rather curious and certainly unsatisfactory explanation of the emergence of *mathalib* literature (which was of course an important pre-Islamic and early Islamic field, cultivated in the first place by the Arabs themselves)⁽⁶²⁾ takes A'U's Jewish descent for granted.

wooden bowls"; Ibn al-Kalbi, *al-Mathalib*, MS Dar al-Kutub (*man kāna minḥum sba'aban*). Both Ibn al-Kalbi and A'U mentioned that the father of the poet Yazīd b. Mufarrigh al-Ḥimyarī (the great-grandfather of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī) was a *sba'ab* Tabala; Ibn Khallikan, VI, 343. This is a typical *mathalib* account.

(58) *Kbizāna*, VI, 306. Also: he used to call him constantly "the weaver's son"; Abū al-Tayyib al-Ḥalabī, *Marātib al-nabwīyyatna*, 50 (*wa-kāna l-Ašma'ī idba dbakara Aba 'Ubayda qala: dbaka bnū l-ḥā'ik*). Read in *JRAS* 1900, 652n, instead of *ibn al-ḥāyila: ibn al-ḥā'ik*.

(59) See Lecker, "Judaism among Kinda and the *riḍḍa* of Kinda", section 1.2.

(60) *Fibrīst*, 111 (erroneously printed Ibn al-Ḥā'il). See also Zubaydī, *Ṭabaqat al-nabwīyyatna*, 151 (Ḥarūn b. al-Ḥā'ik); *GAS*, IX, 142 (d. ca. 300/913).

(61) *Kbizāna*, VI, 53-Bakrī, *Simt al-la'alt*, 807f.

(62) See e.g. Jāhīz, *Bayān*, I, 318f. A'U, Ibn al-Kalbi, al-Haytham b. 'Adī and the other genealogists merely transmitted reports that had been recorded by their predecessors.

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There is yet another aspect of A'U's interest in the *matbalib*. It involves his strained relationship with his fellow Baṣrans and, one may add, his free spirit and sense of humour. Defying the whole intelligentsia of his hometown, not just the members of a specific tribe, he reminded the people of Baṣra how hypocritical they had been when some three thousand intellectuals (*mā fibim illā muḥaddith aw luḡhawī aw naḥwī aw 'arūḏī aw akbbārī*) escorted their fellow Baṣran, al-Naḍr b. Shumayl, who, out of hardship, was forced to emigrate. A'U described how al-Naḍr, obviously unwilling to leave Baṣra, sat down in the Mirbad, the famous marketplace of Baṣra, and declared emotionally that had he had the minimal subsistence (he mentioned a small quantity of beans per day), he would not have left. Nobody in that huge crowd of cultured people escorting him volunteered to guarantee this and al-Naḍr went to Khurāsān, where he accumulated a great wealth⁽⁶³⁾.

Al-Naḍr, who died in 204/819, was A'U's contemporary. In other words, when A'U recorded his departure he was dealing with an event which took place only a short time earlier. His own popularity with the intelligentsia of Baṣra does not seem to have bothered him much.

6. Abū 'Ubayda's appearance

The sources which refer to A'U's appearance are naturally hostile to him. One such source, quoted above, says that he was dirty and his nails and hair were always long⁽⁶⁴⁾. For all his erudition, we are told elsewhere, A'U was dirty, and his beliefs and descent were unsound (*wa-kāna ma'a dhalika kullibi wasikhan madkbūla l-din madkbūla l-nasab*)⁽⁶⁵⁾. An-

(63) Zubaydī (d. 379/989), *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwīyyīna*, 55. Al-Zubaydī quotes Abū 'Alī (al-Qalī) who says: *dbakara A'U fī matbalīb abī al-Baṣra* etc. See also Yamānī, *Isbārat al-ta'yīn*, 350: *wa-li-Abī 'Ubayda kitāb fī matbalībī l-'arab wa-kitāb fī matbalīb abī l-Baṣra*; 364: *wa-mimma dbakarabu A'U min matbalīb abī l-Baṣra* etc. (= the story of al-Naḍr's departure); Ibn Khallikān, s.v. al-Naḍr b. Shumayl, V, 379: *dbakarabu A'U fī kitāb matbalīb abī l-Baṣra*. Note the important variant reading here (on its source see *op. cit.*, IV, introduction, p. *ftm*): ... *matbalībī l-'arab min abī l-Baṣra*. If this variant reading reflects the original title of this monograph, it may indicate that A'U's *K. ma'atbir al-'arab* and *K. matbalīb al-'arab* are in fact *K. ma'atbir al-'arab [min abī l-Baṣra]* and *K. matbalīb al-'arab [min abī l-Baṣra]*. The above references to Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) and Yamānī (d. 743/1342) demonstrate that in the biographical literature, as in other branches of Islamic literature, the tags "early" and "late" do not mean much.

(64) Cf. Madelung, "Abū 'Ubayda", 48: "The biographical tradition about Abū 'Ubayda portrayed him, in spite of general recognition of his vast learning, with distinct hostility. Besides personal blemishes and a dirty, unkempt appearance, it accused him of having been a Kharijite and a Shu'ūbī scandalmonger ever intent on exposing the defects of the Arabs and faulting the genealogies of famous men". Madelung arrives at the conclusion "... that he enjoyed shocking his contemporaries with his scandalous revelations as he shocked them with his untidy exterior".

(65) *Fibrīst*, 79.

other source combines his appearance with other faults: he mispronounced the letter *ra'* (or other letters), his clothes were dirty and he was foulmouthed (*wa-kana althagab wasikha l-tbiyab badbt'a l-lisan*)⁽⁶⁶⁾. Although the rancour towards him is evident, one could argue that the testimony in the sources must not be repudiated.

However, the factual value of the accounts concerning his appearance is questionable because of the link, often attested to in the sources, between Jewish descent and lack of cleanliness. The Jews have a bad reputation in early Islamic literature. Among other accusations, they are said to be dirty. Thus Jāhiz remarks, in the text quoted above, that the clothes of the Christians are cleaner than those of the Jews. (The clothes of secretaries, valets of kings, physicians, perfumers and money-changers, trades which Jāhiz mentions as being typical to the Christians, are usually cleaner than those of dyers, tanners, cuppers, butchers and repairers of wooden bowls, trades which Jāhiz associates with the Jews.)

But Jāhiz goes further than this possibly objective observation, saying that when the commoners see the Jews and the Christians, they assume that the Jewish religion compares to other religions in the same way as their trades compare to other trades, and that their unbelief is the filthiest kind of unbelief, since they are the filthiest of all nations (*wa-anna kufrahū aqḍharu l-kufri idh kanū hum aqḍharu l-umam*). To this one could add the Ḥadīth in which the Prophet enjoins the Muslims to clean their courtyards and not leave them (squalid) like the courtyard of the Jews (*naẓẓifū afniyataikum wa-la tada'ūha ka-bāḥati l-yabūd*)⁽⁶⁷⁾. In short, the reputation of the Jews in general should be linked to the claims concerning the appearance of A'U who was of Jewish descent. For A'U's adversaries the fact that his family had been Muslim for decades had little import and he was accused of the vice of uncleanness often attributed to his grandfather's co-religionists. One may quote in this context the wise words of al-Riyāshī (al-'Abbas b. al-Faraj, d. 257/871) in connection with the accusations against A'U: "He who slanders the people cannot be immune from them"⁽⁶⁸⁾.

(66) Dhahabi, *Ta'rikh al-islam*, the volume on the years 201-210 A.H., ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurt, Beirut 1411/1991, 399. The problem called *lutbgha* affects the pronunciation of *qaf*, *sin*, *lam* and *ra'*; Jāhiz, *Bayan*, I, 34f.

(67) *Lisan al-'arab*, s.v. *b.w.b.*; see also M. Gil, *Palestine During the First Muslim Period*, Tel Aviv 1983, I, 117, n. 236 (Hebrew); also Ibn Qutayba, *Adab al-katib*, ed. M. Grünert, Leiden 1900, 66 (*wa-ft l-ḥadīth: al-yabūd antanu kbalqi llabi 'adhīratan, ay fīnā'an*, "of all mankind, the Jews have the most stinking courtyards").

(68) Zubaydi, *Ṭabaqāt al-nabawīyyīna*, 177 (*man waqa'a ft l-nās lam yaslam 'alayhim*; one expects: ...*minhum*). Similarly we are told that al-Haytham b. 'Adi was hated because, while learning about the people's origins, he disclosed their faults (*ta'arraḍa li-ma'rifati usūli l-nās wa-naqli akkbaribim fa-waradat ma'ayibi l-qawmi [l-] mastūra fa-kuriba li-dbalika*); Ibn al-Qiftī, *Inbāb al-ruwāt*, III, 365. Note that no malice is ascribed to Haytham: the repro-

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In sum, the common association in our sources of Jews and uncleanness casts serious doubts on the historical value of the evidence concerning A'U's appearance. Charges of uncleanness were made against Muslims of Jewish descent with reference to an accepted popular sentiment about the Jews as being less scrupulous in this regard than their Muslim neighbours.

7. Abū 'Ubayda and the interpretation of the Qur'an and Hadith

A'U's specialization in certain fields of the Arab heritage was at the expense of the basic Islamic sciences. Dhahabi (748/1374) lists the topics in which A'U was not knowledgeable (!): they included above all the Qur'an, but also the Prophet's *sunna*, the *fiqh* and the differences in the *a'immat al-ijtibād*, the sciences of the ancient Greeks, logics and the branches of philosophy⁽⁶⁹⁾. Tha'lab (d. 291/904) says that A'U did not know the Qur'an by heart and could only recite it while reading it⁽⁷⁰⁾.

Yet A'U contributed to the fields of the Qur'an and Hadith as well. He is said to have been the first to compile a book about the difficult words in the Hadith. He took materials for it from his teachers, Yūnus b. Ḥabīb and Abū 'Amr b. al-'Ala'⁽⁷¹⁾. In other words, A'U is said to have been the first to organize in a book the dispersed materials which he received from his teachers. In his book on *gharīb al-ḥadīth* Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām relied (*i'tamada*) on A'U's book. Abū 'Ubayd's book on *gharīb al-qur'ān* was also culled from (*muntaza' min*) A'U's book on the same subject, "and for all this [i.e. for all his dependence on A'U, a man of questionable reputation in religious matters], he [Abū 'Ubayd] was a reliable transmitter of Hadith and a pious man, and there was no objection to him"⁽⁷²⁾.

duction of the faults was a by-product, not the goal, of his genealogical inquiries. The same could also be said, I believe, about the other early genealogists including A'U.

(69) Dhahabi, *Nubalā'*, IX, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arnā'ūt and Kāmil al-Kharraṭ, 447.

(70) *Tabdh.*, X, 248 (*wa-lā yabfazu l-qur'āna wa-innamā yaqra'ubu nazaran*); cf. *Fibrist*, 79 (*wa-idbā qara'a l-qur'āna qara'abu nazaran*). Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'arif*, 543 goes even further: "For all his erudition, he would often deviate from the metre of a verse of poetry which he recited and break it, and he would even err when reading the Qur'an" (*wa-kāna ma'a ma'rifaṭṭi riḥbama lam yuqimī l-bayta idbā ansbadabu ḥattā yakstrabu wa-yukbtī'u idbā qara'a l-qur'āna nazaran*). For his deficient command of the metres cf. below, the testimony of Abū Ḥatīm al-Sijistāni.

(71) Yaḥyā, *Udaba'*, s.v. Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna, XIX, 155 (*wa-biwa awwalu man ṣanna nafa gharība l-ḥadīth*). But cf. Ibn Khallikān, IV, 61 who says concerning Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām: *wa-yuqālu innabu awwalu man ṣanna nafa fi gharībī l-ḥadīth*.

(72) Abū al-Tayyib al-Ḥalabī, *Marātib al-naḥḍyyina*, 93. Abū 'Ubayd's dependence on A'U (and on his other teachers) is duly acknowledged in his book; see Abū 'Ubayd, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, I, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10 etc. See also *GAS*, VIII, 71.

Hadith was not a major field of interest for A'U and Dhahabī says correctly that he was not a *ṣāhib ḥadīth*. Yet he transmitted Ḥadīth from Hishām b. 'Urwa, Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' and others. Among those who transmitted Ḥadīth from him we find 'Alī b. al-Madīnī, the above-mentioned Abū 'Ubayd al-Qasim b. Sallām, Abū Ḥatim al-Sijistānī and 'Umar b. Shabba⁽⁷³⁾.

Had A'U chosen to become a *ṣāhib ḥadīth*, we would have been deprived of much of his contribution to Arabic studies. The ideal *muhaddith* merely forms a living bridge between two generations of *muhaddithūn* by transmitting, with the utmost fidelity, an unchanged corpus of diverse materials. A'U knew better than that. His curiosity and thirst for *new* knowledge created an ever-expanding stockpile of raw materials which at a later stage provided items for his specialized monographs on different subjects.

A'U's attitude to the interpretation of the sacred texts of Islam is presented as being diametrically opposed to that of Aṣma'ī. The latter, we are told, applied himself to acts of devotion (*shadīd al-ta'allub*) and abstained from interpreting any expression found in the Qur'an. Moreover, he avoided interpreting any expression at all if it had a parallel or even a derivative (*naẓr awī sbtiqaq*) in the Qur'an or Ḥadīth. Also, he would not interpret poetry which included satire (*hija'*)⁽⁷⁴⁾. This should not be taken too literally though: the many quotations from Aṣma'ī in Abū

(73) For example, see the entry on A'U in Abū l-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī, *Tabḍīb al-kamal fī asma' al-rijāl*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, Beirut 1405/1985 - 1413/1992, XXVIII, 316-21.

In a difficult passage A'U is accused of being the source of forty-five dubious Ḥadīths (*la aṣla labā*) which Abū 'Ubayd al-Qasim b. Sallām included in his book *[al-Ḡbarīb al-Muṣannaf; Nūr al-qabas*, 314f. *Wa-ftbi* on p. 315 goes back to the *Ḡbarīb al-Muṣannaf* on p. 314. The source of difficulty is the fact that *[al-Ḡbarīb al-Muṣannaf* is a dictionary organized according to subjects (*K. khalq al-insan*, *K. al-nisā'*, *K. al-libās* etc.) and does not include Ḥadīth; GAS, VIII, 82f; Ramadan Abdel-Tawab, *Das K. al-Ḡarīb al-Muṣannaf von Abū 'Ubaid und seine Bedeutung für die nationalarabische Lexikographie*, Heppenheim 1962, 39f. A comparison with a parallel text shows that the above passage is garbled and that Abū 'Ubayd's book which allegedly incorporates misleading materials from A'U is actually his *Ḡbarīb al-ḥadīth* in which, as has just been remarked, he relied on A'U; *Nūr al-qabas: wa-qala Abū 'Amr: ftbi kbamsatun wa-arba'ūna ḥadīthan* etc.; complete the missing sentence from *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, XII, 413: *wa-kitāb Ḡbarīb al-ḥadīth ftbi aqallu min mi'atay ḥarf: sami'nu, wa-l-bāq: qala l-Aṣma'ī wa-qala Abū 'Amr, wa-ftbi kbamsatun wa-arba'ūna ḥadīthan* etc.

(74) Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Ḥalabī, *Maratīb al-naḥwīyyina*, 48. Cf. *Tabḍ.*, VI, 417: *kāna l-Aṣma'ī yattaqī an* ("guarded himself exceedingly from") *yufassira ḥadītha rasūli llāhi (s wa-alibi) kamā yattaqī an yufassira l-qur'āna*; Sirāfī, *Akkbār al-naḥwīyyina l-Baṣriyyina*, 47: *wa-yatawaqqā tafstra sbay' mina l-qur'an wa-l-ḥadīth 'ala tartīqī l-lugba*. This is followed by an anecdote in which Aṣma'ī regrets having interpreted a difficult word in the Ḥadīth. See further examples in Suyūṭī, *Muzbir*, II, 325f; *EP*, s.v. al-Aṣma'ī, 718a (B. Lewin); Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, II, 364. It is also reported that Aṣma'ī honoured his student Abū Ḥatim al-Sijistānī for his knowledge of the Qur'an and upon Abū Ḥatim's arrival he would rise and embrace him; *Nūr al-qabas*, 226.

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'Ubayd's *Gharib al-ḥadīth* (75) are proof enough that Aṣma'ī was intensively active in the interpretation of difficult words in the Ḥadīth. They are probably taken from Aṣma'ī's book *Gharib al-ḥadīth* (76). In sum, the claim dissociating Aṣma'ī from the interpretation of the Ḥadīth is incorrect.

The same can be said of the claim dissociating Aṣma'ī from the interpretation of the Qur'an. The delightful (though perhaps ahistorical) anecdote told by the triumphant A'U himself on how he defeated Aṣma'ī's objection to his *Majāz al-qur'an* (77) could have been used as evidence that Aṣma'ī objected to the interpretation of the Qur'an. But there is evidence that Aṣma'ī compiled a book entitled *Gharib al-qur'an* (78). This is a clear indication that he did not disapprove of Qur'an interpretation. According to Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, the real reason behind the fact that Aṣma'ī avoided interpreting the Qur'an was not his piety but his pretension and opposition to A'U since the latter preceded him in compiling a book about the Qur'an (*kana yaf'alu dhālika riyā'an wa-'inādan li-A'U liannahu sabaqahu ila 'amal kitab fi l-qur'an*) (79). It should be added that also Abū Zayd Sa'īd b. Aws al-Anṣārī, the third great philologist of Baṣra at the time of A'U and Aṣma'ī, interpreted the Qur'an (and the Ḥadīth) (80). In other words, the study of the Qur'an could not have been neglected by a philologist vying for eminence in the late second century A.H.

While it is untrue that Aṣma'ī avoided interpreting the Qur'an and Ḥadīth, he may have tried to create the impression that he did. When asked to interpret a difficult word in the Ḥadīth, he gave the required explanation only after this apologetic introduction: "I do not interpret

(75) E.g. I, 30, 32, 33, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41 etc.

(76) *Fibrīst*, 82 (it held about two hundred folios and the 4th/10th century author of the *Fibrīst* saw it in the handwriting of al-Sukkārī); Ibn Khallikān, III, 176; GAS, VIII, 208n, 76 ("bei Suyūṭī fälschlich *Ġarīb al-qur'an*"; but note that the *Ḥadiyyat al-'arīṣṭn* [Bagdadli Ismail Paşa, *Ḥadiyyat al-'arīṣṭn, asma' al-mu'allīṣṭn wa-aṣṭar al-muṣannīṣṭn*, ed. Kilisli Rifat Bilge ve İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal Inal, İstanbul 1951-5, I, 623] mentions a book entitled *K. gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-l-qur'an* by Aṣma'ī and another entitled *K. gharīb al-ḥadīth wa-l-kalam al-waṣṣṭn*).

(77) See e.g. H. Ritter in *Oriens* 2 (1949), 297 - *Ta'riḫ Bagdad*, XIII, 255. For criticism of the *Majāz* see Abū 'Ubayda, *Majāz al-qur'an*, I, introduction, 16f. On the *Majāz* see also E. Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar: Ibn Tawūs and his Library*, Leiden 1992, 171, no. 159 (entitled *Gharīb al-qur'an*).

(78) Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, II, 113-Dawudī, *Ṭabaqat al-mufasṣirīna*, I, 355. For an example of Aṣma'ī's work in this field see perhaps Maqdisī, *Muntaqa*, 6: Aṣma'ī quotes through an intermediary 'Ikrima's interpretation of *tarqīb* (Qur'an, 86, 7) with reference to a verse of poetry. For an anecdote showing that in his criticism of A'U's *Majāz al-qur'an* Aṣma'ī was applying double standards see Sirāfī, *Akbbār al-naḥwīyyīna l-Baṣṭīyyīna*, 48.

(79) Yaḳūt, *Udaba'*, the end of s.v. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, VII, 261.

(80) GAS, VIII, 79.

(*ufassiru*) the Ḥadīth of the Messenger of God (ﷺ) but the Bedouin (*al-'arab*) say" etc. (81).

While it could be shown that Aṣma'ī did interpret the Qur'an and Ḥadīth, it is also true that for some, A'U, unlike Aṣma'ī, was unacceptable. Of these two only Aṣma'ī could boast that Mālik b. Anas (who is listed among Aṣma'ī's teachers) transmitted Ḥadīth from him and only Aṣma'ī could put to his credit praise from Shāfi'ī on his trustworthiness (82).

8. Abū 'Ubayda and "the written word"

Two leading experts on *isnād*, 'Alī b. al-Madīnī and Yahyā b. Ma'īn, recommended A'U with varying degrees of warmth. The latter said that "there is nothing objectionable in him" (*laysa bibi ba's*), while the former, who was A'U's student, praised him saying that his transmission was accurate and that he would quote from the Bedouin only correct things (*fa-aḥsana dhikrāhu wa-ṣaḥḥaha riwāyatabu wa-qāla: kana la yahki 'ani l-'arab illā l-shay'a l-ṣaḥīḥ*) (83). The reference to the Bedouin shows that when Ibn al-Madīnī speaks of A'U's accurate *riwāya*, he does not reserve this to the field of Ḥadīth but has in mind A'U's work in general. It is not difficult to see why A'U was considered a reliable transmitter: he applied the same meticulous approach both to the tribal materials and to the limited amount of Ḥadīth which he transmitted. In both cases he prepared careful written accounts or "books" which included his informants' words.

A'U did not possess the remarkable memory of his rival Aṣma'ī (84). He was a scholar of the written word, not of oral transmission. This can be demonstrated by his own testimony about his studies with Yūnus b. Ḥabīb: "I have been going to Yūnus b. Ḥabīb for forty years, filling my *alwāḥ* every day [with records] from [the knowledge preserved in] his memory" (85).

(81) Maqdisī, *Muntaqa*, 22.

(82) *Tabdb.*, VI, 416 (*ma ra'aytu bi-dbalika l-'askar aṣḍaqa laḥja minā l-Aṣma'ī*). According to Yahyā b. Ma'īn, 'Abd al-Malik b. Qurayb mentioned in Mālik's book is erroneous and should read: 'Abd al-Malik b. Qurayb, i.e. al-Aṣma'ī; Maqdisī, *Muntaqa*, 28.

(83) Dhahabī, *Nubala'*, IX, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūt and Kāmil al-Kharraṭ, 445f. On Bukhārī's quotations from A'U's *Majaz (al-Qur'an)* cf. *Tabdb.*, X, 247. Ibn Ḥajar remarks that Bukhārī did not mention A'U's full name (he called him either "Ma'mar" or "Abū 'Ubayda") and that he often dropped his mention altogether (*min ḡbayr 'azw*). This is comparable to the attitude of the canonical Ḥadīth to Waqidi: there is only one Ḥadīth of his in the six canonical collections, in the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja; moreover, Ibn Māja does not name Waqidi, referring to him instead as *shaykh lanā*; Lecker, "Waqidi's account on the status of the Jews of Medina: a study of a combined report", in *JNES* (forthcoming), the end of section 3.

(84) Aṣma'ī boasted that he knew by heart 16,000 poems of the *rajaz* metre (*urjūza*); Ibn Shabba, quoted in Ibn Khallikān, III, 171. See also *op. cit.*, 173f.

(85) Ibn Khallikān, VII, 244f (*ḥablaḥnu ilā Yūnus b. Ḥabīb arba'ina sana amlā'u kulla*

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That A'U needed his books close at hand is made clear by Abū Nuwās's reaction to the news that Ašma'ī and A'U were invited to Hārūn al-Rashīd. The poet, an admirer of A'U, said: "If they let him have his book(s), he will read for them the chronicles of the past and the present" (86).

A'U's dependence on his books and his inadequate experience with "real life" form the backdrop to the account about the famous competition between Ašma'ī and A'U before Hārūn al-Rashīd's chamberlain (*ḥajīb*), al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī' (or before Hārūn al-Rashīd himself). Ašma'ī, in his version of the encounter, reports that his venerable colleague wrote a book on horses comprising fifty volumes (the figure is of course unreal), whereas his own book on the same subject included only one volume. But his colleague refused to identify the limbs of a real horse, saying: "I am not a veterinarian, this [science] is merely something I took from the Bedouin". Ašma'ī, who won the horse as a prize for his excellent description, ends his story with the following climax: "When I wanted to infuriate him [i.e. A'U], I rode it and came to him" (87). We have a very similar account from A'U. (In his account, the contest takes place before Hārūn al-Rashīd himself). After Ašma'ī had completed his limb-by-limb description of the horse, A'U was asked by the caliph for a comment. "He was partly accurate and partly wrong", he said. "What he got right he learned from me. As to the things he was wrong about, I do not know from where he got them"! (88) These are anecdotes, not documentary evidence. Yet it is important that the versions of both rivals agree that it was Ašma'ī, not A'U, who could relate the literary evidence to the limbs of a real horse. A'U's knowledge was academic and he was more at ease with books than with horses (89).

yawm al-waḥī min biḥzībī). We learn from A'U's stinging remarks on Kaysan al-Nahwī that a *lawḥ* or wooden tablet is where one takes notes. Later they are copied from the *lawḥ* to a *daftar*; *Nūr al-qabas*, 179.

(86) In *amkāniḥī min siḥriḥī qara'a 'alayhim akhbāra l-awwālina wa-l-akbīrīna; Ta'rikh Baghdād*, X, 414. Cf. *op. cit.*, XIII, 256 (*amma A'U fa-'alim mā turika ma'a asfaribi yaqra'ūba*, "A'U is a scholar [who excels] as long as they let him read from his books"). It is indeed reported that he read to Rashīd from his books; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-rūwat*, III, 277 (*qadīma Baghdāda fī ayyam Hārūn al-Rashīd wa-qara'a 'alayhi biba asbya'a min kutubī*). Abū Nuwās described A'U as "a skin stuffed with knowledge" (*adīm ḥuwiya 'ala 'ilm*); Yaḥyā, *Udaba'*, s.v. Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna, XIX, 155. The esteem was mutual: A'U said that Abū Nuwās was for the modern poets (*al-mubdalīn*) what Imru'u l-Qays had been for the ancient ones; Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī, *al-Mabāsīn wa-l-masawī'*, Beirut 1380/1960, 429. Yet Abū Nuwās dedicated to him some satirical verses; Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, 30f.

(87) Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, II, 113-Dawūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-mufaṣṣirīna*, I, 355.

(88) Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-rūwat*, III, 279.

(89) As a means of transportation A'U used a donkey; see e.g. *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, XIII, 255. Cf. what he says about donkeys in *Nūr al-qabas*, 123f.

9. Abū 'Ubayda's Khārijism

As has been mentioned, Gibb argues that A'U was a Khārijite, while Madelung argues that he was not.

To begin with we should put the discussion in proportion. Heretical (or unorthodox) views were in vogue among the philologists of Baṣra⁽⁹⁰⁾. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbi (d. 285/898) says that the *ahl al-'arabiyya* in Baṣra were all *aṣḥab abwā'* except four, who were *aṣḥab sunna*, i.e. Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', al-Khalil b. Aḥmad, Yūnus b. Ḥabīb and Aṣma'ī⁽⁹¹⁾. A'U belonged to the majority, the *aṣḥab al-abwā'*.

The *Fibrist* (see above) says that A'U's belief was unsound (*madkbūl al-dīn*). Elsewhere, in a comparison between Aṣma'ī and A'U, we are told that the former was "prompter with the reply", considered by people as more satisfactory and, unlike A'U, was not accused of anything with regard to "his religion"⁽⁹²⁾. Some accusations made in the context of A'U's heretical views are not supported by further evidence and are therefore unreliable. A'U was accused of being a Qadarite, an accusation denied by Abū Ḥatīm al-Sijistānī⁽⁹³⁾. Others accused him of having a touch of *i'tizāl* of which he was cured, as is evident from his transmission (of Ḥadīth) and from his books⁽⁹⁴⁾.

The accusation regarding A'U's Khārijism is the most serious one and the one for which we have evidence from different sources. It could best be investigated by reference to A'U's own writings such as his lost *K. khawārij al-Baḥrayn wa-l-Yamāma*⁽⁹⁵⁾. But since such writings are extant only in the form of extracts in later sources (which are selective and may be suspected of suppressing problematic reports), we have to make do with the biographical evidence in the form of testimonies coming from A'U's students. One hears from them only laudatory remarks about their

(90) An analogy with Communism in the Hollywood film industry before Mc-Carthy may be helpful.

(91) *Tabdb.*, VI, 416; *EP*, s.v. al-Aṣma'ī, 718b (B. Lewin). This did not prevent Jāhīz from accusing Aṣma'ī (unjustly, of course) of being a Manichaeen; *Ta'rikh Bagdad*, X, 418; Yaḥyā, *Udaba'*, s.v. 'Amr b. Bahr al-Jāhīz, XVI, 89.

(92) Zubaydi, *Tabaqat al-nabwīyyina*, 171 (*wa-lam yuṭṭabamī l-Aṣma'ī fī sbay' min dīnibi*).

(93) Zubaydi, *Tabaqat al-nabwīyyina*, 175. Coming from an informant friendly to A'U such as Abū Ḥatīm, the accusation that he was hopeless with regard to the metres of poetry seems to be reliable; Yaḥyā, *Udaba'*, s.v. Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna, XIX, 156 (*wa-kāna ma'a 'ilmibi idba qara'a l-bayta lam yuqim t'rababu wa-yunsbidubū mukbtalifa l-'arīd*). See also above, n. 70.

(94) Zubaydi, *Tabaqat al-nabwīyyina*, 177 (*wa-kāna A'U qad mussa bi-ba'di li-'itizāl illa annabu qad bari'a min dbālka bima ḡabara fī riwayatibi wa-kutubibi*).

(95) Yaḥyā, *Udaba'*, s.v. Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna, XIX, 162. For A'U's accounts, preserved in Ṭabarī, about the Khārijite rebellions in the Umayyad period, see Madelung, "Abū 'Ubayda", 49f. Cf. above, n. 47.

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great teacher and it is obvious that they did not consider "divulging the secret of his Khārijite views" as seriously flawing the record of their late mentor.

One such student was Jāḥiẓ⁽⁹⁶⁾ who was a fellow-Baṣran and died a few decades after A'U⁽⁹⁷⁾. Jāḥiẓ is even more specific: A'U was a Khārijite of the Ṣufriyya sect⁽⁹⁸⁾. A'U is also said by some to have been an Ibadī⁽⁹⁹⁾.

Jāḥiẓ, who quotes A'U on numerous occasions⁽¹⁰⁰⁾, cannot be suspected of inventing the statement about A'U's Khārijism. There is no evidence that Jāḥiẓ was ever hostile to A'U; on the contrary, he admired him. There is no trace here of the venomous accusations made by A'U's enemies. In a word, Jāḥiẓ's testimony is trustworthy.

Further testimonies to the same effect come from two other students of A'U who knew him well. Abū Ḥatim al-Sijistānī says that A'U favoured him (*kāna yamilu ilayya*) because he considered him to be one of the Khārijites of Sijistān. A'U used to ask Abū Ḥatim to recite their poetry and would express grief for them (*wa-yatalabbafu 'alayhim*)⁽¹⁰¹⁾. In another utterance Abū Ḥatim mentions the Ṣufriyya: "A'U was a Ṣufrite and used to hide it". This is followed by verses of 'Imrān b. Ḥiṭṭān (a Ṣufrite) recited by A'U. Abū Ḥatim also says that A'U would often recite their poetry and conclude with this verse: "These were people who, when they built, built well, when they made a vow, they kept it, and when they made a treaty, they honoured it scrupulously"⁽¹⁰²⁾.

(96) For a rare case where A'U quoted Jāḥiẓ and not vice versa see *Agbanī*, XIV, 142:6 from below.

(97) Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, I, 347 (*wa-mimman kāna yarā ra'ya l-kbawārij... wa-lam yakun fī l-ard kbārijī wa-la jama'at a'lama bi-jamī'ī l-'ilm minbu*). The latter part of this utterance is frequently quoted in the biographical dictionaries while the former is omitted. Ibn Ḥajar (*Tabdāb*, X, 247) goes even further, eliminating from Jāḥiẓ's utterance any mention of the Khārijites: *lam yakun fī l-ard a'lamu bi-jamī'ī l-'ulūm minbu*. Cf. Ch. Pellat, "Djāḥiẓ et les khārijites", in *Folia Orientalia* 12 (1970), 205; idem, "al-Gāḥiẓ hérésiographe", in *Bulletin d'études orientales* 30 (1978), 151.

(98) Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, III, 402.

(99) Yaḥyā, *Udaba'*, s.v. Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna, XIX, 156. He "inclined to" (i.e. sympathized with) the Ibadīs; Abū al-Tayyib al-Ḥalabī, *Maratīb al-nabwīyyatna*, 45 (*wa-kāna A'U yamilu ila madbbabi l-ibādīyya minna l-kbawārij*).

(100) See e.g. Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā'il*, II, 225f (A'U, among others, is recommended as a reliable source of *akbbār*, as opposed to Abū Mikhnaf and others); see also idem, *Bayān*, III, 366f-Madelung, "Abū 'Ubayda", 52; *Bayān*, III, 265f (Jāḥiẓ quotes from A'U the story of a Khārijite whom he met in his hiding place in Baṣra), 23f (Jāḥiẓ learned from A'U, Aṣma', and others); A'U is quoted in Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā'il*, IV 122 (*wa-badba shay' sami'ubu min Abī 'Ubayda wa-minbu stamlaytu badba l-ma'na*); Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, III, 471 (*wa-qāla li A'U*, an admiring comment about al-Nazzām's promptness in answering a question).

(101) Cf. Madelung, "Abū 'Ubayda", 49: "The report merely confirms Abū 'Ubayda's lively interest in the history of the Khārijite movement. He presumably saw in Abū Ḥatim a potential informant".

(102) *Ula'ika qaḥmun in banaw absanū l-buna wa-in 'abadū awfaw wa-in 'aqadū sbaddū; Nūr al-qabas*, 110f.

Al-Tawwazī (or al-Tawwajī) says that A'U, violently moved by verses of the Khārijite leader Qaṭari b. al-Fujā'a, reproached him for mentioning Qaṭari without his proper title and *kunya*, namely *amīr al-mu'minīna Abū Na'ama*. Al-Tawwazī also reports how he complied with A'U's request (which he made when he returned to his senses) not to disclose what he had heard. He only mentioned it after A'U's death⁽¹⁰³⁾.

A more complete version of the same report puts it in its correct context:

Al-Tawwazī said: When I wanted to animate (*an unashshifa*) A'U, I would ask him about the *akbar* of the Khārijites and produce from him a flood of information⁽¹⁰⁴⁾. I came to him once and found him with head bowed, scratching up the ground in the courtyard of the mosque. And the sun had neared him. I greeted him but he did not answer. So I recited the verse: "And there is no good in life for a man, if he becomes a worthless thing" (*wa-mā li-l-mar'i kbayrun fī bayātin idbā mā 'udda min saqāṭi l-matā'i*). He looked at me and said: 'Woe unto you, do you know whose verse it is?' I said: 'Qaṭari's'. He said: 'Shut up, may God break your teeth! Would you not say: Amīr al-Mu'minīna Abū Na'ama!' Then he became attentive (*intabaha*) and said: 'Hide it for me'. I said: 'It is buried' (*biya bintu l-ard*)⁽¹⁰⁵⁾.

This rather appealing little scene is described by an affectionate student, faithful to the memory of his late teacher, while at the same time allowing himself to make fun, in a harmless manner, of his teacher's Khārijism⁽¹⁰⁶⁾.

As a matter of curiosity it may be added that the Taymī family to whom A'U's *wala'* belonged played an outstanding role in the fight against the Khārijites. When 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar was the governor of Fārs for Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, he fought against Qaṭari b. al-Fujā'a and severely injured him (with a blow on Qaṭari's forehead he earned him his nickname *al-mufallaq*, "the cleaved"). 'Umar also killed the Khārijite Abū Fudayk in Bahrayn. His son, 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar, was killed by the

(103) E.g. *Maratib al-naḥwīyyīna*, 45f. See an entry on al-Tawwazī in GAS, VIII, 89f; on Qaṭari see GAS, II, 350 ("Abū 'Ubaida scheint seine Gedichte sehr geschätzt zu haben", with reference to al-Ḥuṣri, *Zabr al-adab* [ed. Zakī Mubarak, Beirut 1972, 1077f]). One is inclined to agree with Mädelung, "Abū 'Ubayda", 49 that "Abū 'Ubayda allowed himself a joke at the expense of his credulous student" and that he "enjoyed shocking his students with such a fake confession"; but one may wish to separate the curious scene from the matter of common knowledge which was at its background, namely A'U's Khārijism. The Khārijite views of A'U are also mentioned by Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'arif*, 543 in a passage which is particularly hostile to him.

(104) Literally: I would slit him open and release "the middle of the sea". *fa-ab'aju minhu ttabaja babr*.

(105) *Nūr al-qabas*, 110 (al-Tawwazī).

(106) In Daraqutnī's view, A'U's Khārijite views detracted from his value as a traditionist; Yāqūt, *Udaba'*, s.v. Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna, XIX, 155: *la ba'sa bibi illa annabū yuttabamū bi-sbay' min ra'yī l-khawārij wa-yuttabamū bi-l-ibḍāth*. The obscure *ibḍāth* is probably the

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Kharijites in Fars and the fate of his brother, 'Uthmān b. 'Ubaydallah b. Ma'mar, was the same (107).

If the biographical information about the great philologist is to be trusted, we should accept as historical the evidence concerning his Kharijism. The testimonies about it are from his students and admirers, therefore they should be trusted even in the absence, for the time being, of positive evidence concerning A'U's adherence to specific Kharijite doctrines.

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A'U, a *mawla* of Judeo-Persian descent and a protégé of an important Qurashī family, dedicated his life to the preservation of the Arab heritage which his Jewish grandfather had adopted together with the Islamic faith. He could not properly pronounce all the characters of the Arabic alphabet and it is no accident that he had difficulties with the metres of Arabic poetry. But during his long life he collected and recorded many thousands of accounts transmitted to him by his informants, creating an enormous repository of raw material which he later used when he compiled his many monographs. His *mathalib* monographs represent only a fraction of his work and when they are overemphasized at the expense of his other monographs, it is done in order to defame him.

A'U died in ca. 210/825 (different years are given) aged ninety-three or ninety-eight or ninety-nine. He went on compiling books to the very time of his death (108).

accusation of homosexuality; see e.g. Dhahabi, *Nubala'*, IX, 447. As a result of the latter accusation, the *bukkam* (i.e., in this context, the *qadts*) did not accept his word and his testimony; Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, III, 282 (with a specific example of a case in which his testimony was rejected by the *qādi* 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-'Anbarī); see in detail Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, 30f. With regard to the accusation of homosexuality, perhaps the link between A'U and his *katib* Rufay' b. Salama Abū Ghassān al-'Abdī, nicknamed Damādh (- *al-fasīla*, "a palm shoot"), merits attention. See on him *Fibrīst*, 81 (*rawa 'an A'U wa-kāna yuwarriqu kutubahu*); Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, II, 6 (*wa-kāna kātibā A'U ft l-akbbār*). The new edition of Yaḡqūt, *Udaba'*, by Iḥsān 'Abbās (Beirut 1993, III, 1307f) has an entry on Rufay' where he is described as the *katib* and close friend of A'U (*katīb A'U ... wa-ṣābitubū l-mukbtassu bibi*). More significantly, the entry contains two verses of Rufay' reflecting homosexual tendencies.

(107) Baladh., *Ansāb*, XI, 124, 134; Muṣ'ab, *Nasāb*, 288 (read 'Umar instead of 'Amr), 289; Ibn Qudāma, *Tabytn*, 332 (*al-mufallaq*), 336f ('Uthmān b. 'Ubaydallah); Baladh., *Ansāb*, 855a-b ('Ubaydallah b. 'Umar), 856b ('Uthmān b. 'Ubaydallah); Tab., VI, 119f [II, 753] ('Umar and the Kharijites in Fars, 68 A.H.), 193 [II, 852] (Abū Fudayk, 73 A.H.). See also J. Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam*, trans. by R.C. Ostle and S.M. Walzer, Amsterdam 1975, index, s.v. 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallah b. Ma'mar.

(108) Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, III, 280, 283 (*wa-lam yazal yuṣannifu ḥanna mata wa-qad asanna*). See also Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Baṣā'ir wa-l-dabakbā'ir*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Kaylānī, Damascus 1964, III, i, 201-202 (A'U died in 209 A.H. aged ninety-nine; asked about the cause of his illness, A'U gave this unusual answer: *badba Abī Isbāq dakbalnu ilaybi*

His erudition gained him the admiration of his fellow Başrans who were, however, alienated by his sharp tongue and perhaps some conceit⁽¹⁰⁹⁾.

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musalliman fa-ja'a bi-mawz ka-annabi uyuru l-masakin fa-akthartu minbu fa-kana sabata illati). One version (Yaḳūt, *Udaba'*, s.v. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sukkari, VIII, 97) dates A'U's death to 219 A.H.

(109) According to Ibn Shabba, A'U used to say: «There are no two horses who came to close quarters in pagan or Islamic times but I know of them and their riders»; Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, I, 180-Suyuti, *Muzbir*, II, 402 (*ma itaqa farasani fi jabiliyya wa-la islam illa 'arastubuma wa-'arastu fartsaybima*). But the English rendering deviates from Goldziher's German original (*Mubammedanische Studien*, I, 195) which correctly indicates that A'U referred to his study of the *ayyam*: «Es gibt nicht zwei Rosse ...die in heidnischer oder muhamedanischer Zeit aneinander geriethen» etc. See R.A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, Cambridge 1930, 344, quoting Goldziher: «[N]either in heathen nor Muḥammadan times... have two horses met in battle but that I possess information about them and their riders». However, A'U was not pompous. Asked about the date of his birth, he mentioned the answer which the poet 'Umar b. Abi Rabi'a had given to the same question. The poet said that he had been born when 'Umar b. al-Khattab was murdered, adding, «what virtue was uprooted and what evil established». As to himself, A'U said, he was born when al-Ḥasan b. Abi l-Ḥasan (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri) died, «and my answer is the same as the one given by 'Umar b. Abi Rabi'a»; Ibn al-Qifti, *Inbab al-ruwat*, III, 283.

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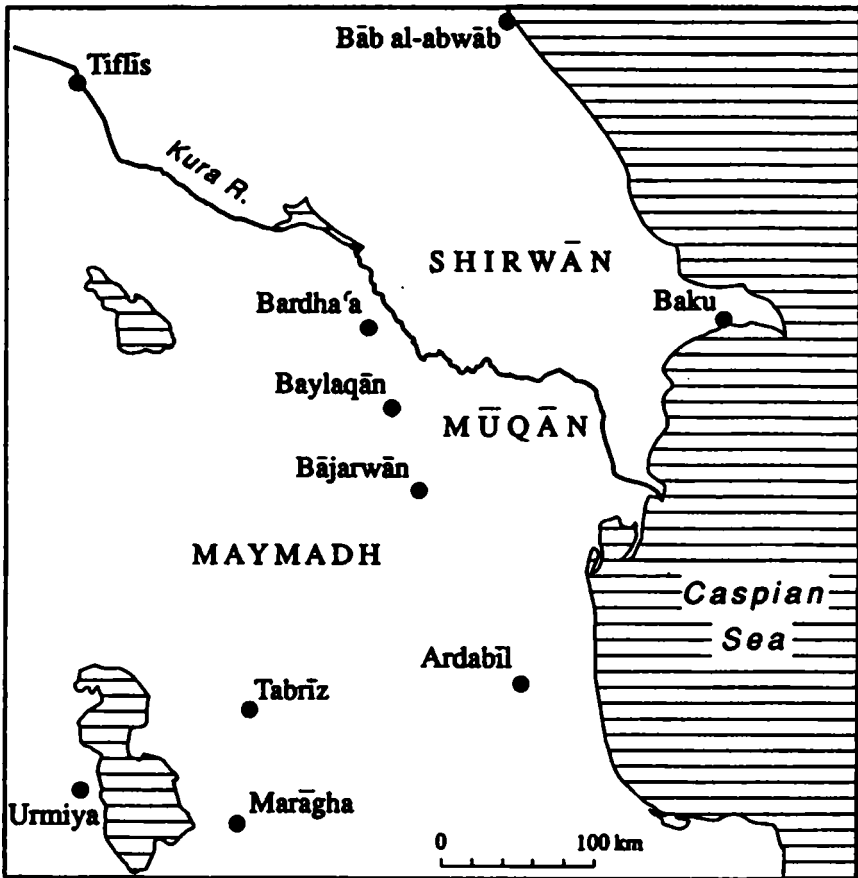
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Addenda et corrigenda

I IDOL WORSHIP

p. 331, second paragraph: the passage from Ibn Shabba's *Kitāb Makka* (= *Akhbār Makka*) found in Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī, Cairo 1392/1972, I, 498, is identical to the passage on p. 345, no. 8. This confirms the assumption that al-Maqrīzī is quoting this specific book of Ibn Shabba.

p. 332, n. 10, l. 1 from end (continuing on the next page):
=VIII

p. 333, end of n. 10: =VIII

p. 334, n. 17: =VIII

p. 337, l. 8: the reading *Manāf* is supported by the above-mentioned passage from the *Iṣāba*. However, al-Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, ed. Ṭāhā 'Abd al-Rā'ūf Sa'd, Cairo 1391/1971, II, 214, has: *Manāt*.

See also III, 269, n. 80. The printing errors were corrected in the Arabic text at the end of this article.

II EARLY MARRIAGE LINKS

p. 21, n. 10, l. 7=VIII

p. 24n, l. 6, read: Hind bint al-Walīd b. 'Utba, instead of: Hind bint 'Utba.

p. 27, l. 4, read: Rabī'a, instead of: Rabī'.

p. 29, l. 12, read: Prophet's, instead of: phet's.

p. 34, n., l. 12: =VIII

p. 38, l. 7, add new reference: see XVII

III ZAYD B. THĀBIT

p. 260, n. 10, right column, l. 13, read: p. 267, n. 58, instead of: p. 9, n. 58.

p. 262, end of n. 21: =XIV

p. 263, n. 32: =IV

p. 263, n. 34: =XII

p. 264, end of n. 39: =V

p. 264, beginning of n. 41: =VIII

p. 264, n. 42: =V

p. 269, n. 80, end of first paragraph: =I

p. 269, n. 81: =V

p. 269, n. 83: =V

IV ‘AMR B. ḤAZM

p. 61, n. 23: =XVI

V HUDHAYFA B. AL-YAMĀN AND ‘AMMĀR B. YĀSIR

p. 152, n. 7: =XIV

p. 158, n. 31: =VIII

p. 160, n. 44, l. 1: =VIII

161, n. 46: see now M. Lecker, “Did Muḥammad conclude treaties with the Jewish tribes, Naḍīr, Qurayḥa and Qaynuqā’?”, in *Israel Oriental Studies* 17 (1997), 29–36.

161, end of n. 48: =VIII

VI YAHŪD/‘UHŪD

p. 170, n. 4, l. 2: =VIII

VII WĀQIDĪ’S ACCOUNT

p. 18, n. 15: =XVI

p. 23, end of n. 38: =XVI

p. 26, n. 51: =XIV, 645f.

VIII MUḤAMMAD AT MEDINA

Māl throughout this article should be translated as “fruit-garden”, “orchard”, rather than “estate”.

p. 47, l. 4: "All of Banū Murra, the descendants of both 'Āmir and Sa'd, inhabited Rātij". This is wrong: only the descendants of the latter lived there. For a revised discussion of the Banū Murra see my *Muslims, Jews and pagans: Studies on Early Islamic Medina*, Leiden 1995, 24–25.

IX MARKETS OF MEDINA

p. 133, n. *: =VIII

pp. 134–35: the assumption that the market of Muzāḥim was near Ibn Ubayy's fortress of the same name (and hence belonged to Ibn Ubayy; see also I. Hasson, "Contributions à l'étude des Aws et des Ḥazrağ", in *Arabica* 36 [1989], 1–35, at 17) is probably wrong.

p. 138: On the Banū 'Aṭiyya see now my *Muslims, Jews and Pagans*, index, s.v.

XIV JUDAISM AMONG KINDA

p. 640, n. 27: =XVIII

p. 641, n. 29: In the printed edition of Ibn al-'Adīm's *Bughyat al-ṭalab* (ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Damascus 1408–1409/1988, IV, 1896), the name of the book is *Kitāb al-q.r.' wa-l-shajar*. But the reading *Kitāb al-far' wa-l-shajar* is probably confirmed by a passage from al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1376/1957ff., LI, 290: ... 'alā mā dhakarahu Abū l-Ḥasan al-Nassāba al-Iṣfahānī fī *Kitāb al-far' wa-l-shajar*. Abū l-Ḥasan (read: Abū l-Ḥusayn?) al-Iṣfahānī may well have been identical with Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Tamīmī al-Baṣrī.

XV KINDA ON THE EVE OF ISLAM

333, n. 1: =XIV

p. 335, left column, last line; 336, ll. 2 and 21; nn. 4 and 8: read: Abū l-Jabr, instead of: Abū l-Khayr. See 337n; M.J. Kister, "The campaign of Ḥulubān", in *Le Muséon* 78 (1965), 425–36 (reprinted in idem, *Studies in Jāhiliyya and Early Islam*, London: Variorum reprints, 1980, no. IV).

337, end of n. 10: =XIV

339, n. 18: =XIV

343, n. 34, l. 1: =XIV

345, n. 46, l. 2: =XIV

345, n. 52: =XIV

p. 353, n. 91: read: Umm Farwa had three former husbands, instead of: . . . two former husbands. See Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, 452.

355, n. 102=XIV, p. 645.

XVI IBN SHIHĀB AL-ZUHRI

p. 35, n. 58, read: *al-balad*, instead of: *al-bald*.

39, n. 73, l. 3: =IV

p. 54, l. 11: see also *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*², s.v. 'Udhra.

p. 55, n. 144, l. 2 from end, read: *Zuhriyya*, instead of: *al-Zuhriyyah*.

XVII THE DEATH OF THE PROPHET'S FATHER

p. 12, n. 8: =VII

p. 14, n. 13: =VII

p. 24, n. 40, l. 7, read: parents, instead of: parent.

XVIII ABŪ 'UBAYDA MA'MAR B. AL-MUTHANNĀ

p. 73, end of n. 6: =XIV

p. 75, n. 12: =II

p. 86, n. 59: =XIV

p. 92, end of n. 83: =VII

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